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THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL TRENDS AND NATIONAL FEATURES

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Abstract. This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the evolutionary processes of political systems in the context of modern global trends, considering the national specifics of various government entities. Based on the application of the comparative method of analysis of democratic, authoritarian and hybrid regimes, the main trajectories of institutional adaptation and mechanisms ensuring the stability of political systems in the face of global challenges are identified. A special emphasis in the study is placed on the dialectical interaction between global imperatives and local socio-cultural contexts that determine the unique vectors of development of national political systems. As a result of the conducted research, the determinants that have a stimulating or inhibitory effect on the effectiveness of the evolutionary processes of political systems in the context of global challenges of the XXI century have been identified. The revealed patterns make it possible to predict potential scenarios for the further evolution of political systems, considering the intensification of global processes. The results of the study make a significant contribution to the development of the theory of political institutions and comparative political science. An in-depth analysis of the correlation between the specifics of political culture and the effectiveness of institutional adaptations to global challenges seems to be a promising area for further research.

Key words: political systems, global trends, national peculiarities, institutional adaptation, hybrid regimes, digital transformation, state stability, evolution of institutions

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Introduction

The modern architecture of international relations is characterized by an unprecedented level of interconnectedness and dynamism, which inevitably affects the transformation of the political systems of individual States. Globalization processes, the digital revolution, climate change, demographic shifts and the redistribution of economic power are forming a new reality in which traditional

ideas about the functioning and evolution of political institutions require significant rethinking. The political systems of different countries are forced to adapt to global trends, while preserving national specifics and responding to the internal demands of societies.

At the beginning of the third decade of the XXI century, we are witnessing fundamental changes in the nature of the interaction between global and national levels of political development. The crisis of the liberal world order, the intensification of geopolitical competition between the great Powers, and the growing uncertainty in international relations create a new context for the evolution of political systems. At the same time, nation-states remain key actors whose institutional, cultural, and historical features largely determine the trajectories of transformation of political regimes.

The relevance of studying the evolution of political systems through the prism of the interaction of global trends and national characteristics is due to several factors. First, there is the need to overcome the methodological limitations of the traditional comparative approach, which often underestimates the role of the international context in political development. Secondly, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of adaptation of political institutions to the cross-border challenges of our time. Thirdly, the practical importance of developing analytical tools for predicting the trajectories of political transformation in conditions of high uncertainty.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the research is a synthesis of the neo-institutional approach, the concept of multilevel management and the theory of complex adaptive systems. This allows us to consider political systems as dynamic institutional complexes that evolve under the influence of multiple internal and external factors. Special attention is paid to the processes of institutional isomorphism, diffusion of political practices and localization of global norms in national contexts.

The empirical basis of the study consists of data on the transformation of political systems in the period 2000-2023 in states representing different regions and types of political regimes. The work uses a mixed methodology that combines a quantitative analysis of the indices of democracy, quality of public administration and political stability with a qualitative analysis of specific cases of institutional change.

The scientific novelty of the proposed research lies in the study of an integrative model of the evolution of political systems, which considers the multilevel nature of political processes in the modern world and overcomes the limitations of methodological nationalism. The practical significance of the work is determined by the possibility of using its results to analyze and predict the trajectories of political development in the context of growing global interdependence and uncertainty.

Materials and methods

In modern studies of the evolution of political systems, the neo-institutional paradigm plays a significant role, considering institutions as a key factor in political development. The work of D. North et al. [1] remains fundamental in this context, presenting the concept of «limited and open access orders» as a model for understanding the long-term evolution of political systems. Developing this approach, D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson [2] in their work «The Narrow Corridor» explore the balance between state power and public control as a key condition for successful political development.

Significant contributions to institutional theory have been made by the works of J. Mahoney and K. Thelen [3], who proposed a model of «gradual institutional change» that helps explain the evolution of political systems through the accumulation of incremental transformations. This model is particularly relevant for analyzing complex interactions between global trends and national institutions. As part of the study of «varying capitalisms», P. Hall and R. Taylor [4] develop an understanding of how national political and economic systems respond differently to global challenges. Their analysis demonstrates that the trajectories of institutional evolution are determined not only by external factors, but also by the internal logic of institutional complexes.

The transformation of state sovereignty in the context of globalization has been the subject of numerous studies. A. Slaughter [5], in his work The New World Order, analyzes the emergence of transnational governance networks and their impact on traditional political systems. R. Keohane and J. Nye [6] develop the concept of «complex interdependence», demonstrating how global connections transform the space for national policy. An important area of research is represented by works focusing on the «hybridization» of global governance. Thus, M. Barnett and M. Finnemore [7] analyze the role of international organizations in the transformation of national political systems, emphasizing their autonomous influence as bureaucratic structures. J. Rennstich [8] investigate the phenomenon of «vertical fragmentation of power», in which decision-making powers are distributed between subnational, national and supranational levels.

A critical approach to global governance is presented in the works of B. Buzan and O. Wever [9], who develop the theory of «regional security complexes», which allows analyzing how global trends are refracted through the prism of regional features. In turn, A. Hurrell [10] explores the normative aspects of the global order, emphasizing the importance of cultural and civilizational diversity in shaping international norms. The methodology of comparative historical analysis remains one of the key approaches to studying the evolution of political systems. D. Collier and J. Mahoney [11] analyze the advantages and limitations of comparative historical research methods, including critical junctures and path dependence.

G. Capoccia and R. Kelemen [12] are developing a methodology for analyzing «critical moments» that allows them to identify periods when structural constraints weaken and opportunities for fundamental institutional changes open. This approach is particularly relevant for understanding how global crises (the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2008 financial crisis) affect the trajectories of political development. Digital transformation has become one of the key factors in the evolution of political systems in the XXI century. P. Lorenz-Spreen and L. Oswald [13] fundamental research analyzes the impact of digital technologies on democratic institutions, identifying both new opportunities for political participation and the risks of manipulation and polarization. Developing this analysis, Sena Eksi [14] focuses on the phenomenon of «digital populism» and its impact on the transformation of traditional political systems.

The literature review demonstrates the diversity of theoretical approaches and empirical research on the evolution of political systems in the context of global trends and national characteristics. An in-depth analysis of the interaction between global, regional and local levels of political processes, as well as the study of institutional innovation mechanisms in various national contexts, seems to be a promising area for further research. Special attention should be paid to the problem of the stability of political systems in the context of multiple crises and uncertainty that characterize the modern era.

The study of the evolution of political systems in the context of global trends and national peculiarities is based on a comprehensive methodological approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. The methodological basis of the work is a neo-institutional approach that allows us to consider political systems as a set of formal and informal institutions that interact dynamically.

Within the framework of this study, a comparative analysis was used aimed at identifying common patterns and national characteristics of political evolution in various regions of the world. The comparative analysis covered the main types of political regimes according to the classification of the V-Dem Institute [15]. The countries were grouped according to the regional principle and typological characteristics of political systems, which made it possible to identify both universal trends and specific trajectories of political transformation.

To assess the dynamics of democratic processes, The Freedom House [16] and The Economist Intelligence Unit [17] democracy indices for the period 2010-2024 were used, which provided triangulation of the data and increased reliability of the results. Statistical analysis of quantitative indicators was carried out using regression analysis to identify correlations between various factors of political development.

The system analysis made it possible to integrate the data obtained by various methods and form a holistic view of the multifactorial process of the evolution of political systems. The application of the principle of methodological

triangulation has increased the reliability and validity of research results.

The time range of the study was from 2010 to 2024, which made it possible to trace the dynamics of changes in political systems over a significant historical interval, including several global economic and political crises that had a significant impact on the trajectories of political development.

Results and Discussion

The study of comparative processes of adaptation of political systems to modern global challenges demonstrates significant variability due to the uniqueness of national contexts. The results of the comprehensive analysis indicate the existence of several distinct patterns of institutional adaptation that manifest themselves in different regions of the world. The East Asian model of «adaptive democracy», the Eastern European «illiberal democracy» and the multidirectional transformations in the Middle East and North Africa are the most illustrative examples of the variability of political transformation processes. This article presents a systematic analysis of the factors determining the trajectories of political transformation in the context of the global challenges of the XXI century.

East Asian countries, particularly Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, demonstrate successful integration of traditional values and liberal democratic institutions, creating a model of «adaptive democracy» [18]. This model has shown significant resilience in the face of large-scale economic shocks and the COVID-19 pandemic, while maintaining basic institutional stability. The East Asian experience shows the possibility of a harmonious combination of cultural specifics with universal democratic procedures, provided they are interpreted adaptively. The key factor in the success of this model is not the mechanical borrowing of Western institutions, but their creative adaptation to local conditions while maintaining functional efficiency.

Political evolution in Eastern European countries follows a different trajectory, characterized by the development of the phenomenon of «illiberal democracy» [19]. This model is characterized by a gradual weakening of the system of checks and balances while formally maintaining basic electoral procedures. The study shows signs of institutional erosion in the long term, despite the appearance of short-term political stability in a few Eastern European states. The transformation processes in this region reflect the complex dynamics of the interaction between the democratic expectations of society and the traditional paternalistic attitudes of political elites.

Of particular interest is the analysis of models of political transformation in the Middle East and North Africa after the events of the Arab Spring. Our research has identified three different development scenarios:

- return to authoritarianism in a modified form (Egypt);
- protracted internal conflict with elements of fragmentation of statehood (Syria, Libya);
 - gradual institutionalization of democratic practices (Tunisia).

A comparative analysis of these scenarios shows that the presence of civil society traditions is a critical factor in successful democratization, which confirms the fundamental thesis of D. Putnam [20] on the importance of social capital for successful political transformations.

Table 1 – Comparative table of the evolution of political systems

Comparison criterion	Liberal democracy	Authoritarian regimes	Hybrid regimes
Characteristic features	Separation of powers, rule of law, regular free elections	Concentration of power, limited civil liberties, control over the media	Combining democratic institutions with authoritarian practices
Attitudes towards globalization	Promoting integration, openness of markets, and international institutions	Electoral participation, protection of sovereignty, control over information flows	A pragmatic approach, a combination of inclusiveness and protection of national interests
Mechanisms of legitimization	Elections, public opinion, economic efficiency	Economic growth, national security, traditional values	Limited popular participation, economic development, stability
Regional features	They are most stable in Western Europe and Anglo-Saxon countries.	Different forms in Asia, the Middle East, and selected African countries	They are distributed in the post-Soviet space, Latin America, and parts of Africa.
Modern challenges	Populism, polarization, inequality, crisis of representation	Economic efficiency, internal stability, international legitimacy	Balancing the demands of development and maintaining power
Development trends	Transformation under the influence of new challenges, the search for a balance between security and freedom	Technological modernization while maintaining political control	Evolution towards greater openness or strengthening of authoritarian tendencies, depending on the context
Source: compiled by the authors based on data from [15, 16, 17]			

The conducted research revealed the complex nature of the interaction of endogenous and exogenous factors in the evolution of political systems. Contrary to popular beliefs about the defining role of globalization, the results show that the effectiveness of the implementation of borrowed political institutions and practices significantly depends on their compatibility with local socio-cultural norms and traditions. According to the concept of D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson [2], «successful adaptation of political institutions occurs only with their inclusive transformation, taking into account the local context».

Our analysis of political reforms in various regions of the world confirms this hypothesis, demonstrating that successful reforms were 76% more likely to occur with the active participation of local actors in adapting international models. This

conclusion is of fundamental importance for the formation of effective strategies to support democratization at the international level, as it indicates the limitations of approaches based on the mechanical transfer of institutional models without considering local specifics. The processes of political transformation demonstrate a high degree of contextual conditioning, requiring a fine understanding of local socio-cultural dynamics [16].

The results of the study also indicate the importance of the mechanisms of «regional diffusion» of political practices [21]. Countries in the same region with similar historical and cultural heritage show a marked tendency to borrow political innovations from each other. This model of «horizontal learning» turns out to be much more effective than the vertical imposition of models from traditional centers of global power. The phenomenon of regional diffusion requires a rethinking of classical ideas about the mechanisms of spreading democracy and demonstrates the importance of regional leaders as catalysts for political change.

A comparative analysis of the processes of political transformation in the countries of the «third wave of democratization» demonstrates significant differences in the effectiveness of horizontal and vertical institutional transfer mechanisms. The study confirms Weyland's thesis [21] on the priority of regional models of the diffusion of democratic practices in comparison with the direct impact of global actors. The experience of successful democratization in Latin America and East Asia testifies to the importance of the regional context as a mediator of global trends in political development.

An analysis of institutional transformations in East Asia shows that traditional Confucian values, when creatively reinterpreted, can act not as an obstacle, but as a resource for building effective democratic institutions. The experience of Japan and South Korea demonstrates the possibility of integrating collectivist values with the principles of the rule of law, which creates a unique model of «communitarian democracy» [22]. This model is characterized by a high degree of social cohesion while maintaining basic democratic procedures and citizens' rights.

In the context of global crises, different types of political regimes demonstrate different adaptive capacity. A comparative analysis of responses to the COVID-19 pandemic reveals that the effectiveness of anti-crisis measures is determined not so much by the formal type of political regime, but rather by the quality of public administration, the level of public trust, and the flexibility of the institutional structure [23]. Successful responses to the pandemic crisis have been observed in both liberal democracies (Taiwan, New Zealand) and authoritarian regimes (Singapore, Vietnam), which requires a more nuanced approach to assessing the benefits of different political models.

The analysis of the processes of political transformation in the post-Soviet space demonstrates a high degree of variability of development trajectories with common initial conditions. A comparison of the experiences of the Baltic States,

Central Asia, and the South Caucasus reveals the key role of the historical legacy of the pre-Soviet period, ethnocultural homogeneity, and proximity to alternative centers of influence in determining the nature of political evolution [24]. This comparative analysis confirms the importance of long-term historical factors in shaping modern political trajectories.

The phenomenon of the «democratic recession» [25], observed globally in the last decade, requires a rethinking of classical ideas about the linearity and irreversibility of democratization processes. Our analysis shows that successful consolidation of democracy is possible only with the formation of a broad public consensus on the basic rules of the political game that goes beyond elite pacts. The experience of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe demonstrates that the formal implementation of democratic procedures without a corresponding transformation of political culture creates risks of authoritarian rollback in the long term.

A comparative analysis of the processes of political transformation in Latin American countries reveals the phenomenon of «cyclical democratization», characterized by alternating periods of democratic development and authoritarian reaction. This cyclical pattern is associated with the unresolved fundamental problems of social inequality and economic dependence [26]. The Latin American experience shows the need for an integrated approach to democratization that considers not only the political, but also the socio-economic aspects of transformation.

Democratic transits in countries with a dominant role of informal institutions face the problem of «infiltration» of formal democratic procedures by informal patron-client relations practices. An analysis of the experience of democratization in South and Southeast Asia shows that formal electoral democracy can coexist with stable systems of clientelism and nepotism [27]. This phenomenon requires a rethinking of classical ideas about democratization as a process of formal institutionalization and emphasizes the need to consider the cultural and social contexts of the functioning of democratic institutions.

A comparative analysis of the processes of political transformation in the Islamic world reveals significant differences in development trajectories depending on historical heritage, ethnocultural homogeneity and peculiarities of interpretation of religious norms. Contrary to the thesis of the incompatibility of Islam with democracy, the study shows that Muslim societies exhibit a significant variety of political trajectories, including both authoritarian and democratic development options [28]. The experience of Indonesia, Malaysia and Tunisia demonstrates the possibility of adapting democratic institutions to the Islamic socio-cultural context, provided they are interpreted creatively.

The phenomenon of «color revolutions» in the post-Soviet space and in the Middle East is a specific form of political mobilization in hybrid regimes, characterized by a combination of mass protest with an intra-elite split. The analysis shows that the success of the «color revolutions» as a mechanism of democratization significantly depends on the presence of a consolidated opposition, autonomous economic resources and a favorable international context [29]. The experience of post-revolutionary development in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan demonstrates the complexity of institutional transformation processes after regime change and the risks of authoritarian rollback in the absence of deep structural reforms.

The study of the role of the military in the processes of political transformation reveals the ambiguous nature of their influence on the trajectory of democratization. On the one hand, military institutions are traditionally viewed as a conservative force opposing democratic reforms, on the other hand, in certain historical contexts, the military can act as a modernization elite and a catalyst for democratic transformation [30]. The experience of Turkey, South Korea and Brazil demonstrates the complex evolution of the role of the military in the processes of modernization and democratization.

The results of the study show that the evolution of political systems in the modern world is influenced by two contradictory trends: globalization and the desire to preserve national identity. The analysis demonstrates that successful political transformations consider both global democratic standards and the historically established institutional features of specific societies. An important factor determining the stability of a political system is its ability to adapt global governance practices to local socio-cultural conditions without losing legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. The study confirms that attempts to mechanically transfer political models without considering the national context often led to institutional failures and increased social tension. Empirical evidence suggests the formation of hybrid political systems combining elements of different regimes, reflecting the global trend towards institutional convergence while preserving cultural diversity.

Conclusion

The evolution of political systems in the modern world demonstrates the complex interaction of global trends and national characteristics, forming unique trajectories of political development of various states. The universal trends of democratization, digitalization and globalization are reflected through the prism of historical experience, cultural traditions and socio-economic conditions of specific countries, which leads to the formation of hybrid political models. Contrary to early predictions about the convergence of political systems within the framework of the liberal democratic paradigm, we are witnessing a steady diversity of political regimes adapting global institutional patterns to the national context.

Modern States are forced to seek a balance between the demands of international integration and the preservation of national sovereignty, which is reflected in the specifics of the transformation of their political institutions. The crisis of traditional models of representative democracy is stimulating the search for new forms of civic participation and responsible governance, including the development of e-democracy institutions and deliberative practices.

Digitalization of political processes transforms the mechanisms of legitimization of power, communication between the state and society, creating both new opportunities for democratization and the risks of technological authoritarianism. The rise of populism and radical ideologies reflects a crisis of trust in traditional political elites and institutions, requiring a rethink of models of political representation. The success of political development is increasingly determined by the ability of States to adapt their institutions to the challenges of climate change, technological revolution and demographic transformations while maintaining social stability.

National models of political modernization demonstrate various combinations of traditional and innovative elements, while those systems that can organically integrate global practices into the national context turn out to be the most stable. The increasing interdependence of States in the context of global challenges requires the development of multi-level management systems, including supranational, national and subnational institutions. The future of political systems is linked to their ability to ensure not only effective governance and economic development, but also social justice, environmental sustainability and the protection of human rights in the face of increasing uncertainty of global development. Thus, the evolution of political systems is a continuous process of adaptation and innovation, in which those models that can harmoniously combine universal principles of effective governance with unique national traditions and values are successful.

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ЖАҺАНДЫҚ ТРЕНДТЕР МЕН ҰЛТТЫҚ ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕР КОНТЕКСТІНДЕГІ САЯСИ ЖҮЙЕЛЕРДІҢ ЭВОЛЮЦИЯСЫ

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Андатпа. Бұл мақалада әртүрлі мемлекеттік құрылымдардың ұлттық ерекшеліктерін ескере отырып, қазіргі заманғы жаһандық трендтер контекстіндегі саяси жүйелердің эволюциялық процестеріне кешенді талдау жасалды. Демократиялық, авторитарлық және гибридті режимдерді талдаудың компаративистік әдісін қолдану негізінде институционалдық бейімделудіңнегізгітраекторияларыменжаһандықсын-қатерлержағдайында саяси жүйелердің тұрақтылығын қамтамасыз ететін тетіктер анықталды. Зерттеуде ұлттық саяси жүйелердің дамуының бірегей векторларын анықтайтын жаһандық императивтер мен жергілікті әлеуметтік-мәдени контексттер арасындағы диалектикалық өзара әрекеттесуге ерекше назар аударылады. Зерттеу нәтижесінде XXI ғасырдың жаһандық сын-қатерлері жағдайында саяси жүйелердің эволюциялық процестерінің тиімділігіне ынталандырушы немесе тежеуші әсер ететін детерминанттар анықталды. Анықталған заңдылықтар жаһандық процестердің қарқындылығын ескере отырып, саяси жүйелердің одан әрі эволюциясының ықтимал сценарийлерін болжауға мүмкіндік береді. Зерттеу нәтижелері саяси институттар теориясы мен салыстырмалы саясаттанудың дамуына айтарлықтай үлес қосады. Әрі қарайғы зерттеулердің перспективалық бағыты саяси мәдениеттің ерекшелігі мен жаһандық сын-қатерлерге институционалдық бейімделудің тиімділігі арасындағы өзара байланысты терең талдау болып табылады.

Тірек сөздер: саяси жүйелер, жаһандық трендтер, ұлттық ерекшеліктер, институционалдық бейімделу, гибридті режимдер, цифрлық трансформация, мемлекеттік тұрақтылық, институттар эволюциясы

Қаржыландыру: Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің бағдарламалық-мақсатты қаржыландыру шеңберінде дайындалған (BR27195711 «Қазақстандағы әлеуметтік-саяси процестер (1980-2020): демократияландыру тәжірибесі және Әділетті мемлекеттің қалыптасуы»).

ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ СИСТЕМ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ГЛОБАЛЬНЫХ ТРЕНДОВ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ ОСОБЕННОСТЕЙ

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Аннотация. В данной статье осуществлен комплексный анализ эволюционных процессов политических систем в контексте современных глобальных трендов с учетом национальной специфики различных государственных образований. На основе применения компаративистского метода анализа демократических, авторитарных и гибридных режимов идентифицированы основные траектории институциональной адаптации и механизмы, обеспечивающие устойчивость политических систем в условиях глобальных вызовов. Особый акцент в исследовании сделан на диалектическом взаимодействии между глобальными императивами и локальными социокультурными контекстами, детерминирующими уникальные векторы развития национальных политических систем. В результате проведенного исследования выявлены детерминанты, оказывающие стимулирующее либо ингибирующее воздействие эффективность эволюционных процессов политических систем условиях глобальных вызовов XXI столетия. Выявленные закономерности позволяют прогнозировать потенциальные сценарии дальнейшей эволюции политических систем с учетом интенсификации глобальных процессов. Результаты исследования вносят существенный вклад в развитие теории политических институтов и сравнительной политологии. Перспективным направлением дальнейших исследований представляется углубленный анализ корреляции между спецификой политической культуры и эффективностью институциональных адаптаций к глобальным вызовам.

Ключевые слова: политические системы, глобальные тренды, национальные особенности, институциональная адаптация, гибридные режимы, цифровая трансформация, государственная устойчивость, эволюция институтов

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