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## FEATURES OF SOCIALIZATION AND ITS STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN UKRAINE UNDER RUSSIA'S AGGRESSION IN UKRAINE

*Studies on the nature and content of socialization in Ukraine before the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation – both in theory and in practice – have shown that these processes have certain characteristic features that did not fully contribute to economic modernization and economic management. We may speak about a relatively high level of governance gap and a relatively low level of individualism against the background of a low level of trust in the authorities and several other features. In the 2022–2023 war, significant changes occurred in people's behaviour and attitude to the authorities, interpersonal trust, etc. This article presents the results of interdisciplinary studies on the changes in the process of socialization that took place in Ukraine after the beginning of full-scale Russian aggression. In particular, the article describes the resocialization of Ukraine's population and analyses how it can contribute to its post-war recovery. The author highlights the guidelines and provides recommendations on promoting positive tendencies via the government's regulative projects and decisions within economic and social policies. The latter should involve economic recovery and facilitate a particular shift in people's attitude from exteriorization towards self-realization in the fight against poverty and economic growth.*

**Keywords:** internalization, peculiarities of socialization, resocialization, institutions of socialization, governance gap, individualism-collectivism, social quality.

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## ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СОЦІАЛІЗАЦІЇ ТА ЇЇ СТРУКТУРНОЇ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНІ В УМОВАХ АГРЕСІЇ РОСІЇ ПРОТИ УКРАЇНИ

*Дослідження характеру та змісту процесів соціалізації в Україні до повномасштабного вторгнення Росії – як у сфері теорії, так і у царині практики – засвідчили, що ці процеси мають певні особливості, які не повною мірою сприяли модернізаційним змінам в економіці та системі управління нею. Зокрема, мова може йти про порівняно високий рівень дистанції влади та порівняно низький рівень індивідуалізму на фоні невисокого рівня довіри до влади та ряд інших. В умовах війни 2022–2023 рр. відбуваються суттєві зміни як в поведінці населення, так і в його ставленні до влади, у сфері міжособистісної довіри тощо. У цій статті викладено результати міждисциплінарного характеру досліджень змін у процесах соціалізації, які відбулися в Україні після початку повномасштабної російської агресії. Зокрема, зауважено про процеси ресоціалізації населення і проаналізовано, як вони можуть посприяти відновленню*

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країни у повосенний період. Для досягнення позитивних результатів у статті виокремлено напрями та надано рекомендації, як задіяти позитивні зміни у стратегічних рішеннях та відповідних регуляторних документах та імплементувати відповідні процеси змін під час розроблення економічної та соціальної політики країни. Остання має передбачати не тільки відбудову економіки, але й сприяти зміні екстеріоризаційної діяльності населення в напрямі підвищення ступеня своєї самореалізації, зокрема для боротьби з бідністю та забезпечення економічного зростання України, на основі динаміки якого населення формує свої оцінки щодо дій влади та задоволеності життям.

**Ключові слова:** інтеріоризація, особливості соціалізації, ресоціалізація, інститути соціалізації, дистанція влади, індивідуалізм-колективізм, соціальна якість.

Due to the war and loss of potential – due to the occupation of territories and the destruction of a large part of the production base and infrastructure, housing stock, and communication systems – Ukraine is now losing its so-called resilience. Therefore, this country's functioning and development largely depend on foreign economic, financial, and – especially important – military aid. The losses of Ukraine's potential are further aggravated by the physical losses of the population because of hostilities and the general reduction of this country's human potential – due to increased psychological stress and damage associated with migration, diseases, changing forms and content of employment, and the inability to find a job according to abilities and profession. Ukrainians often must master new activities, including those in which they are low-skilled or unskilled, while gradually losing their skills previously acquired during their professional careers. All this creates new realities for the further functioning of the economy and its military sphere, as well as new conditions for adapting the population and their working potential to further activities and development. These new realities include strengthening nationally rooted resilience, whose content and nature, according to A.A. Hrytsenko's article, should be considered a local response to global changes [1], contributing to our capacities to overcome the existing and new challenges.

Under such new economic and military realities, Ukrainian nationally rooted resilience is further strengthening to overcome the existing and new challenges. The unique challenges are changing the nature and content of socialization, including secondary socialization, which, during the post-war economic recovery and further economic and social evolution, will be reformatted and *affect the development* of individuals and society in general.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyse the changes in the socialization processes that took place in Ukraine after the beginning of full-scale Russian aggression, to identify their positive effect in the processes of post-war recovery of our country, and to propose recommendations for involving these processes during the creation development of Ukraine's economic and social policy, aimed both at rebuilding the economy and to increase the degree of self-realization of the population.

**Methodological origins of research.** A nationally rooted economic sustainability can be considered such that not only emerges but also – most importantly – successfully develops in the economy, relying primarily on the national cultural tradition, which undergoes a certain major re-socialization overlapping the previous social pattern.

In turn, the institutionalization of the nation's cultural core regulates the behaviour of individuals and streamlines their interaction [2] and development since culture is the foundation of human economic activity [3, p. 8–29] that promotes consistent personal re-socialization ranges from the assimilation of survival values to self-expression. According to Inglehart, this phenomenon is characteristic of the population of rich countries, who have achieved the most tremendous success in such a transformation. In addition to the above, nationally rooted sustainability involves a consistent shift from exogenous dependences towards more significant interaction, so a nationally embedded development is predominantly endogenously oriented.

An individual internalises knowledge, experience, skills, and habits through personal socialization in the environment. So, there is every reason to consider the individual's socialization as the development of the individual and society in general. After all, the main starting point in analysing societal development as "... a type of social system that as a system reaches the highest level of self-sufficiency [4] in relation to the surrounding environment" is the development of the individual and his activities in society.

Thanks to the individual's activities in the environment, the development of such significant human activities as the organism, personality, and social and cultural systems occurs. At the same time, the individual's free and fruitful activities become the main engine of development when there is a free exchange of goods and gifts and words [5]. The latter is achieved in freedom, a sufficient condition for successful growth. In contrast, in our opinion, the necessary conditions include the individual's socialization due to the internalization of social knowledge. Internalising the individual's knowledge takes place throughout life (in particular, thanks to re-socialization). At the same time, it acquires the character of social choice to satisfy public and personal interests. At the same time, socialization can become a factor of social losses for social choice – in the case of the individual's orientation exclusively to the satisfaction of personal or group interests, for example, in the case of monopoly, since it is well-known that sufficiently motivated personal gain can pose a threat and lead to social losses, first for society, and later for the individual. In addition, the internalization of knowledge may even have a criminal character – if the individual is "socialized" according to the rules of criminal groups.

It should be noted that in a digital society, there is also the so-called "broken socialization", which is characterized by the internalization of knowledge by the individual through digitalization, which aims to achieve other actors' goals. In this case, digitalization contributes to the *separation* of the individual from society since it violates the Smithian integrity between the feelings of the acting person and those of an outside observer. Since the social is formed due to the latter's unity, digitalization violates this social integrity because, during socialization in a digital society, the individual is separated from the social, which is why "broken socialization" occurs.

The internalization of the personality in the digital dimension has a mediated nature, it occurs through digital interaction and perception of reality with the help of algorithms, resulting in the formation of the individual's internal reality, where the so-called "mother tongue" of live communication is absent, which produces limitation. As a result of such socialization of an individual in society, a phenomenon will arise whose identity will be

unclear to the extent that the algorithm of internalization is opaque to him. This is how a new identity emerges, allowing the individual to eventually not identify himself in social reality, where identification results from face-to-face contact with other individuals.

In the internalization dominated by the algorithm, the individual's manipulateness can be embedded and used, which, in turn, is exteriorized, and *this* algorithmizes the society. In such a society, there is a machine-based (algorithmic) rather than a social construction of reality with the possible formation of consequences, which together can threaten society's social stability. That is why the search for ways to eliminate such a threat remains urgent – and because this threat already exists in modern society, and therefore, the digital space can produce it (because time does not wait) – the algorithmizing of the social area is going on at an insane speed, particularly in conditions of war. Such algorithmizing can happen even faster in post-war recovery conditions, which involve a deep economic restructuring and structural changes due to socialization [6].

The author predicted the threats associated with the consequences of digitalization as to the restructuring of the individual's socialization and, accordingly, social stability based on his previous studies published in 2022 [7]. As of today (May 2023), the corresponding disappointing forecasts and warnings are confirmed in the open letter by 1079 famous experts and researchers, including Elon Musk, Steve Wozniak, and many others. They call on all the world's artificial intelligence laboratories to suspend the training of systems more powerful than GPT-4 for at least 6 months because such systems competing with human intelligence threaten society and humanity.

Socialization as a process of internalization of knowledge by a person capable of action, acts as a necessary public good that promotes progress in society, and the latter's self-sufficiency is achieved thanks to freedoms. The socialization that shapes incentives for obtaining exclusively personal benefit, for example, under the monopolistic control in the market of exchange of goods and knowledge (and, importantly, thoughts and words), is contrary to public interests and inhibits social development because the development of monopoly, curtailing competitive relations, limits social gains and social contacts. This limits the individual's ability to realize his freedom, mainly via business activities, which he carries out thanks to his ability to act (as a factor of the endogenous nature of economic growth) [8].

Socialization of both the individual and society and the state acts as a *factor* in forming social opportunities for the development of the individual in his life space. In E. Husserl's phenomenology, the life space exists in the individual's initially open space [9], which, as M. Heidegger shows, is reinforced over time by experience, which allows the individual to orient himself thanks to his understanding of the essence of this or that phenomenon, object, or process. Experience is internalized due to the individual's socialization in this space. Such a space accumulates socially recognized activities, which the individual assimilates at the psycho-emotional level, thus contributing to his internal motivations for activity [10]. In turn, the formation of internal motivations is achieved thanks to socialization [11].

The assimilation of the original experience gained by the individual for future learning occurs due to his genetic ability due to the internalization of acquired knowledge in his mind.

Although the acquisition (internalization) of such experience can be a unique process, in today's conditions, it becomes massive, involving the actions of both the individual and the social system and their interaction. If there is an agreement "...between the feelings of the acting person and the feelings of an outside observer" [12], then the individual is not separated from the social, and thanks to action and interaction, individual and social interests are *mutually agreed upon*.

As a result of internalization, throughout life, a human learns social ways of life and cultural values, which shapes him as a social phenomenon since "as soon as specifically human phenomena are observed, we enter the sphere of the social world" [13], which has signs of a social system, because, according to T. Parsons, it has the highest level of self-sufficiency. This level is achieved due to the transfer of the social determinism of the surrounding environment into human consciousness, which is based on socialization. The dialectic of the emergence and development of the social world as a social system is characterized by the following model:

→ *internalization* → *subjectivization* → *exteriorization* → *objectification* → *innovation*  
→ *internalization* + [14].

Although, as noted above, in the general systems of human activities, the activity-based approach is a key one since it assumes the individual's ability to act, while the individual, in turn, is under the influence of his interaction, particularly with the cultural system. The latter also includes the so-called basic cultural features of the entire society, which have their fundamental dimensions (for the entire society). They both shape and transform the values of the entire society because they become subjectivised during the assimilation of values and eventually acquire the ability to innovate and further create conditions for internalization +. This means a possibility of internalization with *an increment*, which changes the character, the content, and the active force of both development and resocialization as a secondary element of socialization.

As a result, actions can be assimilated and carried out in terms of self-affirmation and expansion of activities – both productive activities and those based on the exchange of thoughts and intentions, as they say, both in word and deed. Later, we will consider this aspect of socialization and resocialization in the example of the fight against poverty under the conditions that arise during the war with an ensuing decrease in living standard, and, especially in the post-war period, when there should be an opportunity to intensify activities to restore the losses resulted from the hostilities, as well as to improve living standard.

Before considering this aspect of socialization and resocialization in the war and post-war period, let us first dwell upon the results of the rating of basic cultural values of Ukrainian society against the background of trends typical for the EU countries in the pre-war period. The latter is important given the processes that took place in Ukraine before the intensification of rapprochement with the EU and on the way to this country's future membership in the EU, which can and should be intensified in the post-war period.

In our analysis, we start from the interpretation made by Hofstede and his colleagues that culture can be considered a universally accepted concept since it involves the generalized patterns of thinking and behavioural standards characteristic of a group of people and distinguish it from other groups [15].

In this work, we are interested in cultural values, which are the core of culture and can be used for comparison since they have a common basis. However, each person's or group's culture has unique components specific to them. Still, there are necessarily common phenomenological features characteristic of the majority.

Since cultural values often look like established standards and rules, particularly the rules of behaviour, spelling, etc., they are most closely related to various kinds of institutional support and, therefore, are implemented through institutions. Institutions – if they are set up to ensure competition, including freedom of speech – play a key role in development since, according to Amartya Sen [5], development also exists as the freedom of social organization of society following the dominant cultural values and institutional forms in this society.

The informal and supra-constitutional cultural values make the real institutions indirect. And here is one important feature. On the one hand, as a rule, values change in the long run, although not exclusively (as will be shown below), but institutions change. Institutional changes often occur in a much shorter period, particularly during, for example, economic reforms, which usually involve the social sphere, and often even the whole society. For example, in case of a change in the political system, including through a revolution. In this case, the contradictions are exacerbated due to institutional change, which occurs as a transformation of institutions and the transformation of the value core based on long-term cultural values. To overcome these exacerbated contradictions, it is necessary first of all to identify the nature and dynamics of the emergence and manifestation of cultural values, as well as their impact on institutional changes (both long-term and short-term ones) – to define what extent the new institutional system is inclusive during the period of transformation, that is, to what extent it corresponds to the long-term impact of cultural values, motivating the actors for active behaviour or proactive promotion of changes.

***The dimension and nature of cultural values and socialization in Ukraine.*** The known and distinguished dimensions of culture that embody its values and the long-term nature of its changes are called canonical and are primarily investigated through surveys, including power distance, individualism, masculinity as opposed to femininity, avoidance of uncertainty, long-term orientation, and indulgence (in the pleasures of life) as opposed to containment [15].

According to the above definition, we consider socialization because of internalization of social life activities and providing it with appropriate institutional solutions. The latter are implemented properly and thanks to culture, which either makes them viable or causes the majority of society to reject them due to the mismatch between cultural values, which does not contribute to development. As a result, transformational reforms may be unsuccessful.

In 2015, a research team at the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, under the leadership of O.M. Balakireva, conducted a study on the basic cultural values of Ukrainian society and the possibilities of their use for socio-economic development [16]. International databases and indices of cultural dimensions from the so-called home page of G. Hofstede, and databases created at that time in our institute because of surveys and analysis of national statistics data, were used for those calculations.

Generalized calculations by the executors of the study mentioned above testified that Ukraine at that time was characterized by a high-power distance and low individualism. On the masculinity-femininity scale, the society was in an intermediate position, uncertainty avoidance was very high with a long-term trend, and containment prevailed over indulgence. Thus, the fundamental features of the culture in Ukrainian society turned out to be far from ideal for development and – what is especially important – for a modernization oriented to the dominance of market relations [16].

Given the fundamental cultural values, the practice of modernization in Ukraine primarily faced a high distance of power and low individualism. However, the orientation of Ukrainian society to the long terms, avoidance of uncertainty and high containment will favour economic modernization and sustainable development in the post-war recovery. For the successful post-war recovery of Ukraine's economy, it is important that the predictability of development will become a conviction for reviving the activities of broad segments of the population, who have a clear tendency to containment, both in their orientations and consumer attitudes.

The indicator of the perception of hierarchy in society is the level of power distance: if it is high, it means a significant inequality in power distribution. In societies with a high level of power distance, inequality between people is perceived as "natural" or "normal", that is, it suits most members of society. This, in turn, means that hierarchy in decision-making dominates the interactions in the family, education, work team, and power institutions, through which certain institutional forms of interaction with a dominant uneven distribution are implemented. Hence, depending on their place in the hierarchy, members of society behave differently.

The concept of power distance was introduced by Dutch sociologist Gert Hofstede [17], it helps assess the degree of social stratification in society. If parents require children to be obedient, obedience to authority is learned from childhood, so in such a society, the "natural" perception of hierarchy is not surprising. But in the practice of European countries – on the contrary – emphasis is placed on the upbringing of individuality in children, therefore, as they grow up and develop their personality, they also develop an orientation towards mutual relations.

Details of the differences and coincidences of the socialization between Ukraine and the European Union are revealed by the author by analysing the content and specifics of the actions of socialization institutions in the pre-war period (2020) [18, p. 199–259].

The summarized materials demonstrate significant differences between the institutes' activities mentioned above, which naturally creates a barrier to the strategic movement towards Ukraine's integration into Europe. That is why it is very important to realize that transformational changes can take place and become successful only with corresponding changes in the understanding of social roles because, in the process of such a social action, certain values (including material ones) will be created, which will contribute to successful economic integration and economic development.

The global socio-political and economic changes in Ukrainian society from the end of the 20th to the beginning of the 21st century led to the search for new values. Contradiction

and diversity in value-orientation tastes and the synthesis of various factors shaping the personality change the content and factors of socialization and the functions of its institutions. We can hope that the contradictions will be minimized in the future, and the social factor will contribute to economic development, which, in the author's opinion, is one of the most important functions of both the state and society in implementing social policy. As shown below, such processes are already underway due to internal socialization in war conditions. Moreover, it is essential that even in the post-war period, they add impetus to development.

At the same time, we note that *even* under profound social transformations, individual institutions of socialization in Ukraine have not gotten rid of their "socialist" past. The reason is that the personality in Ukraine was often shaped under political manipulation and influence on people's consciousness with the help of mechanisms that lacked both trust and respect. Quite often, the state rudely intervened in its citizens' ongoing socialisation, disregarding the basic democratic norms, or just remaining aloof from this process. This is the essence of a serious contradiction between society and the state, which must be overcome through the mastery of social values, which includes the study of the world experience, primarily that of the European community, regarding the upbringing, education and development of citizens – both with the support of the state and without it – thanks to the creation of proper conditions for self-realization. The European integration path requires a thorough understanding and analysis of this experience and then adaptation of its best practices to Ukrainian realities. And this is the most important task for scientists, intelligentsia, and civil institutions.

The process of creating a market economy in Ukraine was accompanied by the revival of private initiative, thanks to which, either with the assistance of the state or with its direct participation, the wealth accumulated in the past was redistributed. The structure of the population changed in such a way that the poor population made up a significantly larger part, and the rich and very rich population – a much smaller one. Inequality has become a characteristic feature of Ukrainian society, and the way out is seen primarily in implementing the mechanisms of the "welfare state". *Socialization of the "welfare state" type aims to solve the contradictions between poverty and excessive wealth through redistribution, so social policy should play a very important role in the post-war recovery of Ukraine's economy.*

The tolerance for a large social distance and, accordingly, the advantages of a hierarchical distribution of power that existed in pre-war Ukraine were both established during education, where the central figure with role advantages was the teacher, not the pupil or student, which led to the development of a personality with a low level of individualism. Further behaviour of such a person in life, particularly at work, is characterized by the perception of managerial hierarchy according to the concept that only administration can manage effectively. At the same time, ordinary individuals should not participate in any decision-making. As a result, the so-called "role inequality" arises, in which a highly centralized managerial system shapes a certain business culture. Instead, shifting the centre of attention to the student in the educational process gives him better conditions for



cognition and socialization, thanks to which knowledge is internalized and cognition of the surrounding physical and social worlds takes place. A personality is shaped by who in the future will be ready for effective leadership and active decision-making.

In Ukraine, as shown by the results of surveys and relevant comparisons, which were presented in the already mentioned scientific report of the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the pair "individualism – collectivism" is dominated by the collectivist model, which greatly differs from the pattern of Western Europe. Thus, the level of individualism in Ukraine is more than 2,2–2,4 times lower than in Poland and Germany. Socialization in these countries focuses the individual on self-realization in activities, in contrast to Ukraine, where the cultural code orients him to the prevalence of collectivism and, hence, to a high distance of power. In this way, a high centralization of power is allowed, and accordingly, such a management system is built, where final decision-making is given to higher institutions of power. In the case of the dominance of individualism in the culture, the individual would be focused on self-realization, achieving certainty and mainly personal responsibility for the result. In Ukraine, there was a weak focus on avoiding uncertainty, so the management system was not dominated by justification and detailed designs for reforms. As a result, during 30 years of independence and the same period of "reforms" in the economy, even the level of economic development of 1990 was never reached.

When the country develops stably, when the economy has high growth rates and the standard of living increases, the level of trust in the authorities is high, even with the dominance of a centrally organized system of power and management. This is possible because the individual, not feeling his responsibility, agrees to focus on collective decisions, because it is easier that way since a positive result is achieved without "special" efforts, as opposed to the *need* for self-realization, which requires engaging internal forces and vigorous actions. If things improve in the economy, the trust grows, including the trust in the authorities, and people's opinions show that the country is developing in the right direction.

In case of exacerbations and losses, which begin to affect most of the population or even everyone, the vector of confidence and opinions on the country's development sharply change their direction, and discontent can become massive.

Surveys of such changes available in Ukraine are quite illustrative. According to Table 1, when the population assessed the economic situation in the country as "very bad" and "bad", the level of such answers reached more than 90% in 1998 and about 80% in 2002. Accordingly, the number of those who did not trust either the Verkhovna Rada or the Government of Ukraine was 65% or more in 1998–2002. Over time, according to the respondents, the situation in the economy improved, particularly in the period 2006–2010. The number of those who considered the situation as "only relatively bad" decreased (in 2006 compared to 2002, by almost 17%, and in 2010, also compared to 2002, by nearly 35%), and the level of distrust in the Verkhovna Rada and the government as the highest authorities in Ukraine decreased in 2006 and 2010 by almost 24%, while the level of trust in 2006 increased more than twice compared to 2002.

Table 1

**People's evaluation of the economic situation and attitude toward authorities  
(Verkhovna Rada, Government of Ukraine) in 1998–2016**

| Evaluation scale | 1998 | 2002 | 2006 | 2010 | 2014 | 2016 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| "0–4"            | 93,2 | 78,2 | 65,0 | 51,1 | 80,9 | 77,6 |
| "7–10"           | 0,8  | 2,4  | 3,0  | 1,9  | 1,6  | 2,3  |
| "1–2" (I)        | 65,0 | 65,1 | 49,6 | 50,4 | 65,2 | 76,7 |
| "4–5" (I)        | 7,3  | 7,4  | 15,2 | 14,2 | 8,6  | 5,7  |
| "1–2" (II)       | 61,6 | 58,8 | 48,0 | 43,5 | 55,1 | 76,2 |
| "4–5" (II)       | 7,6  | 9,6  | 15,6 | 19,6 | 17,2 | 6,5  |

Notes: "0" is very bad, and "10" is very good, "0–4" is "relatively bad", "7–10" is "relatively good", (I) is the trust in the Verkhovna Rada and (II) – in the government".

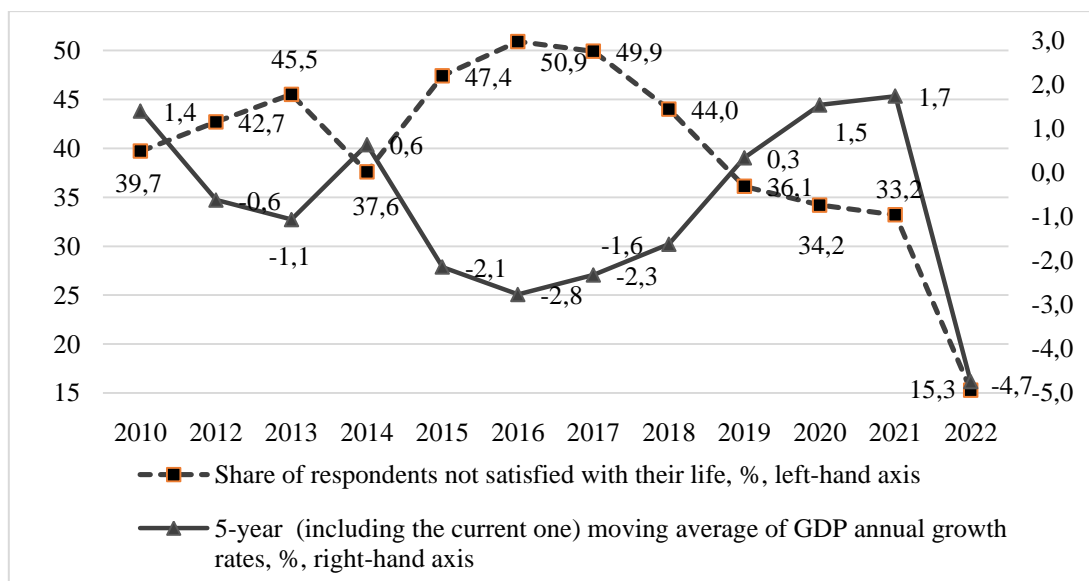
Source: prepared by the author based on data [19].

Over time (2014), when the population recorded the deterioration of the economic situation, the number of those who assessed the economic situation as "bad" and close to it increased almost 1.6 times. In the same period, mistrust in the Verkhovna Rada also increased – compared to 2010, by 1,3 times. The same trend was observed in 2016 (compared to 2014) – almost 1,2 times. A similar trust decline was recorded for the government. In 2016, the level of mistrust was the highest since 1994 and reached 71,2%, almost equaling the level of mistrust in the Verkhovna Rada (77,7% of respondents). We also carried out a graphical interpretation of the ratio between the dynamics of GDP and the share of the population dissatisfied with their lives. The period 2010–2021 was chosen since for 15 years (1996–2010), important transformational changes took place in the economic system and the behaviour of Ukraine's population: the economy of Ukraine began to be considered a market one, and the population had the opportunity to adapt to a certain extent to market and assessed their situation under the new conditions more realistically.

The obtained ratios (Fig. 1) show the coincidence between the maximum and minimum of those dissatisfied with their lives and the minimum and maximum of the moving average annual growth/decline of Ukraine's GDP. Their period comparison shows that the maximum number of people dissatisfied with their lives coincides with the minimum average annual GDP growth rate and vice versa.

For 2022, according to the survey of public opinion in Ukraine<sup>1</sup> by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the results are radically different (see Fig. 1). While in 2021 – on the eve of the war – 74,1% assessed the situation as "relatively bad" (the "0–4" group), then in 2022 their share reduced by 32,3 percentage points. However, the war continued, and the living standard decreased. Contrary to expectations, the number of those whose situation worsened did not increase. Still, it decreased by more than a third, although millions of people, having lost their jobs, became internally displaced, and many left the country.

<sup>1</sup> Public opinion in Ukraine after 10 months of war, Kyiv: Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. URL: <https://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=1175&page=1>



**Figure 1. Graphical interpretation of the ratio of GDP dynamics and the share of respondents unsatisfied with their lives**

Notes: comparison of the results of the survey of Ukraine's population for the period 2010–2022, %. Formulation of the question in 2010–2021: "To what extent are you satisfied with your life?". Formulation of the question in December 2022: "To what extent are you satisfied with life in your locality? %".

Source: prepared by the author based on data: Public opinion in Ukraine after 10 months of war, Kyiv: Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. URL: <https://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=1175&page=1> [20].

**Peculiarities of resocialization of the population in war conditions.** The war brought about significant economic losses (drop in GDP, mass destruction, loss of life and health, etc.), but indicators of life satisfaction compared to the pre-war period improved. The reason for such changes, in our opinion, is that according to data from the sociological monitoring of "Public opinion in Ukraine after 10 months of war", published by S. Dembitskyi (Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), the population of Ukraine reduced their financial requirements for living per person in a family: from 630 USD in 2021 to 340 USD in 2022. Accordingly, considering the abovementioned changes, assessments of the economic situation improved, and the degree of dissatisfaction with one's life decreased. Thus, such a social indicator as the population's satisfaction with their life remained among the dominant ones, but its economic dimension changed.

It is also very important to note that the research results show that the population is ready to endure material difficulties during 3–5 post-war years if Ukraine eventually becomes a prosperous country and an EU member. 58% of respondents declared unconditional readiness, and 39% answered "rather ready", that is, 97% of the respondents<sup>2</sup> are almost completely ready to overcome the economic and social problems caused by the war.

<sup>2</sup> The same.

At the same time, according to data from the same survey, 69% of the population are ready to endure current and future problems as long as necessary, and 23,9% are ready to suffer, but for a limited time. That is, at the time of the survey during the war, almost 93% of the population revised their previous assessments of the economic situation and lowered their requirements as to living standards. They are ready to be satisfied with much less during the war and for some time after it, but only providing that Ukraine becomes a member of the EU and a prosperous country. Accordingly, the attitude towards the authorities also changed – thanks to the awareness (internalization) of knowledge about the values of the state, which ensures the country's protection from the aggressor. As S. Dembitskyi notes, general attitudes towards the state, primarily trust in it, changed oppositely: while in 2021, 55,8% expressed a negative attitude towards it, and 6,6% expressed a positive one, then in 2022 there were 7,1 times more mostly positive responses, and negative ones decreased by 2,1 times. In this case, in our opinion, this is partly a contribution by such a cultural phenomenon of Ukrainian society as containment (as opposed to indulgence).

The changes mentioned above resulted from the so-called re-socialization, that is, the secondary socialization, caused by the internalization of knowledge generated by war and most of the Ukraine's population's direct and indirect participation in them, actually consolidated the people. As a result, according to the monitoring mentioned above data by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of people who are ready and able to help others has almost doubled because they disagree with the statement that "people deep down do not like to burden themselves to help others", and this is the result of socialization. While on the eve of the full-scale military aggression of the Russian Federation, this disagreement was shared by 26,5% of respondents then after 10 months of war, at the end of 2022, it was already 56,6%. Such a majority is essentially at the stage of *readiness* to help others. In addition, trust between people also increased, since in 2021, the share of those who disagreed with the statement that "it is safest not to trust anyone" was 29,2%, and in 2022, it increased to 45,2%, i.e., it grew almost 1,6 times. Thus, thanks to the secondary socialization during the war, some learned others of the opposite nature replaced socialisation components. And this is one of the essential features of socialization in stressful conditions, when, thanks to secondary socialization, quite broad strata change their opinions to the opposite since the values of preserving life begin to play a key role.

Along with the features mentioned above of socialization (re-socialization) in war conditions, there are others. Thus, in 2016, (which was the third year of the military confrontation in Donbas with part of this region's population, who Russia supported), although still before the so-called special operation, the share of those who agreed to endure, however long, together with those who were ready to endure for some time, was 33,2% against 58,6% of those who were not ready to endure (because they did not believe in the success of the reforms, or because they considered their standard of living unbearable at that time) [19].

Previously, these indicators corresponded with the desire to participate in protests the constant deterioration of living conditions. The share of those who considered it necessary to actively protest was 43,3 [19]. And this indicator constantly grew over time, almost doubling

compared to 1994. At the same time, those who considered the economic situation in Ukraine to be relatively bad in 1994 (group "0–3", where 0 is very bad) totalled 89,2%.

A survey by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine showed that the situation changed significantly after ten months of war. Despite the deterioration of the economic situation, those who assessed the situation as "quite bad" and "bad to varying degrees" decreased to 27,8%. At the same time, there were 87,5% against 45,5% in 2021<sup>3</sup> of those who believed that the central authorities partially or almost completely coped with their duties. When the need for centralization of power and the mobilization nature of management during martial law became a requirement, an almost two-fold increase took place in the share of those who approved the government's actions.

Another feature should be noted here. Despite the rapid changes caused by secondary socialization in war conditions, some of the phenomenological cultural features of a long-term nature remain unchanged. In the society of a country at war and under aggression, the long-term orientation to the future remains consistent and high (according to the same survey in 2022). In 2022, 76,2% of those who believed that the situation would most likely improve, which was also confirmed by the fact that in Ukraine during the war (now), some political leaders can run the country. According to the survey results, 60,2% of respondents believed so. At the same time, according to the Sociological Monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2016, that is, before the full-scale war, only 18,7% believed that there were political leaders in Ukraine who could run the country effectively (18,5% – back in 1994). Thus, more than 20 years of observation gave the same, a very low result, while during the full-scale war, the awareness of the actions of possible leaders and, accordingly, parties and the general evaluations of their activities have caused a considerable re-socialization and produced the opposite result, preserving in society such a cultural phenomenon as long-term orientation.

Among cultural values of a phenomenological nature, there is a relatively low individualism characteristic of Ukrainian society (see Table 2). It is known that basic values are quite resistant to change, as they are mostly learned at an age when perception is not critical. The proof of this is, in particular, research of A. Ruchka and M. Naumova on the period 1991–2016 [21].

The authors noted that during the period mentioned above, certain processes were associated with some increase in the importance of self-realization values, which shape the level of individualization as an index of the cultural dimension of Ukrainian society. At the same time, the results of relevant research by O. Balakireva on the same period indicated a rather low (at 32 points) level of individualism (Table 2).

The stressful situation has changed such a submodel value inherent in Ukrainian society as confidence in one's abilities, which to some extent reflects changes in the signs of individualization. The results of surveys after 10 months of the war (2022) showed that only 14,7% of respondents lacked confidence in their abilities, while in 2021 there were twice as many, about a third of all respondents. The number of those who had enough confidence in

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<sup>3</sup> The same.

their abilities also increased, and in 2022, in the conditions of war, the share of such people became as many as half of the total (56,4%).

Table 2

**Estimates of the indices of cultural dimensions in Ukrainian society points**

| Index    | Power distance | Individualism | Masculinity | Uncertainty avoidance | Long-term orientation | Indulgence |
|----------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Estimate | 83             | 32            | 47          | 108                   | 86                    | 14         |

Source: prepared by the author based on data [16].

Before the war, in 2021, the share of those who believed that living conditions were generally bad for most people was 52,8%. Despite significant changes in living conditions for the worse – due to forced resettlement, fleeing bombings, frequent blackouts, limited heat supply, price increases, job losses, and increased morbidity – in 2022, during the war, only 29,5% of respondents shared the above opinion, which is almost 1,8 times less, while 60,3% were satisfied in 2022, compared to 34,4% in 2021.

Before the war, among the 15 parameters by which the conditions for cohesion in Ukrainian society were investigated, "dissatisfaction with the authorities" was in 2002, among the first five, while "patriotic feelings" were among the last five of the eleven. On the eve of the armed conflict in the *east of Ukraine*, particularly in 2013, such a parameter as "dissatisfaction with the authorities in the cohesion process" was among the first, and "patriotic feelings" remained among the last five on the list. However, the armed conflict in the *east of Ukraine* caused significant changes in the role of certain features that determined the cohesion process in Ukraine. Thus, "patriotic feelings" took first place, although "dissatisfaction with the authorities" was also among the first. Subsequently, this feature began to lose its influence on people's cohesion in Ukrainian society. As to "patriotic feelings", it kept their high place to 2021 inclusive, and in 2022, it was mentioned by most of the population, while "dissatisfaction with the authorities" as a feature moved to the end of the list because the almost absolute majority of people began to express trust in the authorities, which is a basic condition for the unity between people and government.

Conclusion. The war as a stress in the physical, psychological, and moral sense has led to a secondary socialization (re-socialization) that initiated the internalization of feelings, due to which the population of Ukraine underwent a fundamental change of interests – from the predominance of personal interests towards social choice, which, in our opinion, is related to the simultaneous protection of both the public and the personal. These changes resulted from the prevailing basic values because it is precisely such values that motivate me to stand up for the protection of children, family, and country. At the same time, the values of the so-called material well-being, which in the pre-war period were among the priorities, receded into the background.

During the war, the people's evaluation of their current living conditions also fundamentally changed in the direction for the better, that is, under war conditions, an important reevaluation took place. Although living conditions remain a priority like before the war, now the threat of losing life comes to the fore (which is quite natural).

On this basis, the population of Ukraine – due to the priority of values related to the protection of the country – have significantly changed their attitude towards the government

– from focusing on negative features to recognizing most positive ones in the government's activities (the latter evaluation is presently shared by more than 3/4 of the population).

Threats of war-related losses have motivated the growth of patriotism, which could be observed since 2015, after the beginning of the armed conflict in the east of Ukraine. However, in 2016, only 52,1% of respondents indicated that neither they nor their relatives (friends, acquaintances) were ready to fight to return the territories of the self-proclaimed DPR/LPR to the control of Ukraine. In the conditions of the war of 2022, the occupation of some Ukrainian territories, and threats to the entire country, the population changed their attitude towards recognition of the effectiveness of the Ukrainian government (almost 90%)<sup>4</sup>. The absolute majority became confident of Ukraine's victory in the war against Russia thanks to powerful armed resistance at the front, dedicated work on the home front and international assistance. At the same time, more than 90% changed their attitudes regarding the terms during which they can endure difficulties after the war.

In many ways, people's consolidation results from socialization in the conditions of war, where moral and psychological factors play a key role, unlike the factors that used to affect people's sentiments in the past. People began to believe in the sincerity of helping each other, a new sign of the unity of Ukrainian society (a survey by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, in 2022), which was not the case before. Thus, Ukrainian society had internalized the knowledge that social interaction in extreme conditions dominates socialization due to the moral and psychological mood that causes the feeling of the need for social interaction. At the same time, before the war, things were different. The war of 2022–2023 has finally completed this aspect of re-socialization as the secondary socialization of this country's population, and most people are now ready to help and trust each other.

In the absence of stressful processes in society, particularly before the war, internalising knowledge, experience, etc., was long-term and evolutionary. However, under the present stressful situation, internalization has happened very quickly, leading to the dominance of those values that just emerged in the previous periods of transformational changes initiated in the 90s of the 20th century. The stressful situations brought about by the full-scale war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, which began in 2022, caused changes in the moral and psychological state that re-socialized people's behaviour, uniting them in understanding the state's actions and the cohesion of society. At the same time, the population massively showed their civic consciousness through the awareness of the patriotism of their behaviour and the understanding of the government's responsibility, the institutions of power and politicians who represent the power.

The population, impoverished in the conditions of war, simultaneously demonstrates a high trust in the state, the government, and the politicians, and shows a high inclination to mutual aid and interpersonal trust. Even after the war's end, people agreed to endure the difficulties of post-war reconstruction for three or even more years. Such sentiments enabled the authorities – given the trust that was quite high during the war – to reorient the content and nature of politics to a new direction after the war and to motivate the patriotic feelings of

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<sup>4</sup> The same.

the population for post-war recovery, providing them with opportunities for self-realization and using the people's current propensity to rely on their forces and act based on mutual trust and mutual assistance, which especially actively manifests in wartime.

The forecast of the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for 2023 records the expectations of a 1% fall in GDP. We expect the economy to resume growth to 2–3% of GDP in 2024, probably the first year after the hostilities have ceased. Further, a 5–6% GDP annual growth can be expected in the consequent post-war years. Thus, the first signs of economic improvement, which the population can feel, should be expected in 2025. This means that the period of the population's post-war consent to endure hardships during the next three years may end in 2026. This means that for at least half of the population, who presently have significant restrictions on their standard of living, the year 2026 will be the year when the trend towards impoverishment may be reversed.

In the post-war period, the government's efforts on social policy, particularly regarding the fight against poverty, will be limited like during the war. On the other hand, the population had high hopes for the government, whose role, place, and significance during the war have greatly changed. That is why the requirements for social policy after war will become even higher, that is, the struggle must switch from resisting the enemy to victory in the economic and social spheres.

In these conditions, the government, already during the war, despite limited resources, should pursue an effective social quality policy, whose principles have been developed for many years by the author and his colleagues at the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in creative cooperation with the European Association of Social Quality. According to the theory of social quality, the policy of social quality should be implemented within the following three guidelines:

- opportunities for socio-economic security social cohesion, to be achieved through partnership and cooperation, as well as social integration and expansion of social rights and opportunities;
- addressing unforeseen circumstances caused by the coincidence of adverse effects;
- ethical orientations, such as social justice, solidarity, equality, and human dignity.

Taken together, the above constitutes a basis on which it will be feasible to attain social cohesion and a high degree of trust in the authorities, and to maintain mutual trust and mutual assistance among the population.

The author proposed the content and possibility of using the concept of social quality in pre-war Ukraine and explained in detail in the article on "Social quality in a transitional society and the role of the state" published in 2019 in the *International Journal of Social Quality*. Work in this direction at the Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine continued throughout the war.

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