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## Monitoring as a tool for researching the social and political sphere in the conditions of war

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*The article identifies the potential possibilities of monitoring as a tool for the study of the socio-political sphere in the conditions of war. It was determined that the concept of monitoring includes both the instrumental aspect of the methodology of organizing the study of changes and any systems (primarily, social, economic and political), as well as the scope of its application as a method and tool for tracking such changes, performing the function of social control through institutions of civil society. Monitoring in the socio-political sphere acts as a technology for tracking changes in public consciousness regarding the socio-political situation in the country on the one hand, and on the other – as a method of reverse political communication between citizens, the authorities and political subjects, which creates prerequisites for consensus (and even partner) interaction between all participants of the political process. The results of the monitoring of the socio-political sphere of Ukraine under martial law indicate that: the main socio-political problems for the population of Ukraine are a decrease in social well-being, dissatisfaction with vital needs, negative expectations regarding the support of Ukraine from the Western parterres; in the adoption of strategic management decisions in war conditions, the leading role of the President of Ukraine, the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine (NSDCU) and the command of the Armed Forces remains, and the influence of Ukraine's strategic partners: the EU, NATO and the USA increases, which indicates the need to strengthen Ukraine's position in the international political dimension and develop its own (or on a partnership basis with leading Western manufacturers) of weapons production; the monitoring results indicate a complete reformatting of the political space of Ukraine, new political forces represented by the participants in the hostilities, well-known volunteers will be able to influence the adoption of strategic decisions regarding the restoration of Ukraine.*

**Key words:** monitoring, public monitoring, social control, socio-political sphere, war, political space.

**Formulation of the problem in general.** Monitoring as a tool for tracking changes in the public and political space, analysing and forecasting modern trends in political communication, determining the direction of the emergence of the discourse of political and ideological orientations in the public consciousness acts as an actual scientific problem and a practical-oriented mechanism of state, political and social management.

The full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war changed the priorities of using monitoring in the political sphere: from using monitoring mainly as a method of researching electoral sentiments during election campaigns to tracking changes in the socio-political dimension of society under the influence of the war and its negative consequences. Therefore, it is relevant to determine the aspects of the application of monitoring in the social and political sphere in the conditions of martial law.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** Separate provisions of monitoring are highlighted through the activities of human rights and environmental public organizations, consumer associations, trade unions, etc. in the works of such authors as D. Arabadzhiev, V. Kolyada, O. Lazor, E. Lisitsyn, V. Martynenko, S. Novykov, V. Pesha, G. Orlov, V. Timoshchuk, O. Chub, O. Yaroshenko and others.

**Formulation of the goals of the article.** The purpose of the study is to determine the potential possibilities of monitoring as a tool for researching the socio-political sphere in the conditions of war.

**Presentation of the main research material.** In modern scientific discourse, the interpretive possibilities of the concept of “monitoring” are interdisciplinary in nature. Let's consider some definitions. For example, monitoring is considered as systematic tracking, studying the state of social phenomena and processes, comparing the results of observations, in order to get an idea of their state and development trends. On the other hand, scientists characterize monitoring as a specially organized, continuous process of finding, grouping and complex processing of indicators for the purpose of operational assessment and forecasting of possible states of the socio-economic system and its levels, development of corrective and preventive measures of managerial influence. Scientists dealing with the problems of social management consider social monitoring as a method of cognitive and visual-practical activity, which provides, in combination with other methods, a comprehensive operational and adequate assessment of social situations, which allows effective forecasting and development of optimal management decisions [2, pp. 129–130]. Many scientists note that “monitoring is a complex study that involves a systematic analysis of the situation at the beginning of policy/program/event planning, checking the logical model of activity at the implementation stage, assessing qualitative and quantitative changes at each of the implementation stages, assessing the achievement of planned results and impacts

at the stage of their completion” [7, p. 13]. Therefore, despite the differences in interpretive schemes, the concept of monitoring includes both the instrumental aspect of the methodology of the organization of the study of changes and any systems (primarily, social, economic and political), as well as the scope of its application as a method and tool for tracking such changes, performing function of social control through institutions of civil society.

Thus, D. Arabadzhiev focused his scientific research on the concept of public monitoring (although somewhat narrowing it down to monitoring during the election process), noting that “public monitoring is a special type of activity, the subject of which is civil society institutions (public organizations, individual citizens, representatives of foreign states – in cases specified by law), and the object – processes (and their participants) and phenomena of the social and political sphere, which are significant for the subject of monitoring” [1, p. 86–87]. That is, in the political sphere, public monitoring is a technology for tracking and correcting the departure of political subjects from democratic, legally defined ways of conducting political struggle, which should be based on the principles of transparency, legality and accountability to society.

Another approach to understanding monitoring is represented by its controlling function over the activities of public and state authorities. Thus, the scientific works of such researchers as: N. Balynska (regarding the use of monitoring under the conditions of implementation of the model of symmetrical communication between the public and the state) [4], S. Bezrodna (regarding the application of monitoring as a component of quality management) [5], O. Babynova (regarding the understanding of monitoring as a mechanism contributing to the determination of criteria for evaluating the effective performance of local self-government bodies) [3], O. Ignatenko (regarding the use of monitoring for conducting a full-fledged analysis and making informed decisions of public authorities, determining the specifics of its application for evaluating the housing and communal services market) [9]; E. Romanenko (regarding the clarification of essential features of monitoring, as an immanent component of communicative strategies for forming citizens’ trust in reforming state authorities) [10], etc. According to V. Nikolayeva, the main tasks of monitoring in the field of public administration are the following: “analysis, assessment and forecast of compliance of the course of reforms, their measures and results with the interests of influential groups; rating of authorities at different levels (state, regional, local); influence on the preparation and decision-making of authorities, taking into account the monitoring results; influence on the assessment of the activities of state bodies and their officials; argumentation for examination of public discussion of actions and decisions of authorities” [8, p. 111–115]. Thus, monitor-

ing in the field of public administration acts mainly as a phenomenon of public controlling the activities of authorities, making and implementing management decisions at various levels, ensuring compliance with the implementation of state target programs according to defined criteria.

Monitoring in the socio-political sphere acts as a technology for tracking changes in public consciousness regarding the socio-political situation in the country on the one hand, and on the other – as a method of reverse political communication between citizens, the authorities and political subjects, which creates prerequisites for consensus (and even partner) interaction between all participants of the political process.

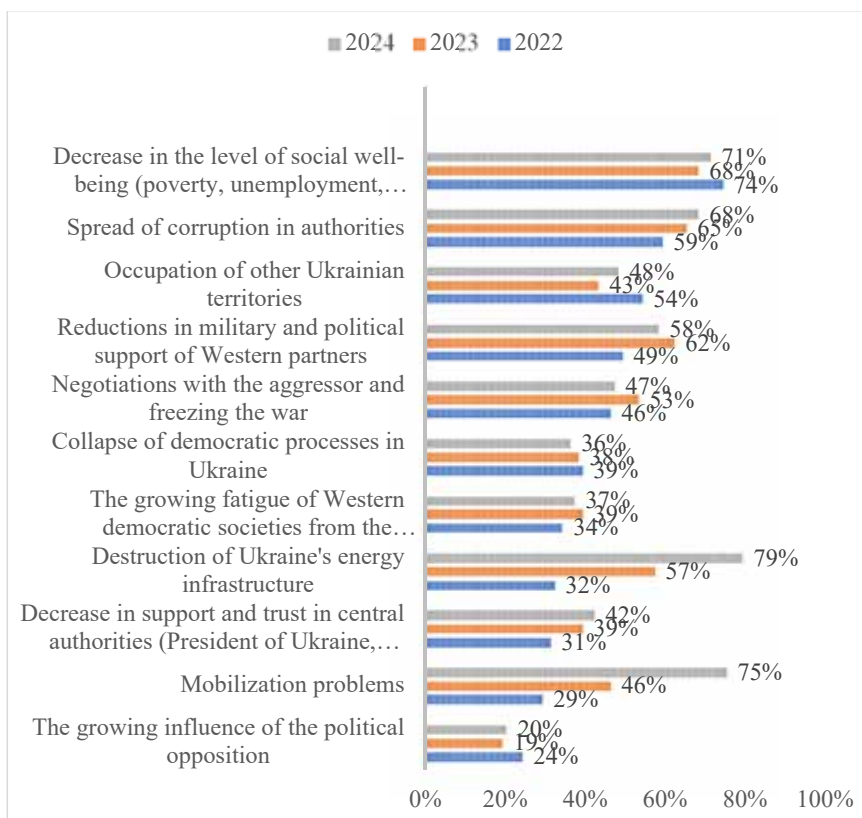
In the modern conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the problem of tracking public opinion regarding the adoption of strategic management decisions, changes in the political-ideological and civic orientations of the population [11], monitoring as a research tool reveals a significant socio-diagnostic and prognostic potential.

Therefore, for monitoring in the socio-political sphere in the conditions of war, the expert survey method was used, which was conducted over the course of 3 years from the beginning of the full-scale Russian aggression against Ukraine (September 2022, May 2023, May 2024). The main sample consisted of 24 experts in the field of political science – teachers of Ukrainian universities (18 experts), regional political leaders (2 experts), heads of public organizations whose activities are related to the socio-political sphere (4 experts). The composition of experts almost did not change (with the exception of May 2023, when the sample consisted of 22 experts). The survey was conducted online via e-mail and the Facebook social network.

The tasks of the expert survey are to determine: 1) the dynamics of changes in public awareness of the most significant socio-political and socio-economic problems; 2) the dynamics of changes in the role of political and public institutions in the adoption by the authorities of Ukraine of strategic management decisions in the conditions of war; 3) dynamics of assessment of changes in the political life of Ukraine after the end of the war.

In order to determine the dynamics of changes in public awareness of the most significant socio-political problems (2022–2024), experts were asked to answer the question: “What problems of a socio-economic and political nature, in your opinion, concern the citizens of Ukraine most of all and affect their social well-being?” (Fig. 1). Experts were asked to choose 6 options from the proposed statements.

As evidenced by the results of monitoring the influence of socio-political and socio-economic problems, the largest percentage has the factors of reducing the level of social well-being and the quality



**Fig. 1. Monitoring of changes in public awareness of the most significant socio-political and socio-economic problems (2022–2024)**

of life of the population, and to such factors was added the problem of energy security of the country (negative expectations of the destruction of the energy infrastructure, which means the lack of light and heat, increased from 2022 to 2024 by almost 2.5 times).

Another significant problem for Ukrainian society is general mobilization. If at the beginning of the war, experts determined it for the population at 29%, then with the deterioration of the state of mobilization, the decrease in the level of motivation of conscripts and the adoption of the Law of Ukraine on mobilization, its percentage value increased by 2.5 times up to 75% in the general list of statements.

It should be noted about the growth in mass consciousness (according to experts) of negative informational discourse about the spread of corruption in state authorities – this is evidenced by the increase in information in the media about corruption cases, scandals at the highest levels of government, and among officials close to the Office of the President; officials of the Ministry of Defence and regional military administrations. Against this background, there is a fear of growing distrust and support for the President of Ukraine and the Government – from 31% in 2022 to 42% in 2024.

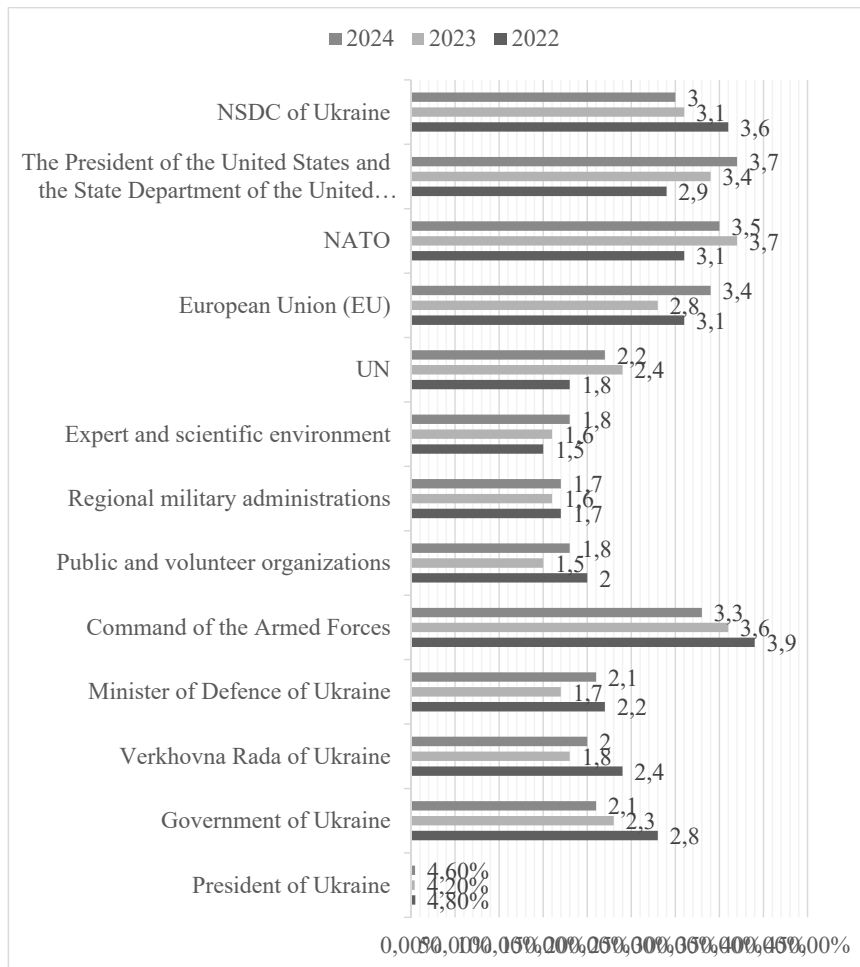
Interesting results of the monitoring turned out to be the indicators of statements that reflect the negative expectations of citizens about a decrease in military-

political support of Western partners and their societies (up to forcing negotiations with Russia and freezing the military conflict). Here, experts noted the growth of such fears in 2023. Perhaps this is connected with the unsuccessful counteroffensive of the Armed Forces and the delay in military aid from the EU countries and the USA, because in 2024 this trend started to decrease.

In order to monitor the assessment of the influence of world and national political and public institutions on the adoption of strategic management decisions by the Ukrainian authorities during the war, experts were asked to answer the question: “Please rate, on a 5-point scale, the level of influence of world and national public and political organizations and authorities on Ukraine’s adoption of strategic management decisions in conditions of war?” (Fig. 2).

The monitoring results presented in Fig. 2, reveal trends in the influence of world and national public and political institutions on the adoption of strategic management decisions by the authorities of Ukraine:

- firstly, according to experts, the President of Ukraine, the command of the Armed Forces, the EU, NATO and the USA have the greatest influence;
- secondly, the executive and legislative branches of the government of Ukraine have little influence (perhaps due to dependence on the decisions of the President of Ukraine and his Office);



**Fig. 2. Monitoring the influence of world and national political and public institutions on the adoption of strategic management decisions by the Ukrainian authorities in war conditions (2022–2024)**

- thirdly, the public and expert environment has almost no influence on strategic decision-making;
- fourthly, experts point to the significant influence of the EU, NATO and the USA, which is connected with Ukraine’s dependence on arms supplies and political support in the global political space.

In order to determine the dynamics of the assessment in public consciousness of changes in the political life of Ukraine after the end of the war (2022–2024), experts were asked to answer the question: “Do you think such changes will take place in the political life of Ukraine after the end of the Russian-Ukrainian war?” (the list is given)”. The results are presented in fig. 3. The results of the sum of the indicators “Yes, it will happen” and “There is a high probability that it will happen” are given.

As can be seen from the results of the monitoring, experts believe that the most likely changes in the political space will be: first, the growth of the role of new political forces, which will be represented by veterans participating in hostilities (percentage indicators increased by 10–12% in three years) secondly, the political electoral discourse will be related to social issues (an increase of 12%), related

to the formation of an effective and modernized system of social protection and social security of the population, especially those affected by the war; thirdly, the accession of Ukraine to the European Union has a rather optimistic forecast (expectations at the level of 70%); fourthly, the main priority of budget expenditures in the post-war period will be spending on strengthening the country’s defence capabilities and the development of the defence industry (a 10% increase in the indicator).

Experts are somewhat pessimistic about the democratization of public administration in the period of post-war recovery: experts predict, on the one hand, a slight decrease in the influence of the President in the system of power (including a decrease in the monopoly of the ruling party by 19%, which is associated with a generally low rating of trust and support of the legislative branch authorities in Ukraine), on the other hand, the strengthening of authoritarian tendencies in the system of public administration at all levels against the background of the gradual centralization of power. The role of non-governmental organizations in making management decisions in the system of public and state

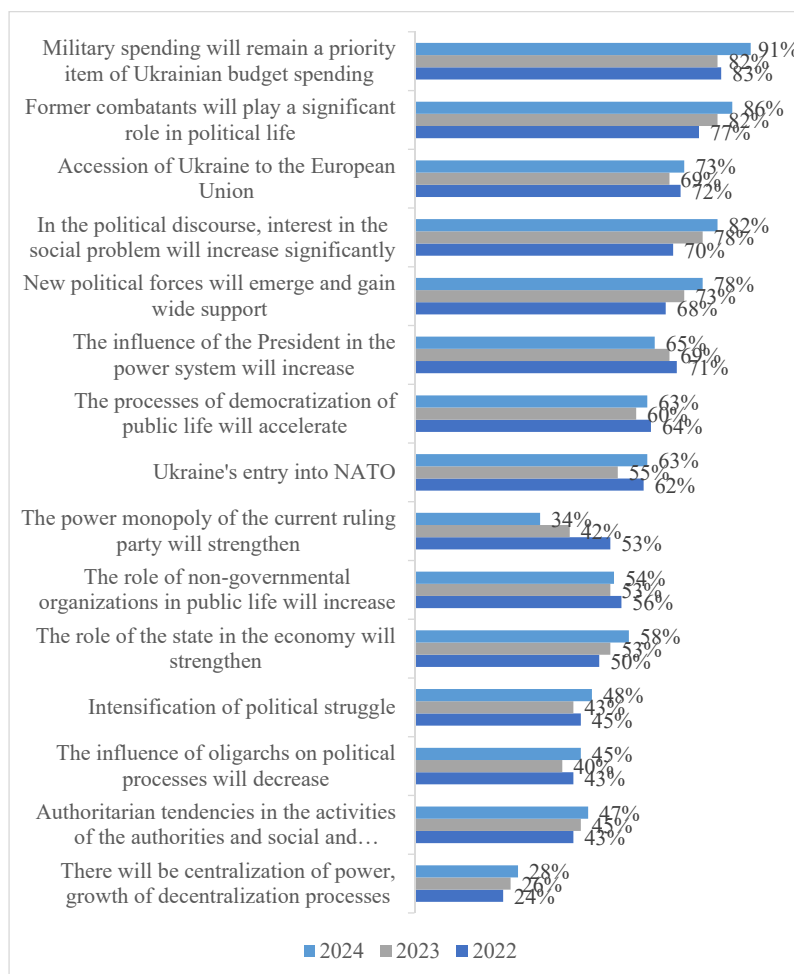


Fig. 3. Monitoring the assessment of changes in the political life of Ukraine after the end of the war (2022–2024)

administration is predicted by experts at the level of 53–56%.

Ukraine's accession to NATO is estimated by experts at the level of 60%, and the lowest indicator was found by experts in 2023 (55%), which is connected with the assessment of the impact of the crisis on Ukraine's external support (the arrival of pro-Russian political forces and leaders in some countries of the European Union, the internal political crisis in the USA regarding the approval of budgetary military aid to Ukraine, tacit support of Russia by China, etc.).

**Conclusions and prospects for further research.** Based on the results of the study, the following conclusions were made:

– firstly, monitoring acts as: a methodology for collecting, processing and analysing data and providing a forecast of the development of social events and situations; technological aspect of social and public control in various spheres of public administration; as a tool of socio-political research;

– secondly, the results of monitoring the socio-political sphere of Ukraine under martial law indicate: 1) the main socio-political problems for

the population of Ukraine are a decrease in social well-being, dissatisfaction with vital needs (light, heat, etc.), negative expectations regarding support for Ukraine from sides of the western parterres; 2) in making strategic management decisions in war conditions, the leading role of the President of Ukraine, the NSDCU and the command of the Armed Forces remains, although with a slight decrease in indicators during 2022–2024, and the influence of strategic partners of Ukraine increases: the EU (by 0.3 points), NATO (by 0.4 points) and the USA (by 0.8 points), which indicates the need to strengthen Ukraine's position in the international political dimension and develop its own (or on a partnership basis with leading Western manufacturers) weapons production; 3) the results of the monitoring indicate a complete reformatting of the political space of Ukraine, new political forces represented by the participants in the hostilities, well-known volunteers will be able to influence the adoption of strategic decisions regarding the restoration of Ukraine.

We consider the determination of the factors and conditions of reliability and validity of monitoring

studies under martial law to be a promising direction for further research.

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## Моніторинг як інструмент дослідження соціально-політичної сфери в умовах війни

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*В статті визначено потенційні можливості моніторингу як інструменту дослідження соціально-політичної сфери в умовах війни. Визначено, що поняття моніторингу включає в собі як інструментальний аспект методології організації дослідження змін і будь-яких системах (насамперед, соціальних, економічних та політичних), так і сферу його застосування як методу та інструменту відстеження таких змін, виконуючи функцію соціального контролю через інституції громадянського суспільства. Моніторинг в соціально-політичній сфері виступає як технологія відстеження змін в суспільній свідомості щодо соціально-політичної ситуації в країні з одного боку, а з іншого – як спосіб зворотної політичної комунікації між громадянами, владою і політичними суб'єктами, що створює передумови для консенсусної (і навіть партнерської) взаємодії між всіма учасниками політичного процесу. Результати моніторингу соціально-політичної сфери України в умовах воєнного стану вказують на те, що: основними соціально-політичними проблемами для населення України є зниження соціального благополуччя, незадоволеність вітальних потреб, негативні очікування щодо підтримки України з боку західних партнерів; в прийнятті стратегічних управлінських рішень в умовах війни залишається провідна роль Президента України, РНБО і командування ЗСУ, і збільшується вплив стратегічних партнерів України: ЄС, НАТО і США, що вказує на необхідність посилення позиції України у міжнародно-політичному вимірі і розвитку власного (або на партнерських засадах з провідними західними виробниками) виробництва зброї; результати моніторингу вказують на повне переформатування політичного простору України, нові політичні сили, представлені учасниками бойових дій, відомими волонтерами зможуть впливати на прийняття стратегічних рішень щодо відновлення України.*  
**Ключові слова:** моніторинг, громадський моніторинг, соціальний контроль, соціально-політична сфера, війна, політичний простір.