

МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ ТА МЕТОДИ СОЦІОЛОГІЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ

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The Value Dimension of Public Opinion in Ukraine During the Full Scale War and Its Role for Post-War Reconstruction

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The article is devoted to the relevance of the social values of liberal-democratic societies during the war, their structural features, and their role in the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine. The corresponding values include safety, diversity, selectivity, normativity, freedom, equality, order, stability, development, independence, and strength.

The empirical part of the study is based on the results of an online survey conducted in July 2022. The sample size is 2,350 respondents (women – 51,3 %, men – 48,7 %, average age – 37,3 years). The structure of the sample repeats the structure of the urban population of Ukraine aged 18 to 55 at the beginning of the war in settlements with 50 thousand inhabitants or more for all regions, except the following groups: 1) population on the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions temporarily occupied at the beginning of the war, as well as AR Crimea; 2) population on other territories of Luhansk region; 3) population on the territories of Kherson region.

The ranking of societal values (Condorcet method) was established: safety (80,5 %), strength (63,8 %), order (61,3 %), normativity (58,9 %), equality (53,6 %), liberty (48,4 %), stability (44,0 %), independence (37,4 %), development (35,6 %), diversity (34,1 %), selectivity (32,3 %).

Two clusters are identified in the structure of societal values. The first includes order, safety, diversity, selectivity, normativity, liberty, and equality. In general, this value cluster emphasizes the need for internal balance, which is a fundamental guarantee of national resilience during a large-scale war, as it preserves the ability of society to generate additional resources needed by the state. The second value cluster includes strength, development, independence, and stability. This substructure is related to that part of national resilience responsible for responding to external crises and challenges.

Forecasts were made regarding the priority relevance of almost all societal values in the period of post-war reconstruction: 1) safety due to the damage caused by the war to the population and territories of Ukraine; 2) strength due to the successes of Ukraine in the defense and diplomatic spheres; 3) order due to the inadmissibility of cleavage narratives in society; 4) normativity due to the request for implementation of the rule of law; 5) equality due to the need for support of broad sections of the population from the state; 6) liberty due to the need of gradual easing of restrictions that arose due to the war; 7) stability due to the constant demand for it in peacetime; 8) development due to its fundamental importance for the national subjectivity of Ukraine; 9) diversity due to modern landmarks of civilizational development; 10) selectivity due to the need for effective management decisions.

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Дембіцький Сергій, Кириченко Роман, Сальнікова Світлана, Сидоров Микола. Ціннісний вимір громадської думки в Україні під час повномасштабної війни та його значення для післявоєнної відбудови. У статті досліджено актуальність соціетальних цінностей ліберально-демократичних суспільств під час війни, їх структурні особливості та ролі в післявоєнній відбудові України. Емпірична частина дослідження ґрунтується на результатах онлайн-опитування (липень 2022). Структура вибірки (N=2350; жінки – 51,3 %, чоловіки – 48,7 %) повторює структуру міського населення України у віці від 18 до 55 років на початок війни в населених пунктах від 50 тис. жителів та більше, за винятком окупованих регіонів. Установлено рейтинг соціетальних цінностей (метод Кондорсе): безпека (80,5 %), сила (63,8 %), порядок (61,3 %), нормативність (58,9 %), рівність (53,6 %), свобода (48,4 %), стабільність (44,0 %), самостійність (37,4 %), розвиток (35,6 %), різноманіття (34,1 %), селективність (32,3 %). У структурі соціетальних цінностей ідентифіковано два кластери. Перший упереднює потребу внутрішньої рівноваги, що є принциповою запорукою національної стійкості під час російсько-української війни, оскільки зберігає можливість суспільства генерувати додаткові ресурси, необхідні державі. Другий кластер пов'язаний із тією частиною національної стійкості, що відповідає за реагування на зовнішні кризи та виклики. Зроблено прогноз щодо першочергової актуальності майже всіх соціетальних цінностей у період післявоєнної відбудови, за винятком цінності самостійності (останнє пов'язано з необхідністю інтеграції до західних політичних та оборонних структур).

Ключові слова: російсько-українська війна, соціетальні цінності, ієрархія цінностей, ціннісна структура, метод Кондорсе.

INTRODUCTION

The creation of meanings and the value dimension of life are inextricably linked. In this sense, the state of war rips the fabric of established everyday meanings and fills life with new accents and questions that require a priority solution. It does not mean values also fundamentally change, but they configure in an undeniably new way in structural and hierarchical orders.

A logically connected system of values is formed under the influence of many factors – religion, history, population size, etc. In addition, for Ukrainian society – under the influence of the Russo-Ukrainian war, which on February 24, 2022 turned into a full-scale invasion. Because of the war, the nature of religiosity, the demographic situation, and spatial opportunities will change. In particular, territorial differentiation will increase. Values are, to a greater extent, correlated with goal-setting aspects of human activity and determine the general, strategic regulation of people's behavior, so the corresponding dimension is significant for the successful post-war reconstruction of Ukraine.

The Objective of the Study

The problematic situation in which the Ukrainian state found itself opens the possibility of studying the specifics of the value sphere of our society in the conditions of war. Therefore, the article **aims** to determine

the structural and hierarchical features of the societal values of Ukrainian society at the current stage. We will also try to make predictions about the relevance of various societal values at the stage of post-war reconstruction.

1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1. Conceptual Part

We divide people's values into individual and supra-individual or societal values. While individual values are objects that satisfy basic biological or psychological needs and access to which an individual considers as desirable (conditional value or interest) or necessary (unconditional value), the values of the societal level represent the desired or necessary emergent properties of social interaction between different social groups (Dembitskyi et al., 2019, p. 111). While at the individual level, different values create a unique hierarchy for each person, which means giving preference to some values over others, at the societal level, each value is essential from the viewpoint of the functioning of society or its constituent parts. Accordingly, failure to provide social values leads to negative consequences for the functioning and development of the social system.

Obviously, for each type of society, there is a list of optimal emergent properties of social interaction. In our work, we do not set the task of considering all societal values but only those of them that are of fundamental importance for the success of societies that support the values of liberal democracy. The history of the development of democratic thought (Held, 2006) immediately provides an initial list of relevant societal values: security, freedom, equality, selectivity, and normativity. Considering the fact that the basis of modern liberal democracies is national states, we should add order, stability, independence, and strength to the listed values, which are prerequisites for the success of the state and are also directly related to its civilizational subjectivity (Tilly, 1992). Finally, the modern global world creates a demand for such social values as diversity and development – without those it is impossible to take a worthy place among other countries, even if other values are respected.

The listed values' meanings are as follows:

Security: protecting society members from internal destructive processes (crime, environmental problems, discrimination, etc.).

Diversity: ensuring peaceful coexistence in a society of social groups with different political, religious and cultural ideals.

Selectivity: distribution of positions in state structures based on applicants' qualifications, experience and reputation.

Normativity: compliance with legal laws and regulatory procedures in all areas subject to appropriate regulation.

Freedom: minimization of state interference in society, its groups and individuals.

Equality: ensuring the same fundamental rights and opportunities for representatives of all social groups (in education, social protection and medical care).

Order: prevention of acute confrontation between different social groups in society and between social groups and the state.

Stability: maintenance of standards of living achieved in society.

Development: ensuring the correspondence or progress of the country's scientific and technological achievements to the level of the world's leading nations.

Independence: solving issues of state building without the intervention of external political forces.

Power: defending the state's position in international politics at the regional or global level.

Ensuring the first nine values is a condition for the success of modern nation-states from the point of view of their domestic politics. In turn, implementing the last two indicates success in the international arena.

1.2. Research Methods

1.2.1. Design

We rely on the data of an online survey, which MARKET VISION LLC conducted at the request of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine within the framework of the research project «Systematic approach to the sociological study of individual values: empirical implications» in July 2022. The sample size is 2,350 respondents (women – 51,3 %, men – 48,7 %, average age 37,3 years). The structure of the sample repeats the structure of the urban population of Ukraine aged 18 to 55 at the beginning

of the war in settlements with 50 thousand inhabitants or more for all regions, except for 1) the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions temporarily occupied at the beginning of the war, as well as AR Crimea; 2) other territories of Luhansk region; 3) territories of Kherson region. Therefore, Luhansk and Kherson regions were excluded entirely from the study. Researchers made this decision due to the insufficient coverage of the respective respondents due to military operations in the respective territories.

1.2.2. Tool

The sociological test «Index of societal values – 11»¹ was used to measure values. Passing the test involves five stages. In the first stage, the respondent indicates which of the values, in their opinion, the Ukrainian state can **temporarily** neglect in connection with the war. In the second stage, regarding the values, which, according to the respondent, cannot be ignored even in war conditions, the question arises whether they are a priority for Ukraine or are currently secondary for provision. In the third stage, the respondent ranks the values that, in their opinion, cannot be neglected and are in priority (the result is the first ranked row). In the fourth stage, the respondent ranks the values that cannot be neglected but are secondary to provision (second-ranked row). In the fifth stage, the respondent ranks the values they can ignore during the war (third-ranked row).

The specified ranked series are compiled (without the respondent's participation) and form a general ranked series of societal values, which is the basis for statistical analysis.

1.2.3. Statistical Analysis

We used the Condorcet method (Sydorov, & Kostenko, 2017) to construct an aggregate rating of values based on respondents' ratings, one of the methods used in collective decision-making – the aggregation of respondents' individual opinions regarding the advantages of this or that indicator. It lacks the subjectivity of evaluating the distances between ranks. Its result is easier to justify in the absence of the Condorcet paradox when it is impossible to achieve a linear chain of ranks by pairwise comparisons.

In the Condorcet method, for a selected pair of values (let A and B), we estimate the number of respondents for whom A is more important than B ($A > B$) and, accordingly, the number of those respondents for whom $A < B$. The result is the difference between these numbers, which determines the final direction of the inequality. Such inequalities are constructed for all pairs and combined into one chain of ranks. Suppose such a chain is linear (without looping) and contains all values. In that case, there are reasons to assert the absence of the Condorcet paradox and the possibility of constructing the resulting rank structure.

We used the earlier approach to analyze the relationships between values (Dembitskyi, & Sydorov, 2022, p. 10–13). In its most general form, its essence is to test for a statistically significant increase or decrease (one-sample Z-test) in the probability of other values ranking high, given that the value in focus is high. Given that the number of values in this study was eleven, we considered as high those from first to third. We should also note that the following value structures are based exclusively on positive relationships, that is when values reinforce each other.

All calculations we performed using the R programming language (version 4.0.1).

2. RESEARCH RESULTS

2.1. Assessment of the Relevance of Societal Values

The distribution of respondents' evaluations (see table 1) is given based on the answers to two questions: about the possibility of neglecting the provision of value during the war and whether the value is a priority if it cannot be neglected. At the same time, the values are ordered as the difference decreases between the respondents who believe that a particular value is now a priority and the respondents who think that it can be neglected during the war.

In the most general form, we can divide the given distribution into three groups. In the first one, the priority rating significantly outweighs the other ratings. Societal values of security, strength, order, normativity and equality are relevant. The second group includes societal values for which priority assessment prevails less perceptibly – freedom, stability and independence. The last group consists of those societal values for which

¹ The first version of this test was the «Index of ensuring social values» (Dembitskyi, 2020, p. 198–199), but it was significantly modified structurally both in view of the war situation in which Ukraine is and in the context of changing the purpose of sociological tools. At the same time, the content of the indicators remained the same.

most respondents choose the answer option «may temporarily neglect» in wartime conditions. These include the values of diversity, development and selectivity.

Table 1

Assessment of Relevance of Societal Values by Respondents

Societal Value	Values Assessment			Balance
	It Can Be Temporarily Ignored	It Cannot Be Temporarily Ignored		
		In the Second Place	In Priority	
Safety	11,3	6,4	82,3	71,0
Strength	15,9	6,8	77,3	61,4
Order	17,2	11,9	71,0	53,8
Normativity	19,7	9,7	70,6	50,9
Equality	21,0	14,5	64,5	43,5
Liberty	35,7	17,0	47,3	11,6
Stability	40,3	11,8	48,0	7,7
Independence	39,8	16,1	44,2	4,4
Diversity	41,4	18,3	40,4	-1,0
Development	44,7	16,1	39,1	-5,6
Selectivity	43,6	19,7	36,7	-6,9

Source: author's research.

The first group consists of values that are corresponding to survival. It is quite logical that they are decisive for Ukraine's population during the large-scale Russian war against Ukraine. It is indicative that the first two places are the values of security and power. The first is responsible for protecting the population in the middle of the country, and the second is for international solid positions.

The second group of values aims to ensure the quality of life of people and the country. Although this group retains a particular importance, it is significantly inferior to the first one: objectively, the quality of life during the war is forced to decrease, and its restoration to the pre-war level requires a favorable end of the war.

The third group of values is aimed at the country's development in a broad sense: social, scientific and personnel. We cannot say that the respondents do not attach any importance to this group of values, but it is clearly the least priority. Of course, the war situation, with a constructive way out of it, lays the guidelines for future development. However, the successful use of these guidelines requires targeted attention and actions of state institutions to ensure this group of values.

2.2. Assessment of the Relevance of Societal Values: the Condorcet Method

We observe a similar picture regarding the relevance of values when using the Condorcet method (see fig. 1). However, this method provides additional valuable information. The unequivocal leader is the value of security. The values of strength, order and normativity come after that. Equality closes the societal values group occupying a dominant position (> 50 %).

In the group of social values responsible for the quality of life, the most important is freedom. The least important here is independence, the lagging of which in the composition of this group is quite easily explained by Ukraine's dependence on Western aid during the war.

After all, the latter group is differentiated as weakly as in the results of ordinary percentage distributions.

2.3. Gender and Age Differences: Condorcet Method

The ranking of societal values demonstrated above is relatively stable in different social and demographic groups. Still, noticeable differences are recorded in divisions by gender (see fig. 2) and age (see fig. 3).

Thus, among women, a group of social values corresponding to survival is somewhat actualized: safety, strength, order, normativity and equality. Among men, on the contrary, the relevance of these values is slightly weaker, although it still indicates their priority status. Accordingly, the relevance of two of the three values belonging to the group responsible for well-being (freedom and independence) and the relevance of all values from the group responsible for development increases among men.

Regarding age differences, four societal values – order, normativity, freedom and independence – can be specially noted. The relevance of the value of order increases in the oldest age group (respondents aged 50 and older). The relevance of normativity gradually increases with age but somewhat weakens in the most senior

group compared with the previous one. The value of freedom, on the contrary, is the most important for young people, and then it becomes less pronounced. After all, the value of independence is the least relevant for the youngest group of respondents and increases in other age groups.

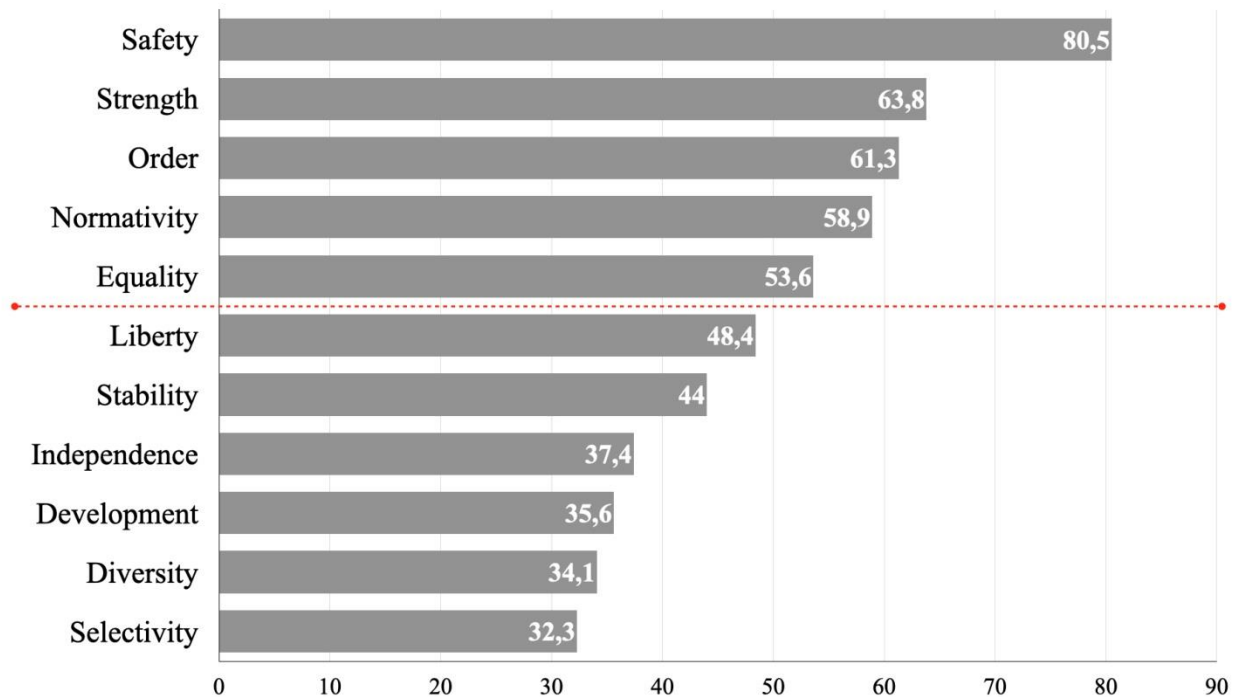


Fig. 1. Rating of Societal Values (Condorcet Method), %

Source: author's data analysis.

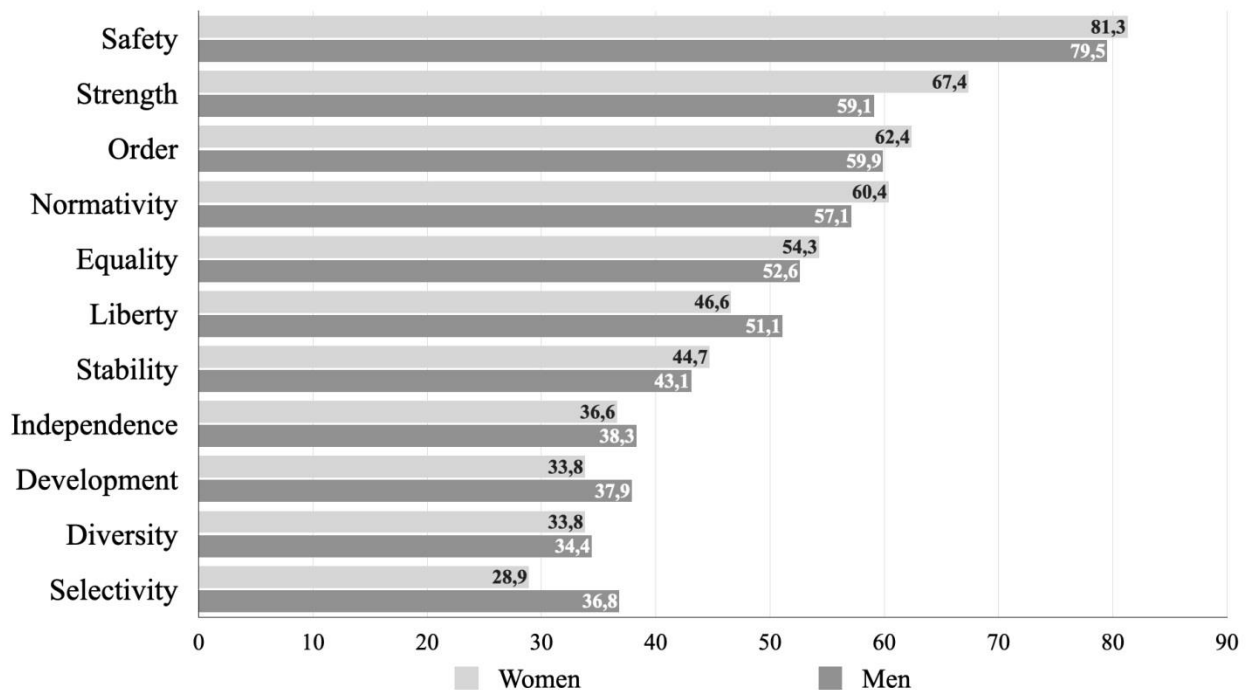


Fig. 2. Rating of Societal Values (Condorcet Method) Among Men and Women, %

Source: author's data analysis.

Another interesting point regarding the value of freedom can also be noted: in the societal dimension, age differences are observed, but they disappear when it comes to the value of personal freedom, that is, the value at the individual level². In the latter case, its relevance is quite high (the empirical index of the Condorcet method is about 63–65 %) and almost does not change with age. Therefore, where the intervention of the state in the life of society, its separate groups and individuals, according to the respondents, can be allowed, it is most likely not about their personal life but the lives of others.

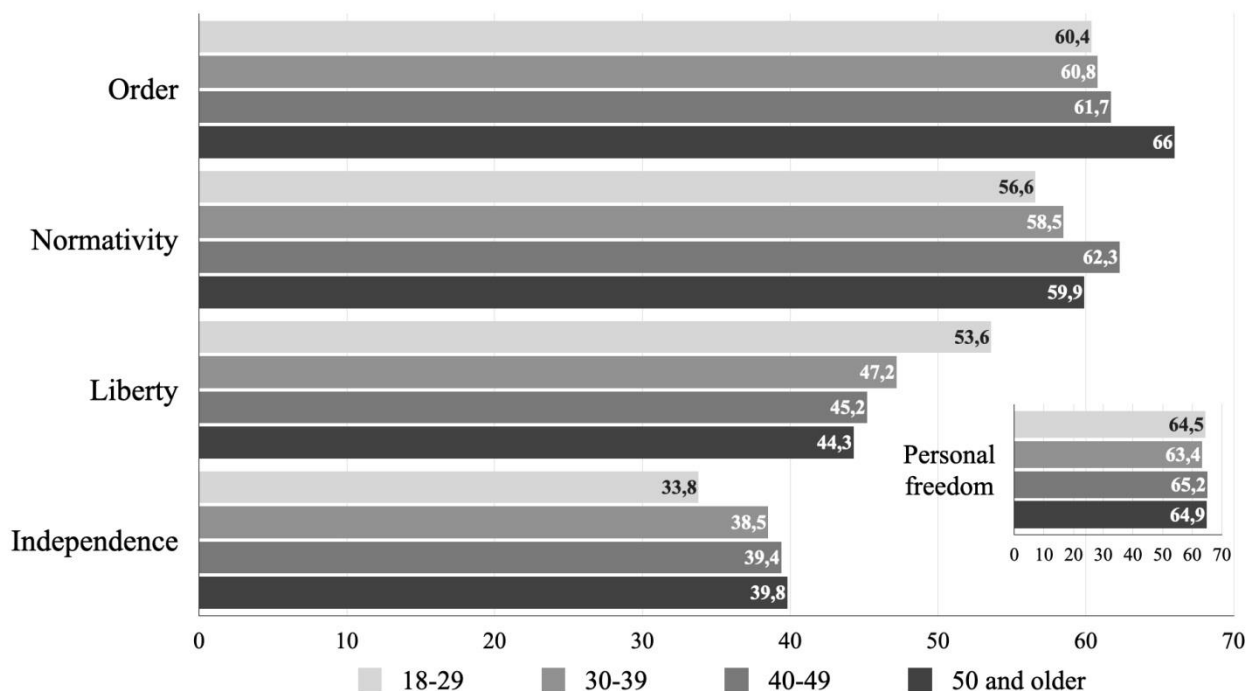


Fig. 3. Rating of Societal Values (Condorcet Method) in Different Age Groups, %

Source: author's data analysis.

2.4. The Structure of Societal Values

The analysis of interrelationships between values made it possible to identify two components in the structure of societal values that do not have direct connections with each other. The first component, or cluster, includes order, security, diversity, selectivity, normativity, freedom, and equality (see fig. 4).

The value of security characterizes this cluster's most significant number of relationships. First, it forms a mutually reinforcing connection with the values of diversity and freedom. Secondly, it unilaterally strengthens the values of order and normativity. In turn, freedom additionally forms a mutually reinforcing connection between the value of equality and diversity with the value of selectivity. After all, the value of normativity receives additional reinforcement from the value of selectivity.

Thus, the nodal values (that is, the values that combine two or more other values around themselves) are security, freedom, diversity, and selectivity. At the same time, considering the overall rating of values, the primary nodal value at this stage is safety. Accordingly, the general strategy of protecting the population of Ukraine from internal destructive processes can be contextually combined with one or more areas of state activity: 1) prevention of sharp confrontation between different social forces in the middle of Ukraine; 2) compliance with legal norms and prescriptions; 3) preservation of a certain autonomy of citizens from the state; 4) harmonization of relations in the middle of the country, despite its considerable heterogeneity.

We believe that, in general, this value cluster emphasizes the need for internal balance, which is a fundamental guarantee of national stability during a large-scale war, as it preserves the ability of society to generate additional resources needed by the state.

² The technique «Individual values and interests – 13» was used to measure individual values (Dembitskyi, 2022, p. 23–25). The formulation of the indicator of the value of personal freedom was as follows: building one's life according to one's plans.

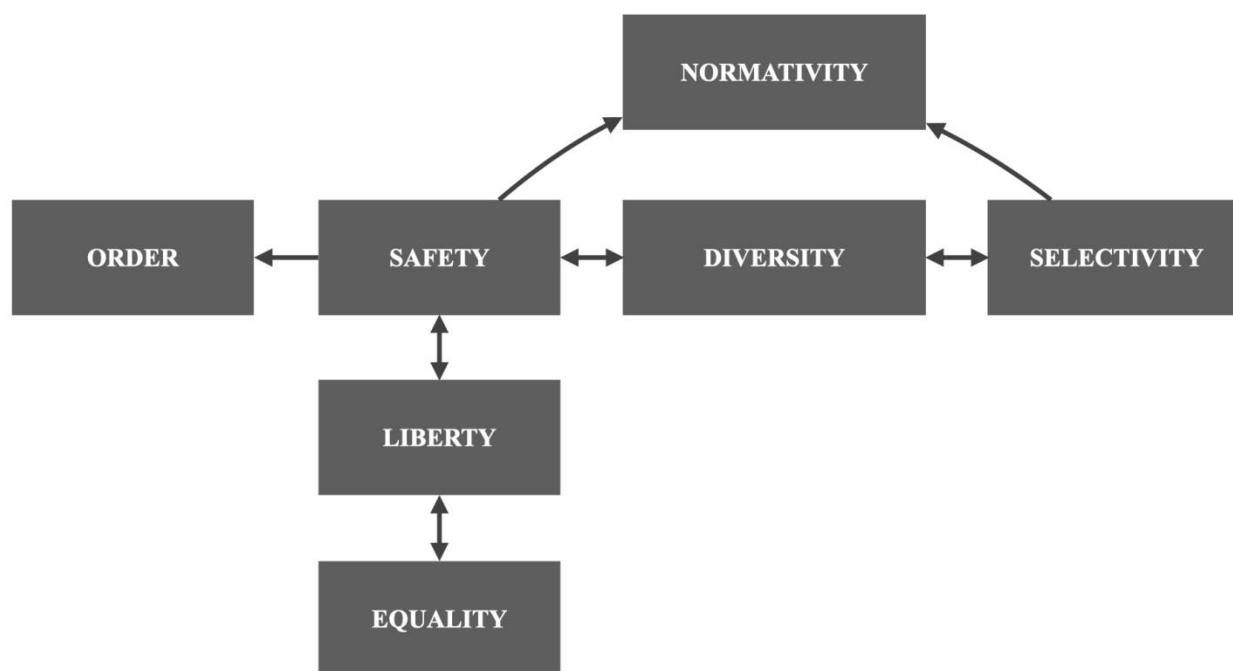


Fig. 4. *The Structure of Societal Values: the First Cluster*

Source: author's research.

The second value cluster includes strength, development, independence and stability (see fig. 5). From the point of view of existing relationships, the central value of this group is the value of development, which acts as a connecting link between stability, independence and strength. At the same time, stability is the most isolated in this cluster – it is directly interconnected only with development.

And although the value of development characterizes the greatest number of relationships here, the most important (from the point of view of its overall rating) is the value of strength. Therefore, defending the state's positions at the international level strengthens the actualization of two interrelated contexts: 1) the significant scientific and technological potential of the country; 2) preserving the independence of decisions in matters of state importance.

This substructure, in our opinion, is related to that part of national stability responsible for responding to external crises and challenges.

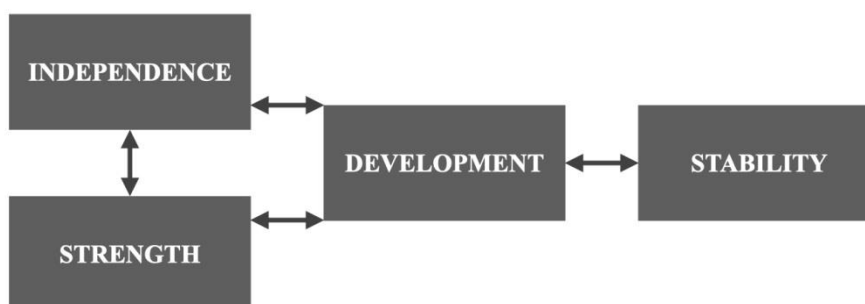


Fig. 5. *The Structure of Societal Values: the Second Cluster*

Source: author's research.

Thus, in the composition of societal values, two substructural components can be singled out, which ensure two country's national stability strategies – the normalization of internal processes to minimize the

harmful effects of military aggression on the everyday life of society, as well as maintaining external strength, which is a guarantee not only of military resistance but also diplomatic maneuvers. At the same time, each substructure has a key value determined by its relevance. The first one is security and the second one is strength. Furthermore, although security is now the undisputed leader in the social field for the population, the demand for force is also significant. It ensures the necessary focus of the population of Ukraine on each of the substructures of societal values during the severe trials of a large-scale war.

3. SOCIETAL VALUES AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Examining the post-war value field is, of course, largely speculative. However, the features described above allow us to make certain predictions of its configurations after the victory. Actually, we will consider exactly this scenario of the war ending – the victory of Ukraine over Russia. First, it justifies the conceptual focus on liberal-democratic values because negative scenarios will have a destructive impact on the corresponding societal values. On the one hand, the cost of the Russian-Ukrainian war for Europe is directly related to the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine (Liadze et al., 2022). On the other hand, rights-based norms are closely related to value-based norms; G. Bosse demonstrates how the agreed decisions of the EU (packages of sanctions against Russia, allowing citizens of Ukraine the right to live and work in the EU) arise from moral obligations and are based on the values of solidarity, identity and ethical obligations of the EU in relation to other Europeans (Bosse, 2022). Secondly, at the time of writing this work (September 2022), objective military prerequisites for victory over the enemy of Ukraine are being traced.

At the beginning of the post-war reconstruction phase, Ukrainian territories will be differentiated primarily from the point of view of the destruction caused to them by military actions and occupation. At the same time, military destruction and occupation will not necessarily become interrelated phenomena. For example, with the diplomatic liberation of the Crimean peninsula, the main task will be to eliminate the consequences of the long-term occupation.

In war-torn territories, the societal value of security will become a reference point that will remain relevant for the population for a long time to come. This is related both to the targeted mining of Ukrainian territories by the enemy and to those military artifacts (various weapons objects that can lead to explosions with corresponding risks for the civilian population and representatives of the Armed Forces of Ukraine). According to available estimates, the complete demining of Ukraine will take about 5–7 years, and its full implementation may require up to 900 billion US dollars (Savoskina, 2022).

An equally important factor in increasing the demand for the value of security, regardless of the risks created by explosive devices, is and will remain for a long time the level of post-traumatic stress disorder and other stressful conditions among the population of Ukraine, which was under occupation or in the zone of active hostilities. Already now, Ukrainian scientists are recording relevant problems among the Ukrainian population (Pisaruk et al., 2022). Moreover, separate studies show that the corresponding psychological problems are felt more widely – not only among those who were directly in the war zone (Study of the psychological state..., 2022). Our intelligence on the topic of the socio-psychological state of the population of Ukraine³ at the beginning of the war also demonstrated that a significant increase in psychological distress (see Fig. 6) occurred both in the cities that came under occupation (for example, Kherson) and in the war zone (for example, Kharkiv), as well as in those that were «a step away» from it (for example, Kyiv) or, on the contrary, were geographically distant from fierce battles (for example, Lviv).

According to the sociological monitoring «Ukrainian Society», at the height of the coronavirus pandemic in the fall of 2020, a normal level of psychological distress was recorded among 69,0 % of respondents, an elevated level among 19,4 %, and a high level among 11,6 %⁴. That is, the factor of the war as a general stressor for the population of Ukraine has already actualized the social value of security and, as we expect, will

³ The survey was conducted in April 2022 among residents of Kharkiv, Kherson, Odesa, Kyiv, Sumy, Lviv and a number of other cities of Ukraine through targeting on the Facebook social network. The survey method is a personal interview using the LimeSurvey online service. The total size of the sample population is 5379 respondents. The number of men in the sample is 38,3 % (average age – 43,5 years), the number of women – 61,7 % (average age – 45,1 years). The results of the author's survey have not yet been published.

⁴ Calculated by the authors on the database of the monitoring array. The distributions of individual indicators can be found in (Ukrainian society..., 2020, p. 503–504).

retain the corresponding negative effect of an inertial nature for some time after the end of the war. This, in particular, is facilitated by the ability of Russia to launch missile strikes on objects in Ukraine even after the end of the military confrontation on its territory.

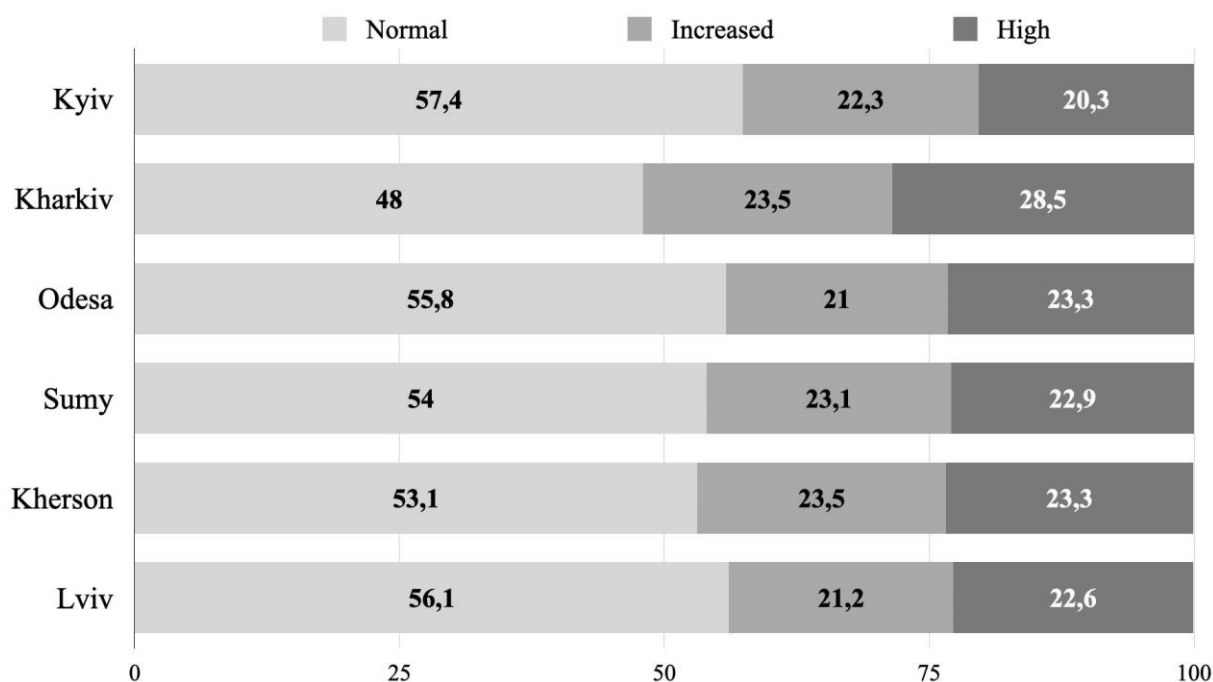


Fig. 6. *The Level of Psychological Distress Among Residents of Different Cities of Ukraine (April 2022), %*
Source: author's research.

The social value of force, the provision of which significantly improved during the Russian-Ukrainian war, will also remain relevant. The latter was facilitated by both Ukraine's diplomatic successes (in particular, the emergence of real prospects for joining the European Union), and the beginning of rearmament according to NATO standards with subsequent successes on the battlefield and the start of a counteroffensive operation on the Eastern and Southern fronts. In the context of public opinion, the international status of Ukraine increased immediately after the successes of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in defense after the beginning of a large-scale war. It was these successes that became a guarantee of recognition of the strength of our state and further support from international partners. According to the data of the Sociological group «Rating», already in March, public opinion in Ukraine regarding the position of Ukraine among the countries of Europe and the former USSR has significantly changed for the better (The fourth national poll..., 2022). If in January 2022, Ukrainians mostly considered their country to be outsiders (49 %) or middle peasants (39 %) compared to European countries, and also mostly to middle peasants (49 %) compared to the countries of the former USSR, then already in mid-March Ukraine we saw ourselves mainly as a middle peasant (42 %) or a leader (34 %) compared to the countries of Europe and mainly a leader (63 %) – compared to the countries of the former USSR. Actually, the victorious course of the war against the Russian Federation secures for Ukraine the critical role that Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote about, namely, its formation as a geopolitical stronghold (Brzezinski, 2019, pp. 62–63).

Therefore, the two central values around which the value structure was formed during a large-scale war will not lose their importance after its conclusion. Other social values, which, according to the obtained estimates, belong to the priority (empirical Condorcet index > 50 %), directly (order, normativity) or indirectly (equality through freedom), are related to the social value of security. In view of this, in the period of post-war reconstruction, it is possible to predict the unacceptability among Ukrainians of acute socio-political confrontation in the middle of society, as well as the request for the implementation of the rule of law and the guarantee of ensuring the minimum necessary standards of living for various segments of the population of Ukraine.

For example, according to the data of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (Hrushetskyi, 2022), i.e. «narratives of cleavage»⁵ in September 2022 were shared by only 17 % of respondents. At the same time, the opposite opinion was held by 63 % (the empirical Condorcet index for the value of the order in our survey was about 61 %). Therefore, there is not only a demand for the social value of order but also an overwhelming confidence that there are no prerequisites for beginning a confrontation between society and the authorities. Actually, as the experience of Ukraine shows, the key to maintaining the orientation to the value of order is to ensure at the state level the value of normativity, i.e. compliance with legal laws and normatively established procedures (Salnikova, 2014, p. 110–117). The abuse of power in opposition to the rule of law was one of the key reasons for the change of political elites in Ukraine.

As for the value of equality, its permanent importance at this stage, as well as at the stage of post-war reconstruction, is caused by the deterioration of the economic situation of the population of Ukraine. Thus, among the residents of Ukraine who had a job until February 24, 2022, only 23 % continued to work in their usual mode after the start of a large-scale war. By the end of April 2022, this figure had increased to only 32 % (The ninth nationwide poll..., 2022a). This situation forms the expectations of the minimally necessary support of broad sections of the population on the part of the state, especially among its most vulnerable groups.

Values that did not fall into the category of the most demanded during the war deserve special attention. The social value of freedom is central to the system of liberal-democratic values. Actually, it is not much less relevant in its relevance than the values from the first half of the rating, despite the obvious necessity of its certain limitation in wartime. It is also indicative here that in the system of **individual** values, freedom retains its defining status even during the war, yielding only to such basic values for human existence as physical health, psychological comfort, and interpersonal relationships (see fig. 7). We believe that this is one of the arguments in favor of the existence of a delayed demand for freedom at the societal level as well. Accordingly, it is essential to build a plan for the gradual relaxation of restrictions imposed by the state on the population in connection with the war in such a way that would balance the needs of state institutions and the citizens of Ukraine.

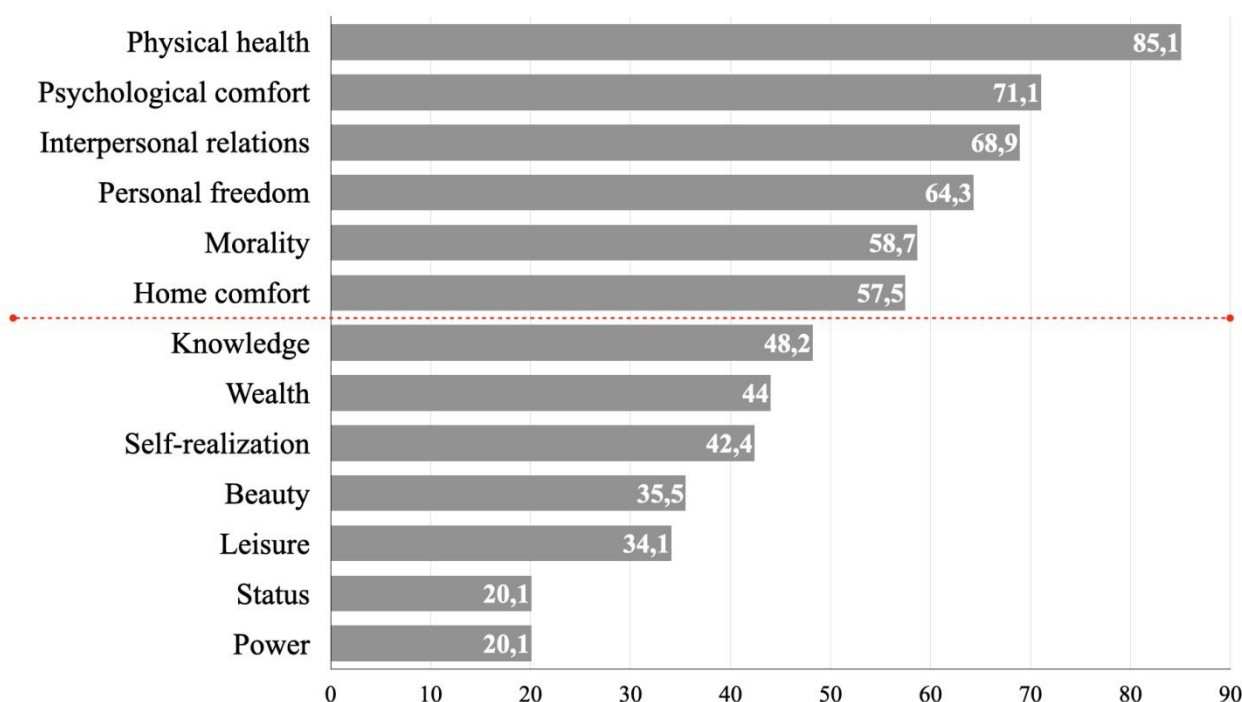


Fig. 7. Rating of Individual Values (Condorcet Method), %

Source: author's data analysis.

⁵ KIIS interpreted this narrative through the prism of unity and commitment of the military-political leadership to victory in the war.

The request for stability will also return. It is difficult to imagine the successful reconstruction of the country without the potential to preserve what remains and what will be rebuilt. As with the value of freedom, a certain rejection of this societal value during the war is rather instrumental in nature because a significant part of the destruction caused by Russia's military aggression was beyond the control of the state.

In general, before the beginning of a large-scale war, there was a tangible need for stability (this need became top in 2014, with the beginning of the Russian invasion of the territory of Ukraine (Salnikova, 2017)). Thus, in the wake of the sociological monitoring of «Ukrainian Society» for 2020, 68,5 % of respondents said that they lacked «Stability in the state», while 8,7 % of those who held the opposite opinion (19,0 % of respondents were it is difficult to decide, and 3,8 % were not interested in meeting this need) (Ukrainian society..., 2020, p. 495). Considering these data, with a significant probability, it is possible to assume the existence of this need even now – during the war (despite the agreement to «put it on pause»), as well as its preservation or even strengthening after the victory.

The social value of independence can remain in this range, for which, after victory, the relevance will not increase or will increase insignificantly. We associate this forecast with the movement of Ukraine to the European Union, which became a realistic scenario precisely after the start of a large-scale war. This movement will accelerate after the victory of Ukraine. Of course, Ukraine will be forced to give up part of its autonomy as a nation-state in the status of a member state of the European Union. At the same time, the necessary scale of such concessions will depend on Ukraine's success in ensuring other societal values.

Among social values with a relatively low status development is of special interest. The war clearly demonstrated the need for both high-tech developments of a military nature (in fact, they were the ones that first allowed Russia to be stopped, and then to turn the tide of the war), as well as for high-quality humanitarian⁶ analysis of social processes in the middle of Ukraine and beyond. The import of technology is possible and even inevitable in today's global world. However, the strengthening of the cluster of societal values responsible for external national stability is based precisely on ensuring the value of development, which obviously expands the independence of the state, feeds its strength and strengthens stability. The traditionally residual approach to funding and development of science in Ukraine⁷ poses serious risks for our country in the future. The prestige of scientific activity among the population is also not encouraging. In particular, this is evidenced by the permanent decrease in the number of young scientists of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which has been ongoing since 2010 (Senenko, 2021). We believe that ensuring the social value of development is an important indicator, by which it will be possible to determine the success of the reconstruction of Ukraine after the victory.

In turn, ensuring the value of diversity will be an indicator of the successful civilizational development of our society (Afanasieva, & Glunska, 2018). S. Salnikova, O. Klymenko and Y. Yemelyanova analyzed the phenomenon of the integration of the Ukrainian nation through the consolidation of a multi-ethnic civil society under the conditions when «the titular nation is characterized by a high level of ethnic and social tolerance against the background of its own anomie and uncertainty»; they concluded that decentralization contributes to the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation, in particular as a mechanism for preventing the federalization of the state and preventing the development of separatism. Therefore, it supports the request of Ukrainian society regarding the legal regulation of national elites (Salnikova et al., 2022, p. 329). After all, for a long time since independence, the Ukrainian political community used the strategy of «divide and conquer», when mutually exclusive discourses were created in the state, which increased interpersonal political and psychological tension and due to which political forces separated their electoral segments. Ultimately, such abuses of political power led first to revolutionary events and then to external aggression. Given that modern developed societies are essentially heterogeneous, Ukraine must find its own solution to the problem of peaceful coexistence in the society of social groups with different political, religious and cultural ideals.

On the eve of Russia's large-scale military aggression against Ukraine, more than half of the population of Ukraine (52,6 %) was characterized by one or another level of interpersonal political and psychological

⁶ In this case, we include a wide range of sciences – social, psychological, political science, economics, etc. – in the field of humanitarianism.

⁷ Of course, there are positive examples. In particular, the introduction of the National Research Fund of Ukraine in our country.

tension. At the same time, 11,0 % of the total number demonstrated its high level (Dembitskyi, 2022). The traumatic experience of war creates its own triggers for increasing political and psychological tension in society. After the end of hostilities on the territory of Ukraine, it will be strengthened by the experience of a significant cohort of war veterans. Even now, the main priority for the majority of Ukrainian combatants (74,32 %) is safety and a secure life (Kolesnichenko, et al., 2022). Therefore, one of the primary tasks of the renewed political elite of Ukraine will be to solve this non-trivial problem.

The societal value of selectivity, relegated to the last place during the war, is clearly a guarantee of effective management decisions, as well as the timeliness of responding to existing and emerging problems. During the war, a compensatory mechanism in this context is the comprehensive support of our Western partners, who provide not only material and logistical assistance to Ukraine, but also provide its advisory support in the defense field. A case in point is helping to conduct «war games» ahead of the counteroffensive in the south, which allowed for better planning of the operation (Yarmolenko, 2022). It is obvious that after the victory, the political arena will be dominated by new politicians whose era was marked by the arrival of Volodymyr Zelenskyi to the presidency. Potentially, Serhii Prytula may become the second most influential politician after him. New political races will present these and other politicians with the traditional question of selecting an effective team. In this sense, the value of selectivity cannot occupy a secondary place in the country's life. Adequate public opinion on this issue is fundamentally important, because traditionally political victories in Ukraine were determined by rather primitive expectations of the population regarding the future government, which were accumulated in a personal image.

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

In the beginning of the article, we noted that all social values are equally important for liberal-democratic societies because their insufficient provision is associated with the emergence of corresponding specific problems. But at collecting empirical data, a decision was made to construct the rating itself. It was done in view of the author's desire to determine which values were more important for Ukraine's population during the war.

In view of the situation in Ukraine, it did not come as a surprise to us that the most relevant values can be tentatively attributed to ensuring the survival of the Ukrainian state and society. At the same time, the value of security in the sense of protecting society members from internal destructive processes became the most important. Such a choice can be interpreted in both emotional and rational categories.

From an emotional point of view, the need of the population of Ukraine to be protected from the threats posed by the occupation is quite understandable because the latter is directly related to crime, environmental problems and discrimination, which are indicated in the corresponding indicator.

At the same time, ensuring this value as a condition for the existence of those territories of the country that are not under occupation (both in the context of threats from saboteurs and in the context of a possible reference to ordinary crime) is a basic condition for preserving the psychological and moral stability of the population, which in turn provides the prerequisites for the necessary mobilization of society's resources in conditions of war.

The reverse side of the value rating is also indicative, that is, a group of values that are responsible for development. Indeed, at the stage of intensive military operations, the state's capabilities are aimed not so much at development as preserving what has not yet been destroyed. However, the relatively low value of social development values requires attention after the end of the war since the provision of relevant value imperatives is a determining factor in the successful reconstruction of the Ukrainian state.

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