
ECONOMICS

*Sociology***Svitlana Salnikova***PhD, Assoc. Prof.**Department of Sociology**and Social Work**Lesya Ukrainka Eastern**European National University**Lutsk, Ukraine**E-mail: sv.salnikova@gmail.com**Received: March, 2014**1st Revision: April, 2014**Accepted: May, 2014***DOI: 10.14254/2071-****789X.2014/7-2/15****UKRAINIAN SOCIETY UNDER
CONDITIONS OF TOTAL ANOMY**

ABSTRACT. The presence of specific phenomena of post-soviet anomy such as the criminalization of judicial and legal system, «state capture», double institutionalization and others aggravates the condition of social disorganization of Ukrainian society. Determination of the degree of influence of anomy on society as a whole and on selected groups is the main goal of this study. The author has used a technique construction of Index of Anomic Demoralization, Cynicism Index, and two Indexes of Social Well-being on the datasets of national surveys (1992–2012) of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. All indexes for the entire period are quite high and they indicate the total anomy of Ukrainian society. After having analyzed the indicators of anomy in regional, age and sex, and professional and labour aspects, the author came to the following conclusions: (1) indications of anomy and cynicism are aggravated from the West to the East of the country, while the inhabitants of the Southwest and Kyiv feel less demoralized; inhabitants of the South-eastern part of Ukraine – are more demoralized; social well-being of the rural population is significantly worse than that of the inhabitants of large cities; (2) age differences as an indicator of generational change are more significant than regional, it signifies the integrity of the Ukrainian society; (3) professional and labour Ukrainians' differences according to indicators of anomy and cynicism are the most significant. The results confirm the need to reform public institutions, the involvement of professionals in all spheres of public life.

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Introduction

Due to the radical social transformations of the early 90's the system of normative expectations of the Ukrainian society lost determinateness, the condition of anomy has emerged. In fact, the concept of «anomy» denotes a general depression when everyone in society feels uncertain in relation to the prevailing norms in this society and ignorance about how to act properly in a particular social situation and role. Ukrainian society is a subject to the anomy and this is not a new scientific discovery, but the fact that it «has been drifting» for

more than 20 years (Shulga, 2011) in this condition actualizes the study not only the «diagnosis», but identifying those reference points that would allow to direct a general «disease» on the way of its recovery.

As obligatory general moral norms have no effect upon the society, people replace them with informal norms accepted in some social groups and communities. Prolonged condition of social anomy reproduces these informal norms according to which the differentiation of society is fixed. Thus, the destruction of the value-normative system leads to substantial changes in the actions of traditional regulators – law and morality. The *purpose* of this study is to determine the degree of influence of anomy on Ukrainian society as a whole, as well as selection of social groups, the most / the least prone to this condition through such *research tasks*: (1) to present the principal indicators of anomy during temporal aspect, (2) to analyze manifestations of anomic demoralization and cynicism and well-being in the regional, age and sex, professional and labour contexts.

Sociological techniques for measurement of reactions to anomy (measured by using scales of anomy, cynicism, social well-being, etc.) are the basis of this study. These techniques have been tested by scientists of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IS NASU) N. Panina and Ye. Golovakha and are used in national surveys. Thus, the data sets of national monitoring of IS NASU (1992–2012) are the empirical data of this study; these data sets are given to the author by Ye. Golovakha¹. Their availability is a major advantage of the dynamics' analysis of the investigated object.

Techniques for measuring anomy and cynicism consist of certain judgments, the content of which is debating, but is outside the subject of this study. Therefore, the empirical analysis is restricted to these techniques.

Basics of the anomy theory (E. Durkheim, R. Merton, R. Darendorf, etc.), as well as the results of the author's research on the identification of the main phenomena of the post-Soviet anomy present in Ukrainian society and having a tremendous impact on the totality of its presence are given in the first section of the article. The next three sections are devoted to the analysis of the dynamics of the main indicators of anomic demoralization, social cynicism and social well-being, respectively. Each following section is a logical complement of the preceding one: raised level of social cynicism in society is an investigative indicator of its total anomic demoralization; improving the economic standard of living of Ukrainians did not significantly improve their social well-being due to lack of social benefits in such spheres as: social security, professional and labour, vocational, recreational and cultural. A short summary of the procedure applied, the integral indexes, the scale of its measurement and interpretation are also given in these sections as well. Comparative analysis of the manifestations of anomy in regional, age and sex, and professional and labour contexts identified the main empirical results of this study; it is represented by a separate section.

Theoretical framework of study of anomy

According to social-culture approach by P. Merton the source of anomy is in «inconsistency between aspirations defined by culture and socially organized means of their satisfaction» (Merton, 1966, pp. 301-302). Creator of conflict theory R. Darendorf says that conflicts arising in public systems are regulated and controlled by social institutions that produce certain rules of behavior for the parties involved. Substitution of institutions leads to a «social condition in which the violation of the norms does not entail punishment. ... People do not find themselves an application in society, and so they do not feel bound by its rules. This is one side of the medal. The other side – the trust of society to their own rules falls, and

¹ Therefore all the presented in the text and tables calculations are made by the author independently.

it just stops achieving compliance with them by the power» (Darendorf, 2002, pp. 215-217). According to sociological theory of anomie (E. Durkheim, R. Merton) the condition of general anomie cannot last indefinitely and normative and non-normative reactions to anomie come instead of social disorganization.

Post-Soviet anomie of Ukrainian society has aggravated by over 20 years of independence and was manifested in indicators of total demoralization of the population. Author substantiated in her own article (Salnikova, 2013) persistence of anomie by presence of its specific phenomena such as the criminalization of judicial and legal system, «state capture», corrupt society by «circle of acquaintances» and double institutionalization. The double institutionalization space allows citizens to survive in difficult socio-economic conditions, thereby legitimating the appropriate mechanism of non-normative regulation that has become the norm by prolonged influence of anomie. This is a significant increasing complexity of the «healing» process from the anomie that aspires to liberal-democratic order and claims to be civil.

R. Darendorf describes anomie as follows: «People are losing their support, which they can be given from deep cultural ties; in the end, everything goes wrong, everything becomes equally, and therefore – indifferent. It has a various and very serious consequences for communal life of people. Times of anomie – are the times of uncertainty in everyday life. It starts sounding the call for «law and order». At the same time people are searching for support for themselves wherever they can find. The memories appear, coming from the very depths of history, there are memories about the lost heat of nest of old social relationships. National background and absolute dogmas of faith start generating an interest again» (Darendorf, 2002, p. 68). There is a mechanism, which activated this state: the rules and norms, they were guided earlier – useless, unreliable, inoperative, and the purposes to which they sought, – insignificant, meaningless, or important, but unattainable of known methods (rules, regulations); new goals are either incomprehensible or not worth, and even if they do exist, the mechanism for achieving them is not unintelligible. Content of values, which have not lost significance, has transformed, but is not well-defined. If the economic situation is deteriorating, the various fears are amplified; they produce the social anxiety, uncertainty in an individual and collective future, high suggestibility and susceptibility to various external influences, social irrelevance, and the distrust.

E. Zlobina studying the features of normative regulation of Ukrainian society distinguishes the negative consequences of such anomic reactions in society on individual and behavioural level as the loss of reliability and of social space, the complexity of social identification, etc. (Zlobina, 2007, p. 206).

Ukrainian sociologist N. Soboleva among the most characteristic reactions distinguishes as follows:

- the uncertainty of the situation, which greatly complicates the nearest forecast of their own destiny, career;
- the feeling of an anxiety, a confusion, an unreadiness to live and work in new conditions;
- an idea that there is not any control in society;
- the perception of a new mechanisms of social regulation as ineffective;
- the lack of confidence in the fact that something depends on an ordinary person;
- the sense of negativism, dissatisfaction;
- due to thinking and rethinking of the situation the state of dissonance arises from the inadequacy of perceptions and previously formed people's expectations to the real changes in the social reality;
- an inadequacy of evaluation criteria for new ways of the social action and act (Soboleva, 2011, pp. 46-47).

She also believes that «the agreed bases of social norms and values in periods of instability have strong attenuation, and the attention of individuals moves from norms and rules to the intentions of other individuals. Owing to strengthening of the regulatory role of expectations in behavioural models the number of possible equilibriums increases. ... In the state of absence of stable evaluation criteria for the outward things, the individual must include the intentions of other individuals into his estimation of the situation» (Soboleva, 2011, p. 47). Social regulation, in turn, provides a stabilizing effect on the social system until neutralization of the conflicts. It is necessary to note that it is being formed under the influence of the perception of instability (or disorganization) (Soboleva, 2011; Slyusaryansky, 2007), which has a completely steady character (Salnikova, 2013). E. Golovakha and N. Panina also saw a special potential and prospects for the development of society in the «amateur activity of social movements and organizations» (Golovakha, Panina, 2001, pp. 21-22).

Hypothetical assertions like the direction of further empirical analysis are denoted also at this point. Firstly positive dynamics of the decrease in anomic reactions in Ukrainian society suggest the development of a sustainable society, the integrity of which – in minimal distinctions between typical groups according to differentiating characteristics (age and gender characteristics, types of professional and work experience, etc.). Secondly, taking into account the historical development of the country, the age differences as an indicator of generational change are significant, but they do not exceed regional, otherwise the integrity of society is in question. Regional inconsistency (or regional differences) according to measured indicators is a proof of the «border» conditions, rather than dividing the country into a completely different East and West, as seen by many politicians of Ukraine; it is known, separatist sentiments are also a consequence of loss of Soviet identity.

Index of Anomic Demoralization

So *anomic demoralization* is a psychological reaction of people in a social situation when one system of norms and values (which unites them in a community) is ruined and another system has not formed yet.

The Anomy Scale has 9 item-judgments in which people express different opinions regarding life (whether it is their private lives or about society in general) (Table 1) (the response scale: «agree» – 2 point, «don't know» – 1 point, «disagree» – 0 point) and allows to create the Index of Anomic Demoralization (Index of AD). Summarized value of additive Index of Anomic Demoralization varies from 0 to 18 points (0 – complete denial of demoralizing actions of anomy, 9 – neutral value, 18 – maximum degree of demoralization due to the condition of society). The index value from 9 to 12 points indicates a higher level of anomic demoralization, above 12 points – a high level.

For comparability indexes of anomy and cynicism the author uses the coefficient of balance «disagreement–agreement» – it is the difference between the proportion of people who do not agree with this judgment, and those who agree, divided into 100. Theoretically, society is not subject to anomic demoralization / cynicism, if almost all its members do not agree with the given judgment, then the value of the coefficient of balance is positive and leads to 1; and vice versa: society demoralized / cynically, if value of this coefficient leads to 1, but with a sign of minus. So, the coefficient of balance takes the value from the interval [-1, 1]: a value of -1 means full availability of properties and +1 – its absence.

According to the values of this index the population of Ukraine is still disoriented and is in a more than an elevated state of anomic demoralization (*Table 1, 2*), despite of the fact that quality of life has improved since the early 2000s. Decrease of Index of Anomic Demoralization was observed in 2005 and it was assumed that its value in the following years would be in the range of 9-12 points, but apparently the «orange revolution» has not just disappointed, but also has aggravated the condition of anomic demoralization of Ukrainians. The next «relapse» occurred after 2010, most probably as another disappointment after the change of the ruling elite. It turns out that an inconsistent policy of power generates its shifts, and new power – is the same inconsistency leading line in ruling country. During the year after the change of a «ruler» society begins to understand – their hopes are not proved, they are deceived again – and its anomic condition was increasing. Here, of course, we can also assume that the discouragement of Ukrainians partly relates to their naivety to suppose that the newly elected president is able not only to provide them with a «paradise» in the shortest possible time, but also will satisfy the requirements of everyone in the process of its construction. Nonetheless, the anomic state of Ukrainian society is directly related to the stability and consistency of the political system.

Table 1. Indicators of anomic demoralization, %

		1992	2000	2005	2006	2008	2010	2012
	Judgments							
1	With everything so <u>uncertain</u> these days, it almost seems as though anything could happen	1 -0,75	-0,71	-0,53	-0,60	-0,67	-0,64	-0,70
		2 84,8	80,9	71,9	76,1	79,9	77,1	80,6
		3 5,5	8,5	9,3	7,9	7,4	9,4	9,1
2	What is lacking in the world today is the old kind of friendship that lasts for a lifetime	1 -0,54	-0,42	-0,47	-0,39	-0,46	-0,45	-0,51
		2 71,6	64,6	68,2	63,6	67,6	66,6	70,2
		3 10,6	12,7	10,4	11,8	10,3	11,8	10,9
3	With everything in such a state of <u>disorder</u> , it's hard for a person to know how he stands from day to day	1 -0,64	-0,64	-0,45	-0,60	-0,59	-0,56	-0,60
		2 78,5	78,3	68,4	76,2	75,7	74,0	76,1
		3 6,4	6,9	8,4	7,2	7,1	7,9	8,1
4	Everything <u>changes so quickly</u> these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the <u>right rules</u> to follow	1 -0,66	0,67	-0,47	-0,57	-0,60	-0,57	-0,62
		2 80,3	79,8	67,8	73,9	76,9	73,4	76,1
		3 4,9	7,0	10,7	9,0	6,6	9,7	10,0
5	I often feel that many things our parents stood for are just going to <u>ruin</u> before our very eyes	1 -0,80	-0,84	-0,66	-0,71	-0,77	-0,75	-0,78
		2 88,1	89,7	79,3	82,1	85,7	83,8	85,2
		3 3,8	4,3	7,6	6,8	5,9	7,6	8,0
6	The trouble with the world today is that most people really <u>don't believe in anything</u>	1 -0,70	-0,80	-0,60	-0,61	-0,65	-0,69	-0,69
		2 81,8	87,7	76,3	77,2	78,6	80,6	80,5
		3 6,3	4,8	7,1	6,9	7,2	7,6	8,5
7	I often feel awkward and <u>out of place</u>	1 -0,09	-0,18	-0,02	-0,03	-0,10	-0,05	-0,09
		2 49,0	51,8	43,6	45,4	49,1	45,7	46,7
		3 10,7	13,6	14,8	11,6	11,4	13,7	15,3
8	People were better off in the old days when <u>everyone knew</u> just how one was expected to act	1 -0,44	-0,56	-0,35	-0,37	-0,44	-0,44	-0,51
		2 66,3	71,9	60,9	62,1	66,0	65,6	68,8
		3 11,4	12,0	12,8	12,4	11,9	12,8	13,2
9	It seems to me that <u>other people</u> find it easier to decide what <u>is right</u> and what is wrong	1 0,07	0,07	0,14	0,23	0,17	0,24	0,19
		2 37,0	35,4	33,5	29,7	32,9	29,4	31,8
		3 18,6	22,5	18,6	17,8	17,3	16,9	17,9
	Index of Anomic Demoralization	13,6	13,8	12,4	12,7	13,1	12,9	13,3

1 – coefficient of balance «disagreement–agreement» of anomic demoralization,

2 – share of those who agreed with the statement,

3 – answer «I don't know».

Source: data sets of national surveys of IS NASU.

If to consider the content of Index of Anomic Demoralization on items the positive balance was observed only on such an individual characteristic as «I better understand what is right and what is not», and most likely indicates the presence of a significant proportion of citizens with either an individual strong position or an isolated social position; «I do not know» from 16.9% to 22.5% of respondents answered this judgment in different years, which informs of them as having more tolerant social attitudes in comparison with those who disagree. Unfortunately, positions of instability, uncertainty, disorder and disbelief are characterized by the highest negative exponents of stability of the social order. But, in this instability people do not feel so uncomfortable as they describe this social space, because everybody himself has understood better «what is what» (all together of these are more than a third).

Really, the uncertainty (1) of the social space over the study period was considerably both decreasing and increasing, and in general for 20 years of independence it has decreased by 4.2% – and this is the most significant achievement in a process of decrease in anomic reaction of the Ukrainian population. A misunderstanding of an action of the laws (4) is the next in this rating; as an indicator of the level of demoralization it also has decreased by 4.2%. Then – the disorder and lack of understanding (3), complicating rulemaking process, as a whole has decreased by 2.4%. At such rate of «recovery» the level of anomic demoralization of Ukrainian society after 10 years will be about 80%, and the value of the appropriate index will be located on the boundary between high and elevated levels. The prospect is not promising at all, especially when you consider that the indicator of general disbelief (6) in anything for years of independence fell to a record figure of 1,3%. It can be assumed that the total disbelief of Ukrainians due to the absence of stable normative regulators is explained not only by the events of the period of independence, but it has more deeply rooted, related to the events of their Soviet past, and therefore it has acquired a mental character. This is supported by the empirical fact: in all the years of independence, more than half of Ukrainians believe that the safest – is not to trust anyone.

At the same time an inherent feature has intensified for many other Ukrainians – the patience. Percentage of those who adapted to endure difficult circumstances, increased from a third to half, and those to whom it is impossible to endure difficult circumstances, on the contrary, decreased from two-thirds to one (*Table 2*) for the entire studied period. Ukrainians appraise the perspective of their life in 2012 comparing with 2000, more than half of them consider that there will not be any improvement.

Table 2. Estimate of the situation in country and perspectives of its development, %

Statements	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2008	2010	2012
About the current situation in Ukraine									
Everything is not bad and one can go on living	4,1	4,4	–	–	17,9	13,4	11,7	9,5	9,2
Life is difficult but it can be endured	30,6	38,9	–	–	51,4	48,5	53,5	53,4	48,9
To endure our hard times is unbearable	59,9	50,4	–	–	21,1	29,1	27,3	29,8	33,1
Difficult to say	5,4	6,1	–	–	9,6	8,9	7,4	7,3	8,7
No answer	0,1	0,2	–	–	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,0	0,2
About the perspectives of current situation in Ukraine									
It won't be better	70,3	56,2	43,8	42,7	18,3	35,2	44,0	26,1	51,4
Difficult to say	18,7	24,3	43,1	38,8	41,5	43,2	36,3	43,2	33,7
It will be somewhat better	11,1	19,3	13,0	18,4	40,2	21,6	19,6	30,6	14,9
No answer	0,0	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1
Mean	1,4	1,6	1,7	1,8	2,2	1,9	1,8	2,0	1,6

Source: data sets of national surveys of IS NASU.

But there are some optimistic arguments. First, such pessimistic expectations typical for anomic demoralization as catastrophic forecasts and discouragement and confusion, etc. (Golovakha and Panina), nevertheless are reduced (*Table 2*). Second, the process of reconstruction of system norms and values anyhow occurs and in the presence of its strategic certainty by society and stabilization the political system might accelerate the pace.

Cynicism Index

There are common values that in any society should be supported by the majority on condition of its integrity, maturity and stability as a single organism, but not the sum of separate individuals not trusting anyone. The Cynicism Index shows the level of a disparaging attitude towards generally accepted values. A high level of social cynicism may be a serious obstacle to the process of developing normative values and shaping democratic society. Value of Cynicism Index in 2012 became critical.

The Cynicism Scale has 7 item-judgments about the motive of deeds of other people and distrust of surrounding people (*Table 3*) (the response scale: «agree» – 2 point, «difficult to answer» – 1 point, «disagree» – 0 point) and allows creating the index of cynicism. Summarized value of additive Cynicism Index varies from 0 to 14 points (0 – complete denial of the cynical attitude to others, 7 – neutral value, 14 – maximum degree of the social cynicism). This index value from 7 to 10 points indicates a higher level of social cynicism, above 10 points – a high level.

We cannot assert so far, but there is a possibility of «acquisition» of high level of social cynicism by Ukrainian society. The situation with the data of this index differs from the previous one: any sudden changes, associated with changes of the political situation in the country, are not observed, on the contrary, percents of those who agree with cynical propositions about other people have grown steadily, although not significantly in a short period of time. Thus, according to *Table 3*, the majority of Ukrainians in the opinion of the same Ukrainians became more capable of lying for the sake of career (2) (the highest rate of negative balance – -0.68 and the increase in agreement with this statement – by 10.3%), and more profitable (4) in terms of «end justifies the means» (the balance is -0.55 and adoption of such a norm increased by 12.1%). Last years «to lie in order to avoid troubles» (6) and «unwillingness to bother themselves about cares of other people» (7) also became more acceptable to the majority of Ukrainians (both items increased by 7.9% and 10.9%, respectively). Particularly noteworthy is the judgment about distrust (5) (the percent of agreement increased by 10.3): initial balance, being one of the two smallest, increased by more than 20%, and it became the same as all the other judgments with high negative balance. But the sharp increase of distrust as a social position of an individual in relation to society happened after 2010.

Table 3. Indicators of social cynicism, %

Judgments		1992	2005	2006	2008	2010	2012	
1	One needs a lot of evidence to persuade people of any kind of truth	1	-0,45	-0,53	-0,50	-0,51	-0,49	-0,51
		2	65,8	68,7	68,3	68,4	66,9	67,9
		3	12,6	15,1	13,8	13,5	15,3	15,1
2	I think the majority of people are capable of lying to get promoted	1	-0,48	-0,67	-0,65	-0,65	-0,64	-0,68
		2	68,0	77,1	76,9	77,1	75,2	78,3
		3	11,2	12,1	11,6	10,8	13,2	11,6
3	A majority of people are honest only because they are afraid their lies can be exposed	1	0,00	-0,11	-0,08	-0,12	-0,07	-0,14
		2	42,8	45,9	45,0	47,5	43,6	47,7
		3	14,0	19,0	18,1	17,1	19,8	18,7

4	I think the majority of people are capable of acting dishonestly in order to gain some benefit	1	-0,30	-0,44	-0,49	-0,49	-0,52	-0,55
		2	58,5	64,6	67,3	67,9	69,0	70,6
		3	12,4	14,9	13,9	13,4	13,7	13,7
5	Not trusting anyone is the safest approach	1	-0,06	-0,16	-0,11	-0,17	-0,14	-0,28
		2	46,7	50,2	47,5	51,5	49,6	57,0
		3	12,3	14,9	15,7	13,4	14,1	14,0
6	I think everybody is capable of lying in order to avoid troubles	1	-0,32	-0,43	-0,43	-0,44	-0,49	-0,49
		2	60,3	64,3	64,1	65,2	68,1	68,4
		3	11,0	14,2	14,4	13,3	13,1	12,5
7	The majority of people do not like to burden themselves by helping someone else	1	-0,19	-0,27	-0,31	-0,33	-0,28	-0,42
		2	53,2	55,6	57,7	59,4	56,1	64,1
		3	12,4	16,2	16,1	14,4	15,5	13,5
Cynicism Index			8,8	9,6	9,6	9,7	9,6	10,1

1 – coefficient of balance «disagreement–agreement» of social cynicism,

2 – share of those who agreed with the statement,

3 – answer «I don't know».

Source: data sets of national surveys of IS NASU.

Question arises instead of conclusion on both parts. Values of Anomy and Cynicism Indexes indicate the problem of people who see Ukrainian realities in such a way, or the problem of Ukrainian realities? Most probably people just adequately describe the order of things, social-public ill-being.

Social Well-being of Ukrainians

Indeed, it is a social-public ill-being; indicators of social well-being obviously demonstrate this supposition.

The Scale of Social Well-being contains 44 items in full version or 20 items in short version of the scale related to different social benefits from concrete social sphere; every benefit is evaluated individually according to the personal estimation of social benefits' availability (the scale of sufficiency of benefits: 1 – not-sufficient, 2 – difficult to say, 3 – sufficient, 4 – not interested). Integrated Index of Social Well-being as additive index varies from 20 to 60 points for IISS-20 (40 points – average value (conventional zero)).

So we can construct the Index of Sufficiency of Benefits as averaged index according to concrete social sphere. To this effect the scale of sufficiency of benefits is transformed by union 2 and 4 points (those people who are not interested in some benefit are under neutral emotional and estimated condition similar to people who answer «difficult to say»). Index of Sufficiency of Benefits has such values as: 1 – not-sufficient, 2 – conventional zero, 3 – sufficient (Panina, 2008).

Empirical date according to each benefit and IISS-20 during 1992–2010 can see in source (Golovakha, 2011, pp. 36-43).

Improving the economic situation in the country, a society which is exposed to demoralization, has a positive influence on the duration and consequences of this condition. In order that a high level of economic development of the country was decisive in the shaping of the normative system of the society, it is necessary for the society to have a continuous (in time) experience of living in conditions of material wellbeing. Therefore, on the one hand, we can state an improvement of the economic situation in the country during its independence, but on the other hand, we cannot assert the presence of experience of Ukrainian citizens of living under favourable market conditions. After all only those young countrymen, who do not know about the material deprivation period before the 2000s, are able to accumulate the

experience of no psychological concerns related to the society's negative experience as a whole, and even then not everyone, rather only those who used to live / socialized in the relatively good material conditions; such Ukrainians, according to estimates of the Institute of Sociology, in 2002 were 13.9%, in 2004 – 16.6%, in 2005 – 16.8%, in 2006 – 19.6%, in 2008 – 24.9%, in 2010 – 19.5%, in 2011 – 15.0% (Ukrainian society, 2011, p. 111), in 2012 – 18.4% (sum of those who designated on the question of the family's financial position within the last 2–3 months such items as «live in full comfort», «enough for all necessities, do manage to save», «enough for all necessities but not for savings»).

After the economic «lifting» of the country the percentage of living in comfortable circumstances does not increase, and social well-being of the Ukrainian population as a generalized indicator of reaction to social changes either (Golovakha, Panina, 1997). «The growth of social well-being as evaluation of accessibility of social benefits ... may be accompanied by deterioration in emotional state as a reaction to higher unrealized expectations of the people from the power» (Kaplan, 2013). In fact, after 2004 the society did not particularly support certain initiatives for social change, not seeing opportunities to improve their personal situation in them. Thus, the integral evaluation of everybody's own perception of well-being in the main spheres of life (IISS) as criteria for determining direction (positive or negative) of social change shows that the latter has a weakly positive rate (*Table 4*).

Table 4. Integral Index of Social Well-being, mean

	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
IISS–20	35,1	33,7	34,8	34,8	37,3	36,8	38,3	39,4	38,9	38,6	38,8	37,4

Source: data sets of national surveys of IS NASU.

In the ranking of the most deficient social benefits to the Ukrainian society in 2012 turned out such benefits as: savings supporting one's own well-being to last during this year in case of serious illness, unemployment, loss of property (80.6%), the order in society (73.5%), confidence in one's own future (72.5%), observance of acting laws in Ukraine (72.1%), the possibility of having a quality vacation (60.9%), necessary medical care (57.7%), the possibility of providing children with complete education (55.3%), legal protection for defending their rights and interests (54.8%), the opportunity to be fed according to their tastes (52.1%), possibilities of having subsidiary earnings (51.3%), etc. Top-Tens of lacking benefits cover the most important in society of the social sphere.

Today Ukrainians in one way or another have the necessary clothing (50.4%) and basic furniture (43.1), the possibility to buy the most necessary food (subsistence) (44.6%), good housing (39.2%); the Sufficiency of Benefits Index exceeds two points only for material living sphere of 1st level.

It is difficult to comment on the results in *Table 5*. Probably, there are more rhetorical questions than explanatory theses. Does person feel protected in society? Are his/her rights fully ensured, including as a citizen? Is it possible for a society to accumulate social capital ... if the most «defective» spheres are the most important ones of social activity – social safety, professional and labour, recreation and cultural, – or these spheres will always be those due to their importance.

Table 5. The hierarchy of spheres of social activity, mean

Spheres of social activity	Index Sufficiency of Benefits, IISS-20			
	2007	2009	2012	2012*
Social safety	1,36	1,65	1,56	1,41*
Professional and labour	1,90	1,87	1,78	1,64*
Recreation and cultural	1,62	1,75	1,68	1,65*
Material living (2st level)	1,73	1,80	1,78	1,78
Personal	1,91	2,07	2,00	1,87*
Informational and cultural	1,81	1,92	1,85	1,85
Material living (1st level)	1,82	2,24	2,13	2,13

* Given the social benefits that are not included in the short version of IISS-20, but they are very important for Ukrainians; there is an order in society and confidence in their own future, observance of acting laws in the country, the possibility to provide children with complete education.

Source: data sets of national surveys of IS NASU.

Similarly to Index of Anomic Demoralization, the Integral Index of social well-being also differentiates the Ukrainian population: young people declare higher sufficiency of benefits, and people with higher education and higher social status feel better as well (Table 8).

Comparative consideration and analysis of anomy indicators

Ukrainian society is not homogeneous on the indicators of anomic demoralization: degree of their sensation is amplified from the West to the East of the country, while inhabitants of Southwest and Kyiv feel the smallest demoralization, the inhabitants of the South-eastern part of Ukraine – the most. Because the number of the Russian-speaking population increases from the West to the Centre of the country and from the Centre to the East, and there are ethnic groups for which their native language is prevailing compared with both – Ukrainian–and Russian, – those regional differences would be explained by the dominant native language of the inhabitants of the region. But it is not so. Language differences according to the Index of Cynicism are statistically significant not so much between groups of the Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of the country, as between this group and the rest of some other-speaking Ukrainians. The Index of Anomic Demoralization (Index of AD) has no statistically significant differences.

Table 6. Regional differences according to Indexes of AD and Cynicism and IISS-20, mean, 2012

Region	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism*	IISS-20*	Native language	Index of AD	Index of Cynicism**		
West	West	12,9	12,8	9,7	36,1	Ukrainian	13,2	9,9
	Northwest	12,9						
	Southwest	12,3						
Centre	Kyiv	12,3	13,0	9,7	37,0	Russian	13,6	10,4
	Centre	12,8						
	North	13,5						
South	South	13,7	14,1	10,6	37,5	Other	12,3	8,8
	Crimea	13,8						
East	East	13,4	13,4	10,3	39,0	–	–	–
	Southeast	14,6						
Ukraine	13,3	13,3	10,1	37,4	13,3	10,1		

* Correlation coefficients are statistically significant on level 0,001.

** Correlation coefficients are statistically significant on level 0,05.

Source: data set of national survey of IS NASU (2012).

Relation between the type of locality and demoralized condition of its inhabitants strengthens regional differences; as we know, more rural population is in the western part of the country than in the eastern, and rural population is experiencing more uncertainty, instability, lack of understanding of reality and less sufficient of social benefits against the inhabitants of large cities. Highest level of social well-being of the urban population was fixed for the first time in 2005 in Kyiv (43 points); O. Zlobina, analyzing the structure of social benefits, argues that the townspeople «feel the lack of political and economic knowledge significantly less, ... are more confident in their abilities, more resolute, more initiative than the rest of the population of Ukraine» (Zlobina, 2006, pp. 7–8).

Table 7. Locality type differences according to Indexes of AD and Cynicism and IISS–20, mean, 2012

Type of locality	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism	IISS –20*
City (more than 1 million)	12,8	9,9	39,6
City (from 501 thousand to 1 million)	12,4	10,0	38,1
City (251–500 thousand)	13,1	10,0	37,9
City (101–250 thousand)	12,7	9,7	38,0
Town (51–100 thousand)	13,8	10,2	37,7
Town (21–50 thousand)	13,2	9,9	38,7
Town (less than 20 thousand)	13,3	9,5	37,9
Small town (a few thousand)	14,2	10,6	35,2
The country / village	13,7	10,1	36,0
Ukraine	13,3	10,1	37,4

* Correlation coefficients are statistically significant on level 0,001.

Source: data set of national survey of IS NASU (2012).

Thus, regional inconsistency of demoralized Ukrainian society is a reality, and it indicates the presence of «border» conditions in which the country is located. More significant socio-demographic differences are additional confirmation of it.

Table 8. Age and educational differences according to Indexes of AD and Cynicism and IISS–20, mean, 2012

Age	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism	IISS–20*	Level of education	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism	IISS–20*
less 30	12,8	10,4	38,1	Primary, incomplete secondary	14,2	10,3	35,7
30–54	13,0	9,9	37,8	Secondary complete	13,4	10,0	37,0
more 54	14,2	10,1	36,3	Secondary special (technical or specialized school, college)	13,1	10,0	37,5
–	–	–	–	Higher (specialist, master's degree, post graduate, academic degree)	12,3	10,0	40,5

* Correlation coefficients |0,2| are statistically significant on level 0,001.

Source: data set of national survey of IS NASU (2012).

The relationship between age and condition of demoralization of a person and between their education and the same condition has the same strength, but the multidirectional one: the degree of non-acceptance of social reality by person, a sense of alienation from society and the processes occurring in it increases with age, whereas the «higher level of education contributes social inclusion in the contradictory conditions of democratization» (Panina, 2008, p. 129). The conclusion that anomy leads to demoralization less those who are younger with

high levels of education was obtained by N. Panina in 1992 (Panina, 2008, p. 34). For twenty years, the result has not changed; although the level of education of the population as a whole grew, it has not affected the degree of its demoralization. Thus, such factor as availability of higher education is differentiating, but not able to reduce the degree of demoralization of Ukrainian society. Moreover cynical attitude towards other people is more developed among the youth, the most educated and perspective category of the population in terms of the formation the democratic foundations of society, and this means that the deformed integration of a person into a disorganized society successfully is being reproduced.

Of course, the degree of the investigated condition is related to psychological features of a person such as emotionality, personal life satisfaction (Table 9) and present position in society (51.2% of Ukrainians – not satisfied, 19.2% – on the contrary, and 29.6% – difficult to answer), etc. For example, men are demoralized less than more emotional women (Indexes of anomic demoralization are 13.1 and 13.6, respectively, and they are statistically significant at the 0.05 level). Condition despondency, confusion due to the lack of values and regulating norms is more typical for those who were asked about the marital status answered «divorced» officially / non-officially (13.9 and 13.7) or «widow(er)» (14.3), and less characteristic for those who have never been married (12.5); the Index of Anomic Demoralization coincides with common value in the country (13.3) for those who are in a registered / unregistered marriage (13.2 / 13.5). The correlation coefficients are statistically significant at 0.001.

Table 9. Relation between the life satisfaction and anomy indicators, mean, 2012

Satisfied with life in general	AD*	Index of Cynicism*	IISS–20*
Absolutely dissatisfied	14,5	10,3	31,0
Somewhat dissatisfied	13,9	10,4	34,7
Difficult to answer	13,2	10,1	37,9
Somewhat satisfied	12,6	9,8	41,8
Absolutely satisfied	11,3	8,8	44,6
Mean	13,3	10,1	37,4

* Correlation coefficients are statistically significant on level 0,001.

Source: data set of national survey of IS NASU (2012).

There are many psychological factors influencing the value of both indexes, but we are more interested in social factors, increase / decrease of which is able to regulate a negative influence of anomy on Ukrainian society. Indicator of higher education in such system of factors can be defined as giving hope for a better social position and quality of life, etc., but not able to fully change a person in order this person can change something. And despite of the fact that between the level of education and social status in the society, and the material standard of living there is a positive relationship (both factors are significant at the 0.01 level). Talking about a critical mass of professionals who are able to change society, Ye. Golovakha implies only those who have a higher education diploma.

Table 10. Professional differences according to Indexes of AD and Cynicism, mean, 2012

Employment sector	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism	Branch	Index of AD**	Index of Cynicism
Public	13,1	10,0	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	14,3	10,2
Private	12,8	10,0	Industry	13,7	10,0
Both	12,3	10,0	Transport and communications	13,6	10,0
Not employed	13,9	10,2	Health care and Human Services	13,5	9,9
–	–	–	State management	13,2	10,0

Frequency of Advanced Training	Index of AD*	Index of Cynicism			
			Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants	13,1	9,9
			Building, constructing	13,0	10,1
Not once	13,7	10,2	Education	12,9	10,2
Once for a job	13,1	9,9	Services, culture, sports and public organizations	12,9	10,2
Once every few years	12,7	9,7	Financial activity	12,4	9,0
Once a year	13,0	10,1	Scientific / research / expert activities, informatization and promotion	11,6	9,9
2–3 a year	12,3	9,4	Other	14,5	11,4
3–5 a year and more	11,2	9,9	Difficult to say	13,0	10,0

* Correlation coefficients $|0,2|$ are statistically significant on level 0,001.

** Correlation coefficients are statistically significant on level 0,05.

Source: data set of national survey of IS NASU (2012).

Data of *Table 10* show that the value of the Index of Anomic Demoralization is significantly lower among those who often participate in skill-raising activities (participates in trainings, seminars, conferences, advanced training courses). Both factors – advanced training and education – are equally significant (at 0.001 level), affect the well-being of the person in an unstable society – it (well-being) is a little better than others; this is due to the fact that improvement of professional skill is required if they (skill) are indeed, if there is qualification, and therefore the appropriate level of education. And here employment in the public sector (or lack of) is negatively displayed on the degree of demoralization of employees (relationship is statistically significant at 0.001), and probably there is a consequence of a considerable staff reduction of the state apparatus in recent years. Types of employment indicators confirm the following: the anomy affects particularly hard two groups – professional politicians, decision makers in the state sphere, as well as not working, including pensioners and not having any source of income or registered unemployed (14.5 / 14.4), i.e. the people who have a polar social status: the risk of loss of the first status is very high, position in the second – very risky. People having physical labor job (as a laborer, agricultural workers, 13.5 / 13.9) are also difficult to orientate in an uncertain social space. Better than others have adapted to situation in the country:

1 – law enforcement officers, the military – the Index of Anomic Demoralization for them (11.2) differs significantly from the rest of workers of the public sphere (13.1) – apparently, norms and rules for this and in this state institute are the most clearly established and understood;

2 – pupils, students, cadets, graduate students, etc. (11.7), i.e. a cohort of young, that get the minimum necessary subsistence ensuring from someone (parents, State);

3 – people doing small businesses, self-employed (11.9) – here the issue of employment has exclusively individual character.

To select these professional groups, differentiated on the basis of sense of self in society, a cluster analysis on the data set was used as a whole and on a weighted data set for equation of shares of professional groups in data set.

For other types of employment (petty officers; technical specialists or in the field of science, culture, health, education; businessmen in a large or medium-sized business; skilled workers, etc.) the Index of Anomic Demoralization is in the range from 12.2 to 13.1.

Thus, the anomic feelings of people relate to their work:

– First, with the presence of work or the presence of high risk of its loss (positive relationship);

– Second, with employment in those civil/state sectors, where the double institutionalization suggests a greater chance of additional earnings and material benefits (negative relationship);

– Third, with the degree of contacting sphere of the person's employment with the state institutions (positive relationship).

Conclusions

According to the theory of anomie the condition of social disorganization is only momentary. But the presence of specific phenomena of the post-Soviet anomie, many of which have arisen before independence, led to stability and the totality of anomie in the Ukrainian society. Solution to such problems as the criminalization of the judicial system, «state capture», double institutionalization, etc. is a key in the process of «curing» society from an illness that is incompatible with its liberal-democratic and civilian organizations.

According to the value of Index of AD the population is still disoriented and situated in more than an elevated condition of anomic demoralization, which is directly related to the stability and consistency of the political system. Among the main causes / indicators of anomie are as follows – uncertainty of the social space, misunderstanding of an action of the laws, disorder and lack of understanding, general disbelief. Although satisfaction with their position in society, the current situation, the estimation of perspectives of development look as 50/50, the increase of pessimistic expectations, the availability of catastrophic predictions are not observed.

The image of values of Cynicism Index is slightly different: the indicator is not dependent directly on the political changes in the country, and percents of those who agreed with the cynical judgments about other people are constantly rising. Thus, there is a risk of acquiring of Ukrainian society by a high level of social cynicism.

Invariably high indicators of anomic demoralization and social cynicism were seen by Ye. Golovakha as a direct threat to the destruction of social capital, as a decisive factor in social welfare and prospects for sustainable development of society, so far as a cynical social position makes each person an isolated individual, who loses the ability to make no collective resistance to someone who grossly violates their own rights and interests. «The main consequence of the spread of social cynicism – is the destruction of the foundations of social trust, respect and responsibility for their actions before other people» (Golovakha, 2002, p. 20).

The author agrees with the opinion of the famous Ukrainian sociologist, and also considers that high values of anomic demoralization and cynicism testify not only about the problem of people who see Ukrainian realities in such a way, but also about a problem of these realities. Thus, the population of the country adequately describes the order of things, social-public ill-being, and indicators of social well-being obviously demonstrate it. And the reality is that the most important spheres of social life such as – the social safety, professional and labour, recreation and cultural – are the most disadvantaged. Accordingly, among the most deficient social benefits of the Ukrainian society there appear such benefits as: savings supporting one's own well-being during the year in case of serious illness, unemployment, loss of property (80.6%), the order in society (73.5%), confidence in one's own future (72.5%), observance of acting laws in Ukraine (72.1%), the possibility of having a quality vacation (60.9%), necessary medical care (57.7%), the possibility of providing children with complete education (55.3%), legal protection for defending their rights and interests (54.8%), the opportunity to be fed according to their tastes (52.1 %), possibilities of having subsidiary earnings (51.3%), etc.

Ukrainian society is not homogeneous on the indicators of anomic demoralization and cynicism: degree of their sensation is amplified from the West to the East of the country, while inhabitants of Southwest and Kyiv feel the smallest demoralization, the inhabitants of the South-eastern part of Ukraine – the biggest. The situation is reversed with the indicator of social well-being. This is due to the fact that the rural population, which lives in the western part of the country, experiences more uncertainty, instability, lack of understanding of reality and less sufficiency of social benefits in comparison with the inhabitants of large cities.

Thus, regional differences exist, but according to the hypotheses they do not exceed the socio-demographic ones. The youth with higher education is less affected by anomy; if in addition young people have a high social status, they have a large amount of social benefits, and hence they feel much better in the society of other age groups. And nevertheless even in this group the values of all three indexes are above average.

Considering the professional and labour Ukrainians' differences in terms of anomic demoralization and cynicism, the author concludes that the anomic feelings of people are related to their work, namely: (1) with the presence of job or the presence of high risk of its loss (positive relationship); (2) with employment in those civil/state sectors, where the double institutionalization suggests a greater chance of additional earnings and material benefits (negative relationship); (3) with the degree of contacting the sphere of the person's employment with the state institutions (positive relationship). According to the results of this study it is clearly visible the need to reform state institutions; both in this process, and in the development of society as a whole, it is necessary to rely on a group of professionals. A diploma of higher education – this is just an opportunity, a chance to belong to this group. Many criteria for the identification of professionalism, quality of services, etc. existing today, in reality are often used only in theory, but should be applicable in practice in any field and at any level.

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