

“Three Ukraines”: Socio-structural Analysis

From the very foundation of sociology, one of the key tasks of this science has been to define the social structure based on social differentiation. Population division into big social groups has become the precondition for the analysis that can both shed light on the essence of group relations and prognosticate the direction of society development. Since Aristotle, the vertical social stratification theories, i.e. based on the wealth status, have been most widely-spread. These theories are represented by the class theory of K. Marx and more sophisticated social stratification theory of P. Sorokin, which is based on the following criteria: type of property, income rate, power scope, education, prestige, national peculiarities etc. At the same time since the beginning of the 20th century, the new quality differentiation criteria have been introduced. In M. Weber’s theory, these criteria are the ethical principles of the Protestants and the Catholics, in the E. Durkheim’s theory they are the collectivistic beliefs, in T. Parson’s theory they are cultural standards and values. Sociologists have been trying not only to group people, but also to understand what makes the grouping process possible. On the one hand, scientists believe that this process is universal and natural as people are not equal, and it is important for them to find associates and form a group in order to have protection and confidence in their social status. On the other hand, the coexistence of different social groups gives an opportunity for realization and recreation of the social relations when the victory of adherents of particular social beliefs over others secures the development, or vice versa hinders the development and leads to social stagnation and even gradual self-destruction. These big groups have received conventional names of the innovators and the conservatives.

In the modern Ukrainian sociology, there have also been attempts to differentiate big social groups based on numerous criteria. The most profound studies are aimed at analyzing the modern social structure of the country. However, as far as the political choice of Ukrainians is concerned, the most commonly discussed issue is the division of the country into two halves, which is noticeable in electoral situation. Scientists have been trying to explain this phenomenon while referring to the important factors, e.g.:

- the historic past and the division of Ukraine into right-bank and left-bank Ukraine since the Ruin on the 17th century [3];
- the historical existence of Ukraine as a colony of two empires at the beginning of the 20th century, which led to different social experience in governing [7];

- the language and ethnic factors, the usage of Russian and Ukrainian in everyday life, which are researched in Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) under the supervision of Valerii Khmelko, e.g. longitude studies of the lingual-ethnic structure of Ukraine [13];

- population division into big social groups of goods and services consumers, which is attested in surveys prepared by GfK Ukraine Omnibus;

- some our coevals, e.g. the famous multimillionaire D. Firtash, believe that the existing division of the country was caused by politicians, and not by history or everyday life [4], which is rather doubtful.

In fact, the process of differentiation is present in any society. All modern studies attest this process. However, even though the language issue is important for the creation of the cultural identity and value orientations of Ukrainians, their social beliefs about history, modern state of the country, and the most coveted direction of social-economic development are also important.

The hypothesis of this research is the following: all adult population in Ukraine can be divided into three big communities, social beliefs of which are connected with their professional activities in Industrial, Post-Industrial, and Modern societies. These three societies coexist in modern Ukraine. They are connecting people based on social beliefs and values typical for these societies, and not on the class or income criteria. This structural division is observable only in one situation, i.e. when Ukrainians have to elect state authorities, in other words – the direction of the country development. The above-mentioned phenomenon is very peculiar and has not been analyzed yet, although politicians take advantage of it and apply it in their speeches and programs. My belief is that this phenomenon is predetermined by the speed of social transformations that Ukraine undergoes during even quicker world transformations, which are defined by Z. Bauman as “liquid modernity” [2].

The goal of this article is to analyze how social beliefs that are formed by the majority of people during the period of their professional activity influence the society structure and the results of their political choice. In fact, these temporary social communities determine the further social development of the country and its development.

In sociology, the social communities are defined as relatively stable groups of people who have more or less similar living conditions, life style, and interests. From this point of view, the population of our country can be regarded as a certain social community, which is historically connected with a definite territory, has similar living conditions and values. However, from inside the country people are classified according to other criteria. Sociology suggests the following classifications of social

communities: statistic (all people are divided according to sex and age), real (for example, a town dweller, a village dweller, workers of the service sector etc.), and mass social communities, i.e. those characterized by behavioral differences that are hardly ever attested. These temporary *mass communities* are of importance in this research. These communities are very difficult to define because they are characterized by the following features: a) they are amorphous communities with vague distribution borders; b) these communities cannot be characterized in quantitative or qualitative aspects because they are heterogeneous, and have the inter-group and inter-class nature; c) the creation of these communities is always stimulated by one particular event [1].

Mass communities are rarely analyzed as units of social structure because of their amorphous and temporary character. However, in this research they are of great interest. P. Sorokin suggested analyzing these communities based on shared values. In this research, not only values described in works of P. Sorokin, but also social beliefs (i.e. collective beliefs according to E. Durkheim's terminology) that can connect people are analyzed. Social beliefs are defined as the beliefs formed during the professional activity, both present and the one that a person was connected with for a long period in the past.

The above-mentioned hypothesis was developed after observing the electoral behavior of inhabitants in Mykolayiv, the city that got a name "The city of shipbuilders" during the Soviet time. The city became a shipbuilding center in the pre-industrial era, but began its intensive development in the last decades of the 19th century when the industrialization evolved in Russia. This intensive industrialization became a leading factor that predetermined lives of Ukrainians for 150 years in the south and the east of the country where the natural resources the most important for the industrialization were discovered, i.e. coal and metal. The industrialization was characterized with the quick urbanization that began during the times of the Russian colonial empire and continued during the Soviet time. In fact, this is when the Russian language became a leading one in the most important former empire colony. The impact of Russian was not just prominent. Actually, Russian was the main quality feature that marked a person's affiliation to the modernity and the progress. Villagers were moving to cities, trying to become city dwellers and learn Russian that was perceived as the main differentiation feature between a village life style and a city life style. Of course, this task was not easy, and that is why in the south and the east of Ukraine the usage of Ukrainian (both in the past and in the present) has been considered as a sign of a villager, a person who is retarded or badly educated.

Changes have begun only after Ukraine became independent and Ukrainian got a status of a state language.

Every country has its own past, present and future, which determine ideas that exist in social beliefs of people. It should not be simplified and believed that all elderly people form a social community that keeps to the beliefs of the industrialization era, the representatives of the middle-class tend to be closer the social beliefs of the post-industrialization era of the 90-ies when the service sector got developed, attracting former workers of industrial enterprises, and the youth is closer to the social beliefs and ideas of the informational and post-modern society. However, the above-mentioned division makes sense if to compare it to the similar processes that took place in the USA in the 60-ies. At the same time, the development of social communities is determined by some additional factors.

The first and the most important factor that considerably influences social beliefs and values of Ukrainians is the division of the country population according to the wealth criterion, i.e. economic status.

The State Statistics Service of Ukraine has been conducting analyses of households almost since its grounding. These analyses show that during the independence time two fundamentally new population communities have appeared, i.e. the poor that do not earn enough to afford food and the wealthy, even millionaires and billionaires whose names are well known thanks to the activities of the Ukrainian media. The table below presents the data of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine about Ukrainians' self-evaluation of their income during the last six year [7].

The household division into particular social class according to the wealth criterion

¹ *(based on data from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine)*

People who define themselves as	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<i>wealthy</i>	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%
<i>middle-class</i>	1,5%	0,8 %	1,7%	0,9%	1,1%	0,7%
<i>not poor but still not middle-class</i>	38,2%	36,8%	40,2%	38,8%	33,8%	32,2%
<i>poor</i>	60,2%	62,4%	58,0%	60,3%	65,1%	66,9%
<i>no answer</i>	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,2%

¹ Methodological principles of selective communities forms for the conduction of basic state selective observations of population (households) by State Statistics Service of Ukraine (approved according to the decree of State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 02.08.2005 № 223). The data about 2012 is limited with the first quarter of the year.

	100%	100,1%	100%	100,1%	100,1%	100,1
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The table above that presents data about the household division into particular social classes according to the wealth criterion shows that only 0,1% of all interviewees define themselves as wealthy. It could be considered normal if the middle class of the country constituted 60-70% of the population, and not less than 1%. The insignificant growth of the middle class was observed only in 2008, but already in 2011, the quantity of such households decreased more than in a half. At the same time, the proportion of the “not poor but still not middle-class”, who can be considered the lowest strata of the middle class population in Ukraine, decreased in 8%. During the same period of time the quantity of the “poor” increased from 60,2% to 66,9%, approaching the dangerous index of 2/3 of population. The observed income data affirm the total and utter poverty of Ukrainians who can hardly get used to such an economic status. In fact, the highest index of the wealth was observed in Ukraine during the independence years only in 2008, the second last year of V. Yushchenko being the President of Ukraine when Y. Timoshenko was the Prime minister. Despite misunderstandings between political leaders 2008 was the year when Ukrainians believed in the opportunity of legitimate changes in the state governing. This factor significantly influenced people’s mood and the evaluation of their households. The above-mentioned year can be regarded as the best year in Ukraine’s independence history, even in spite of the skeptical attitude to the political power (as the indices in the table above show).

In modern Mykolayiv, the situation is insignificantly different from the situation in Ukraine. 4,3% of interviewees defined themselves as wealthy and 13,5% believed that they were poor in the beginning of 2013, as the research, which was conducted by the Sociology Department, Petro Mohyla Black Sea State University, and summarized by L.V. Kalashnikova, claims [9].

The level of families’ wealth:			
		Frequency	%
Answers	We are wealthy and can afford everything we want	17	4,3
	We live well but cannot afford everything we want	121	30,3
	We have an average income and can afford only what is necessary for a normal life	208	52,0
	We have difficulties and cannot afford the most necessary things	48	12,0
	We do not have enough for life	6	1,5
	Total	400	100,0

The considerable specification is taking place when people mention their monthly income.

A family monthly income in Mykolayiv			
		Frequency	%
Answers	Below 1000 hrv.	25	6,3
	1000-3000 hrv.	172	43,0
	3000-5000 hrv.	140	35,0
	5000-8000 hrv.	48	12,0
	More than 8000 hrv.	15	3,8
	Total	400	100,0

Almost 50% of the interviewees get the income below 3000 hrv. Out of these people 6,3% earn less than 1000 hrv. These very people have financial difficulties but do not want to define themselves as poor, which indicates the lack of information based the self-evaluation. Actually the biggest age group that has financial difficulties consists of the interviewees who are above 60 (32,8% from all the poor). Their lives were connected with the “golden era” in Mykolayiv when the city was the center of shipbuilding, which is naturally idealized by the people.

About 47% of interviewees earn from 3000 to 8000 hrv. (approximately 400-1000 \$). According to the terminology of State Statistics Service of Ukraine, this income means that these people can be classified as “not poor but still not middle-class”. If to take into consideration that these people are city dwellers whose income is higher than income in villages, it can be presumed that situation in Mykolayiv does not differ much from the situation in the whole country.

The economic status of the population is the key factor for explaining the existence of social beliefs that divide the country the listed below. Additionally they can be described with a help of modern sociological researches.

The First Ukraine. The population groups, whose professional activity used to be connected with the industrialization era in the former USSR, i.e. when the full employment was provided, represent the First Ukraine. Some big industrial enterprises still function, although they got new owners. These owners of metal and coal enterprises are the richest people of Ukraine. The first five out of 100 the richest Ukrainians have a total income that equals the incomes of other 95 people on the list and are all connected with the metallurgy. These people have become oligarchs who own huge facilities and have a significant influence on state governing. It is no surprise that other wealthy people support these oligarchs. It is a surprise that the poorest population groups that constitute a majority of the country trust them. In social beliefs of elderly population groups, these oligarchs replaced the former owner,

i.e. the state. This is the reason for the majority of people whose lives were connected with the industrial enterprises to continue dreaming about the renovation of enterprises that would ensure the full employment if not with the help of the state then with the oligarchs' help. This leads to the paradoxical situation when social beliefs about the best social order connect the richest and the poorest because the first are the owners and the latter used to be workers for industrial enterprises.

The godfather of the modern social order in Ukraine is L. Kuchma who consciously chose the definite development way as he himself belonged to the Industrial era and personally participated in improving the industrial potential of the country. There is no doubt that he had the best intentions because he believed that the industrial potential was the key to the country's wealth. Warnings of economists and the former leaders of the National-Democratic Party (A. Matviyenko, V. Filenko, T. Stetskiw and others) who tried to stop the process were not successful. The personal belief of the President and his advisers about the best development way of Ukraine, i.e. keeping its industrial potential, was highly supported by the Ukrainian industrial and financial elite, and what is more – the majority of population supported this way of development. The danger of such development in Ukraine was not fully realized and articulated by sociologists.

Thus, the *Fist Ukraine* is the direct descendant from the Soviet Ukraine; it keeps to the beliefs, almost all values and social concepts of the industrial era. And this is why after 20 years of “the fight for independence” we got the country that resembles the last stage of the feudal social order, when several people are constantly enlarging their property, believing that they are much smarter than others. Those others are considered to be “fools” who voluntarily gave their vouchers to defrauding investment funds or sold the vouchers for the price of a loaf of bread. Citizens of Ukraine witnessed the collapse of the feudal-hierarchical social order of the USSR which was replaced by continuous “purchasing”, that was vividly described by M.V. Gogol in “Dead Souls”. Contemporary attempts of the re-distribution of the property between the wealthy only contribute to the growing uncertainty in the positive development of the country. At the same time, the unambiguous electoral position of the capital inhabitants, i.e. the most well educated and well-informed population group, is the key to future changes. This electoral position is the definite objection to the existing social order in the country.

The Second Ukraine. The worldview and social beliefs of the Second Ukraine are predetermined by the professional activity of people who belong to the Post-industrial society. Today these people form a considerable social group that started its existence already during the Soviet time, when M. Gorbachov officially stimulated

the growth of private companies in the service sector, which made the USSR similar to the USA in the late 50-ies and to Europe in the late 60-ies. The reasons for such stimulation were exceptionally economic ones: due to the industrial automation and mechanization of the production processes, the number of workers in the industry sector was decreasing leading to the increase in the number of people involved in the service sector. D. Bell was the first to pay attention to this phenomenon and he coined the term Post-industrial society, which later was called the Informational society.

The Second Ukraine significantly increased in number only during the years of independence, when the Soviet national economy collapsed because of out-of-date technologies. The USSR could not compete with the capitalistic countries and was doomed, and its collapse only added tragedy and confusion to the process of looking for the reasons of social changes. Since the early 90-ies, a huge amount of people capable of working was made to look for a job and completely new professional fields. This moment of the Second Ukraine being formed is recorded in the international American-Ukrainian research of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, in which the American sociologist M. Kohn participated. The most striking example of the mass conscience changes recorded in this research concerns the fact that the majority of population had to look for new jobs. Two stages in the sociological research in 1992/1993 and 1996 attested significant changes in both social-stratification attitudes, values, and beliefs of Ukrainians.

People who participated in this research were those who had a job during 1992-1993, i.e. when the post-Soviet enterprises were still functioning, but who already did not receive the proper salary. This made people look for other jobs. Engineers and constructors became builders, waiters, and hairdressers, found other jobs in the service sector or emigrated to the countries where there was a demand for highly qualified workforce. However, the majority of people stayed in the country, found a job and participated in the second stage in the social-psychological research of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. The data given in the table below attest significant changes in the population's conscience.

*Social-stratification positions and personality:
Ukraine, 1992-1993 and 1996 (based on [8, c. 430]*

Some correlation indices between a social-stratification position and:	Correlation of the zero index between a social-stratification position and a personality, for men and women who had a job both in 1992-1993 and 1996			
	Men		Women	
	1992-1993	1996	1992-1993	1996

orientation independence	0,23	0,43	0,36	0,35
distress	-0,15	-0,10	-0,03	-0,14
mental flexibility	0, 47	0,87	0,57	0, 74
Quantity	352		412	

As the table shows, men who in spite of all problems had a job demonstrated orientation independence that increased almost in 50%. At the same time, their distress decreased, and what is even more important, their mental flexibility considerably improved. It means that the majority of Ukrainians met the challenge of the time and adapted to the changes. Moreover, the research provides numerous examples of changes in social beliefs of Ukrainians, who became less authoritarian, sensible to changes, more independent, reliable and self-confident etc. [8, c.].

All these data attest that the majority of population capable of working managed to live through the drastic social changes that took place in Ukraine during the 90-ies, including the changes in their professional activity. Thus, the researchers mentioned the following: “Peculiarities of the interviewees’ work with information, goods, and people, types of processed data, the used instruments, types of working environment are all relatively unimportant. What really matters for beliefs and values is the complexity of work with information and people, the time spent on information, goods, and people processing, and the overall complexity of work. Every single component mentioned above is independently significant, and the added correlation of these components with values and beliefs is slightly bigger than the correlation of every component taken separately” [8, c.62.]. It means that the considerable amount of Ukrainians managed to adapt to changes that began in the society and to master new professional fields. These very people constitute the Second Ukraine, they have given up on social beliefs of the Industrial era and are able to accept the present without dreaming and idealizing the past.

It is worth mentioning that no one has ever tried to research the quantity aspect of the Second Ukraine, represented by all population groups. At least, this is the part of population consisting of 33% – 41% who define themselves as “middle class” or “not poor” in the surveys of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. If to take into account that the survey data is based on people’s self-evaluation, I can presume that a certain amount of people who define themselves as “poor” also belongs to the Second Ukraine based on their attitudes, social beliefs, and orientations, although they would not admit it. It can be assumed that the representatives of the Second Ukraine became

the leading power of the Orange Revolution, when both students and elderly women cooking for protestors happened to get together on the Independence Square. At the same time, a lack of well-articulated ideas and goals of the country's development led to the situation when all the fight was connected with the future President. The unproductivity of such a fight became obvious rather quickly just because one quite conservative person cannot embody the whole potential of changes that the society demanded. Eventually, all these factors led to the political regress and disappointment of population.

The Third Ukraine. This Ukraine has unnoticeably formed during the years of independence into a new and promising community that already distinguished itself from others. The Third Ukraine is represented mainly by the youth of Information and Modern society that have recently started developing in the country. The considerable population group in this community consists of the middle-aged people whose jobs are connected with the creative professional fields that have increased in number within the last two decades. These professional fields are journalism, television, finance, banking, design, IT-technologies and other fields that demand creativity. Almost all workers of these professions are called the *creative class* in the modern sociology based on the definition of R. Florida. These people are capable of creating new social ideas, the lack of which is felt all over the world.

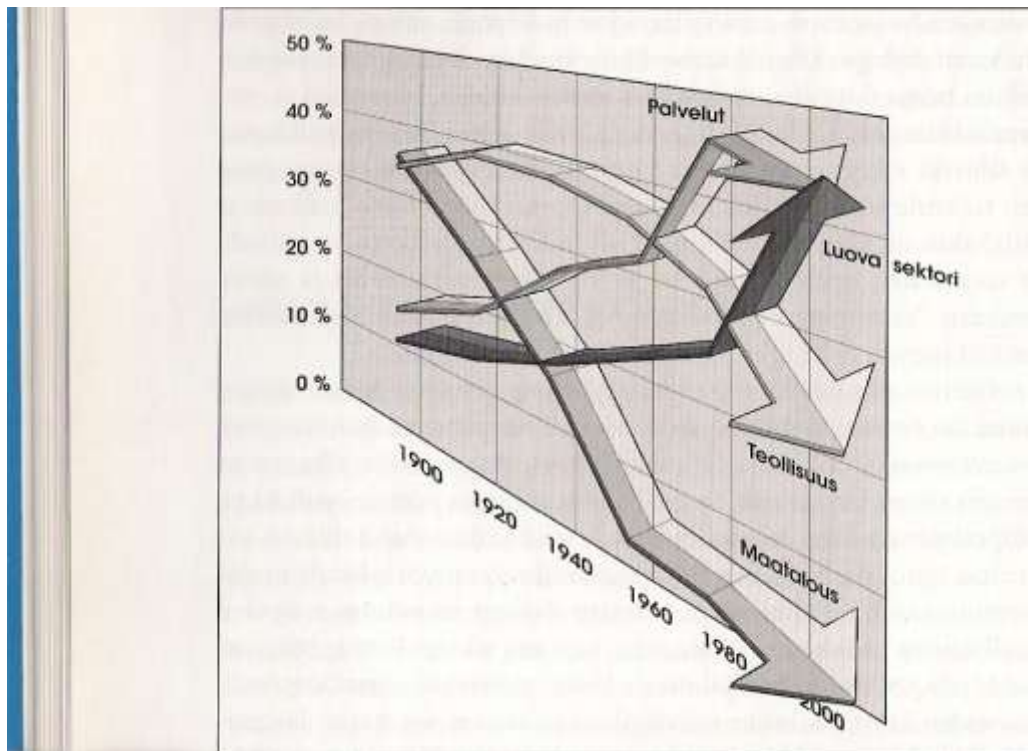
Almost ten years ago, the notion of the creative class received its official definition. Creative class is represented by those industries, which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property, as the M'etropolitiques site mentions [13]. At the same time in 2002 R. Florida released his first profound sociological research "The Rise of the Creative Class" and then in 2003 p. «The Flight of the Creative Class» [14]. These books were translated into the majority of European languages comparatively quickly and in 2007 the Russian translation was published [11].

To understand more about the opportunities for the creative class influence on the future of Ukraine we can draw parallels to the development of this class in the USA during the 20th century in comparison with other big classes that are employed in agriculture, industry, and service sectors.

The scheme given below is taken from the second book of R. Florida. It distinctly shows that the number of people employed in the agriculture sector during the 20th century was gradually decreasing from 40% in 1900 to 2% in 2000. The number of people employed in the industry sector was constantly growing till 1920, but after 1960 rapidly decreased to 20%. That was the time when the class employed

in the service sector got developed, quickly increased in number and reached the index of 45% of population capable of working. This very class began decreasing in the 80-ies when the boom of the creative class took place.

The same processes are taking place now in Europe, at first in the Western Europe, and then in the Central and the Eastern Europe. This way of development is typical for Ukraine too, unless the country ruins its future while conducting inefficient politics. This hazard exists because the creative class in Ukraine is characterized by the conditions, when there is no high demand for it in the country and the salary is low. The paradoxical situation is taking place, when a considerable amount of young professionals are highly qualified in the most promising production sector but there is a too low demand for such workforce in Ukraine. Moreover, this promising and most powerful force of social development is actually driven out of the country.



Scheme. 1. The growth of the creative economy in the USA during the 20th century (Florida R. Luovan luokan pako. Uusi globaali kilpailu kyvyistä. – Helsinki, Tolentum, 2006. – P. 31.)

The creative class in Ukraine has only begun to influence the country. It claimed its existence only when it was deprived of the Internet entertainment that are not free in any country in the world. When on February, 1 2012 the sites of MIA,

President's administration, and later Cabinet of Ministers and Party of Regions were hacked, it was quite clear that the Third Ukraine exists and is able of quick decision-making and cooperation when having their interests affected. In fact, this protest event is morally ambiguous because it is connected with hacking and copyright. However, if to take into account the extreme poverty of Ukrainians in general and the youth in particular, it is not difficult to understand why this hacking attack did not receive any negative feedback in the media.

It is particularly important that the creative class in Ukraine can be observed from outside the country. In the book published in 2005, R. Florida offered the table with the contrastive data about 45 countries, where the potential of the creative class in every country was assessed. The creativity was assessed based on 10 indices grouped in 3 sectors: *talents* (being gifted, creative resources, human resources, education level), *technologies* (technological index, research and creative work, innovations), and *tolerance* (these are 3 indices, including the tolerance to homosexuality²). In this table compiled by R. Florida, Ukraine got the 27th place out of 43 countries, where the social changes have begun (in comparison with the 25th place of Russia). Having positive indices in talents, Ukraine is falling behind firstly because of technologies being outdated, when the inventions of engineers and scientists do not result in patents and new technologies development, and secondly because of intolerance not only to people who think differently, but also to those who speak a different language.

One of the most difficult issues which politicians are taking advantage of is the status of the Ukrainian language. The research of D. Poznyak about the language situation among the youth in the Eastern Ukraine proves how difficult it is for Ukrainian to obtain the status of the commonly used language in science and culture. In the conclusions, the researcher mentions: "Among all-Ukrainian and Central-Ukrainian representatives there is a belief that the leading factor that prevents the youth in the Eastern Ukraine from communication in Ukrainian is the low prestige mode and poor knowledge of Ukrainian". However, the youth in the Eastern Ukraine believes that they keep themselves from using Ukrainian because of the following reasons: "communication in Ukrainian contradicts their ideological beliefs, there is

² R. Florida explains that he compared his map of the USA, where he recorded the quickest growth of the creative class, with another sociologist's data, who studied the spread of homosexuality on the territory of the USA. As these data coincided, R. Florida explained that the tolerance of population to homosexuality and the lack of violence attract creative people who long for social peace for themselves and their families.

also fear that this can change their personality, and moreover, there is a fear of official pressure” [5].

The conclusions given above should be taken into account because according to the data provided by V. Khmelko the ethnic distribution of the population in the Eastern Ukraine is the following: 34,1% mono-ethnic Ukrainians, 45% bi-ethnic Ukrainians-Russians and 20,8 % mono-ethnic Russians [12]. I believe there are two history factors that led to the existing situation.

The first factor to keep from using the mother tongues is connected with the Holodomor. The most intelligent villagers were looking for salvation in big industrial cities in the South and in the East of the country, i.e. in Donbas, Dnipropetrovs’k, Odesa etc., where there was a huge demand for healthy people capable of working during the quick industrialization era. Of course, being afraid of danger of repressions these people tried to get rid of their mother tongues that could give away their origin. Up till now their descendants are afraid of changes in their personalities.

The second factor is that the south-east of the country was colonized by the Russian empire only in the 18th century, and this is why from the very beginning, Russian was both the official and everyday life language. My personal conviction is that no special steps should be taken to change the language situation because language issues influence people on a deep emotional level. Tolerance to the usage of any language in the everyday life is the obligatory precondition for peace.

The situation in Ukraine does not differ much from the language problems that colonies of the former British or French empires are experiencing. For the population in India, Pakistan, a considerable number of people in the Southern and the Eastern Africa the usage of English alongside with their mother tongues contributed to the bilingualism phenomenon. The same is typical for the usage of French in the independent Maghreb countries. Probably neglecting the achievements of the Russian culture will not improve the life style of Ukrainians, but it can definitely worsen it. Narrow-minded people can be neither creative, nor tolerant. At the same time, the attempt of politicians to take advantage of the language issues cannot be simply defined as a failure. Actually, it is a betrayal of national interests of the young country.

If to analyze the development of the Ukrainian creative class, it can be outlined that its status is highly dangerous. About 70% of the well-educated youth want to leave their Motherland and emigrate to countries with better living conditions. If there is no effective action taken concerning the economic and political order, than the First Ukraine will actually destroy its children – the most talented part of the Third Ukraine that has nothing to lose in Ukraine except for its poverty. The

prognosis is too bad to leave it not discussed. This is what authors of the weekly newspaper “Korespondent” and other media are trying to warn Ukrainians about, when talking about the values and dimensions of the Third Ukraine.

What Ukraine actually needs is to change its economic development model from the clan-oligarch capitalism that replaced state-monopolistic model to the model of national capitalism that has a real potential for better and quicker solving of the problems that Ukraine has faced in the modern world. What Ukraine requires is to implement the mechanisms of production and good distribution that will stimulate the considerable growth and the quantity increase of small and medium-sized private enterprises, i.e. the middle class that has been almost destroyed by the unreasonable policy of M. Azarov’s policy within the last three years. The totality of these mechanisms will form the model of national capitalism that successfully functions in many countries including Poland, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Denmark that almost managed to obviate the danger of the world economic crisis. This model will help to solve the problems connected with the permanent state budget deficit, the abrupt increase of state domestic and external public debts, the balance of supply and demand. This model will also stimulate the development of the domestic market capital and can help to find the path to the economic improvement. By the way, it will not be a difficult task to nationalize the enterprises misappropriated by the oligarchs and to introduce a progressive income tax, which is common for the countries of the Northern Europe, if there are more socially oriented parties in the parliament. It is illogical that the poor elderly women and billionaires have to pay the same income tax.

Conclusions:

1. Our hypothesis about the coexistence of three big communities, which appear during the elections, demands further profound sociological and social-psychological studies, as well as the appropriate design of research indices, operational features, and instruments. The given article is the first attempt in the mentioned scientific direction. The goal of this article is mainly to attract the attention of scientists, journalists, and other creative workers to the big problem of the modern Ukraine, i.e. outdated and unreasonable content of social beliefs of the majority of population.

2. The attempts to understand and evaluate the modernity are impossible without referring to the knowledge about the history of the country, which usually predetermines not the further development direction itself (in fact, it is common to follow those who are leaders of the development), but the peculiarities of the further development direction. Nowadays the status of Ukraine is endangered and not only

because the country might face a new wave of colonization. The danger consists in the obsolescence of social ideas and beliefs of the huge proportion of the people in the country who do not see any promising opportunities, as well as politicians who do not see them or do not want to see them.

3. It is extremely important for people to have their prospects. Since the time of Moses, it has been important that every person is able of comprehending the reality and its development direction. Sociology was the first science that enabled people to differentiate explanation and understanding, thus playing a key role in the modern society, as Pierre Bourdieu mentioned: “In order to function in the world (instead of being processed by it) it is necessary to know how this world functions” [2, с. 227]. Our hypothesis, i.e. about the majority of population in modern Ukraine being kept in captivity of beliefs of the Soviet time, is reasonable. It can be attested by the analysis of the existing Ukrainian society that clearly resembles the caricature image of the capitalism in the books on “scientific communism”.

4. The main task of the modern sociology is social education, which will be even more successful if based on scientific researches. The special attention needs to be paid to journalists who are the main conductors in the process of forming more progressive ideas and beliefs in the Ukrainian society.

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