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Conditionality of civil practices in Ukraine as a reflection of socioeconomic development of society

Abstract

The paper deals with the factors of civil practices in Ukrainian society. The author used the binary logistic regression and correlation analysis based on the data of sociological monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine for 2013. The analysis has shown that socio-economic factors and key structure factors – regional polarization and ethnic origin – proved to have no influence. Instead, socio-psychological factors (interest for policy, confidence in own ability to control authorities and readiness to take the lead and to take part in settling the local problems) proved to be the most influential.

Keywords: civil practices, socio-economic status, regional and ethnic delimitations, socio-psychological factors

Introduction

Society's ability to successfully control state institutions is linked with prevalence of systematic, reproducible and permanent socio-political actions of various social actors. It is a question of civil practices, which are considered as a multidimensional phenomenon — a set of actions, which get conceived while being influenced by different determinants, and gain a steady character and gradually fill up the space of public sphere. These practices become methods of implementing social interests of different strata of society, balancing and stabilizing its social structure. When the traditional, paternalistic strategies of population's be-

havior become inefficient, active social actors whilst possessing the necessary resources and skills, look for new models of civil behavior, among which the most efficient and, therefore, able to become decisive in the creation of new political structures are picked by selection. Thus, civil practices become a social resource for gaining social positions and benefits in a transitional society, increasing fighting chances in stratification rivalry and directing the course of political institutionalization. Moreover, the phenomenon of citizenship manifests through civil practices — citizen's awareness of his/her rights and responsibilities in the life of country, creating conditions for the most complete disclosure of the human's full potential, his/her creative self-expression.

Theoretical methods

There is a difference between conventional (traditional) and unconventional (non-traditional) forms of civic practices that depend on traditions of political participation. Fairly routine behavior, which is carried out through institutional channels and is acceptable to the culture that is dominant in society's political, can be put to conventional forms. Traditional practices demonstrate either support of political regime, or the desire to change the regime's policy or affect it. Unconventional practice is mainly associated with protest behavior. Non-conventional forms of civic practices, including forced ones, are resorted to when traditional forms, for a variety of reasons become unavailable or do not bring the desired result.

Among the many theoretical methods that explain the factors of civic engagement in contemporary empirical studies, several that confirmed their effectiveness and practical relevance are highlighted. Among these methods: *structural*, *socioeconomic*, *socio-psychological and resource-mobilizational* — can be outlined.

The structural method focuses on the social schisms arising from contradictions between the interests of large groups of people, due to the social stratification on various grounds. The theory of social schisms (S. M. Lipset and C. Rokan) comes from the fact that people's political behavior isn't conditioned by conscious political preferences, but by affiliation with large social groups formed as a result of differences or even social conflicts. These differences, particularly in Western Europe, arose as a result of modernization processes that divided centre and periphery, State and Church, town and village, owners and employees. At the time, institutionalized differences formed a certain structure of political preferences of citizens [Lipset, Rokkan, 1985]. That is, the determination of civil behavior is conditioned by solidarity and identification with a group. Scientists also pay attention to the existence of new "divisions", "schisms", "separations", "differences". Formed, on this basis, groups can also be of religious, ethnic, linguistic, migrational, regional, settlemental and class nature [Deegan-Krause, 2007]. Social schisms can be provoked by other socio-cultural dimensions as well, particularly geopolitical, historical, etc. This is especially true in the case of multicultural societies, where unequal access of different groups to social resources creates a conflict situation.

Socio-economic method primarily considers socioeconomic status as an incentive, which is traditionally defined as a derivative of income, profession, education level, etc. Early attempts to calculate level of socioeconomic resource were based on a combination of education and income. High socioeconomic status gives advantages to a person, as it provides possession of necessary information, skills and competence. It also promotes adoption of necessary standards and models of civil behavior (including a sense of civic duty), which can be seen as motives of involvement of the individual into politics that gives the opportunity to gain experience and secure the necessary support from official bodies [Verba, Nie, Kim, 1987: p. 286–292]. Socioeconomic status is conditioned by distribution of social resources: education, formation of habit of seeking new information, willingness to learn new skills and the ability to self-mobilize; money, which frees up time to engage in civic activities; high social status and prestige, to the bearers of which the government listens more willingly; and finally, some behavioral skills, for example, the ability to properly state your requirements in an comprehensible manner, acceptable for politicians and bureaucrats. Of course, all these resources are concentrated in the hands of socially privileged strata of the population.

Socio-psychological method of researching the civil action focuses on intrapersonal factors and the person's abilities to self-actualize in social life. Concepts of political efficacy and political involvement proved to be the most famous interpretations of civic activity actualization, which have socio-psychosocial content and are often used in studies of political culture [Dahl, 1961; Milbrath, Klein, 1962; Renshon, 1974: p. 125]. Political efficacy is defined as an individual's feeling that his political action has or will have an impact on the political process. Political involvement is manifested through political interest and competence, which will certainly contribute to activity. The perceived political competence and civic duty increases. The self-confidence and belief in the opportunity to realize one's ambitions become decisive factors for people to take action. When the importance of civic duty outweighs one's own selfish outlook, preconditions of identification and solidarity with the referent group arise, decreases interpersonal distrust, because of the emotional intensity of personal relationships that occurs.

Since the late 1960-ies, the theory of resource mobilization dominates in explaining the determinants of social movements and civic engagement (McCarthy, Zald, Ash, Gamson, Tilly). According to this theory, public movements should be seen as purposeful, controlled activities, which depend on the efficiency of accumulation of resources (money, access to mass media, status, skills, education, knowledge, connections, etc.) for the development of civic engagement and social movements [McCarthy, Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983]. The resource mobilization theory implies that in modern pluralistic societies, protest becomes a normal phenomenon, because there is always dissatisfaction. This, in turn, diminishes the importance of factors of dissatisfaction, because pluralism makes them ubiquitous. The actors, who decided to participate in a civil action, are rational. They weigh the costs and benefits of participation (such considerations are clearly linked to the influence of rational choice theory). The time length and

participation character depend on the content of accumulated resources and position of the individual in social networks.

Directive, which absorbed achievements of the theory of resource mobilization and socio-psychological methods to political engagement, gained embodiment in a long empirical research of Verba, Sliman and Brady. Exploring the problem of stratification of political activity, they applied *the model of civic voluntarism* (Civic Voluntarism Model). The basic factors of this model were *resources, motivation and mobilization*. Resources are comprised of time, money, and civic skills. One acquires these resources in the process of socialization through family, school, workplace, voluntary organizations, religious institutions, etc. Civic skills include communication and organizational abilities that allow citizens to use time and money effectively in civilian activities. Motivation determines the set of psychological incentives to participate (political interest, political efficacy, sense of civic duty, party identification, etc.). Mobilization is interpreted as an inducement to participate in civil actions [Verba, Schlozman, Brady, 1995: p. 269–273]. All three of these factors are mutually reinforcing and provide cumulative political advantages to their owners.

Civil practices' configuration of factors in Ukrainian society: methodological aspects

The study of social activity and protest behavior of the population of Ukraine testify to the prevalence of certain type of factors depending on the stage of development of Ukrainian society. In sociological studies of the first half of 1990-ies among the reasons for the possible participation of Ukraine's population in the protests, problems of material survival were dominating. [Bekeshkina, 1993; Bekeshkina, 1994, p. 37–40; Golovakha, 1997: p. 61–64]. Studies of the late 1990s — early 2000-ies captures the tendency of ideological divisions in terms of dissentive moods. In particular, the protest potential prevailed among people with a leftist ideological orientation: the adherents of socialism to a greater extent than supporters of capitalism, declared their consent to participate in rallies and demonstrations [Golovakha, Panina, 1999; Golovakha, Panina, 2001].

The transformation phase, when, according to Golovakha and Panina, a new institutional crisis was born (1999-2004), which started with, "the formed in previous years institutional system coming into conflict with the needs of the most active segments of population, and with the interests of influential political opposition, which haven't found (or lost) their place in the established power hierarchy" [Golovakha, Panina, 2006: p. 44]. The reasons for this, according to them, was that, "feeling some freedom from the exhausting daily struggle for physical survival, many citizens of Ukraine have shown an increased interest in political conflicts related to the end of the "Kuchma era" and the necessity of choosing his successor" [Golovakha, Panina, 2006: p. 44–45]. That is, civil activity was conditioned with increased resource component — improvement of financial position and the availability of free time. It should be noted that the dynamics of the valuative priorities of citizens of Ukraine on the eve of the civil revitalization at the end of 2004, which was documented in studies of the Institute of sociology of NAS of Ukraine, testified to a gradual increase of the modernization potential of

social self-realizational values [Rucka, 2004]. Moreover, as shown by monitoring research of the Institute of sociology of NAS of Ukraine, gradually, even though by a negligible margin, there was an increase in citizens' confidence in the existence of an opportunity to influence the government, especially local, in response to the violation of their rights and interests.

However, the deciding factor was the allocation of regional demarcation with its ethnic and cultural characteristics that gave grounds to consider these events as a certain stage of ethnopolitical process in society. In particular, it is argued that, in the electoral schism of Ukraine the identity factor started to play its role, so the Orange revolution was not as much democratic, as ethnocultural [Golovakha, Panina, 2006: p. 50] or national democratic [Stepanenko, 2005: p. 23]. Apart from the regional split ethnic, linguistic differences, geopolitical preferences and positions on the issue of Russian language also appeared to be influential. Regional polarization that emerged in the presidential election of 2004 continued in the next parliamentary elections of 2006, early parliamentary elections of 2007 and presidential elections of 2010, and, partially, in the parliamentary elections of 2012. At the same time, an analysis of the influence factors of civil practice in the second half of 2000-ies have documented a gradual leveling of regional and ethnic factors [Reznik, 2011: p. 253–271].

Thus, given the specificity of the Ukrainian society, it is possible to outline three types of civic practices factors: structural, resource and socio-psychological incentives. Among the structural factors, covering all possible lines of value-ideological stratification of Ukrainian society, it is possible to outline regional and ethnic factors. Resource factors include socioeconomic status (education, financial situation) and available free time. Among the socio-psychological incentives for political engagement such factors are outlined: the willingness to participate in local affairs, interest in politics and subjective control over the power.

Hypotheses

Electoral division, which still survives and is reproduced in the support, on the one hand, of authorities, and on the other hand — of opposition by representatives of certain ethnoregional communities, should affect the determination of civil practices, especially the protest ones. However, the fragmentation of the opposition forces, the disappointment in the government among its electoral base reduces the likelihood of ethnoregional conditionality of civic practices. Therefore, in consideration of the factors of the civil practices of Ukraine's population had to figure out what is more important for their formation — ethnoregional division or civic voluntarism, based on socio-economic resources and socio-psychological aspects of political competence and engagement. Based on the results of the abovementioned studies, I will try to put forward the following hypotheses:

- civil practices depend heavily on the existing in the Ukrainian society social divisions, due to historical development, namely regional and ethnocultural differences in the process of defining Ukraine's ways of development:
- 2) civil practices are largely conditioned by the existing socio-economic resources and socio-psychological incentives.

Data description

Empirical base is formed by an array of empirical data of sociological monitoring of Institute of sociology of NAS of Ukraine for 2013, in the program of which the copyright issue has been included. The sample group consists of 1,800 people and is representative of the adult population of Ukraine (age 18 and older). By type of construction, the sampling is a three-staged one: stratified, random, and quota screening on the last stage (sampling authors: N.Panina, N.Churilov). The first stage is the selection of settlements (survey points), the second — selection of addresses (starting route points), the third — selection of respondents. Quota screening, on its last step, allows subsets of each region of Ukraine to preserve the proportions of population by type of settlement (regional center/town/village), gender, age and level of education, that are typical for a particular region and a particular type of settlement.

The procedure and methodology of the study

To elucidate factors of the civil practices the model of binary logistic regression was applied. This method grants ability to study most accurately the influence of various factors on a dichotomous dependent variable. As a dependent dichotomous variable of "participation in political activities" was used, which takes the value 1 for the group that participated in at least one socio-political event, and a value of 0 for the group of those who didn't participate in any of such events. The following indicators are considered as a model of independent variables:

- "educational level", measured on a 5-point scale with possible answers: 1 primary, lower secondary; 2 general secondary; 3 specialized secondary (technical college, specialized school, College); 4 first degree of higher education (bachelor); 5 complete higher education (specialist, master, postgraduate, academic degree);
- "family's material standard of living", measured on the basis of the question
 "Please rate the material standard of living of your family" on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is the lowest, and 10 points is the highest;
- "time needed to get to workplace", measured on the basis of the question "How much time do you spend each day to get to work in another city or town in Ukraine and return home?" on a 5-point scale with possible answers: 1 one hour; 2 hour and a half; 3 two hours; 4 two and a half hours; 5 three hours and more;
- "the willingness to participate in local affairs", measured on the basis of the question "Are you ready with the support of the public to show personal initiative and to get involved in solving of actual problems of your apartment building, street, neighborhood, or the whole settlement within your capabilities?" on a 4-point scale with possible answers: 1 definitely ready; 2 rather ready; 3 rather not ready; 4 definitely not ready;
- "interest in politics", measured on the basis of the question "To what extent are you interested in politics?" with possible answers: 1 completely not interested; 2 interested to some extent; 3 very interested;

- "the possibility of control over the power" a dichotomous dummy variable which takes the value 1 for those who in the answer to the question "In your opinion, do you have the ability to control the activities of governmental structures?" indicated any position from the list of proposed options (through the mass media, court and law enforcement bodies, public organizations, political parties, through participation in elections (of deputies of the Verkhovna Rada, of President of Ukraine), through referendums, international organizations, Internet), and a value of 0 for those who indicated that it has no ability to control the activities of governmental structures:
- "regional polarization (2004)", dichotomous dummy variable which takes the value 1 for those who indicated their place of residence in the West-Central region (Vinnytsia, Volyn, Zhytomyr, Transcarpathian, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Lviv, Poltava, Rivne, Sumy, Ternopil, Khmelnytsky, Cherkasy, Chernivtsi, Chernihiv and Kyiv regions), and value 0 for those who indicated their place of residence in the South-Eastern region (AR Crimea, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, Kherson regions);
- "nationality", a dummy dichotomous variable which takes the value 1 for those who consider themselves ethnic Ukrainians, and the value 0 for those who identified themselves as Russian.

Results' summary

As evidenced by the results of the study, only one in five participated in at least one of socio-political events (see table 1). Given the nature of socio-political practices, population largely practices more conventional forms (18,9%) than non-conventional (6,9%). Draws attention the fact that among the socio-political practices the most widespread is persuasion of friends, close ones, and acquaintances in the rightness of one's political views. Political discussions with the immediate surrounding are the simplest and safest way to express one's opinion, as social interaction with this category of people assumes generally adequate reactions of the interlocutors and serves as an original primary ground for "honing" one's own civil abilities.

Despite the overall growth of discontent and protest sentiments in Ukrainian society, the embodiment of their real forms — civil practices — extremely low: respectively 2.8% and 0.5% of the population participated in authorized and unauthorized rallies or demonstrations. It is obvious that the presence of protest attitudes isn't a sufficient condition for a real behavior. This requires additional factors, which together should form the necessary and sufficient conditions.

The construction of the equation of binary logistic regression of the influence of various factors on a dichotomous dependent variable participation in socio-political events are reflected in table 2. So, correctly classified 69.8% of the total number of analyzed respondents, indicating a sufficient quality of the constructed model. A built model of binary logistic regression of the influence of different factors on the dependent variable is predictable enough, since the *Nagel-kerke R Square* index, which is analogous to the coefficient of determination in

the model equation of the linear regression, shows the proportion of the influence of all predictors model on the dispersion of the dependent variable 0,469. This means that the factors explain 46,9% of the variance in influence.

Table 1
Dynamics of answers of Ukraine's population to the question:
"In what kind of political activities you have personally participated in the last 12 months?", 2013

	Possible answers	%*	
Conventional practices	Convinced friends, family, and acquaintances in rightness of my political views		
	Wore the symbols of a political nature		
	Came in contact with the official authorities		
	Came in contact with activists of political organizations		
	Participated in work of the pre-election headquarters		
	Participated in the work of public organizations		
	Sent out emails of political character on mobile phones and e-mails	0,7	
Unconventional practices	Collected signatures under the collective complaints	3,1	
	Didn't buy certain products for political reasons		
	Participated in legal meetings and demonstrations		
	Participated in the hunger strikes		
	Participated in a boycott (refused to implement the decisions of administration, authorities)		
	Participated in unsanctioned rallies, demonstrations or strikes	0,5	
	Picketed public institutions		
	Blocked lines of communication	_	
	Participated in a capture of buildings of public institutions	_	
	Other ones	0,2	
	In any of such events, I did not participate	80,0	
	CIVIL PRACTICES IN GENERAL	20,0	
	Conventional forms of civic practices in General	18,9	
	Unconventional forms of civic practices in General	6,9	

^{*} The sum of the percentages exceeds 100 because respondents could choose several answers.

Among the factors included in the model, socioeconomic and structural factors turned out to be insignificant, because they do not have a statistically significant impact on participation of the Ukrainian population in the socio-political events (the significance of the coefficients in column *Sig.*). Analysis of the coefficients of the constructed equation (column *B*) reflects the overall indicated impact of each of the socio-psychological factors. It should be noted that the negative impact of a measure of readiness to participate in local affairs in the context of the respective scale means that the lower the willingness of the population to show personal initiative and to be involved in the solution of actual problems, the

less his actual participation in social and political activities. That is, the larger the commitment, the greater the likelihood of civil practices.

 ${\it Table~2}$ Logistical regression and partial correlation indicator for the dependent variable "participation in sociopolitical activities", 2013

Factors	Logistic regression				Correlation
ractors	В	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	R (Sig.)
The level of education	0,071	0,254	0,079	0,779	0,095 (0,000)
The material standard of living of family	0,315	0,220	2,048	0,152	0,093 (0,000)
The time needed to get to work	-0,724	0,382	3,596	0,058	-0,036 (0,686)
Willingness to participate in local affairs	-0,866	0,353	6,018	0,014	-0,283 (0,000)
Interest in politics	1,638	0,712	5,300	0,021	0,210 (0,000)
The possibility of control over the government	1,315	0,640	4,228	0,040	0,217 (0,000)
Regional polarization (2004)	0,932	0,709	1,725	0,189	0,050 (0,033)
Nationality	-0,586	1,386	0,179	0,673	-0,012 (0,621)
Constant	-2,018	2,388	0,714	0,398	

 $Nagelkerke\ R\ Square = 0,469.$

Correctly classified 69.8% of sites.

Also influential was the time factor that was needed to get to workplace: the less that takes time, the more people can indulge in civil practice. However, a comparison of the levels of influence of independent variables using an indicator of partial correlation (*K*) of these variables with the dependent (this metric shows the sorting of the factors by the relative strength of their influence on the dependent variable) demonstrated that the specific time index is uninfluential in strength, because there is no statistical significance of the correlation coefficient with the index of participation in socio-political events. Besides, it was found that a stronger influence was created by socio-psychological variable of "willingness to participate in local affairs." A slightly lower by power (but not too much) influence is caused by other socio-psychological factors — interest in politics and subjective ability of control over the government.

Summary

The application of the method of binary logistic regression and partial correlation showed that the hypothesis about the influence of ethnoregional polarization didn't prove to be true. At the same time, the assumption that civil practices are largely attributable to available socio-economic resources and socio-psychological incentives, were justified only partially. It turned out that the interest of the individual to politics, one's belief in his/her own ability to control the authority and the willingness to take the initiative and get involved in solving local

problems — all this together contributes to the spread of civil practices. While the education level, material standard of living, ethnicity and regional identity aren't sufficient incentives for civil practices to be determined by in the modern Ukrainian society. This, generally, indicates the falseness of fears of ethnoregional schism of Ukraine, since significant differences of the population on these grounds in orientations and attitudes do not translate into actual behaviour. On the other hand, a low prevalence of civic practices in Ukrainian society can be explained by the reduction of material situation of the population, its concentration on the challenges of economic survival. It is the insufficiency of socio-economic resources among the population that does not contribute to the growth of civil practices in Ukraine.

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