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SOCIAL CONFLICTS IN THE POSTMODERN ERA AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE SPHERE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: ARCHETYPAL-VALUE APPROACH

Abstract. The article reveals the nature of social conflicts at the beginning of 21st century and the influence of values on social and political life of modern states. On the basis of theoretical background and empirical data, the author has analyzed the increasing role of nonmaterial values and characteristic changes of traditional value priorities in the postmodern era. Values as a social phenomenon are quite inert, thus, according to the value priorities of concrete nation, the specifics of national mentality, archetypes of public life of separate countries can be discussed. The issue of values has become particular important in Ukraine, when the defeat of ideals of the Orange Revolution became obvious. On the other hand, the events of the last three years influenced on the formation of values of social

and political activity especially among young generation of Ukrainians. The article represents archetypal-value approach to understand changes in features of social conflicts; based on World Value Survey and national public opinion monitoring, it illustrates the complex and long-lasting process of value changes that spreads over all spheres of socio-political life and obviously can be distinguished on the borders with neighbouring state-formations.

Keywords: social conflicts, archetype-value approach, social and political values, postmodern value changes, archetypes of socio-political life, public administration.

СОЦІАЛЬНІ КОНФЛІКТИ В ЕПОХУ ПОСТМОДЕРНУ ТА ЇХНІЙ ВПЛИВ НА ЦАРИНУ ПУБЛІЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ: АРХЕТИПНО-ЦІННІСНИЙ ПІДХІД

Анотація. Стаття присвячена дослідженню природи соціальних конфліктів початку ХХІ ст. і впливу цінностей на суспільно-політичне життя сучасних держав. На основі теоретичних досліджень та емпіричних даних авторка аналізує зростаюче значення нематеріальних цінностей та закономірності змін традиційних ціннісних пріоритетів періоду постмодерну. Цінності як суспільне явище є достатньо інертними, а тому, зважаючи на ціннісні пріоритети того чи іншого народу, можна говорити про особливості національного менталітету та архетипи суспільно-політичного життя окремих країн. В Україні питання цінностей набуло особливого значення, коли поразка ідеалів Помаранчевої революції стала очевидною. З іншого боку, події останніх трьох років вплинули на формування цінностей громадсько-політичної активності, особливо серед молодого покоління українців. Запропонована стаття репрезентує архетипно-ціннісний підхід для аналізу змін та особливостей соціальних конфліктів; на основі даних Всесвітнього опитування цінностей та вітчизняних соціологічних моніторинрів ілюструє складний і тривалий процес ціннісних змін, який охоплює усі сфери суспільно-політичного життя й особливо чітко проявляється на межі з сусідніми державними утвореннями.

Ключові слова: соціальні конфлікти, архетипно-ціннісний підхід, суспільно-політичні цінності, постмодерні зміни цінностей, архетипи суспільно-політичного життя, публічне управління.

СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ КОНФЛИКТЫ В ЭПОХУ ПОСТМОДЕРНА И ИХ ВЛИЯНИЕ НА ОБЛАСТИ ПУБЛИЧНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ: АРХЕТИПИЧЕСКИ-ЦЕННОСТНЫЙ ПОДХОД

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию природы социальных конфликтов начала ХХІ в. и влияния ценностей на общественно-политическую жизнь современных государств. На основе теоретических исследований и эмпирических данных автор анализирует возрастающее значение нематериальных ценностей и закономерности изменений традиционных ценностных приоритетов периода постмодерна. Ценности как общественное явление

достаточно инертны, а потому, несмотря на ценностные приоритеты того или иного народа, можно говорить об особенностях национального менталитета и архетипы общественно-политической жизни отдельных стран. В Украине вопрос ценностей приобрел особое значение, когда поражение идеалов Оранжевой революции стала очевидной. С другой стороны, события последних трех лет повлияли на формирование ценностей общественно-политической активности, особенно среди молодого поколения украинский. Предлагаемая статья представляет архетипно-ценностный подход для анализа изменений и особенностей социальных конфликтов; иллюстрирует, основываясь на данные Всемирного обзора ценностей и отечественных социологических мониторингов, сложный и длительный процесс ценностных изменений, который охватывает все сферы общественно-политической жизни и особенно четко проступает на границе с соседними государственными образованиями.

Ключевые слова: социальные конфликты, архетипно-ценностный подход, общественно-политические ценности, постмодернистские изменения ценностей, архетипы общественно-политической жизни, публичное управление.

Target setting. International terrorism and regional conflicts are the main challenges and threats for the entire civilized world of 21st century. The existing system of international relations proved to be ineffective in solving these global issues, and, by itself, has become one of the key factors for regional conflicts. Asymmetric nature of international relations, focusing on a permanent outflow of resources and capital from poor to rich countries [7, p. 24], in some way, produced socioeconomic background for redistribution conflict over resources and capital. The process of universalizing value principles, oriented towards transition from the traditional value system of national communities to values of Western civilization (so-called westernization) in the second half of the 20th century, caused both, global and local cultural and ideological conflict between liberal

values of individual self-expression and traditional values of individual communities.

New challenges to state sovereignty and security in Ukrainian contemporary reality are characterized: first of all, by layering Ukrainian traditional (archetypical), post-Soviet (post-colonial) and postmodern trends; second, by transformation at the level of external public-administrative forms and the level of worldview principles, social and behavioural norms, value orientations in society; third, by value changes and changes in structure of institutions, which are not linear, but dual by the nature, can increase democracy or strengthen authoritarianism, decrease of social and political activity; fourth, by crisis of fundamental principles in governing international relations, security, regional and international co-operation, including main principles set out

in the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE (1975), based on the “material” by the nature principles of territorial integrity of states and inviolability of national frontiers [3, p. 96–97].

Analysis of recent research and publications. The global characteristics of social conflicts and radical value changes, which also have influenced on the sphere of public administration, are the subject of study of such the outstanding scholars as D. Acemoğlu, Z. Bauman, U. Beck, Z. Brzeziński, M. Castells, F. Fukuyama, Jü. Habermas, A. Giddens, H. Klages, M. Maffesoli, S. Moscovici, C. Pollitt, J. Robinson, M. Rokeach, P. Sorokin, A. Toffler, S. Verba, I. Wallerstein and others. Values influence on such social and psychological phenomena as conflict or consensus, are defined by such researchers as R. Dahrendorf, K. Horney, R. Inglehart, R. Putnam, Ch. Taylor, Sh. Schwartz and others. Studies of founders and followers of Ukrainian school of archetypes (E. Afonin, V. Bakumenko, O. Bandurka, T. Bielska, O. Donchenko, A. Martynov, M. Piren, O. Sushyj, O. Radchenko and others) should be mentioned among the publications on theoretical and practical issues of links between global challenges, principles of decision-making in public administration and national psychosocial features. For identifying the priority of values, first Ukrainian opinion polls had been organized by Ukrainian Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine in autumn 1991, before the national referendum of 1 December 1991. For the purpose to analyze Ukrainians’ changing value priorities, empirical data, theoretical and methodological conclusions, represented

in O. Balakiryeva’s, Ju. Golovakha’s, O. Goncharenko’s, S. Hayduchenko’s, Ja. Hrycak’s, A. Kolodii’s, O. Kondrashov’s, N. Lypovska’s, V. Martynenko’s, I. Pys’mennyj’s, A. Ruchka’s publications and others were reviewed in the article. Despite all the publications on the thesis of social conflicts in the post-modern society and their impact on the sphere of public administration, this problem has still lack sufficient understanding within Ukrainian school of archetypes and according to the archetypal-value approach.

The purpose of the article is to carry out the contemporary connection and influence of archetypal-value changes over the nature of social conflicts and the sphere of public administration.

The statement of basic materials. Objective public, cultural and civilisation “shifts” indicate the final withdrawal of Western society from worldview principles of the modern era, when an individual as a personality was formed first of all within social identity and accepted himself within “we-community”, its collective values [5, p. 95]. In the postmodern age, when collective identities give up the leading role to individual, decisive influence of psychological, that forms social structures and institutions, on social processes has become more evident [23]. Social and cultural transformations in the postmodern era as “relatively independent and quite divisive process of changing in culture, norms, values, mentality, consciousness, worldview both of individual and collective subjects” [29, p. 12] led to the appearance of societal identity. On the contrary to social identity, which is focused on collective modes of “mine” and “distant”, societal identity

is concentrated on nonmaterial cultural values, in terms of individual identification with her/his own integrity and continuity of own changes” [2, p. 267]. In this context, social and political values can be considered as specific links between social and mental, individual and collective, rational and emotional, social and public (Figure 1).

The archetypal-value approach is able to determine the importance of unconscious in choice of value priorities, in shaping social institutions and public initiatives, and demonstrates influence of unconscious on the arise of social conflicts and their solving. A term “archetype” by Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), Swiss psychiatrist and founder of the theory of collective unconscious, refers to “an unconscious content that is altered by becoming conscious and by being perceived, and it takes its colour from the individual consciousness in which it happens to appear [17, p. 5]... Archetypes are complexes of experience that come upon us like fate, and their effects are felt in our most personal life” [17, p. 30]. According to the founders of Ukrainian school of archetypes, ar-

chetype is a sign of societal psyche and can be considered as an under-personal factor of psychosocial evolution and as a form of the unconscious that is often repeated in the history. Therefore the analysis of archetypes is the method of distinguishing mentality, prehistory and possible ways of development for nationality, nation or state [3, p. 38]. This is possible to measure and empirically examine national characteristics of social and political archetypes, which in symbolic forms are transmitted through myths, stories, art and literature, by consideration of specific value dominants in national community.

Values as a social phenomenon join people in a group and affect on psychosocial motivation and behaviour, personal choice to identify oneself with national, social and other kind of communities; define the aim of society as a unity. On the one hand, the system of value orientations determines meaningful (semantic) component of individual point of view and lies the basis for one’s relation to the world, the others, her/ himself [13, p. 94]. On the other hand, every society, nation, state

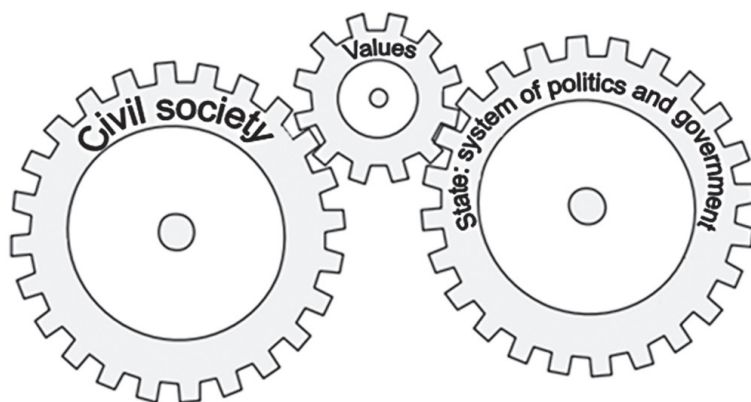


Figure 1. Values as a Mechanism of Interaction between Civil Society and State [27, p. 40]

has its own set of social values, determined not only by the current political, social and economic conditions, but, perhaps, above all, by specific “cultural code”, history of positioning itself as a community, traditional relationships between its’ members and with the other groups. Political values as essential components of political culture and political consciousness are the ideas, reflecting position to the processes of political life, satisfaction or dissatisfaction of social needs, interests and expectations, which are important for people’s social activity. The same as social values political ones are formed in specific historical conditions of improvement of the society, needs and interests of the people, e place of the member and the whole communities in the certain economic, social and political relations. “However, – agues Ukrainian researcher A. Cherednychenko – not always values that formed on the background of political practices of nations in other countries, are functional in Ukrainian society and acceptable by its’ population. Thoughtless and uncritical adopting of political values, attempt to implement them in the culture of Ukrainian nation can’t be considered as positive practice” [8, p. 719]. Their functionality depends on the depth of the expectance by the representatives the ideals and objectives, principles and norms of socio-political life, public and political traditions and symbols, patterns of socio-political behaviour and emotional resonance with them [8].

Modern value theories, when employing empirical methods used in neuroscience, psychology, sociology and economics, try to explain the nature of values and their hierarchy, to under-

stand the conditions and reasons for holding certain beliefs and identifying himself/herself with certain public and political values. American sociologist R. Inglehart in important for the future researches book “The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics” (1977) stresses on two significant value transformations, which took place during 1950–70’s in countries with stable democracies, such as: moving from vital to post-material values; “shift” from traditional values of security to self-expression values, sufficient public interest and participation in political decision-making [16, p. 4–5].

The hypothesis that due to the industrialization the world has been changing, so the values had been transformed repeatedly, was confirmed empirically by European Values Study and World Values Survey, which have been carried out since 1981, according to the methodology, proposed by R. Inglehart and Israeli social psychologist Sh. Schwartz [30]. Survey, which now covers now 90 % of the world population, among others, confirmed formation of the new generation in 1950–1970’s that in common represents post-material values, looks for maximal self-expression; is sceptical of the government, religion and ideologies; is liable to trust democratic institutions, but not individuals; is sensitive to the environment and tolerant of deviant lifestyles (for example, homosexuals) [15]. The main conclusion of the results of the survey is that the welfare of the population leads to democratization and modernization of social lifestyle.

At the end of 20th – beginning of 21th centuries, using further results of

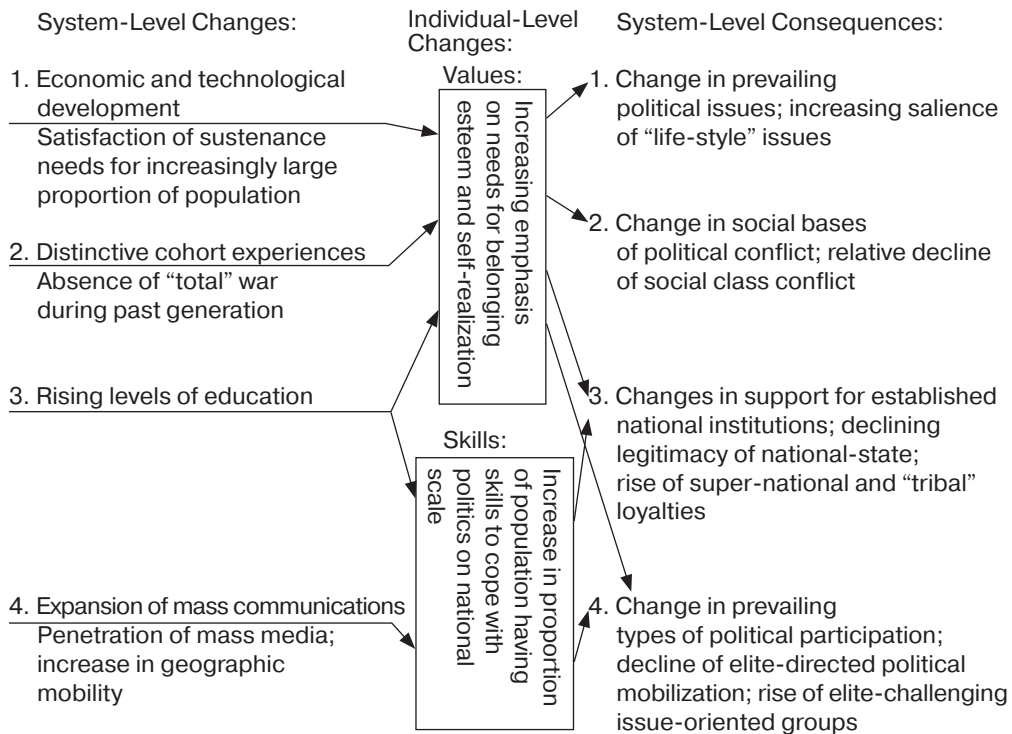


Figure 2. The Processes of Social and Political Values Changes, R. Inglehart (1977) [16, p. 5]

World Values Survey (1995) for diagnosis of post-material priorities of Americans, Harvard professor of sociology R. Putnam in book “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community”(2000), figuratively speaking, confirms that Americans of 21st century, not like generation of 1950–1970’s, prefer to play alone, withdrawing from public awareness, even if the game is a priori a group one [25]. This way, it’s not only about the change of civic participation of Americans, but also about a new type of social and political links between members of organizations in which their ties are to common symbols, common leaders and perhaps common ideals, but not to each other [25, p. 52]. During the last quarter of the 20th century American soci-

ety experienced a sharp refuse, not only from social and political activity, but also from traditional leisure time with family and friends.

R. Putnam’s scientific achievements gained wide recognition after publication of his book “Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy” (1994), where he evaluates the differences in successful regional government reforms in Northern-Central Italy and their failed implementation in Southern Italy since 1970. At the example of the differences in un/successful regional government reforms the author offers empirical evidence for the importance of social capital and its’ high level of correlation with historical traditions of civic activity and engagement (turnout in elections,

participation in associations, interest in local affairs etc.). In his book “Bowling Alone...” R. Putnam notices that physical capital refers to mechanical tools, human capital – to individual skills (for example, level of education – O. K.), and social capital – to social networks and norms of cooperation and trust, which exist between individuals and are based on these relations [25, p. 19]. Illuminating the importance of social capital for economic welfare, the author indicates not only such positive consequences as mutual support, cooperation, trust, institutional effectiveness, but also negative manifestations of social capital – sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption [25, p. 22].

Observations of well-known researcher on social capital about Americans’ refuse to attend different public meetings that decreased nearly by a

half between 1973 and 1994 caused widespread concern not only among scientists [28], but also among other social groups in the United States. The increase of students’ volunteering observed in the mid-1990s, according to Putnam, have been largely an effect of school-graduation policy of these years when social activity raised chances for entrance US colleges. Instead, further studies showed that terror attacks in 11 September 2001 had direct influence on young Americans’ interest in public life of their country (Figure 3). According to the surveys between 1966 and 2008 the share of those aged 18 to 29, who affirmed complete agreement with the claim that “it’s my duty as a citizen to always vote”, rose by almost 50 percent after the 9/11 terror attacks, while during the same period, the comparable rate among those older than 30 stayed flat [28, p. 11].

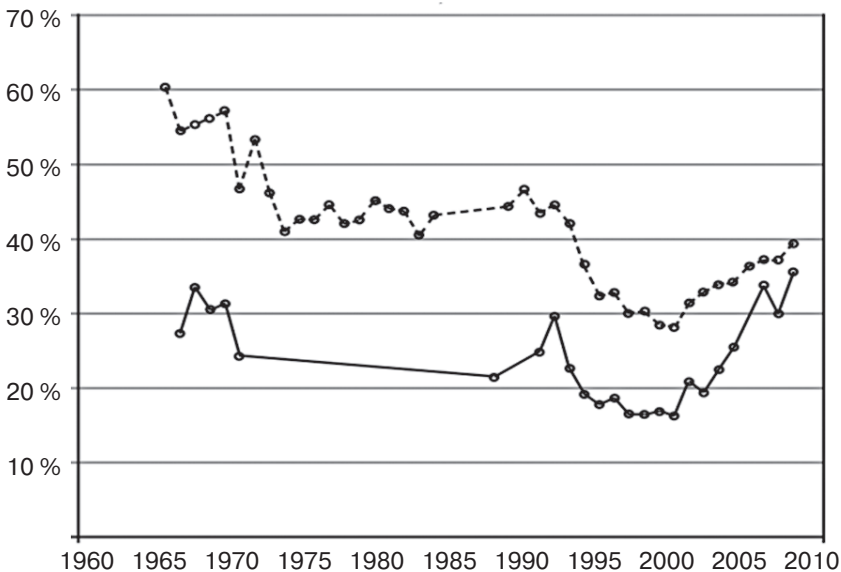


Figure 3. Interest in Politics among American College Freshmen, 1966–2008 [28, p. 11]

--- % of respondents, who say keeping up to date with political affairs is “very important”;
 ----- % of respondents, who discussed politics in the last year

In his latest book “Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis” (2015) R. Putnam states the gradual loss of key value-semantic component of American dream – equal opportunities for successful self-expression regardless of social background of a person. In other words, Harvard sociologist actualizes the problem of upward mobility and stresses on gaping disparities for children from wealthy families and children from the most disadvantaged groups of American society. In recent decades, overall preparation and admission rate for US colleges increased, though the gap between students from rich and poor families in finishing college increased from 39 % to 51 % during 1980–2000’s [26, p. 190]. Negative trend is also reflected in the fact that youth from rich families, finishing school with middle or low-scoring, more likely will get a college degree, then poor teenagers with high test scores. Such situation involves the threat of potential conflicts inside young generation of Americans. According R. Putnam, to avoid conflicts connected with increasing inequality and value-semantic gap between social groups government should start investment to implementing preventive public programs.

The issue of values has become particular important in Ukraine, when the defeat of ideals of the Orange Revolution became obvious. “The culmination of this discourse, – says Lviv historian Ja. Hrycak, – was Euromaidan, not accidentally called Revolution of Dignity or revolution of values” [15]. In this context, it is useful to analyze the tendency to answer one of the World Values Survey questions: How interested would you say you are in politics? Dur-

ing two decades at the end of 20th–21th centuries the share of interest in political life in most of Western European countries significantly has fallen to 30–50 % of a total population. According to the data of entire survey period the exception was only in Germany, where in the East German population had shown the maximum rate of interest in politics during German reunification period. After 1990, the rates of German interest in politics fell some 20 %, but still are the highest among all the European Union member-countries and remains close to the US rates. Table 1 presents summary data for the representative states to compare them with the results of Ukraine surveys between 1990 and 2004 [7, p. 156] and between 2011 and 2013 [31].

During the dissolution of the Soviet Union Baltic countries (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) had showed extremely high interest in political life, but further the rates became close to the most of the EU states. In Ukraine during 1995–2000 the interest in politics had been in the middle rate, compared with the European average rates, but lower than in neighbouring Belarus and Poland. Compared to the first years of Independence the overall trend shows a significant disappointment of Ukrainians in politics of the country. Ukrainians had been interested in political life 6–7 percent more than Russians in 1995–2000, but in 2011 the rates of both of the countries were the same. The rate of interest in politics also differs by age and gender. According to World Values Survey in Ukraine among 1500 respondents 35 % of men and 31 % of women were interested in politics in 2011. The share of interest in

**Rate of Interest in Politics in Ukraine and Representative States,
World Values Survey, 1990–2013**

Country	1990, %	1995, %	2000, %	Change in 10 years, %	2011/13, %	Change in 10 years, %
Belorussia		56	46	-10	41	-5
Estonia	60	49		-11	37	-12
Latvia	79	52		-27		
Lithuania	74	44	46	-28		
Germany (West)	69	78	59	-10	62	-1
Germany (East)	84	76	67	-17		
Poland	49	42	42	-7	42	0
Russian Fed.	53	35	39	-14	33	-6
USA	61	63	65	4	59	-5
Ukraine		41	42	1	33	-9

political life among those aged younger than 30 and aged 30 to 39 was almost the same in both groups – about 25 %. The highest rate was among those older than 50 years [31].

Youth in Ukraine is quite heterogeneous social group in age, education level, as well as in social and political values. In the recent years, a steady depopulation has been obvious in almost every age group, but maximum rate of the decrease is among youth people than among other age groups. According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine in 2011–2016 the rate of young people those aged 14 to 34 has decreased from 30,4 % to 27,8 % of a total population. In the recent years, it has been observed considerable “aging” of young people by elderly group aged 30 to 34 that at the beginning of 2016 recorded 3,5 million (Figure 4). At the same year the group aged 25 to 29 constituted about 3,4 million people. The five-year age group from 20 to 24 – 2,6 million, teenagers aged from 15 to 19 – almost 2 million. For the last two years

one of the leading external causes of the men deaths aged from 18 to 34 has been “damage as a result of military action”, which is connected with the antiterrorist operation (ATO) on the territory of Luhansk and Donetsk regions (oblasts) under control of Russian military forces and pro-Russian separatists. These negative trends influence on the change of value priorities of youth and the whole population of Ukraine.

According to the Survey “Youth of Ukraine–2015”, the first priority for teenagers aged 14 to 19 is personal education – 43 %, while for the respondent group aged 20 to 24 the same indicator is 12 % and for group aged 25 to 34 – 5 %. Defining main priority in their life, respondents aged 14 to 34 named first of all giving birth to children, their upbringing and education – 48 % [32, p. 10]. According to the all-Ukrainian Survey “Values of Ukrainian Youth–2016”, conducted by Centre of independent sociological research “OMEGA” for Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine, first of all young people are worried

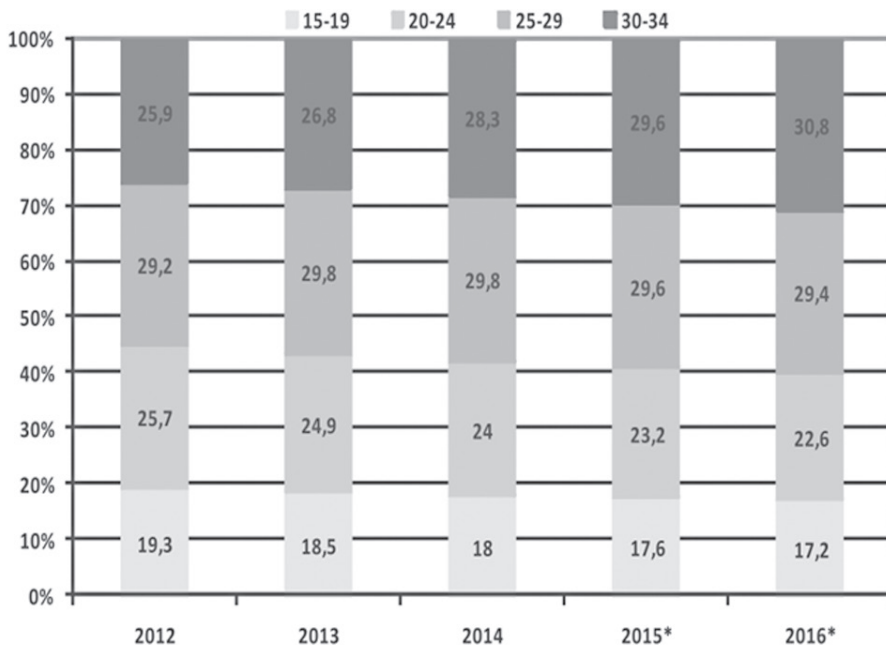


Figure 4. Distribution of young people aged 15–34 in Ukraine, divided into five age groups, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2012–2016, % [9, p. 11]

* The data do not include the temporarily occupied territory of Crimea and Sevastopol, and part of the ATO zone.

about economical situation in the country – 63,3 %, general decrease in living standards – 60 % and employment – 52 %, corruption and incompetence of government – 50,5 %, and also military actions in East of Ukraine – 49,2 % [10, p. 11]. On the other hand, the events of the past three years influenced on sharing among young Ukrainians social and political activity values. According to the data of sociological monitoring in 2009–2014, conducted by Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, such value priorities as national independence and democracy of Ukraine, political participation etc. had shown the increase of the rates among young people aged from 18 to 35 [6]. Young people from the elderly groups and those who live in South and North Ukraine are more eager to fight against corruption

personally than youth from other regions of the country. The share of eagerness to fight against corruption personally among young people is 69,6 % [10, p. 70–72]. According to the data of sociological monitoring, conducted by Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, in the same period significant positive rate changes among the four groups of value priorities (security, self-realization, social comfort, democracy) had happened in the group of public values, while the dynamic of the rate security values had showed decrease trend (Table 2).

According to the research “Social and Cultural Changes in Process of Modernization of Ukraine Economy”, conducted by Institute of Economics and Forecasting of NAS of Ukraine, during 2002–2015 years increasing of

Table 2

**Dynamics of unified value groups among population of Ukraine and Ukrainian youth
(weighted average scores according to the five-point rating scale)**

Unified value group	1991	2003	2016	2009	2012	2014
	Population			Youth		
Security & Safety (vital values or basic human values)	4,74	4,80	4,74	4,75	4,66	4,62**
Self-realization (self-expression values)	4,04	3,82	3,97	4,19	4,02	4,07*
Social comfort (pro-social values)	3,81	4,09	4,08*	3,65	3,77	3,88*
Democracy (democratic political and civic values)	3,25	3,56	3,81*	3,48	3,58	3,82**

Note: statistically significant differences of weighted average scores are shown between 2009 and 2014 (* – on the rate 5%, ** – on the rate 1 %).

psychosocial feature “extroversion”, which influences on the values of self-expression, had been particularly obvious during 2002–2006 years (increased 1,7 times) and was going further just before and after the Revolution of Dignity and increased 1,1 times growth in March 2014 – December 2015 [4]. In reverse order during 2016 general inversion process had been increasing.

In the bestseller of New York Times and Wall Street Journal “Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty” (2012), Turkish-American economist D. Acemoglu and British political scientist A. Robinson argue that nations are more successful when the main values of public life are equal economic and political rights for every citizen who maintains freedom of action, unlimited by corruption of political elite [1]. “Conflict over scarce resources, income and power, translates into conflict over the rules of the game, the economic institutions, which will determine the economic activities and who will benefit from them... – Acemoglu and Robinson support their thesis. – Who the winners of this conflict are has fundamental implications

for a nation’s economic trajectory. If the groups standing against growth are the winners, they can successfully block economic growth, and the economy will stagnate” [1, p. 86]. “Return” in Ukrainian indices of post-material values is caused by significant reduce of quality of life in Ukraine, ineffective reforms and ongoing antiterrorist operation in the East of Ukraine. The ranking of Prosperity Index [20] measures a broad set of metrics covering such areas as countries’ economic quality, business environment, governance, education, health, safety, personal freedom, social capital. Thus, according to the ranking of Prosperity Index, if to compare 2014 and 2015 years Ukraine move down 7 ranks to 70th place of 142th. In the same ranking Ukraine move down to 107th of 149 countries in 2016 and it is the lowest ranked European country in the Prosperity Index [21].

The surveys conducted by Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies NAS of Ukraine have shown striking differences in Ukrainian perceptions of the resources used for the practical solution of social conflicts in Ukraine and in countries of the Western world (Ta-

Table 3

Integrated Ukraine Prosperity Index, 2012–2016, Legatum Institute [19–25]

Sub-index	Rank in 2012, N = 142	Rank in 2014, N = 142	Rank in 2015, N = 142	Rank in 2016*, N = 149
Economy	110	70	127	85
Entrepreneurship & Opportunity	64	57	52	97
Governance	121	121	120	128
Education	29	42	37	45
Health	69	77	79	111
Security & Safety,	56	54	54	134
Personal Freedom	108	103	91	93
Social Capital	58	40	41	135
Natural Environment*				112
Rank on the Prosperity Index	71	63	70	106 / 107**

* The data do not include the temporarily occupied territory of Crimea and Sevastopol, and part of the ATO zone.

** The data include natural environment sub-index, added in 2016.

ble 4) [11, p. 15]. According to Ukrainian opinion polls significant differences between the importance of intellect and skills to achieve high social status in Ukraine (36,6 %) and in countries of the Western world (60,1 %) are compensated by powerful family (49,2 %) and friends (28,5 %), ability sometimes to bypass the law (29,2 %). However, the increase in the weight of such resources as intellect and education in Ukraine is observed among Ukrainians. The share of “high intellect” moves from 6th place in 2012 to 2nd in 2016, staying flat the 1st for powerful family. The rate of the importance of education in Ukraine rose from 8th place to 5th in 2016, removing ability sometimes to bypass the law, typical for corrupt society, from 5th to 7th place in 2016. Positive changes are observed in perception of Ukrainians such resources to achieve high social status in Ukraine as intellect, skills, education and slight

decrease of importance of ability sometimes to bypass the law in the last years, but it is not correlated with the decrease of the share of powerful family and friends, which stayed flat or even increased as compare to the surveys in 2012.

The results also have shown considerable regional and educational group differences in answers of respondents. The increase of such resources as high level of intellect and good education remains correlated with educational level of respondents. The higher is the level of the respondent’s education the more she or he considers to be important such resources as high intelligence and good education. The rates of those two recourses in Ukraine are 34,4 % and 26,6 % among responders with primary, secondary incomplete and complete education. The rates of the same two recourses among responders with vocational education — 32,5 % and

Table 4

Dynamics of respondents' answers to the question "Which of the following do you think is the most important issue to achieve for the person's high social status in our country and in countries of the Western world?"

Answer types	In Ukraine, %			In countries of the Western world, %		
	2009, N = 1789	2012, N = 1800	2016*, N = 1800	2009, N = 1789	2012, N = 1800	2016*, N = 1800
High Intellect and Skills	30,3	31,8	36,6	56,1	60,8	60,1
Good Health	27,6	38,3	35,1	23,0	30,8	30,2
Attractive Appearance	11,1	14,5	13,6	9,7	12,1	11,6
Willingness to Take Risks	18,6	16,0	21,0	18,3	19,7	16,8
Ability to Sometimes to Bypass the Law	33,1	33,1	29,2	5,3	5,5	4,7
Honesty, Integrity	11,0	15,9	15,4	18,3	24,7	31,3
Selfishness, Individualism	12,0	13,7	13,4	6,1	8,6	6,2
Readiness to Help People	10,2	14,5	13,1	8,1	12,8	16,6
Birth in Family of High Social Status	37,9	38,6	33,9	24,2	22,5	14,9
Powerful Family	51,1	46,5	49,2	12,8	10,5	9,9
Powerful Friends	27,0	28,4	28,5	7,3	6,9	5,5
Knowledge of Foreign Languages	12,8	17,6	21,1	22,6	29,8	30,6
Good education	25,8	26,4	28,7	49,0	48,4	52,2
Eagerness and Ability to Make People Feel Good	6,1	9,6	7,3	5,2	8,6	10,0
Etiquette, Good Manners	4,8	7,9	6,6	11,2	19,4	15,4
Ability to Convince, Eloquence	12,3	11,8	11,9	13,7	13,3	13,0
Political Awareness	7,0	8,0	5,1	9,9	13,5	8,9
Ability to Manage Money	14,4	17,8	13,4	23,7	24,1	20,9
Rich Parents	6,5	37,5	28,3	15,5	10,0	6,2
Difficult to Answer	7,7	7,1	7,1	15,0	12,5	11,9

Note: respondents could mark up to five answers

* The data do not include answers of Ukrainians, living in the temporarily occupied territory of Crimea and Sevastopol, and part of the ATO zone.

27,5 %; among those with incomplete and complete high education the importance of a high intellect and skills is 42,5 %, education – 31,3 % [11, p. 16]. Respondents with high education are less likely to rely on powerful friends (46,8 %) and family (27,9 %), but the rate of their answers on the importance of ability to sometimes to bypass the law is the highest (31,0 %), if to compare with two other groups, thus the share of the group with primary, incomplete and complete secondary education is 22,9 % and of the group with vocational education – 30,3 % [11, p. 16]. From the point of view of archetypal-value approach, regional features also had showed out meaningful phenomena: the lowest rates of ability to sometimes to bypass the law, powerful family and friends are in Central and South Ukraine, the highest – in West and East Ukraine [11, p. 18].

According to Ukrainian opinion polls the influence of political awareness on high social status in our country and in countries of the Western world decreased in 2016, which can be explained by the extremely unsteady situation and ambiguous reviews of the events not only in Ukraine but also in the whole world [11, p. 15]. The Oxford Dictionaries named post-truth “the word of 2016 year”, which among oth-

ers does have to capture public’s mood and preoccupations [24]. In era of post-truth politics, where populist upheavals, emotional and stereotype manipulation mean more than objective facts, it is particularly difficult to evaluate adequately the reliability of information, obtained from contemporary media websites and social networks. While, according to the last wave of monitoring survey “Ukrainian society” conducted by Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, respondents’ answers to the question “how interested would you say you are in politics?” confirmed relatively high rate of Ukrainians’ political awareness during the whole period of Ukrainian Independence (Table 5). As part of the survey the answers to the question “which country’s traditions, values and behavioural norms are the closest to you?” Ukrainians responded as follows: countries of Western Europe – 33 %; East Slavic countries – 45 %, don’t know – 22 %.

As reported by French sociologist Michel Maffesoli, remarkable aversion to politics, coursed by unsatisfied security and safety values, finds its concentrated expression in “irresponsibility” of the masses, but their indifference to “high politics” seems to be passivity only according to modern era worldview. In fact, this situation reflects not

Table 5

Interest in Politics among Ukrainians in Regional Peculiarities

27.07.2016*, % N = 1802	West Ukraine	Central Ukraine	South Ukraine	East Ukraine	Total
Not at all interested	25,2	26,0	21,2	28,4	26,1
Somewhat interested	59,7	59,6	64,8	62,0	60,9
Very interested	15,1	14,4	14,0	9,6	13,0

* The data do not include answers of Ukrainians, living in the temporarily occupied territory of Crimea and Sevastopol, and part of the ATO zone.

the “end of the social”, but dynamic changes in public life, the improvement of postmodern sociality, which is structured in “culture of sentiments”. This indifference to “high politics” allows individuals to focus their energies on the “here and now” existential experience, to search for the meaning in something that is close, at the community level, in archetypal social and political practices [26].

Conclusions. Dynamic changes, arising in the postmodern age, are characterized in global level by transformation of traditional values and senses both in private and in public spheres. By their nature, value is quite inert, thus, according to the value priorities of concrete nation, the specifics of national mentality, archetypes of socio-political life in separate countries can be discussed. Social and cultural conditions of human life in 21st century lead on the transformation of state functions in their traditional meaning and rise up the problem of maintaining sustainable centre, which is able to provide organized processes in society and consolidate it at the institutional and social values levels in the situation of instability and widespread conflicts, informational wars, loss of confidence in international organizations. The problem of socio-political value changes is particularly sharp at the level of rethinking Ukrainian features of transformation processes.

After the Declaration of Independence the dilemma of choosing own value-semantic orientations arose before Ukrainian society. One part of the society intended to transfer to Ukrainian archetypes of socio-political life liberal values of countries with sustain-

able democracy, the other – to preserve paternalistic values, formed in period of the colonial past. In Ukrainian modern history there were two attempts to resolve social and political conflicts between the government and civil society by protest activity. But still the revolutionary potential of destruction was not used proper to change the post-colonial state and political system, to form political and economic institutions, rooted on archetypes and capable to minimize political and domestic corruption.

The results of the surveys have shown that in 2004 and in 2014 considerable group of young people, who are ready to act for better future, not only on survival value level, has grown up in Ukraine [11]. Currently, there is intense confrontation between supporters of paternalistic value and liberal-democratic values. In the current stage of the state system reforms and foundation of new institutions of public administration it is important to take into account those values and semantic features, which the majority of society identifies with. Eventually, the system reforms will work out only if public (including governmental) institutions and subjects of public life will support such changes.

The important indicator of state democracy is readiness for public discussion and taking in consideration public opinion. Public opinion forms on the basis of political values, attitudes, or attitude about policy in general and other aspects of public life, including voting patterns and other political behaviour of citizens [12, p. 1027].

The decrease in indicators of public activity and volunteering in Ukraine, unwillingness to participate in social

and political life in the last two year can be considered as “post-revolutionary syndrome” of unrealized beliefs for positive change and inefficiency of social lifts (vertical mobility), which after the Revolution of Dignity had to ensure the come of sufficient number of educated professionals from those Ukrainians, who are ready to fight for establishing in their places legal “rules of the game” and to control the relevant government institutions. However, the highest rates of corruption in opinions of Ukrainians in East and West Ukraine indicate compound and long-lasting process in value changes, which include all spheres of public life and can be clearly identified on the borders with neighbouring (European, Polish, Russian etc.) archetypes of socio-political life.

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