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SOCIAL FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE CLASS FORMATION IN UKRAINE: IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA, STRUCTURE, KEY FEATURES

This issue of the National Security and Defence journal contains the results of studies of social groups in Ukraine's modern society, which can be viewed as a prototype and a foundation for the future Ukrainian middle class in the classical sense.

The journal contains two analytical reports.

The first – **“Middle Class in Ukraine: Life Values, Readiness for Association and Promotion of Democratic Norms and Standards”**, prepared by Razumkov Centre experts on the basis of research, conducted by Centre's Sociological Service, and namely, national surveys and focus group research.

In this report, on the basis of self-definition and self-evaluation of respondents the following social class groups are being singled out: subjective middle class, “nucleus” and periphery of middle class, upper and lower classes; their comparative analysis is performed according to such parameters as understanding the main principles of democracy and social justice, attitude to participation in civic activity, level of internality/externality of these social class groups' representatives, etc.

On the basis of analysis, a conclusion is being made that according to these (and other) parameters, closest to the middle class notion in its classical sense are such groups as the “nucleus” of the middle class and the upper class. At the same time, currently, the level of trust of these groups in their fellow citizens and institutions, their readiness for regular (as opposed to ad hoc) participation in “the common cause” are insufficient for announcing the existence of an established middle class in Ukraine in its modern sense.

The second – **“Population with Medium Income as the Basis for Middle Class Formation in Ukraine”** – prepared by the team of authors of M.V. Ptukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies on the basis of data from Household Living Conditions Survey performed by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

Features, singled out on the basis of this data can be viewed as more objective than sociological survey results, which allows to define with more precision the socio-demographic and socio-economic portrait of a middle class representative (groups with medium income), characteristics of his behaviour in consumer market and his property ownership status, as compared to other society groups (distinguished on the basis of income).

The report also provides an in-depth analysis of statistical indicators that characterise households with medium income, as well as a definition of their representatives' key life values.

The performed analysis provides a basis for conclusion that, currently, the population group with medium income, according to their assets, financial capacity, consumer behaviour, mindset and subjective evaluations, mostly does not meet the classical definition of the middle class as a special social group with specific functions in the society.

At the same time, both reports have mentioned features that both groups under analysis possess, which are typical specifically for “classical” middle class. Thus, representatives of both groups have a high level of education and perform professional activity that requires high qualification, are permanently employed and provide for themselves and their families primarily with their labour income. (Although, most of them also accept social assistance, however, this is rather due to a flawed domestic social security system, which allows for receipt of such assistance by the non-poor). Characteristic of the middle class is the willingness of representatives of both groups to take responsibility for their own lives, their attitude to education, work, career, content of their leisure activities, etc.

So, we can assume that both groups under analysis – the “nucleus” of the middle class and the “medium income population group”, have a certain development potential in the context of “classical” middle class formation.

Currently, the main problem of both groups is the insufficient income – both from labour remuneration and business activity. Available income is mostly only enough to satisfy primary survival needs, to use certain paid educational and healthcare services for the entire family, rather than high-quality recreation. However, it is not enough to make savings, which would not only provide these groups' representatives with a feeling of security in their position (including, social status and confidence in the future), but would also be a notable investment resource for the national economy.

So, State Policy, and namely the income policy, the remuneration policy, the social policy, have to be aimed at supporting these social and social-professional groups that have the potential to develop into Ukrainian middle class. **It is the support for formation of the middle class that is the most efficient way to fight poverty and to introduce democratic values, norms and standards into social, political and economic life of Ukraine, and to approximate the social structure of Ukrainian society to modern societies of developed countries.**

MIDDLE CLASS IN UKRAINE: LIFE VALUES, READINESS FOR ASSOCIATION AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRATIC NORMS AND STANDARDS

The notion of “middle class” is widely used in academic disciplines, as well as in political and social discourse, and within the information field in general. In the last decades it has become more popular in national science, media and, especially, in politics. This is connected with systemic transformation of Ukraine, in particular, with its transition to market economy, which leads to transformation of social class structure in Ukrainian society. Thus, together with introduction of the main principles of market economy – private ownership and freedom of enterprise, emerges and develops the social group of entrepreneurs, specifically, owners of small and medium-size businesses, who, in developed countries, belong to the so-called “old” middle class, and in post-socialistic countries are viewed as a new class, and sometimes as the middle class altogether.

At that time, the “middle class” that was developing in Ukraine was primarily of interest to economists, sociologists and separate political parties of liberal direction (Liberal Party of Ukraine, Liberal-Democratic Party of Ukraine, etc.).

In 1999 – beginning of 2000s the attention of political parties to the issues of middle class and, correspondingly, the number of references to it in programme documents have significantly increased, which can be explained by relative economic stabilisation and certain positive tendencies in the economy of the country.¹ Approximately from the same time, the topic of middle class began to be actively used in election campaigns, which was brought about by respective self-identification of a large part of constituents. For example, electoral basis analysis before the parliamentary election of 2006 showed that almost all leading parties (except CPU (The Communist Party of Ukraine) and partially SPU (The Socialist Party of Ukraine)) could be viewed as “middle class” parties, as most of their supporters identified themselves as such.

Increased interest of political analysts, politicians and political forces to middle class led to Maidan 2004 and, most notably, to the Revolution of Dignity, which started in November 2013 and ended after the fall of the Yanukovich regime in 2014. Many participants, observers, researchers, political analysts and politicians named middle class the main agent of this revolution.

During the revolution, hopes were expressed that Maidan will cause the emergence of a new powerful political force – the party of the middle class: “Maidan is the second attempt at the revolution of the middle class. And it has demonstrated the demand for a party of the middle class. None of today’s opposition parties are up to this status”.²

However, this has not happened. In the parliamentary election on October 26, 2014, “the interests of Maidan” were represented by the mentioned above opposition parties. Altogether, 23 political parties took part in the election.

Analysing the election programmes of the most popular ones (that gained not less than 1% of constituents’ votes), we can note two indicative peculiarities.³

Firstly, only 5 of these 12 parties mentioned middle class in their election programmes, out of 6 parties that came to the Parliament, only two declared their support of the middle class – “Narodnyy Front” (“People’s Front”) and “Batkivshchyna”.

Secondly, from the context of programme provisions with references to middle class it seems that these political forces, their ideologists and speakers view “middle class” only as a class of entrepreneurs, as it is being mentioned only in connection with supporting small and medium-size business, including agriculture (election programme of political party “ZASTUP”). The only exception is political party “Hromadyanska Pozytsiya” (“Civic Stance”), in the election programme of which middle class is defined as the “avant-garde of active citizens”.

¹ Thus, among parties registered in 1999, such parties as All-Ukrainian Union (AU) “Batkivshchyna” (“Motherland”), party “Vpered, Ukraini!” (“Let’s Go, Ukraine!”) and the Liberal Party of Ukraine (reformed) have directly named middle class as their social basis or defined their programme task as working towards establishing middle class.

² Lutsenko foresees the creation of a new party. – Web-site “Third Ukrainian Republic”, January 16, 2014, <http://www.3republic.org.ua/ua/news/12374>. See also: Taras Voznyak: Maidan – Revolution of the Middle Class. – Web-site “Third Ukrainian Republic”, December 19, 2013, <http://www.3republic.org.ua>; Leshchenko A. To Kill the Dragon or Birth Pangs of Middle Class Emergence. – Internet-resource LB.ua, March 14, 2014, society.lb.ua.

³ Excerpts from the mentioned programmes are presented in table “Middle Class in Election Programmes...”, contained in this journal in Section 1 of analytical report, p.10-11.



In election programmes of today's parliamentary parties "middle class" is practically equalled to small and medium businesses: "Small and medium businesses have to stand at the origin of economic development of the country, middle class is to become the foundation of its social structure" ("The Revival of Ukraine" programme by the "Narodnyy Front" party); "Development of middle class has to become the locomotive of economic revival of Ukraine. Only independent people are able to stand up to corruption and authoritarian leadership. At the same time, large business has to become socially responsible towards the citizens of Ukraine and the environment" ("Ukraine Will Win!" programme by the AU "Batkivshchyna").

This is why it came as no surprise that in official parliamentary and government documents, – the Coalition Agreement and the Action Programme of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, developed and approved after the new government has been formed by the VIII Verkhovna Rada and, consequently, appointed, – there is no term "middle class". The Coalition Agreement talks about "creating a favourable business environment, including, for the development of small and medium-size business..." and "state support of private farms, small and medium-size agricultural producers";⁴ the Action Programme of the Government – about "reducing the tax burden on small and medium-size business" and "support and development of small and medium-size business in the villages".⁵

Because these documents do not foresee a fundamental reform of labour remuneration, de facto, the majority of middle class in its present form is being overpassed by authorities – this includes salaried employees, first of all, those social-professional groups, whose work requires a high level of education and qualification (teachers, doctors, scientists, state employees, etc.)

This situation can signify that current authorities either do not have a strategic view of the desirable social structure of Ukrainian society in the future, i.e. have not defined the goal for the country's social development, and, consequently, state economy and social policy development, or are limited in their vision by short-term perspective, the task of "surviving", as opposed to developing. An important reason for such "limited perspective" is that the majority of political structures that passed the electoral threshold in 2014 parliamentary elections and created the parliamentary coalition, constitute a political party only nominally. Political history of 4 out of 5 coalition members is less than two years, and they have obvious characteristics of leader-centred projects, as opposed to ideology-based parties.

In any case, the problem of middle class, its formation and development in Ukraine remains not only a topic for discussion, but also a pressing issue.

Taking this into account, the Razumkov Centre proposed a project for studying this issue, from the point of view of correspondence of today's Ukrainian "subjective" middle class (i.e., middle class according to self-definition of people, who identify themselves as such) with certain notions of "classical" middle class, as well as its readiness for free association (uniting) and promotion of democratic norms and standards. This project was financially supported by the Government of Canada through the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD).

In the framework of the project, we have conducted pilot and massive representative survey of Ukrainian people, as well as group interviews (focus groups), held two expert discussions, issued two brochures "Middle Class in Ukraine: Identification Criteria" (Expert Views, People's Ideas and Self-Identification), "Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of its Representatives: Focus Group Discussions".⁶

This analytical report consolidates results of this research. The report contains 4 sections and conclusions.

Note. The research contains random coincidence of figures. The "nucleus" of the middle class as singled out by the experts of Razumkov Centre on the basis of respondents' self-evaluation makes up 14% of adult population of the country. "The group of population with medium income" as singled out by the researchers from the Institute for Demography and Social Studies on the basis of statistical index (level of income), in 2013, also amounted to 14% of the country's population. Thus, while reading the results of both research works, it must be kept in mind that they describe entirely different selection of respondents, different social groups. They possess certain similar characteristics, but most of characteristics (and conclusions) refer solely to the group described in one or the other research, and cannot be transposed to the other group.

⁴ Quoted after the text published on the web-site of "Samopomich" ("Self-Help") political party, as at the time the magazine was being made this document was not available at official web-sites of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and/or the President of Ukraine yet. See: Coalition Agreement. – Web-site of the Samopomich Union, http://samopomich.ua/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Koalitsiynna_uhoda_parafovana_20.11.pdf.

⁵ Action Programme of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. – Web-site of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, December 9, 2014, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=52794.

⁶ The first brochure contains materials of expert discussion "Problems of Identification Criteria of the Middle Class in Ukraine" (took place on June 19, 2014.) Second expert discussion "Middle Class in Ukraine: Sociological Portrait" took place on November 20, 2014. Materials are being prepared for publication. For the text of the brochure, see: Razumkov Centre web-site, <http://www.razumkov.org.ua>.

1. MIDDLE CLASS: IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA AND DEFINITION OF STRUCTURE

Any sociological research that studies middle class starts with solving the problem of defining criteria, according to which people are classified as middle class; identification of middle class in the process of research itself. To a large extent, the differences between various approaches in defining middle class are brought about by the diverse view on what constitutes “the middle class”. Besides, one of the main problems of researching middle class as a social group is that “its boundaries are very relative, and unity, that comes from recognizing itself as a class, is not developed”.¹

This is why researchers of issues concerning middle class often agree that its identification criteria depend on the goals and tasks of the research.² The task of this research is, first and foremost, to find out whether there is in the modern Ukrainian society a social (social class) group that to the maximum extent matches the notion of middle class (the “nucleus” of the middle class); secondly, the extent of preparedness of this group’s representatives to accept, promote and defend democratic values, norms and standards.

Correspondingly, the following methods of research were chosen: sociological survey and group interviews (box “*Methods of Research*”, p.6); as well as criteria, which are mainly based on self-identification and self-evaluation of respondents (self-identification criteria).

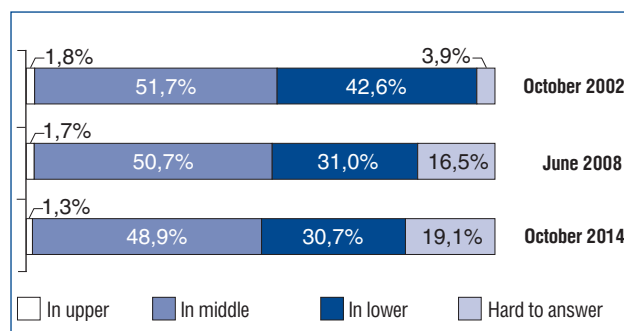
Identification criteria. When defining the criteria for self-identification, we must keep in mind the following. *Firstly*, “middle class” is described in mass media and many political programme documents mainly as a leading, “progressive-transformative” social community, which possesses just about every known moral virtue, high level of culture, etc. This is why the natural desire of respondents during communication with the interviewer is to include themselves in this very group, which for many people has acquired the features of a reference group. *Secondly*, often respondents include themselves in the middle class during sociological surveys because of their unwillingness to admit their belonging to lower strata of society. We can agree with O. Symonchuk’s statement that in the situation, when a respondent is offered to choose between three options – upper, middle and lower class, a psychological defence mechanism is triggered, which does not allow many respondents to include themselves in the lower class (that is viewed as “negative identity”) and, consequently, they identify themselves as “middle class”. This is why some researchers propose using a four-member scale (rather than a three-member one), where the above-named classes are appended by the “working class” option.³

In order to establish consistent self-identification of a respondent as the middle class representative, it is also appropriate to use the test of integral self-evaluation of a person’s position in society, which is often used in international comparative studies to single out different social strata. In the test, the respondents have to define

during the survey at which step of the social ladder (from 10 to 1), according to their own evaluation, they find themselves. Steps four to six according to this scale are interpreted as such that correspond to the “actual” middle class”.⁴

The three-member scale has been used by the Razumkov Centre since the beginning of 2000s, and in the research of 2008 and 2014 both these scales have been used (diagrams “*If Ukrainian society was tentatively divided into three social classes...?*” and “*Which society stratum would you most probably include yourself in?*”, p.6).

If Ukrainian society was tentatively divided into three social classes, in which class would you include yourself?
respondents, %



¹ Popova I. Middle Strata, Middle Class in Russian Society – to the Problem of Correlation. – Sociological Research, 2005, No.12, p.7.

² See, for example: Problems of Identification Criteria of the Middle Class in Ukraine (Expert Discussion Materials) in the “Middle Class in Ukraine: Identification Criteria”. – Razumkov Centre Library, Kyiv, 2014, p.7-26.

³ Symonchuk E.V. Middle Class: People and Statues. – Kyiv, 2003, p.47.

⁴ For more information, see: Symonchuk E. Middle Class: People and Statues ..., p.51-52.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

In the framework of the project we have conducted a massive representative survey of Ukrainian people, as well as group interviews (focus groups).

The massive survey results create an idea of social characteristics and structure of middle class, the prevalence among its representatives of evaluations regarding the situation in the society, views, values, social practices. Together with this, the structured interview method used in massive surveys is not well suited to understand the mentality of social groups, the logic behind their representatives' substantiation of their social position and social behaviour. The most adequate in this case are qualitative research methods, in particular, focus groups. These factors led to the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods in the course of project.

Focus groups. In May-June 2014, discussions were held in six focus groups: two in Kyiv and Lviv, one in Odesa and one in Kharkiv. To participate in focus groups were invited representatives of middle class – working-age people (30-50 y.o.), who identified themselves as middle class, have higher or specialised secondary education, are employed in different spheres, have permanent employment or own business and average monthly income of not less than 2 500 UAH per each family member. Focus group participants included private entrepreneurs, employees of government and private institutions and enterprises, representatives of free professions (artists, lawyers, translators), teachers, doctors, engineers, military people, service and trade industry employees.

There were 9-10 participants in the group, they were mixed according to age and gender. Altogether, 56 people took part in the discussions (incl., female – 31, male – 25).

Tool test. It was planned to conduct the massive survey with a large sample (over 10 thousand respondents), which would allow for analysis of even small social groups. In particular, this sample size allows to analyse different segments of middle class and to compare middle class not only to the lower one (as this is usually done), but also to receive statistically significant differences while comparing it to the upper class.

Before conducting the survey for the large sample, in July 2014, a pilot survey was conducted, which was not only of methodological value, as it was conducted for a representative sample in regard to Ukrainian population, and was also aiming to test the suitability of applied tools for realisation of project goals and tasks.¹

Because the topic of research of the Razumkov Centre is, first of all, connected with studying social activism of middle class representatives, in the analysis of pilot study results, identification of middle class and comparison of social characteristics of middle and lower class representatives, preference was given to the subjective criterion, and namely, respondents' answer to the direct question "Which class would you include yourself in?" with the following answer options: (1) in upper, (2) in middle, (3) in lower class. This question allows to single out the so-called "subjective middle class".²

Comparison of subjective middle class representatives' answers to those of people, who included themselves in the lower class, in the analysis of pilot study results, showed how this or that question in the questionnaire allows to detect differences in social characteristics, and, thus, how appropriate it is to use them and what changes should be made in the wording of questions.³

The main survey was conducted by the Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre on September 26-October 10, 2014. There were 10 054 respondents aged 18 y.o. and older from all regions of Ukraine, except Crimea, with a sample that is representative of adult population according to main socio-demographic indicators.

The sample was multistage, random, with quota sampling of respondents at the last stage. Sample theoretical error (excluding design effect) does not exceed 1.0% with probability of 0.95.

Some results of this study are compared to results of previous studies by the Razumkov Centre and other research organisations.⁴

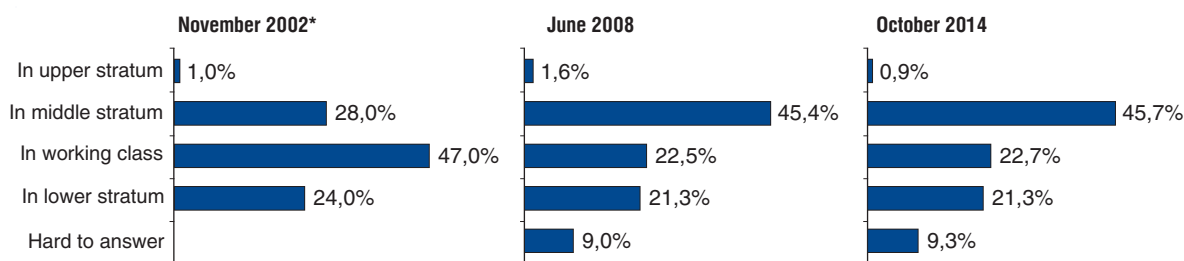
¹ Research was conducted from July 19-24, 2014 in all regions of Ukraine, except Crimea, with a sample that is representative of the population of Ukraine according to main socio-demographic indicators. There were 1 010 respondents aged 18 y.o. and more. Sample theoretical error does not exceed 3.2%.

² "Subjective middle class" – a definition used for people, who identify themselves with this social stratum, regardless of whether they actually match the objective criteria of belonging to it. See: Khakhulina L. Subjective Middle Class: Income, Financial Condition, Values. – Economic and Social Changes: Monitoring of Public Opinion, 1999, Issue 2, p.25.

³ More information on the results of pilot research, see: Middle Class in Ukraine: Identification Criteria (Expert Views, People's Ideas and Self-Identification). – Razumkov Centre Library, Kyiv, 2014, p.45-64.

⁴ In particular, with results of research conducted by Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre in 2002, 2005, 2008 and 2009 (with 2 000, 1 993, 2 016 and 2 010 respondents, respectively, with the sample that is representative of adult population of Ukraine, sample theoretical error does not exceed 2.3%), and also with results of a survey conducted by "Taylor Nelson Sofres – Ukraine" with a national representative sample (1 200 persons) in November 2002.

Which society stratum would you most probably include yourself in? respondents, %



* There was no "Hard to answer" option in the questionnaire.



In 2014, a significant part (16%) of those, who with the first wording included themselves in the middle class, with the second wording – included themselves in the working class. (The same percentage (16%) was in 2008). *Firstly*, such stability of results indicates the reliability of data. *Secondly*, we can assume that in the absence of the “working class” option, at least 16% of respondents, who included themselves in the middle class, did so mainly because they did not want to choose the “negative identity”. Big social-professional groups most often “refused” from identifying themselves as middle class in the presence of the “working class” answer option, – skilled workers (25%), unskilled workers (31%), pensioners and non-working (22%, each).

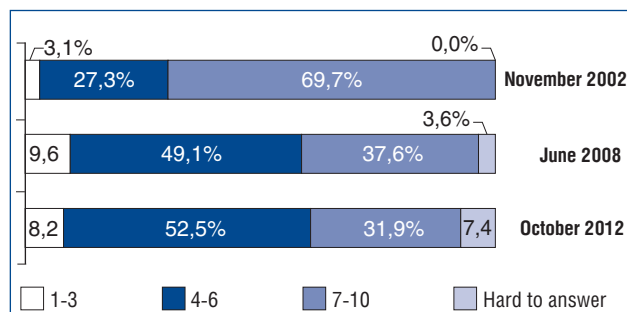
According to these indicators, it is possible to view the dynamics of results since 2002.⁵ With the first wording of the question (three-member scale), the share of people, who include themselves in the middle class, has remained almost unchanged since that time (despite significant changes in macroeconomic and social situation), but with the second one (four-member scale), in 2008 as compared to 2002, the share of people, who included themselves in the middle class, grew. This allows for an assumption that the four-member scale is more sensitive to social and economic changes, and is, therefore, more valid than the three-member one. However, as the results of the main 2014 survey demonstrated, this indicator has also remained unchanged since 2008.

We can answer the question, whether this is due to the “insensitivity” of the four-member scale as well, or such stability of results for the past years is connected with the unchanging number of middle class representatives, by the way of comparison with one more indicator – the result of the above-mentioned test of integral self-evaluation of a person’s position in society.

As seen from the diagram “*In our society there are groups...*”, from 2002 to 2008, the share of respondents, who position themselves on the 10-point scale between the fourth and the sixth step, has increased from 27% to 49%, in 2014 it was 53%, i.e., as compared to 2008, has changed insignificantly.

So the dynamics of answers to the last question from 2002 to 2014 is similar to answer dynamics to the question

In our society there are groups that belong to higher strata and groups that belong to lower strata of society. Which mark would you give to your own position in society?*
respondents, %



* According to a 10-point scale from 1 to 10, where “1” is the highest position and “10” – the lowest.

with the four-member scale, – which can be considered a mutual confirmation of their validity (as similar results are received from different indicators). Besides, receiving such results from two indicators allows to state that the **number of middle class representatives in Ukraine, having grown in the 2000s, has stabilised in the recent years.**

Also, among the respondents, who included themselves in the middle class, when answering the direct question in the first wording, the share of those, who evaluated their status with 4th-6th step, in 2008 amounted to 68%, and in 2014 – 67%, while among those, who included themselves in the middle stratum, when answering the direct question with the second wording, – 71% in both studies.

Simultaneous use of both self-identification scales (three-member and four-member), as well as the test of integral self-evaluation allow to single out a group of respondents with stable self-identification as a representative of middle class – it makes up 27% of all respondents, or 56% of those, who identify themselves as middle class according to the three-member scale (upper – middle – lower class).

Noteworthy is the following fact – despite the stability of indicators connected with attribution to middle class (middle strata), in the period between 2008 and 2014, self-estimation of the standard of living of households has slightly decreased (diagram “*What is the financial standing of your family in general?*”, p.8). Thus, the dynamics of subjective attribution of oneself to the middle class (middle stratum) is not a simple reflection of self-estimated financial well-being dynamics.

The “nucleus” and the periphery of middle class. Additionally, for determining the “nucleus” of the middle class were used criteria that are viewed as defining markers of middle class by the majority of researchers in this field, – a certain level of income and high level of education.

This is why in this research, as criteria for including in middle class “nucleus”, we used the self-evaluation of financial well-being at the level not below “in general, enough for living”, and education – not below specialised secondary.

⁵ For year 2002, the results are used from the survey conducted by “Taylor Nelson Sofres – Ukraine” with a general national representative sample (1 200 persons).



Taking into account that the target of this research is a “class”, we must keep in mind that any social group is characterised by the feeling of solidarity, i.e. awareness of closeness of own interests to the interests of other people, who belong to the same group (class).

As J. Goldthorpe wrote, “classes are groups of people united by common interests”.⁶ It is this feeling of solidarity that is a major agent in transformation of a certain number of people into a community and a subject of social activity. Ye. Holovakha characterised development stages of social groups as an important milestone of their formation, in which he separately mentioned institutionalisation of group interests – generation of symbols and group norms.⁷

This is why the question of which social group the respondent feels close to, according to his interests, has to be a criterion for inclusion in middle class.

Besides, an individual can be viewed as a member of a certain social group only if the immediate circle of his personal contacts includes representatives of this group. It is the everyday communication that creates in an individual the feeling of empathy, commonness of experiences and perception of the world, and thus, – the above-mentioned common interests. So we can use indicators that characterise respondents’ social circle as criteria for their inclusion in middle class.

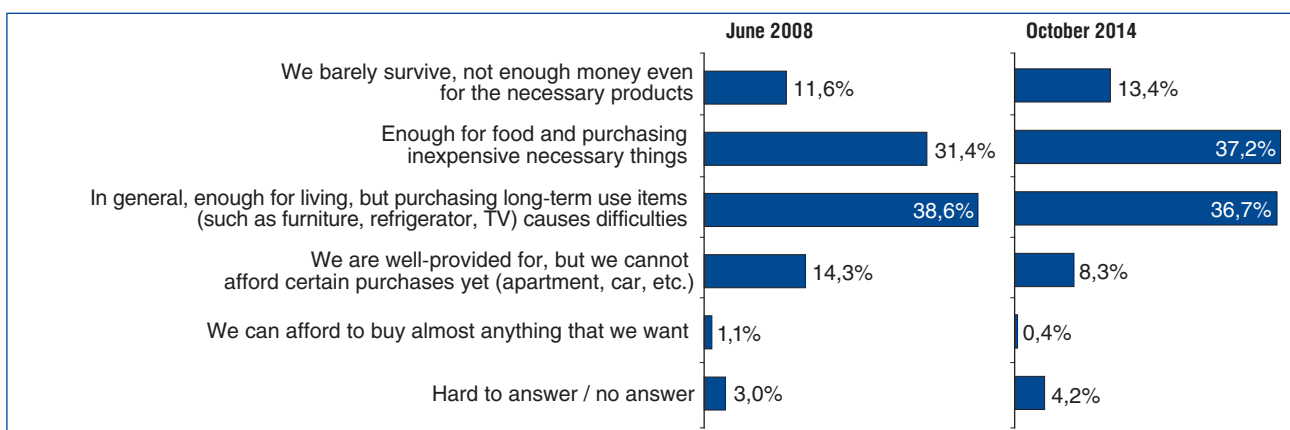
Taking into account the above-named criteria, in the middle class “nucleus” were included those respondents, who:

- identified themselves as middle class (middle stratum), when answering direct questions (both with the first and the second wording, or both according to three-member of four-member scale);
- when answering the test question of integral self-evaluation of social position, marked their position as 4th-6th step;
- when answering the question about the level of financial well-being of their family, chose options: “in general, enough for living, but purchasing long-term use items causes difficulties”, “we are well-provided for, but we cannot afford certain purchases yet”, “we can afford to buy almost anything we want”;
- when answering the question about the level of education, noted that they either have secondary specialised or higher education (complete or incomplete);
- named middle class in the answer to the question: “Representatives of which of the named social groups do you feel that you have most common interests with?”;
- named middle class in the answer to the question: “Representatives of which of the named social groups are mostly in the circle of your friends, close acquaintances?”

Those respondents, who included themselves in the middle class (according to the three-member scale – upper, middle and lower class), but were not included in the “nucleus” of the middle class, were included in **middle class periphery**. These groups were compared to groups of respondents, who included themselves in the upper and lower class.

Thus, according to results of the main 2014 survey, **14% of respondents were included in the middle class “nucleus”, 35% – in its periphery. Lower class made up 31% of respondents, upper – slightly over 1%** (Diagram “Percentage of respondents representing upper class, middle class ‘nucleus’, middle class periphery and lower class”).

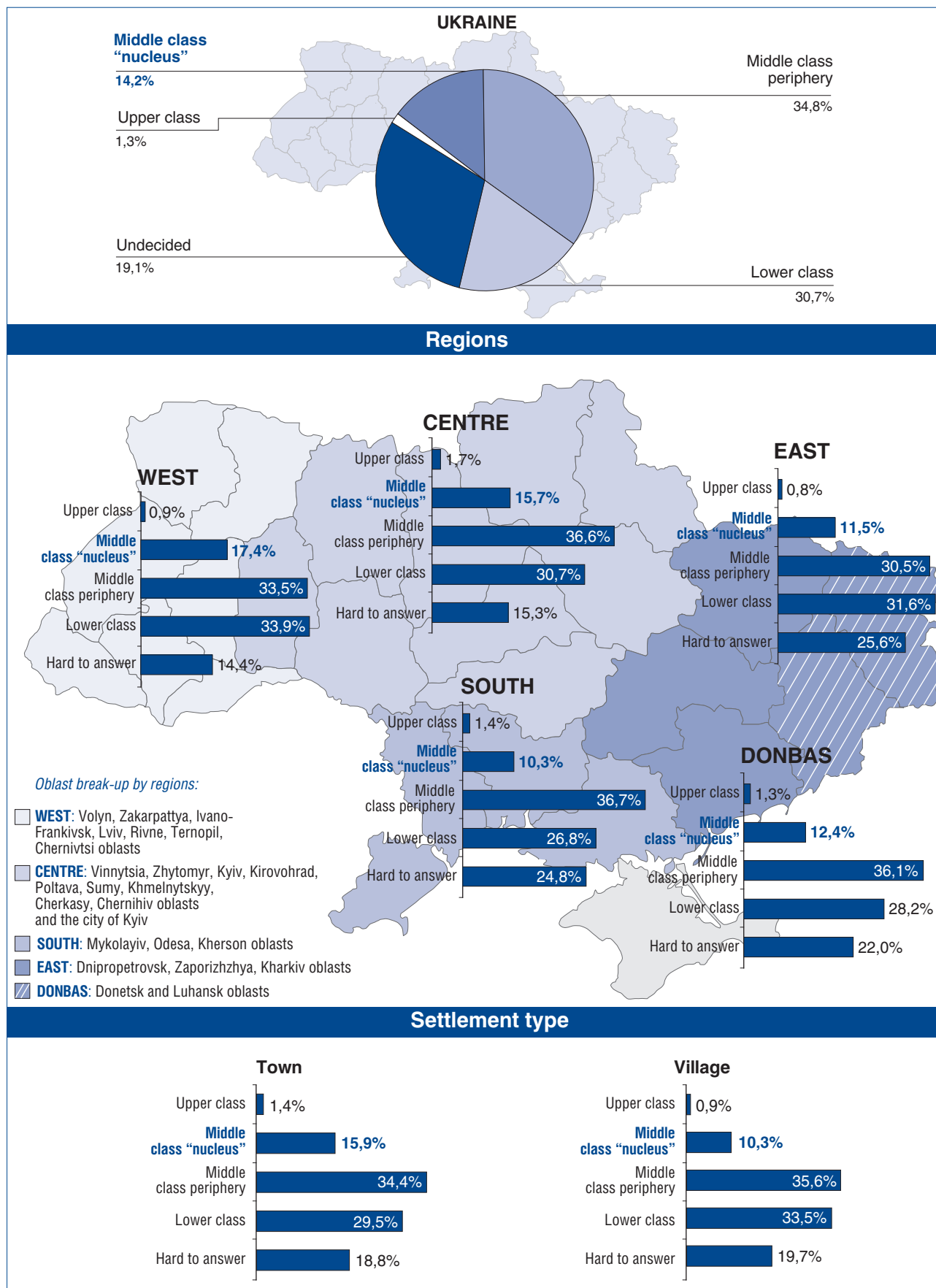
What is the financial standing of your family in general?
respondents, %



⁶ Goldthorpe J. Occupational Sociology, Yes: Class Analysis, No: Comment on Grusky and Weeden’s Research Agenda. – Acta Sociologica, 2002, No.45 (3), p. 211-216.

⁷ Holovakha Ye.I. The Change of Social Structure and Formation of Middle Class in Ukraine. – Web-site “Science. Internet. Russia”, <http://www.nir.ru/sj/sj/4golov.htm>.

Percentage of respondents representing upper class, middle class "nucleus", middle class periphery and lower class, respondents, %





Middle Class in Election Programmes of Separate Political Parties in Ukraine (Parliamentary Elections of 2014) ¹			
No	Name of Party	Social Basis	Goals
1.	Political party "Narodnyy Front" ("People's Front"), registered on March 31, 2014 Leader – Arseniy Yatsenyuk Programme – "Revival of Ukraine"	Strategic goal of the party – strong, independent Ukraine, able to protect itself with its own power from an external enemy, guarantee security, execution of rights and freedoms of its citizens, comprehensive reforms necessary to reach European social standards. People, their interests and needs are the core of our political course.	We advocate for the freedom of entrepreneurial activity, significant reduction of administrative economy regulation. Small and medium-sized business has to stand at the avant-garde of our country's economic development , and middle class has to become the basis of its social structure , as it happens in the most developed countries of the world.
2.	Party "Petro Poroshenko Block" ² registered on May 5, 2000 Leader – Yuriy Lutsenko Programme – "To Live in a New Way!"	The country as a whole and each citizen separately demand fundamental changes. But we cannot change Ukraine, unless we change ourselves, change our attitude to own life and the life of the country. ...We, Ukrainians, want to be free.	It is hard to be independent if one is poor. This is why building a democracy means creating a society of prosperous people. ...The party advocates for introduction of a real competitive economy model in Ukraine. Free market economy requires business initiative, hard work and unceasing self-improvement. In this merit-based system, the smartest, most hard-working , and most energetic people reach the highest level of personal success, which makes a contribution to the entire society. ...We have to honestly admit that high living standards will become reality only after the introduction of a number of necessary reforms, the revival of economy and as the outcome of persistent work. At the same time, the country must immediately provide proper social protection for the poorest peopleWe have to institute the simplified taxation system for small and medium-size business . To create one's own business, to take responsibility also means living in a new way.
3.	Political party "Samopomich" ("Self-Help"), registered on December 29, 2012 Leader – Andriy Sadovyy Programme – "Strength is in the Unity" ³	We, Ukrainians , regardless of our ethnic background, are one national body, we have a living soul and the undying spirit. Awareness of this shall be the steering power in the political activity of our union in the parliament.	Every Ukrainian wants to cooperate with other people for the sake of his own well-being, success of his children and the appeal of his country. In order for Ukrainians not to leave Ukraine and their families while looking for a better life, the country has to implement the policy of national economic pragmatism , which will transform our country from the "economic colony" into a state with high-technology economy". ...Development of modern Ukrainian village as an architypa ⁴ value and one of the main sources of identity. Development of environmental agriculture, gardening, animal farming and deeper processing. ...Freeing small and medium-size business from the serfdom under financial-industrial groups through implementation of real anti-monopoly policy.
4.	Political party Opposition block , ⁵ registered on April 23, 2010 Leader – Yuriy Boyko Programme – "Ukraine: the Right to the Future"	Today, we have to find the way to revive Ukraine together. We have to learn to hear one another, look for compromises, to rebuild the country together.	Ukraine has to become a country, in which people have confidence in the future, where free dialogue is taking place, in which people are free to voice their thoughts and political ideas, a country friendly to business, investment and business initiatives.
5.	Oleh Lyashko's Radical party , registered on September 28, 2010 Leader – Oleh Lyashko Programme – "Lyashko's Plan. Ukraine's Victory"	The Radical Party, together with all Ukrainians will undergo the tough education process of our current challenge. From it, we shall emerge strong and wise, and will create a new country.	The goal of the Radical Party is to create a society of equal possibilities and general well-being. ...Radical party will become the main defender of villagers' interests in the parliament.

¹ In the parliamentary elections, 23 political parties took part under party lists. This table includes parties that gained over 1% of votes during voting on October 26, 2014.

² Until August 27, 2014 – "Solidarnist" ("Solidarity") party. The block was created at the X "Solidarity" party congress for the 2014 election. The block included members from Vitaliy Klychko's UDAR party, former members of "Batkivshchyna" party.

³ Under the party list there were also members of the AU "VOLYA" ("Freedom/Willpower") party.

⁴ Quotation from the text. Probably, archetypal is meant. – Editor's note.

⁵ Until September 9, 2014 – "Zakon i Poryadok" party ("Law and Order"). The party was created on the basis of six political forces: "Partiya Rozvytku Ukrainy" ("The Party for Development of Ukraine"), "Tsentr" party ("Centre"), "Nova Polityka" ("New Politics/New Policy"), "Derzhavnyy Neytralitet" ("State Neutrality"), "Ukrayina – Vpered!" ("Go Ahead – Ukraine!") and "Trudova Ukrainy" ("The Working Ukraine").



6.	All-Ukrainian Union "Batkivshchyna" ("Motherland"), registered on September 16, 1999 Leader – Yuliya Tymoshenko Programme – "Ukraine Shall Win!"	"Batkivshchyna" party can bring back peace to Ukraine. We will stand together shoulder-to-shoulder with everyone , who aims to protect our country and start the process of real reforms.	Our goal is to restore justice, create a powerful army, perform lustration and total reloading of the country, to stop the chaos in economy, to fight corruption. We have no right to give up a single square of our land. Our heroes did not die for this to happen. ...development of middle class has to become the locomotive of economic revival of Ukraine and development of democracy . Only independent people are able to stand up to corruption and authoritarian leadership. At the same time, large business has to become socially responsible towards the citizens of Ukraine and the environment. To simplify the procedure for paying taxes and fees and decrease their number – there have to be no more than six left. To decrease the amount of unified social tax to 15%. To radically decrease the quantity of required licenses and regulatory authorities. To establish the institute of a business ombudsman, forbid the "games" and unreasonable audits and checks of small and medium-sized businesses .
7.	Political party "All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" ("Freedom"), registered on October 16, 1995 Leader – Oleh Tyahnybok Programme – "Ukrainian Victory: the Programme of Fundamental Changes"	(not specified)	...To eliminate the gap between the rich and the poor by the way of developing middle class, which is to make up not less than 60% of the populationTo prohibit selling agricultural land. To give land for long-term use to citizens of Ukraine with the right of family inheritance.
8.	Communist Party of Ukraine , registered on October 5, 1993 Leader – Petro Symonenko Election programme – "Peace for the Ukrainian Land! Welfare for Each Family!"	An inseparable part of the Communists' election programme for immediate changes in the lives of our fellow citizens are the plans for unceasing progress on the front of social justice, welfare and prosperity of each familyAnd our first, most important, burning super-task is to restore peace and quiet on the Ukrainian land. ...We are aiming our legislative efforts at preservation and development of languages and cultures of all nations and people, we will formalise Russian as a state language, will protect historical memory. ...The Communists' party of Ukraine sets for itself this two-fold, interconnected goal of peace and well-being, and we propose that our fellow citizens also choose this way on October 26, 2014. The way of reconciliation and peace, the rise of national economy and endorsement of justice, the way of dignity and faith in Ukrainian people.
9.	Serhiy Tihipko's Party "Sylina Ukrayina" ("Strong Ukraine"), registered on March 25, 2005 Leader – Serhiy Tihipko	"Sylina Ukrayina" is the nation-wide Ukrainian party.	Introduction of targeted programs of state-guaranteed crediting for small and medium-sized businesses in the volume up to 1% of GDP. Introduction of a 5-year moratorium on tax inspections of small and medium-sized businesses with annual turnover under 10 mln. UAH. Decreasing the unified social tax to the average European level (not more than 20%). ...We aim to unite around this platform all healthy forces of society , mobilise our country and its people to conduct the necessary reforms, which will lead the country to public consent and economic well-being.
10.	Political party "Hromadyanska Pozysiva" ("Civic Stance") (Anatoliy Hrytsenko), registered on March 24, 2005 Leader – Anatoliy Hrytsenko Programme – "Security. Justice. Revival"	By the way of joining forces of active citizens, with their avant-garde – middle class – at the core, we shall transform Ukraine into a modern European state, a leading country of Central and Eastern Europe.	Protection of peace and integrity of the country is currently the main task. But it is not only our country that needs protection. We must protect business from abuse of power of authorities, bank savings – from devaluation; peace and lives of people in the streets from thieves and criminals; children – from drugs and alcohol. Safe workplace, fast emergency care, journalist's right to speak freely and truthfully, safety of agricultural crops, clean air, quality food and drinking water – all of this is People's Safety! ... The centre of attention, work and responsibility of the country must be its citizens, protection of their dignity, rights and freedoms according to European Union standards.
11.	Political party All-Ukrainian Agrarian Union "ZASTUP" ("Spade"), registered on May 4, 2011 Leader – Vira Ulyanchenko Programme – "For the Native Land!"	In the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine there has to appear a party that will protect the interests of Ukrainian agricultural workers . "ZASTUP" is such a party! ...the party unites all those, who live and work on the land, who have dedicated their mind and hand to agricultural production. We are a team of patriotically minded active citizens, who know how to revive Ukrainian villages and agricultural production!	In order to solve them [many economic and social problems], "ZASTUP" insists on the following measures: granting by law to all private farms an individual or family private farm status; approval of the Law of Ukraine "On Groups and Associations of Producers"; support of all forms of village cooperation; providing farmers with access to cheap credit resources; ensuring stability of agricultural products market; stimulation of self-organisation of small and medium-sized private farms. ...A powerful class of agricultural producers is currently developing in Ukraine.
12.	Political party "Pravyi Sektor" ("The Right Sector"), ⁶ registered on September 29, 1997 Leader – Dmytro Yarosh Programme – "Victory! Statehood! Freedom!"	Today the Ukrainian nation faces two main super-tasks. The first one – to break the spine of the Russian aggressive imperialism. Ukrainian troops have to throw the Russian army away from the territory of Ukraine once and for all. The second task – the corrupted oligarch system has to be demolished, and substituted with an efficient state model.	Our main goal – social reconfiguration, in particular: breaking criminal oligarch models and introduction of the system of national state with efficient economy and clear management structure based on national rule of the people. ...simplified taxation system for small and medium-sized businessDevelopment of national education and science as the basis for increasing the quality of people's and national potential. ...Modernisation of villages, top-priority development of their infrastructure.

⁶ Until March 22, 2014 – "Ukrayinska Natsionalna Asambleya" ("Ukrainian National Assembly") party (UNA).

Notably, the majority of middle class “nucleus” representatives (33%) answering the question on the three-member scale (upper – middle – lower) include themselves in the middle class because their level of income is medium, 22% – because they feel like they are middle class, 14% – because they want to live as middle class in European countries. Only 6% of the “nucleus” simply do not want to include themselves in the lower class. At the same time, a quarter of periphery representatives (24%) include themselves in the middle class because their level of income is medium, and another quarter (24%) – because they feel they are middle class. Besides, they mentioned more often than the “nucleus” representatives that they want to live as middle class lives in European countries (17%) and simply do not want to include themselves in the lower class (16%) (Table “Why did you include yourself in the middle class?”)

Why did you include yourself in the middle class?
respondents, %

	Middle class		Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery
	2008	2014	2014	
My income level is medium	29,3	26,8	33,2	24,2
I just feel that I am middle class	20,5	23,7	22,0	24,3
I want to live like middle class does in European countries	13,1	16,5	14,4	17,4
I do not want to include myself in the lower class, it is humiliating	15,2	13,4	6,2	16,3
I am engaged in activity mostly characteristic of middle class representatives	12,5	6,9	9,7	5,8
I have a high level of education (qualification)	6,4	5,2	6,8	4,5
My friends belong to middle class	1,6	3,0	3,0	3,0
Hard to answer	1,4	4,5	4,6	4,4

Note. Considering the results of the study we should take into account some features.

1. Respondents’ answers to the question about the amount of their income are not very sincere, which is confirmed by a large number of refusals to answer this question. This is why a more reliable indicator of respondents’ financial situation is the question about what they can afford with their current income.

2. Looking at gender differences in responses, we should keep in mind that among women the proportion of persons aged above 60 y.o. is higher by a half than among men (30% and 20%, respectively). Consequently, the share of pensioners among women is also much higher than among men (34% and 21%, respectively). This is why, gender differences are often the derivatives of age differences and differences connected with limited possibilities, in particular, financial possibilities, of pensioners.

3. Some ambiguities are due to military activity in the territory of Donbas. For example, calculation of survey sample was done using statistical data on population size as of January 1, 2014.



CONCLUSIONS

To summarize the above information, we can state that the number of subjective middle class representatives in Ukraine has been increasing in 2002-2008, however, between 2008 and 2014, it has remained practically unchanged, – which can be the evidence of stagnation of social-economic situation in the country, not its stabilisation.

On the basis of criteria, defined according to project tasks, we can outline the structure of middle class as comprised of its “nucleus” (14% of country’s population) and periphery (35%). The “nucleus” of the middle class is the group, which corresponds most to the concept of middle class: has stable self-identification as a middle class representative, high level of education, relatively high level of financial well-being (in Ukrainian context), corresponding social circle (which includes mostly also representatives of middle class) and the feeling of common interests with middle class representatives. Thus, this group can be viewed as such that possesses the development potential to transform into the “classical” middle class in its modern sense.

Below are presented characteristics of the middle class “nucleus” identified in the process of comparing the specified social class groups. As illustrations, the text includes short excerpts from the description of focus group discussions.⁸

It is known that a lot of people have left their residential areas in the time of military operations in Donbas. The total number of refugees is unknown, unknown is also the geography of their resettlement (incl., outside of Ukraine). Thus, currently, it is impossible to estimate the real share of Donbas population within the total population of Ukraine.

The second problem is the inability to determine the distribution of the current population of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts between territories controlled and not controlled by Ukrainian government. These factors are a source of additional error, the size of which is impossible to calculate due to lack of reliable baseline data for calculations.

Also, the mentioned military operations are clearly causing pessimistic attitudes among the people of the entire country, which could have influenced evaluations of future expectations and prospects in different spheres. So comparing such data with previous years’ data, it is impossible to define to what extent the changes were caused by global tendencies, and to what – by the situation in Donbas.

⁸ Focus group results allow to present the general view of middle class representatives on the situation in society, the logic of their substantiation for their social position, their actions and intentions. At the same time, focus groups (as any qualitative research method) do not allow for a quantitative estimation of prevalence in the Ukrainian middle class environment of the thoughts expressed during focus-group discussions, – this can only be estimated by the results of quantitative surveys.

2. MIDDLE CLASS IN SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY: MAIN FEATURES

The results of sociological studies, in particular, national surveys, provide information for defining the main features of Ukrainian middle class. Thus, studies of its socio-demographic features allow, on the one hand, to define the level of representation of middle class within different socio-demographic groups, and on the other hand, to define the socio-demographic composition of the middle class itself.

Survey results also allow to identify social origin of middle class representatives, tendencies for its intergenerational reproduction and vertical mobility, outline its social and social-professional composition, as well as its geographical distribution within the country (representation in different types of settlements and regions).

On the basis of respondents' self-evaluation of their income, current financial situation and possession of property, we can make conclusions regarding conformity of Ukrainian middle class to the defining feature of "classical" middle class, which is the level of income that, on condition of permanent employment, allows to provide for a comfortable (in the up-to-date understanding of this notion) living of a family and save up money.

The lifestyle of Ukrainian middle class is also characterised by data on availability of leisure time among its representatives and the content of their leisure practices.

Finally, a certain subsequent effect of the mentioned lifestyle conditions and features of Ukrainian middle class is its social well-being, which is characterised by respondents' feeling of satisfaction with life in general and its separate aspects.

2.1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Among socio-demographic features in consideration were age, gender, educational and settlement features. These characteristics are factors that to a different extent influence an individual's self-identification within social class parameters, as well as the life style and quality of a social class group.

This is why it is important to study the structure of middle class (its "nucleus" and periphery) according to these characteristics, comparing it to other social class groups' structure.

Age structure. Survey results showed that young people are more prone to include themselves in higher social class groups than older people.

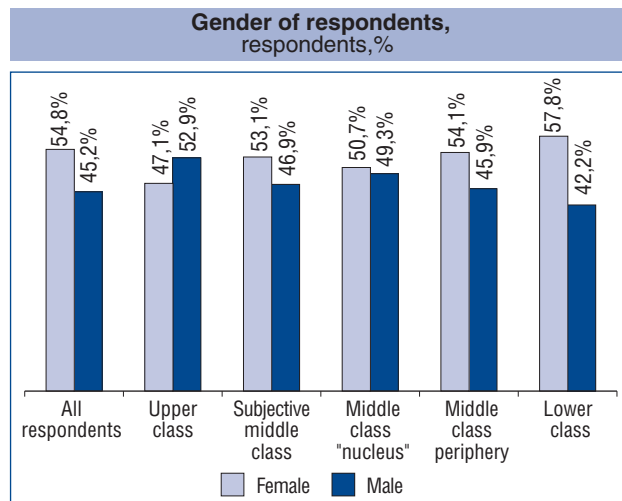
There is a particularly striking difference in the age structure of the middle class "nucleus" on one hand, and lower class on the other: the first group includes 55% of young people aged below 39 y.o., while representatives of lower class amounted to 25%. People of 60 y.o. and above make up only 9% of middle class "nucleus", and 41% of lower class (Table "Age of respondents"). So the difference in social characteristics of these groups can to a great extent be explained by the age difference.

In the composition of middle class periphery, there are also less, in comparison to the "nucleus", young people aged below 39 y.o. (47%), and more people aged 60 y.o. and over (20%). In general, the following trend is observed – **the higher the social group status is, the larger is the proportion of young people in its composition, and the smaller – the proportion of older people.**

Age of respondents, respondents, %						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class	Lower class
18-29 y.o.	21,9	33,8	27,1	29,1	26,3	12,1
30-39 y.o.	18,2	22,1	21,8	25,9	20,2	13,3
40-49 y.o.	16,5	19,2	17,5	19,9	16,5	13,9
50-59 y.o.	17,6	10,7	16,5	15,8	16,8	20,2
60 y.o. and above	25,8	14,3	17,1	9,4	20,3	40,5

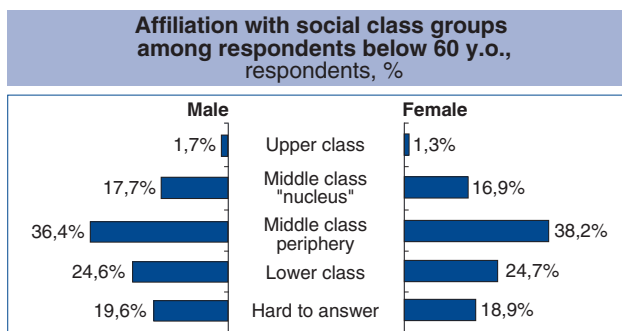
Remarkably, a large share – 25% – of young people is in the lower class. These are the people, who were born and grew up (from 18 y.o.) or started working (up to 39 y.o.) already in the independent Ukraine. Of them, 37% have higher education, another 30% – secondary specialised education. However, high level of education does not ensure their high level of financial well-being, enough to include themselves in the middle class. This data can be a sign of an unfavourable labour market situation for a separate group of educated working-age people, as well as a sign of a general negative trend characteristic for Ukraine, – absence of connection between the level of education and the level of financial well-being.

Gender structure. In the gender structure of social class groups there are certain differences. Thus, the proportion of male representatives in the middle class “nucleus” is 49%, in middle class periphery – 46%, which does not present a statistically significant difference from the mean array value (45%). At the same time, the proportion of female representatives in the lower class is slightly higher than in the general array of respondents (58% and 55%, respectively), while female representatives of upper class made up only 47%, – which is much lower than the mean value (Diagram “Gender of respondents”).



This data demonstrates that **the higher the status of a social group is, the lower is the share of its female representatives and the higher – the share of male representatives.** In general, among gender-age groups the lowest share of middle class “nucleus” representatives is that of women above 60 y.o. – only 4%, 25% – in middle class periphery, and 50% – in lower class.

At the same time, in the array of respondents below 60 y.o., the difference between men and women in including themselves in social class groups turns out to be insignificant (Diagram “Affiliation with social class groups”).



As noted before, older people, in particular, pensioners, tend to include themselves in lower social groups more often. Also, it must be added that the share of women over 60 y.o. makes up about 30% of all women – and is by half higher than the corresponding share of men (about 20% of all men). Thus, **there is reason to believe that gender inequality in affiliation with social classes is largely a derivative from the age category, and because of this does not demonstrate the lower social standing of women in Ukraine.**

Focus Group Participants on the Age and Gender Structure of Middle Class¹

Most discussion participants defined the age of a middle class representative from 25-28 y.o. (taking into account the period of studying in a higher or secondary specialised education establishment) until retirement. Middle class “nucleus”, in respondents’ opinion, is comprised of people of most active working age – 30-40 or 35-45 y.o.

At the same time, thoughts were voiced that belonging to middle class is not connected with age, as, firstly, there is inherited affiliation (children from families of middle class representatives already belong to it), secondly, by entering a higher educational establishment a person is “automatically” included in middle class. Similarly, different thoughts were voiced regarding retirement age: a part of respondents insisted that today’s pensioners do not belong to middle class due to their scanty income (pension), but another part contradicted this approach stating that even with scanty income a middle class person retains his level of education, culture, corresponding life experience, and thus, even being a pensioner, is still a representative of his class.

“From 25 – because the person has acquired an education, a profession and is working, – until retirement age, on condition that the person is able to work and is employed” (Odesa).

“... A pensioner has connections, education, family, but pension – is the level of the poor” (Kyiv-1).

“I think there’s no connection with age. Because, as people become adults, they draw their children into this system at once, and they too become middle class in the second generation” (Kyiv-2).

Regarding the gender structure, the majority of discussion participants in all focus groups included in middle class not so much separate individuals (and thus, men and women), but rather, families. Presence of family and children was viewed almost as a defining feature of middle class, especially, of European (Western) one. Possibly, this is why respondents refused to discuss the issue of male/female composition of middle class, stating that their proportion is approximately equal, “in equal proportions” (Odesa), and belonging to one or the other gender does not influence social class self-identification.

Settlement structure. Data presented in Table “Type of settlement...” demonstrate that the best chances to get into middle class (especially, its “nucleus”) are presented to citizens of big cities: residents of cities with population over 100 thousand make up 50% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 39% of its periphery, and 37% of lower class.

Village residents make up only 22% of middle class “nucleus” representatives (32% of middle class periphery and 33% of lower class).

¹ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives. – Razumkov Centre Library, Kyiv, 2014, p.20-21.

Type of settlement, where respondents live, respondents, %						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
City with population from 1 mln. and more	17,1	24,8	15,6	20,2	13,7	18,6
City with population 100-999 thousand	22,7	19,2	26,6	30,0	25,3	18,6
City with population 50-99 thousand	7,4	5,5	7,1	7,7	6,8	7,4
City with population 20-49 thousand	7,6	5,6	8,4	7,4	8,7	8,1
City with population below 20 thousand	6,6	7,4	6,0	5,9	6,1	7,1
Urban-type settlement	7,9	15,1	7,5	6,5	7,9	6,9
Village	30,7	22,4	28,8	22,3	31,5	33,4

It also should be noted that average level of income per family member of middle class "nucleus" representatives who live in cities is estimated higher than that of same social class group representatives living in villages (on the average – 2 511 UAH and 1 947 UAH, respectively). This confirms yet again the idea that the difference in the structure of income and expenses between city and village residents conditions a requirement to take into account the so-called residence factor, while determining the financial income criterion (often used to identify middle class).

Focus Group Participants on Residence Characteristics of Middle Class²

The majority of participants in focus group discussions agreed that middle class is mostly concentrated in the capital, cities with over one million people and big cities, first of all, in oblast centres of the country, where there are more opportunities and jobs.

The Kharkiv group also singled out the East and Centre of Ukraine, mentioning their higher level of urbanisation as compared to other regions.

Middle class is much less represented in rural areas, where only certain successful farmers can be affiliated with it, less often – small entrepreneurs and heads of government-owned institutions (e.g., schools) and local self-government bodies. In this regard, Lviv groups noted that in European countries, farmers are an established part of middle class.

"Where there is work, there is middle class..." (Kyiv-2).

"[In big cities] there are more opportunities.

Urbanisation, modern level of life" (Kharkiv).

"In rural areas – there are poor people" (Kyiv-2).

"There, only farmers are well-off, who invested money in land. That's it." (Kyiv-2).

Educational structure. Because high level of education was named a defining feature of middle class "nucleus", it is clear that among its representatives there are no people with education level below secondary specialised. 68% of this group's representatives have a complete or incomplete higher education, 32% – secondary specialised. The corresponding figures for middle class periphery are 36% and 32%, respectively. Besides, 28% of periphery representatives have secondary education, 5% – primary or incomplete secondary (Table "Education of respondents").

In general, 45% of subjective middle class representatives have higher education, 32% – secondary specialised, 23% – secondary or incomplete secondary. It should be noted, that among subjective middle class representatives (as well as among all people in general) the level of education of city residents is higher than that of the village residents, who include themselves in middle class. Thus, among the first group, 50% of respondents have a higher or incomplete higher education, while among the latter one – only 32%, secondary specialised – 30% and 35%, respectively, and the share of those, who have secondary or incomplete secondary education is 19% and 33%, respectively. To some extent this reflects the difference of social standards, depending on city or village residence: in the village these standards are lower (incl., in education), than in the city.

Among upper class representatives, 81% have higher, incomplete higher or secondary specialised education, 15% – secondary, 3% – primary or incomplete secondary.

As it could be expected, lower class representatives have a comparatively low level of education. However, here also a half (56%) of representatives have higher, incomplete higher or secondary specialised education – and only 34% of them are pensioners, which today, regrettably, almost automatically means that they have low

Education of respondents, respondents, %						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Primary or incomplete secondary	6,6	3,1	3,4	0,0	4,7	11,2
Secondary	25,6	14,8	19,7	0,0	27,7	32,9
Secondary specialised	32,7	21,1	31,6	31,8	31,6	33,1
Higher or incomplete higher	34,7	60,2	45,0	68,2	35,5	22,5
Hard to answer	0,3	0,8	0,4	0,0	0,5	0,3

² For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.21.



income.³ But almost 40% of this education group work, and occupy positions that require corresponding qualification (9% – salaried employees, 12% – specialists, 16% – skilled workers), and meanwhile, they still include themselves in the lower class. We can assume, that this situation is one more proof of inconsistency between the level of education and level of financial well-being, in other words, the proof of underpayment for qualified labour in the country.

2.2. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Determining of social background gives an idea about the extent, to which social class affiliation is “inherited” by the next generation: whether this reproduction is contracted (downward intergenerational mobility), or expanded (upward intergenerational mobility), and which factors influence these processes of social class status reproduction.

Intergenerational reproducibility and mobility.

As seen from the data presented in Table “*In which social group would you include your parents...?*”, intergenerational reproducibility (inheriting social class status of one’s parents) in middle class “nucleus” is rather pronounced – 64% of its representatives said that their parents (in the period of life, when the respondents were children) belonged to middle class. Among middle class periphery representatives this option was chosen by 42%, while 45% – said that their parents belonged to working

class. Intergenerational reproducibility of middle class “nucleus” is more pronounced in cities than in villages: in villages, 55% of this group’s representatives noted that their parents belonged to middle class, whereas in cities – 66%; 37% and 27%, respectively, stated that their parents belonged to working class. Thus, upward intergenerational social mobility is more pronounced in villages than in the cities.

Upper class representatives noted most often (44%) that their parents belonged to middle class. This can confirm the notion that middle class is the basis for formation of upper class.

Most lower class representatives (53%) said that in their childhood their parents belonged to working class, parents of another 23% of this group’s respondents belonged to lower class.

Also of some importance is to which generation of city residents representatives of one or the other social class group belong. Thus, middle class “nucleus” representatives slightly more often than lower class representatives are second generation city residents (respectively, 43% and 36% of these groups’ representatives are city residents) (Table “*Which generation city resident are you?*”).

A certain influencing factor of the future social status is school education, depending on whether it was acquired in a city or a village school. Thus, among middle class “nucleus” representatives only 24% graduated from a village school, while among lower class representatives – 43% (Table “*The school that you graduated from was in...*”). This data is likely to confirm the previously noted difference in social standards depending on the type of residence, city or village.

At the same time, it should be noted that the majority (74%) of respondents, who graduated from a village school, currently still live in a village, which as was said above, is a primary cause of a more frequent affiliation of respondents with lower classes. If we consider the social class self-identification depending on the school the respondents graduated from only among city population, the disproportion will still be there, although it will be much smaller.

In which social group would you include your parents (in the period of their life, when you were a child)?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
In upper class	1,5	22,8	1,4	1,5	1,3	1,2
In middle class	33,8	43,6	48,0	63,6	41,6	16,8
In working class	46,0	20,8	40,3	29,3	44,8	53,3
In lower class	10,6	2,6	4,6	1,8	5,7	22,5
Hard to answer	8,1	10,2	5,7	3,7	6,6	6,2

Which generation city resident are you?
% of city residents

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
First	21,9	22,0	21,3	17,1	23,3	24,7
Second	38,7	32,2	40,3	42,7	39,1	36,3
Third and more	38,3	45,8	37,2	39,4	36,2	37,7
No answer	1,1	0,0	1,2	0,8	1,4	1,3

³ In general, among pensioners with a high level of education, 43% included themselves in the lower class.

The school that you graduated from was in...,
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
A big city (with population over 500 thousand)	18,8	28,1	19,7	25,1	17,5	17,5
A city with population of 100-499 thousand	15,6	19,9	18,0	19,8	17,3	12,6
A city with population under 100 thousand	18,9	16,5	20,5	20,5	20,5	16,8
An urban-type settlement	10,3	12,0	10,5	10,6	10,5	9,2
A village	35,7	22,4	30,8	23,7	33,7	43,2
No answer	0,7	1,1	0,5	0,3	0,5	0,7

Affiliation of city residents with social class groups depending on the location of school they graduated from,* respondents, %

	Upper class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
A big city	36,4	31,5	24,9	25,9
A city with population of 100-499 thousand	25,3	24,0	23,0	17,9
A city with population under 100 thousand	20,2	25,2	26,9	23,2
An urban-type settlement	13,1	11,7	12,9	12,1
A village	5,1	7,1	11,6	20,0

* The table does not include answers of respondents, who found it difficult to answer the question.

Focus Group Participants on Inheriting / Independent Acquiring of Social Class Status⁴

During focus group discussions it came out that the majority of respondents inherited their belonging to the middle class, i.e. they come from families of salaried employees and intelligentsia, which by Soviet time standards belonged to middle class (sometimes, to upper class), often, being a second or third generation of such. A smaller part of discussion participants acquired middle class status due to own effort – usually, these were entrepreneurs.

Respondents, who inherited their belonging to middle class attribute the most significant role in this to their parents, stating that it was thanks to them that they entered the respective communication circle, had a respective upbringing, education, sometimes, chose their profession relying on parents' or their friends' advice. Respondents also noted that parents bequeathed them (or purchased) certain real estate property, including such that can be let out for lease and provide money to invest in business.

"Parents gave us everything. Did they give us life? – They did. Did they give us love? – They did. Every one of them tried to leave us at least one apartment. Well, one thing is clear: they gave us, what they could" (Lviv-1).

"I – only thanks to my parents. I was born in the family of engineers, and since my childhood [they] wanted only the best things for me. At first they tortured me with musical instruments, this was cultural development. I love music, understand it. I didn't go further, didn't finish music school, but at least I like all of this very much. Then, parents helped me choose my profession ..." (Kyiv-1).

"Upbringing in the family, spiritual family values that are taught. Literature, music..." (Kyiv-2).

"Self-made" respondents, who acquired middle class status due to their own effort, also made remarks regarding certain help of their parents in this; but among the factors that contributed to their acquiring this social status they name their own endeavours, help of own family (husband, as a rule) or a stranger. Sometimes, an example of a poor family, from which emerged today's representative of middle class, served as an urge to make an effort and independently reach a higher social standing.

"My parents were far from being well-off, they gave me a possibility to receive higher education, I started earning money, and then, with my husband we were able to reach something" (Kyiv-2).

"Well, I think that, yes, myself. Because I am a village boy, was born in the village, the only thing – they sent me to a military academy, which I graduated from. My career, let's say this, I made myself. Yes, I reached the position of the deputy commander of a military unit, deputy head, received my own housing..." (Lviv-1).

"Thanks to my husband. We were able to earn something only because of his work. Let's say this: we are financially accomplished" (Kharkiv).

"Let's say that I became [what I am] thanks to my parents. Because they, well, had all the necessary things in Soviet times, and they were kind of my guidance – and I told myself that I will live better than they do... I am middle class, because I am a private entrepreneur. And if I lived in the village, like them, I wouldn't be middle class" (Kharkiv).



⁴ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.49-50.

Level of parents' education as an influencing factor of children's social class status. Parents' education plays an important role: middle class "nucleus" representatives rather more often than periphery or lower class representatives responded that their parents had higher, incomplete higher or secondary specialised education (72%, 50% and 32%, respectively) (Table "What was the level of your parents' education?")

The highest was the education level of today's upper class representatives' parents – 45% of them had higher (40%) or incomplete higher (5%) education, whereas among the parents of today's middle class "nucleus" representatives this number is 35% (31% and 4%, respectively).

Coming back to the presented above data on educational structure of social class groups, we can notice an increase of their education level, as compared to the previous generation (parents). Thus, among parents of today's middle class "nucleus" representatives, 35% had higher or incomplete higher education, while among the current representatives, this number is almost twice as large – 68%. For the upper class, these numbers are 45% and 60%, respectively; for middle class periphery – 18% and 36%, for the lower class – 13% and 23%.

So, as we can see, the education level of all social class groups in Ukrainian society has been increasing.

2.3. SOCIAL COMPOSITION

What causes an interest in studying social (to be more precise, social professional) composition of middle class is that, as opposed to age or gender groups to which an individual belongs "naturally", regardless of his own choice, entering a certain social professional group is mostly (with the exception of possibly such groups as "pensioners" or "incapable of working") an individual's conscious choice; this is why it is with social professional affiliation, as opposed to every other feature, that the differences are connected in the character of social behaviour, lifestyles, values of different social class groups.

Middle class "nucleus". As seen from the data in Table "Social status of respondents", the major group in middle class "nucleus" composition is specialists (28%). Entrepreneurs make up 11% (incl., 8% of private entrepreneurs); managers – 10% (from higher to lower level of enterprise management), skilled workers – 15%, "blue-collar workers" – 3% (unskilled and agricultural workers).

What was the level of your parents' education?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Primary education (less than 7 grades)	10,7	4,9	7,0	3,4	8,5	17,4
Incomplete secondary (less than 10 grades)	9,6	3,4	6,4	2,8	7,8	13,5
Secondary education	27,3	17,0	25,8	20,0	28,2	30,7
Secondary specialised (vocational school, etc.)	27,8	21,6	32,8	37,1	31,1	19,9
Incomplete higher (3 years at a university or more)	2,4	5,0	2,9	3,8	2,5	1,6
Higher education	16,5	40,4	20,6	30,8	16,5	10,9
Do not know, hard to answer	5,7	7,7	4,4	2,2	5,3	5,9

* If the father and mother had different levels of education, the respondent was to indicate the level of education of a parent, whose education level was higher.

Social status of respondents,
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Entrepreneurs*	4,9	18,4	7,5	10,8	6,2	1,2
Managers of higher, middle and lower level**	3,7	9,1	5,5	10,0	3,7	1,1
Specialists	12,7	14,3	17,3	27,5	13,1	7,1
Independent professionals	0,7	0,0	0,8	1,0	0,8	0,5
Salaried employees	5,6	4,7	6,3	8,2	5,5	5,2
Military people, employees of Security Service of Ukraine, Ministry of Internal Affairs	0,7	2,0	1,1	1,2	1,1	0,1
Skilled workers	16,5	15,4	17,2	15,1	18,0	14,2
Unskilled or agricultural workers	7,2	2,1	6,3	3,2	7,6	7,6
School and university students	4,2	9,1	5,6	4,8	5,9	1,3
Housewives	5,7	5,7	6,1	4,6	6,7	4,8
Pensioners	28,0	13,3	18,2	8,7	22,1	44,6
Incapable of working (incl., disabled)	0,8	1,1	0,4	0,3	0,4	1,5
Non-working and unemployed	6,5	2,8	4,9	2,2	6,0	8,8
Other	2,5	2,0	2,5	2,3	2,6	1,9
No answer	0,2	0,0	0,3	0,1	0,3	0,2

* Entrepreneurs also include the following: owners of big, medium and small businesses; private entrepreneurs; farmers.

** Heads (managers) of enterprises, institutions; division heads (managers) of enterprises, institutions; low-level managers.



At the same time, what attracts attention are **gender differences between social professional groups that make up the “nucleus” of middle class**. Thus, among male representatives of middle class “nucleus” there are 15% of entrepreneurs, females make up only 6%, while for specialists these numbers are 23% and 32%, respectively. The share of skilled workers is bigger among male representatives – 18% compared to 12% of female representatives. As opposed to that, among women there are 9% of housewives, while there are no men with such status.

Middle class periphery. Among middle class periphery compared to middle class “nucleus” there were less representatives of the following: entrepreneurs (they make up 6% of this group), managers (4%), specialists (13%); and more skilled workers (18%) and pensioners (22%). So, pensioners, skilled workers and specialists are the most numerous social groups both in middle class periphery composition and in subjective middle class composition in general.

Lower class. The largest social group among lower class representatives are pensioners (45%). 14% – are skilled workers, 9% – non-working and unemployed, 8% – unskilled or agricultural workers, 7% – specialists. In general, non-working people (pensioners, unemployed, housewives, students, disabled) make up 61% of this group’s representatives, which (along with the large share of elderly people) significantly influences its social and social-psychological characteristics.

Upper class. Among upper class representatives, predictably, the major share is made up of entrepreneurs (18%). But next largest group is represented by skilled workers, who make up 15% of the upper class. Such rather large share of skilled workers in upper class composition contradicts the established notions regarding social groups that form this class. Specialists in upper class composition make up 14%; pensioners – 13%; students and managers, each – 9%.

Focus Group Participants on Social Composition of Middle Class⁵

Participants of discussions included in middle class composition social and professional groups that, in their opinion, correspond with the main criteria of belonging to this class, in particular: have higher or secondary specialised education and/or high qualification, mainly work in the sphere of non-manual labour, or are skilled workers; and also – have (or, ideally, must have) the income level corresponding to their qualification. Regardless of their level of education and qualification, small and medium-scale entrepreneurs and rentiers were included in middle class.

Thus, in respondents’ opinion, the following categories are included in middle class composition:

- employees, which make up its major part (“an employee, in 95% of cases” (Kyiv-1)), as well as owners, employers;
- different professional groups working both in public and private sector;
- military people (“from major or lieutenant colonel and above” (Lviv-1));
- self-employed, independent professionals and creative professionals, as well as people, who have assets and live off income from them (rentier).

Controversial for focus group participants was the issue of including pensioners in the middle class (due to their scanty pensions), as well as teachers and doctors.

On the one side, it was teachers and doctors, who were named by participants of two out of six focus groups even as a first association with the notion of “middle class in Ukraine”, in other groups, teachers and doctors were constantly named as professional groups that by definition have to belong to middle class according to the social value of their profession and work: “teachers, doctors – they pull us out, as well the country, and the society” (Lviv-1).

On the other side – these professional categories in Ukraine mostly do not match the level of income criterion. The majority of teachers and doctors work in public or

communal establishments, where the salary is very low, and in the opinion of focus group participants, matches the lower class level of income. That is why teachers and doctors have to either work 1.5-2 shifts, or have additional side jobs or private practice (often, non-official).

“Teachers, they have just been driven below the poverty line. They were given such salary that they have to take bribes. And yet, they have to be in the middle class” (Odesa).

“They have a small official salary, and those teachers or doctors [who earn more, do this] through tutoring or surgeries. They can make middle class, but officially – they are lower class” (Lviv-2).

Participants debated, whether service workers and skilled workers could be included in middle class, because they, as a rule, do not have higher or secondary specialised education. The majority of respondents chose the idea that the main criterion is the level of income and included in middle class those service workers and skilled workers, who are in demand in the labour market and who earn more than many specialists with higher education (for example, the aforementioned teachers and doctors).

“I think that middle class is a professional person, services sector. These are people, who can make something with their hands. They earn money” (Lviv-1).

“At one point of time, lawyers were prestigious, now – an automobile mechanic is prestigious. It’s changing” (Lviv-1).

“Yes, qualified – even in the services sector,...even some carpenter – why can’t he be middle class?” (Lviv-2).

Sometimes, people voiced rather unexpected thoughts on belonging to middle class of one or another professional group. Thus, in one of Kyiv focus groups, in the discussion of education that a child must acquire to gain a middle class status, it was stated: “...Education can be very different. One thing is a software developer, and another – a musician. Music education – a person really desires it. And here he is, playing in an orchestra in a theatre. And what? He is lower class. He likes his job, but what – will he have to have side jobs at weddings or funerals?”

⁵ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.22-24.

Survey results (primarily due to the small number of people in the sample, who included themselves both in the skilled workers group and in the upper class) do not allow to answer the question, what causes this self-identification of a part of skilled workers. Further special research is required to give more information on the topic. At this point, we can only make assumptions concerning the reasons for this.

It is possible that highly skilled workers with high income can include themselves in the upper class, who are also entrepreneurs (officially or non-officially). Given a choice between workers and entrepreneurs, they could choose “workers”, as they view the activity that earns their income as blue-collar work. Entrepreneurial activity in this case is only used for its official legal registration.

2.4. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION (REGIONAL PROFILE) AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

As mentioned before, middle class (subjective, as well as its “nucleus”) is mostly concentrated in cities, so it could be expected that in more urban Eastern regions the share of middle class would also be higher. However, as study results show, this is not the case.

According to data shown in the map “Social class structure and middle class ‘nucleus’: regions of Ukraine” (p.22-23), the share of middle class “nucleus” representatives is slightly bigger in the West and in the Centre of the country: 17% and 16%, respectively, whereas in the South, in the East and in Donbas it is 10-12% of population.

Settlement differences (city/village). Among city residents in the West this share is 23%, Centre – 18%, city residents of the South, East and Donbas – only 12-13%.

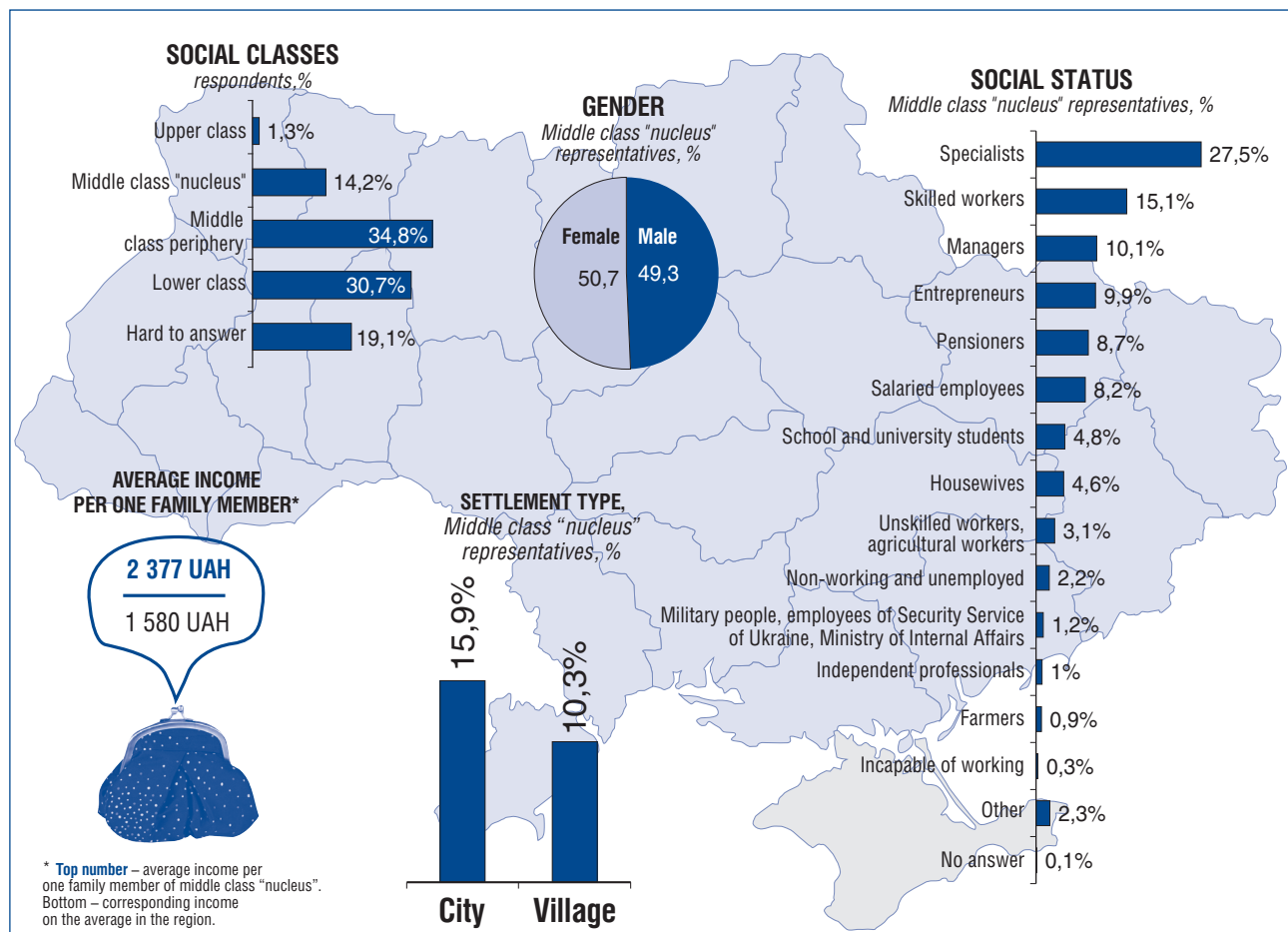
Larger is also the share of middle class “nucleus” among village residents of the Western and Central regions (12%), as compared to village residents in the South, East and Donbas (from 5% to 7%).

Features of settlement structure in each region also determine features of regional settlement structure of middle class “nucleus” and subjective middle class in general. Thus, while in the Western region 36% of middle class “nucleus” representatives are village residents, in the Central – 24%, in the Southern – 19%, in the Eastern – 12%, in Donbas it is only 4%. The share of village residents among subjective middle class representatives: in the West – 45%, in the Centre – 31%, in the South – 38%, in the East – 17%, in Donbas – 7%.

Differences in social composition of middle class “nucleus”. In the West, in the composition of middle class “nucleus” the shares of specialists and managers are lower than the same indicators for Ukraine in general – 22% and 7% as opposed to 28% and 10%, respectively; meanwhile, the share of non-working and unemployed is bigger – 5% as opposed to 2%, respectively.

In the South and in the East, in the composition of middle class “nucleus” the shares of managers are twice as large as in the West – 14% and 13% as opposed to 7%, respectively.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND MIDDLE CLASS “NUCLEUS”: REGIONS OF UKRAINE



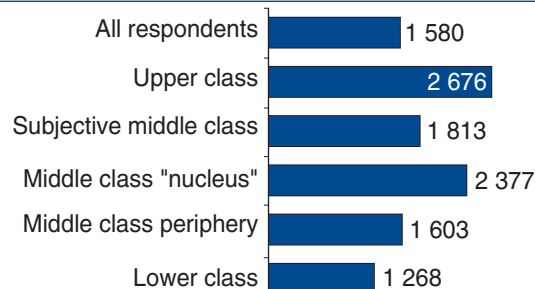
Of special interest is the share of farmers in middle class “nucleus”: it is the biggest among middle class “nucleus” of the Southern region – 4%. In other regions it makes up 1% (in the Centre), or less than 1% (in the East, West and Donbas).

As for other social class groups, it may be noted that in the West the share of lower class is smaller than in general in Ukraine (34% vs. 31%). In the East – subjective middle class share is smaller than in general in Ukraine – 42% vs. 49%, respectively (this also applies to middle class periphery – 31% vs. 35%, respectively).

Income differences. Average income per each family member, according to respondents’, is 1 580 UAH/month in general in Ukraine, and 2 377 UAH per middle class “nucleus” representative (Diagram “What is the average income per each member of your family...?”).⁶

At the same time, regional differences of this indicator are rather significant. Thus, in the West, the average income per each family member in middle class “nucleus” was specified at 1 893 UAH, in the Centre – 2 336 UAH, in the South – 2 646 UAH, in the East – 2 400 UAH, in Donbas – 3 318 UAH. Along with this, in Donbas we observe the largest difference between the income declared by middle class “nucleus” representatives, and the average level of income for the region: here, the declared income of middle class “nucleus” exceeds the average level by 1.9 times, while in other regions – by 1.4-1.6 times.

What is the average income per each member of your family (including children)?*
UAH



* Respondents were asked to name the approximate amount in UAH.

2.5. FINANCIAL STANDING, POSSESSION OF PROPERTY

Level of financial well-being is one of the defining features of middle class. It can be characterised, among other things, by respondents’ self-evaluation of their current financial standing, presence of stable income, possession of property, satisfaction with material aspects of life. Results of survey about respondents’ (their families’) possession of certain material things (objects) are summarised in Table “Which of the following do you have?”.

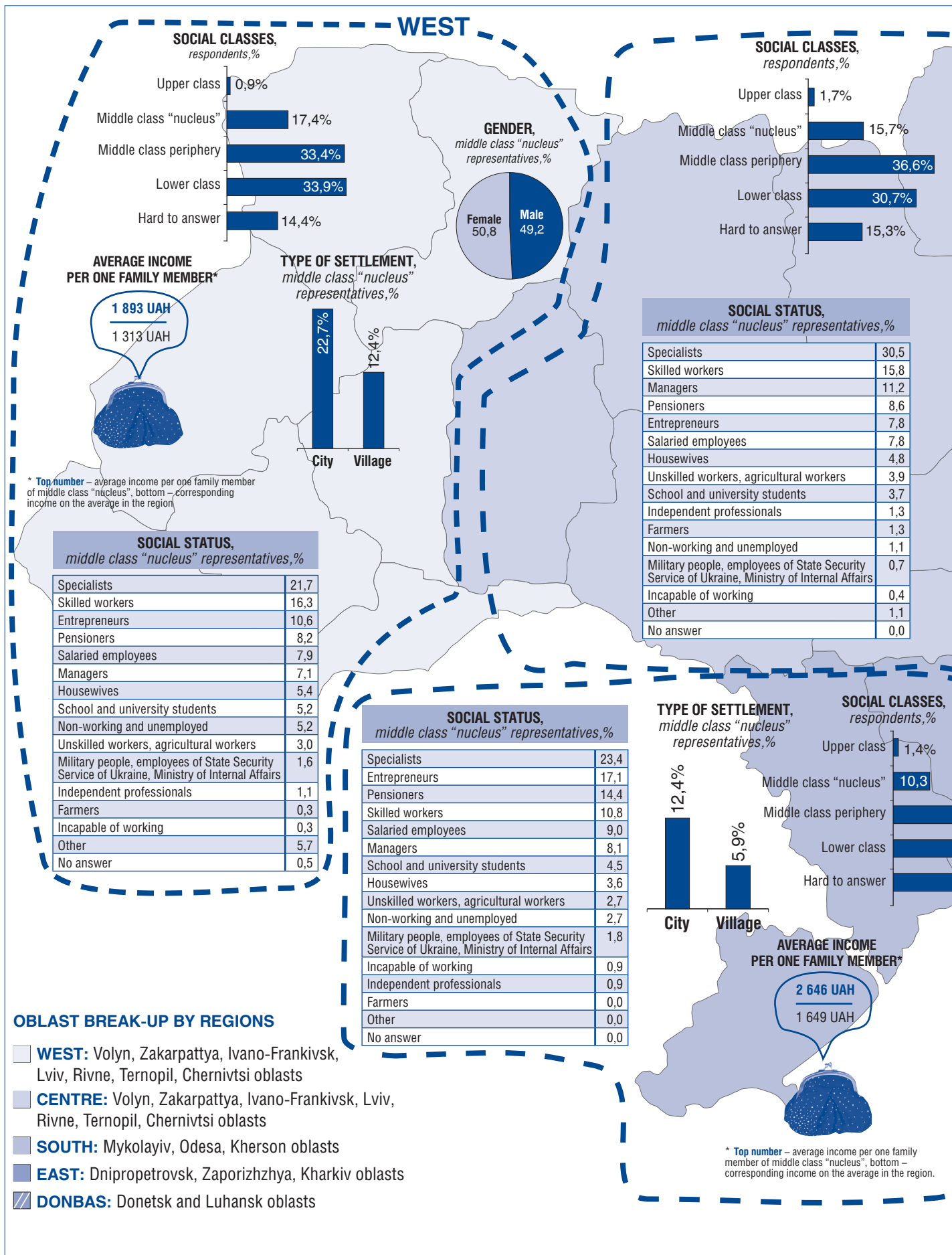
Which of the following do you have?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Long-term use items (household appliances, furniture, etc.)	80,4	79,4	83,3	85,9	82,2	78,2
Comfortable housing	52,9	64,9	61,9	70,5	58,4	42,0
Innovative communication and work appliances (computer, Internet, etc.)	51,7	71,0	65,6	77,2	60,9	31,8
Leisure time	42,3	34,1	39,9	39,6	40,1	46,9
Car	26,3	55,2	33,7	41,4	30,5	15,3
Work that matches your qualification, with adequate remuneration	21,3	44,7	29,1	40,6	24,4	9,7
Steady income that ensures high level of living, and allows to make savings	14,2	54,8	20,4	28,2	17,3	4,8
Country (weekend) house	13,7	35,2	16,6	18,1	16,0	9,0
Possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family	9,8	37,5	13,6	17,5	12,0	5,1
Savings (bank deposits, securities; real estate that brings income, etc.)	9,0	27,2	12,2	15,3	10,9	4,3
Use of credits (for housing, car, etc.)	8,9	15,6	10,8	11,6	10,5	6,2
Possibility to use paid educational services for the entire family	8,4	39,8	11,9	16,2	10,2	3,4
Insurance (medical, retirement, life)	7,8	24,4	10,3	12,3	9,5	3,9
Possibility to comfortably spend vacation, incl. abroad	6,1	32,8	9,5	13,7	7,7	1,2
Own business	4,9	29,4	7,1	9,1	6,2	1,6

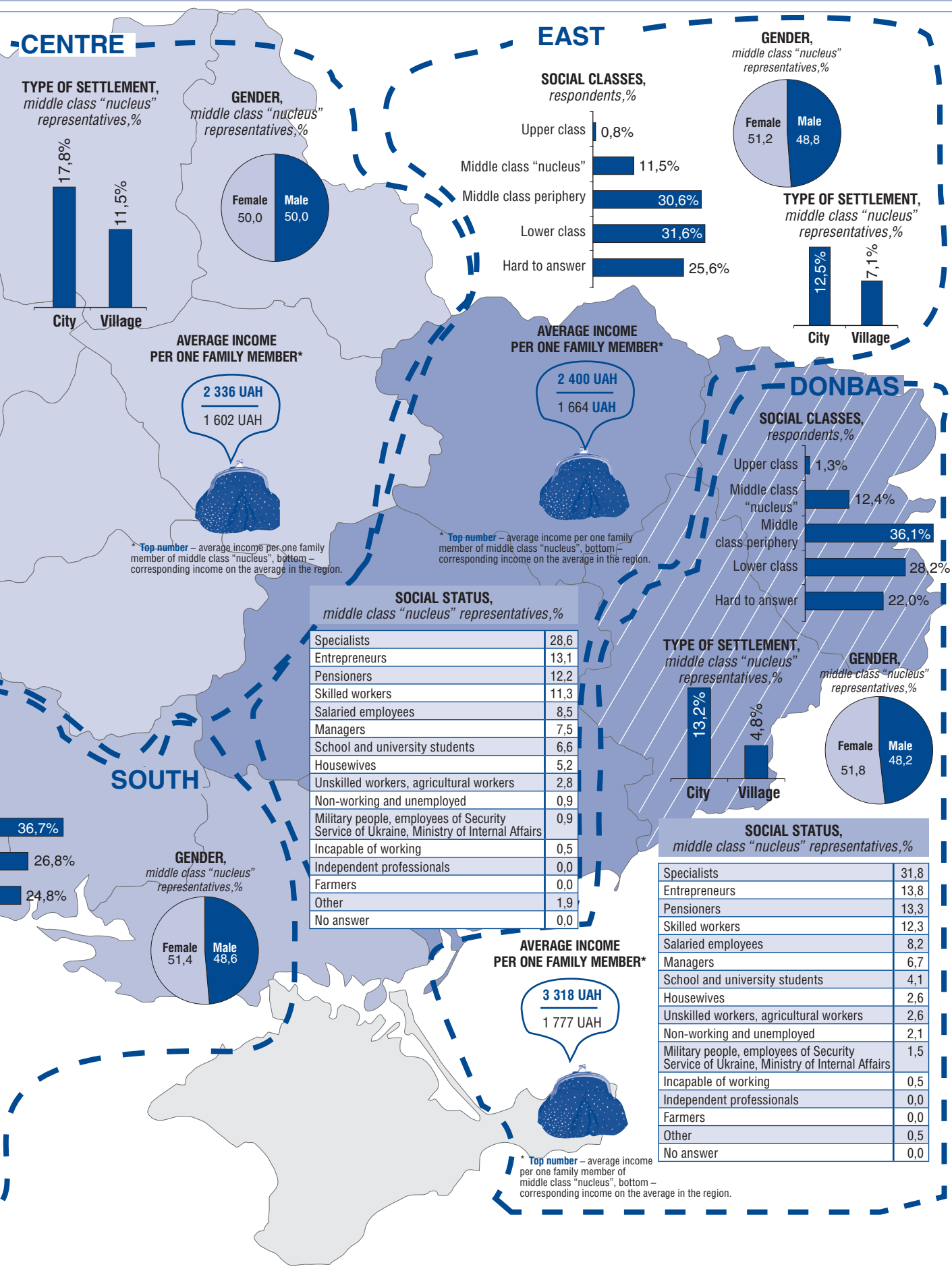
* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

⁶ As noted above, when using data on the size of income, it must be considered that, as the experience of sociological studies shows, answering such questions, respondents rather often do not resolve to give a sincere answer. There is also a tendency of increasing number of refusals along with growth of respondents’ level of well-being. Thus, if among lower class representatives 31% refused to give an answer, among middle class representatives – 44%, upper – 60% (in general, refusals to answer this question in the entire array of respondents make up 42%). That is why, differences in responses regarding the declared level of income of social class groups are clearly smaller, than they should be, judging, for example, by responses to questions about possessions.

SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND MIDDLE



CLASS "NUCLEUS": REGIONS OF UKRAINE





Self-evaluation of financial standing. In order to determine the current financial standing of social class groups, respondents were offered to evaluate, which material values their family can afford to buy with their current income. As demonstrated by the data in table

“What is the financial standing of your family in general?”, during 2005-2008 the level of well-being of Ukrainian citizens, including subjective middle class, was on the rise.⁷ However, in 2014, among the citizens of Ukraine in general and among subjective middle class representatives, an increase of percentage of those, who “barely survive” is observed, as well as those, who have “enough for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things”. In middle class, the total share of these respondents in 2008 dropped in comparison with 2005 from 43% to 26%, while in 2014 it rose to 37%.

So, after 2008, due to many adverse factors (from global financial and economic crisis to the current military conflict in Ukraine), the level of well-being of Ukrainian society in general, and its middle class in particular, has dropped (Box “Remuneration of labour and small-scale entrepreneurship...”).

What is the financial standing of your family in general?						
2005-2014 dynamics						
	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
We barely survive, not enough money even for the necessary products	21,0	11,6	13,4	9,2	3,4	6,3
Enough for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things	42,4	31,4	37,2	34,2	22,5	30,4
In general, enough for living, but purchasing long-term use items (such as furniture, refrigerator, TV) causes difficulties	28,6	38,6	36,7	42,8	47,7	46,4
We are well-provided for, but we cannot afford certain purchases yet (apartment, car, etc.)	6,3	14,3	8,3	12,3	22,3	12,8
We can afford to buy almost anything that we want	0,4	1,1	0,4	0,3	0,7	0,4
Hard to answer	1,3	3,0	4,2	1,1	3,3	3,7
depending on social class group						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
We barely survive, not enough money even for the necessary products	13,4	2,8	6,3	0,0	8,9	25,2
Enough for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things	37,2	19,2	30,4	0,0	42,8	47,4
In general, enough for living, but purchasing long-term use items (such as furniture, refrigerator, TV) causes difficulties	36,7	27,9	46,4	76,8	34,1	22,5
We are well-provided for, but we cannot afford certain purchases yet (apartment, car, etc.)	8,3	35,3	12,8	22,6	8,7	1,6
We can afford to buy almost anything that we want	0,4	13,3	0,4	0,6	0,3	0,0
Hard to answer	4,2	1,5	3,7	0,0	5,1	3,3
subjective middle class representatives,%						
	Male		Female			
We barely survive, not enough money even for the necessary products	5,0		7,5			
Enough for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things	26,5		33,8			
In general, enough for living, but purchasing long-term use items (such as furniture, refrigerator, TV) / causes difficulties	49,4		43,8			
We are well-provided for, but we cannot afford certain purchases yet (apartment, car, etc.)	14,8		11,0			
We can afford to buy almost anything that we want	0,4		0,3			
Hard to answer	3,9		3,4			

⁷ This comparison can be performed within the group “subjective middle class”, which was defined according to the same criteria in the studies of 2005, 2008 and 2014.

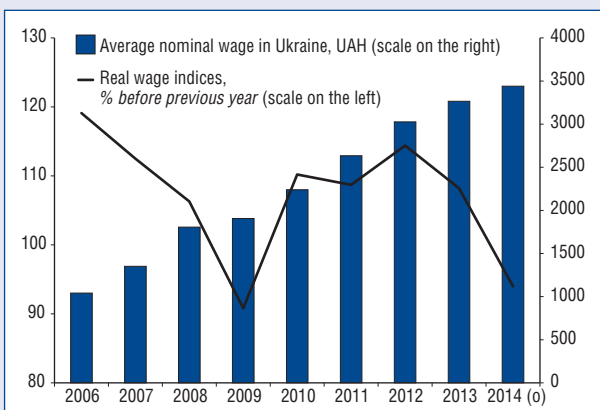
Reference

Remuneration of labour and small-scale entrepreneurship in 2005-2014

As noted above, the most numerous groups in middle class are employees (specialists, managers, etc.), as well as entrepreneurs, primarily, small-scale. So in order to explain the dynamics of financial standing self-evaluation by middle class representatives, we should consider tendencies observed with in this period in labour remuneration and development of small-scale entrepreneurship.

(1) Annual average nominal wage has more than tripled within the past decade: from 1 041 UAH in 2006 to approximately 3 440 UAH (by estimate) in 2014. However, crisis collapses along with inflation significantly limited real growth. For example, during the 2009 global financial crisis, the real wage suffered a 10% decrease. The Razumkov Centre experts estimate that in the aftermath of 2014 it will go down by 6% compared with 2013.

Dynamics of Nominal and Real Wage In Ukraine



In the post-crisis period of 2010-2013, wages (nominal and real) started growing again. However, real growth was largely conditioned by extremely low official inflation (thus, in 2012 deflation of 0.2% was registered, in 2013 – inflation was only 0.5%). Intensification of crisis developments, as well as massive hryvnya devaluation in the first half of 2014, caused an inflation shock on the level of 2009 (it is estimated that annual, even official inflation in 2014 will reach 22%).

(2) The dynamics of factors that characterise the state and development of small-scale entrepreneurship demonstrate that 2006-2008 have been the most favourable years for small business. In particular, in 2006, the recorded number of private entrepreneurs, who wished to cease conducting their own business, was the smallest; 2008 saw the peak of the number of individual entrepreneurs' registrations. But in 2009, along with the beginning of financial and economic crisis and a sharp increase of the dollar rate (1.6 times, from 5 to 8 UAH/\$1), the process of shutdown of entrepreneurial activity in the small business sector started, which is currently going on under the influence of the mentioned above inflation shock and military operations on the territory of the country.

Comparing self-evaluations of subjective middle class, upper and lower class representatives,⁸ (according to 2014 survey results), we see that in the part of the current financial standing middle class falls significantly behind upper class. Among middle class representatives, only 0.4% marked option “we can afford to buy almost anything we want”, while among upper class this number was – 13%.

⁸ As noted before, self-evaluation of financial standing was used as a defining feature (criterion) for singling out the “nucleus” of the middle class. This is why it cannot be involved in comparative analysis.

Comparing self-evaluations of subjective middle class, upper and lower class representatives, we should note that upper and lower classes are also “subjective”, i.e. singled out only according to self-evaluation, without consideration of objective indicators of well-being. This, for example, explains presence in the upper class of those, who have enough income “only for food” (19%) and even a small portion of those, who “barely survive” (3%). A discrepancy between subjective self-evaluation and objective financial standing can be due to a number of reasons (e.g. respondents' inclusion of themselves in a certain social class group not according to the financial, but other factors, preservation of identity as representatives of a group with a high place in social hierarchy, even though they may have actually dropped out of it, etc.).

Option “We are well-provided for, but we cannot afford certain purchases yet (apartment, car, etc.)” was marked by 13% and 35%, respectively (Table “*What is the financial standing of your family in general? (depending on social class group)*”).

Middle class representatives notably more often than representatives of both upper and lower class marked option “In general, enough for living, but purchasing long-term use items (such as furniture, refrigerator, TV) causes difficulties” (46%, 28% and 23%, respectively). Thus, the group of people, who “in general, [have] enough for living”, is a “modal group” for subjective middle class, while for the lower class, such “modal” group is those, who have “enough for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things” (47%).

As seen from the data in table “*What is the financial standing...? (gender profile)*”, among subjective middle class representatives there are statistically significant differences in evaluation of their well-being level by men and women. The total share of those, who “barely survive” and who have enough “only for food and purchasing inexpensive necessary things”, is 32% among men, and 41% – among women.

Availability of steady income. The events of past years have negatively influenced factors that characterise availability of respondents' steady income, which allows to ensure high level of living and make savings. In 2005, 26% of subjective middle class representatives noted the availability of such income, in 2007 – 37%, and in 2014 – only 20%.

Availability of steady income is more characteristic of upper class: among its representatives 55% marked this option, among subjective middle class – 20%, among its “nucleus” – 28%, periphery – 17% and only 5% of lower class representatives (Table “*Which of the following do you have?*”, p.21).

Possession of property. Typically, the most often named type of property that a representative of middle class (a middle class family) should own is housing – an apartment or a house that matches the current notion of “comfortable housing”, as well as a “weekend house”, i.e. a country house as a second accommodation for the family for temporary (seasonal) living.

The dynamics of ownership by subjective middle class representatives of a “comfortable housing” is the following: in 2005, 60% of middle class representatives noted their possession of “comfortable housing”, in 2008 – 71%, which showed positive dynamics. However, in 2014 this number reduced to 62%. This reduction can reflect the consequences of military operations in Donbas – damage or complete loss of housing (as mentioned above, the survey was also conducted in the ATO zone), as well as consequences of a generally decreased level of well-being, which causes a reduction of possibilities to spend money on maintaining housing in conditions comfortable for living.

As seen from table “Which of the following do you have?”, as of 2014, 71% of middle class “nucleus” representatives mentioned availability of comfortable housing, 58% of its periphery representatives, 65% – upper class and 42% – lower class representatives.⁹

Concerning possession by middle class **representatives of weekend country houses**, during 2005-2014, the situation has remained virtually unchanged: currently less than one-fifth (17%) of subjective middle class representatives in Ukraine have such houses.

Possession of **long-term use items** (household appliances, furniture, etc.) does not differ much among representatives of upper, middle and lower classes: 86% of middle class “nucleus” representatives mentioned such possession, 82% of its periphery, as well as 79% of upper and 78% of lower class.

Significantly more differences were observed in possession by representatives of different social class groups of **innovative communication and work appliances** (computer, Internet, etc.). They are owned by 77% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 61% of its periphery, 71% of upper class and only 32% – lower.

Rather significant differences between social class groups are observed also in the part of **car ownership**: 41% of middle class “nucleus” representatives mentioned ownership of a car, 31% of its periphery, as well as 55% of upper class representatives and 15% – lower.

On the basis of this data, it can be concluded that, firstly, there is a big difference between middle class “nucleus” and lower class according to the feature of possession of items (objects) that are considered to be social success symbols. Purchasing these items or objects is largely an element of conspicuous consumption, i.e. consumption as a means of gaining and supporting a high social status.¹⁰ In modern Ukrainian society such symbols are comfortable housing, automobile and most modern means of communication, processing of information.

Such symbols also include ownership of the mentioned country house. However, considering the fact that only 18% of middle class “nucleus” representatives own a country house, such objects (meaning a really comfortable new house, and not a soviet-type shelter for gardeners), from a material point of view, are mostly only affordable for the wealthiest part of middle class, and for the upper class (more than a third of its representatives own a country house – 35%).



Secondly, the fact that the difference in possessing comfortable housing, innovative means of communication and an automobile between middle class “nucleus” and lower class is more pronounced, than the difference in the presence of steady income, demonstrates that middle class “nucleus” representatives do not tend to view their position (incl. income sources) as stable.

Focus Group Participants on Possession of Property by Ukrainian Middle Class¹¹

Ideally, a typical middle class representative, in the opinion of discussion participants, must have a rather spacious apartment (a separate room for each family member) in a central location or location with good transportation, a modern automobile worth from \$20 thousand (for example, Hyundai, Ford, Skoda, Volkswagen) and, preferably, a country house not far away from the city (up to 50 km), not a big one, also with a small plot of land: “in order to build a small fireplace, and a small swimming pool, for leisure, not for gardening” (Kharkiv). In Lviv groups respondents preferred own houses in the suburbs; in Kyiv and Kharkiv – three-room apartments.

“...A three-room apartment somewhere in the centre, in a prestigious part of the city, in a new house... Why are you laughing?” (Kyiv-2).

“Ideally, this has to be a country house... [It can be a long trip to work], but the family lives in a big house with a yard, there is a pool, some sort of garden and so on...” (Lviv-2).

“If it is an apartment, there also has to be a weekend house, and if it’s not an apartment, then – a good cottage” (Kharkiv).

However, according to the statements of most respondents, their real living conditions, as well as cars, are rather far away from the ideal. Only a small part of focus group participants have their own houses or comfortable apartments in new buildings. Most of them live in 2-3 room apartments, given to them back in Soviet times or by their parents, and drive second-hand cars: “[Our] middle class has a place to live and a car to drive” (Kyiv-1). Most respondents cannot afford buying a new car, even less so – a new apartment.

“Houses and apartments of middle class people have been usually received back in Soviet times” (Odesa).

“Nowadays, middle class cannot afford to buy an apartment, to earn [this much money]” (Odesa).

Discussion participants particularly emphasised acquisition of own home, viewing it, firstly, as a guarantee of psychological comfort: “My house is my fortress” (Kharkiv), confidence and stability, secondly, as an asset, a way to invest and save money, and in case of renting out – as a source of additional income.

In opinion of discussion participants, housing has to be (and, as a rule, is) equipped with modern household appliances: a refrigerator, washing machine, dishwasher, microwave, television, and, certainly, a computer. Respondents did not really care for the brand of household appliances: “The main thing is that it’s there” (Kyiv-1).

⁹ This causes higher level of satisfaction with living conditions among representatives of middle class as compared to lower (a more detailed analysis of satisfaction with living conditions is presented below).

¹⁰ See: Veblen T. The Theory of Leisure Class. – Moscow, 1984.

¹¹ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.25-26.



- **Gender profile.** Comparing availability of steady income among male and female representatives of middle class “nucleus”, we see that 34% of male representatives have it, and only 22% of female representatives. This suggests that the high financial standing of a part of women in this social class group is supported not by their own income, but by the income of their husbands. Thus, while, for example, ownership of comfortable housing (as in Ukraine, housing is traditionally most often jointly owned by the married couple) is equally typical for both men and women of middle class “nucleus” (71% in both gender groups), automobile possession (which are more often owned and used individually) is more rare among women, than men (35% and 48%, respectively).
- **Settlement profile.** Middle class “nucleus” representatives that live in cities and villages are practically equally provided with comfortable housing (70% and 72%, respectively), also, less city residents own automobiles than village residents (40% and 47%, respectively), but more city residents own innovative communication and work appliances than village residents (80% and 68%, respectively).

Possibility to use paid health and education services, recreational opportunities. Possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family is available for 18% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 12% of its periphery, 38% of upper class representatives and only 5% – of lower class (Table “Which of the following do you have?”). Possibility to use paid educational services for the entire family: 16% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 10% of its periphery representative, a rather significant share of upper class representatives (40%) and only 3% of lower class.

Although representatives of middle class “nucleus” and periphery had more opportunities than lower class representatives to use the named above services (and as it will be shown below, were more satisfied than lower class representatives with a possibility to acquire education or provide the necessary education for children and grandchildren), their percentage here is not much larger. This suggests that the current level of income of middle class is, evidently, not sufficient for full-scale provision of a high standard of living, which includes the possibility to invest in one’s own (or family members’) health and education.

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, 27% said that they do not have a possibility to provide good education for their children or grandchildren¹² (Table “Do you have the possibility to provide good education for your children or grandchildren? (depending on social class group)”, p.28), among middle class periphery this option was marked by 46%, among lower class representatives – 59%, while among upper class representatives – only 16%.

For subjective middle class, we can follow the dynamics of this indicator from 2005. As seen from the table “Do you have the possibility...? (dynamics)”, the share of subjective middle class representatives, who cannot provide good education for their children or grandchildren grew from 30% in 2005 to 40% in 2014.

Focus Group Participants on Income and Expenses of Ukrainian Middle Class¹³

Discussion participants think that the main source of income of Ukrainian middle class representatives is salary, which is perfectly correlated with the fact that most middle class representatives are employees. However, as it was said in one of the groups, and this opinion was voiced in all groups: “No one ever lived off one salary here” (Lviv-1). Usually, there are also side jobs, “relatives in the village” (source of food, which is also environmentally clean), sometimes, income from bank deposits, renting out housing, etc. In most cases, income from side jobs is not official.

Social benefits, privileges, etc. do not play a significant role in respondents’ family budget. In general, social aid is associated with either lower class or with the fact that it is “almost non-existent”. Notably, there were calls to “strive to get it”, while some respondents do currently use certain benefits and mention that, in particular, if one “has connections, he can get many benefits”.

“Side jobs in addition to salary. There must be side jobs. “I wish you to live off one salary” – this is a punishment” (Kyiv-2).

“Speaking about doctors and teachers, 70% – is side jobs” (Odesa).

“...I always gladly use all benefits. I pay less for the apartment – I have reductions as a veteran...” (Kyiv-2).

The average income per each family member is, according to respondents: in Lviv and Odesa – 23 thousand UAH, sometimes – up to 4 thousand; in Kyiv and Kharkiv – 35 thousand UAH. “The desired income” in their opinion has to be approximately twice as much: in Lviv and Odesa – “at least five thousand, or from five”, in Kyiv and Kharkiv – 710 thousand. “Perfect income” for all cities was 12 thousand UAH per each family member, which at the time of conducting focus groups equalled \$1 000.

“We have once counted – about the level of five hundred dollars for one person. Yes, five hundred dollars, so that a person feels all right” (Lviv-1).

“Then a person would feel completely appropriate” (Lviv-1).

“Ideally, probably, a thousand dollars, not less” (Kharkiv).

“In order not to have side jobs. Not to rely on relatives...” (Kharkiv).

“Not to spend your free time on side jobs, this is first of all. And also, to have enough not only for living-being..., but also to have enough to save some money, for something more...serious. I would spend more time simply with my family. I mean, I would have, for instance, one job with a specific schedule, regime, and all my spare time I would spend with my family, my child, for his upbringing...” (Kharkiv).

Respondents note that the major part of family budget (about 80%) is spent for everyday needs: food, housing fees and utilities, clothes, education, loan payments, etc. They try to set aside 10% of income for vacation, and save about the same amount.

¹² In this case both, free and paid education is meant.

¹³ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.26-29.

Do you have the possibility to provide good education for your children or grandchildren?

depending on social class group						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Yes, I have a possibility	14,1	48,8	20,7	31,9	16,1	5,2
No, I do not have a possibility	46,6	15,6	40,1	26,7	45,6	59,4
I do not have children (grandchildren) or they are already past education age	24,2	21,5	23,6	23,9	23,5	25,4
Hard to answer	15,0	14,0	15,6	17,5	14,8	10,0
2005-2014 dynamics						
	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
Yes, I have a possibility	21,6	19,5	14,1	20,7	17,9	20,7
No, I do not have a possibility	17,9	24,8	46,6	29,6	34,8	40,1
I do not have children (grandchildren) or they are already past education age	48,1	35,1	24,2	35,7	24,4	23,6
Hard to answer	12,4	20,6	15,0	13,9	22,8	15,6

Savings. The level of financial well-being is also characterised by availability / absence of savings. Data presented in table "If you lose your source of income, how long can you live on your savings?" demonstrate an increase in the period between 2005 and 2008 of percentage of those people, whose savings will allow them to live for a long period of time in case they lose their income source (half a year and more), both, among all respondents (from 8% to 13%), and among subjective middle class representatives (from 12 to 19%). After 2008, this share dropped to 8% among all respondents and to 11% among subjective middle class representatives.

According to data of the 2014 study, most savings have those respondents, who included themselves in the upper class (41% said they will have enough for half a year and more), among middle class "nucleus" – 15% chose this option, among middle class periphery – 9%, and in lower class – only 4%.

The way of keeping savings preferred by middle class representatives demonstrates their lack of trust in the Ukrainian banking system (as, in fact, in the national currency as well). Thus, only 20% of middle class "nucleus" representatives prefer to keep money in a bank deposit account in foreign currency, only 11% prefer to keep money in a bank deposit account in hryvnya (among middle class periphery, respectively, 15% and 13%, lower class – respectively, 9% and 8% (Table "What is the most profitable and safe way to keep savings?").

A clear preference is given to keeping money at home – 31% of middle class "nucleus" representatives prefer to keep money at home in foreign currency, 15% – keep money at home in hryvnya, 10% – keep at home bullions or jewellery. Among representatives of middle class periphery these options were chosen by 27%, 23% and 8%, respectively; among lower class representatives – 24%, 30% and 5%, respectively.

If you lose your source of income, how long can you live on your savings?

depending on social class group						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
I do not have savings	42,3	18,5	33,5	24,5	37,1	58,3
One month	18,6	9,8	19,1	15,9	20,4	18,9
Less than half a year	15,7	11,7	19,8	27,2	16,7	10,8
Half a year – a year	5,2	13,8	7,2	9,6	6,1	2,8
A year or more	1,9	13,4	2,7	3,7	2,3	0,5
Several years	0,8	13,4	0,9	1,3	0,8	0,3
Hard to answer	15,5	19,5	16,9	17,9	16,5	8,3
2005-2014 dynamics						
	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
I do not have savings	54,7	43,2	42,3	43,4	36,8	33,5
Less than half a year	9,7	12,7	15,7	13,9	13,0	19,8
One month	17,2	16,5	18,6	17,8	16,5	19,1
Half a year – a year	4,8	6,9	5,2	7,8	9,2	7,2
A year or more	2,0	4,6	1,9	3,4	6,7	2,7
Several years	0,8	1,9	0,8	0,9	2,7	0,9
Hard to answer	10,7	14,1	15,5	12,9	15,1	16,9

What is the most profitable and safe way to keep savings?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Buy real estate	29,2	34,4	34,8	41,8	31,9	24,1
Keep money at home in foreign currency (dollars, euro)	25,1	23,2	28,0	31,3	26,6	24,0
Keep money at home in hryvnya	23,3	13,5	21,0	15,2	23,4	30,3
In a bank deposit account in foreign currency (dollars, euro)	13,5	38,1	16,6	19,9	15,2	8,6
In a bank deposit account in hryvnya	10,3	19,7	12,2	10,6	12,9	7,8
Keep at home bullions and/or jewellery	7,1	6,3	8,2	9,7	7,6	5,1
Buy bullions and/or jewellery and keep them in a bank safe-box	5,7	8,3	7,0	9,6	6,0	4,0
Invest in securities	5,1	14,0	6,2	8,2	5,5	3,4
In a rented from a bank safe-box in foreign currency (dollars, euro)	3,9	14,6	5,4	8,0	4,4	2,1
In a rented from a bank safe-box in hryvnya	2,3	6,2	2,6	2,8	2,5	1,9
Other	1,6	2,0	1,4	1,6	1,4	1,8
Hard to answer	24,9	11,4	18,6	13,4	20,7	28,5

Upper class representatives have more trust in banks: among them 38% prefer keeping money in a bank deposit account in foreign currency; 20% – prefer keeping money in a bank deposit account in hryvnya. To a certain extent, this is also connected with the fact that upper class representatives have more savings, and probably view keeping them at home as more dangerous than in bank accounts.

Data in table “*What is the most profitable and safe way to keep savings?*” also allows to outline the investment behaviour of representatives of different social class groups. Thus, if middle class “nucleus” representatives are ready to invest a certain share of their savings, most often it is in real estate (42%). This is more than among middle class periphery representatives (32%), upper (34%) and lower (24%) classes.

Only 8% of middle class “nucleus” representatives are ready to invest in securities (this is almost the same, as among middle class periphery representatives (6%), more than among lower class representatives (3%), but less than among upper class representatives (14%).

Unmet needs. The fact that a number of needs of middle class “nucleus” representatives remain unmet is the evidence of their limited financial resources. Thus, when answering the question “*Which of the following do you feel you need?*” (p.30), middle class “nucleus” representatives most often marked the need for a possibility to comfortably spend vacation, including, abroad (60%), for presence of steady income that ensures high level of living, and allows to make savings (55%), for possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family (51%), and for savings (49%).

Almost the same was marked by middle class periphery and lower class representatives, however, they placed in the first place the need for steady income,

Focus Group Participants on Savings¹⁴

Most respondents are sure that savings are a criterion of belonging to middle class. Presence of savings means presence of skills to spend money wisely, plan big purchases, and they provide the feeling of comfort, security and confidence: “you sleep well”, “then you don’t have a situation, when something happens, and you go around looking for money” (Lviv-1); “to have money, I feel safer like this” (Kyiv-2).

As noted before, a middle class representative can save approximately 10% of his income (a bigger percentage was rarely named). Savings are kept, as a rule, in banknotes (incl., in freely convertible currency), less often – in jewellery, securities, in deposit accounts. If the amount of savings is big, purchasing real estate is preferred. Respondents were discussing that older people try to keep their savings at home, while younger people – in banks.

Most of savings are intended for satisfying material needs (in the first place, housing, a weekend house, renovations, etc.), a smaller part – for non-material needs (education, children, vacations, travelling, wellness, presents to relatives and friends), as well as “just in case”, “for a rainy day”. It was noted that often money is not set aside regularly, the amount of savings is not stable, and savings are often used for small or unpredicted expenses.

“Apartment, car, real estate” (Kyiv-1).

“Education, travelling” (Kyiv-1).

“In the first place, current – vacation” (Lviv-1).

“For health, yes. Some unpredicted circumstances...” (Lviv-1).

“For renovations, future education for children, for tutors...” (Lviv-1).

In case they lost their source of income (work), in the opinion of most respondents, their savings would be enough for 3-6 months of their families’ life without a drop of its level and quality, in some groups people insisted on the half a year-one year period, on condition of sparing pattern of expenditures.

¹⁴ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.29-30.

Which of the following do you feel you need?*

respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Steady income that ensures high level of living, and allows to make savings	66,7	32,8	62,6	55,1	65,6	74,0
Possibility to comfortably spend vacation, incl. abroad	55,8	28,4	59,1	60,2	58,7	52,7
Possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family	55,7	24,8	54,5	50,5	56,1	61,3
Savings (bank deposits, securities; real estate that brings income, etc.)	49,8	39,5	49,5	49,0	49,8	53,5
Possibility to use paid educational services for the entire family	43,7	25,5	45,2	42,0	46,5	43,0
Insurance (medical, retirement, life)	40,8	31,1	40,1	39,6	40,3	43,0
Work that matches your qualification, with adequate remuneration	38,7	24,9	36,8	30,2	39,5	41,9
Car	38,3	21,7	38,4	35,6	39,5	37,4
Comfortable housing	33,2	15,9	28,0	20,8	30,9	40,9
Own business	31,5	31,8	33,4	32,2	33,9	28,5
Country (weekend) house	31,1	27,5	32,4	30,0	33,3	29,5
Leisure time	26,6	34,9	29,8	31,9	28,9	22,2
Use of credits (for housing, car, etc.)	22,9	30,4	24,1	24,3	24,0	21,7
Innovative communication and work appliances (computer, Internet, etc.)	17,4	17,8	13,4	6,9	16,1	23,0
Long-term use items (household appliances, furniture, etc.)	8,6	8,0	7,4	5,4	8,2	10,0

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

(66% of middle class periphery and 74% of lower class representatives). Upper class representatives most frequently named the need for savings (40%). Notably, they have much less unmet needs than middle and lower class representatives.

Among middle class "nucleus" representatives, the need for stable income was more often marked by women (58%, by men – 52%), which corresponds with presented above information about lower self-evaluation by women, who belong to middle class, of their level of well-being, and demonstrates that **financial standing of women in this social class group is worse than that of men.**



Focus Group Participants
on Their Financial Standing in General¹⁵

Expectedly, most discussion participants are not satisfied with their current financial standing. They would like to spend less for food and housing fees, and have more money for vacation, wellness, travelling, entertainment, healthier and more varied nutrition, eating out, ordering food from restaurants, for personal care.

"[If there was more money,] the food would be more nourishing. Healthy and varied" (Odesa).

"I need a car, my salary was cut, I come, give them my 100%, and earn less than before... I lack the possibility to give money to charity, I don't have enough money for health..." (Kyiv-1).

"To go to Greece with my entire family..." (Kharkiv).

Summarising the remarks of discussion participants, it can be stated that living conditions of middle class in Ukraine are much better than the living conditions of lower class. However, this only means that middle class, unlike the lower one, is not on the brink of survival, that its representatives through their work can provide their families with a certain level of comfort, nourishment, etc., can afford to make savings. And yet, for many, independent acquiring of modern comfortable housing – the first vital necessity for a family, as well as a middle class characteristic, – remains unaffordable. A large share of respondents said that their accommodation was inherited or purchased for parents' money.

¹⁵ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.31.

2.6. WORK AND LEISURE TIME

Taking into account that the largest group in middle class composition, as well as in its “nucleus” are employees (specialists, managers, skilled workers), it makes sense to look at the issue of presence of “proper work”, that is work that matches education and qualification of middle class representatives and is correspondingly remunerated, and also availability of leisure time and the character (content) of its use by middle class and middle class “nucleus” representatives.

Work: “proper”, regular and additional

“Proper work”. There were 41% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, who noted presence of “proper” work, 24% of middle class periphery representatives, 45% of upper class representatives and only 10% of lower class (Table “Which of the following do you have?”, p.21).

Taking into account that among representatives of lower class almost half are pensioners, it will be more reasonable to compare only answers of working representatives of all social class groups. But even among those, who work, there is a significant difference between middle class “nucleus” and lower class: 50% of working representatives of middle class “nucleus” have a proper job, 37% of middle class periphery, 56% of upper class and only 22% – of lower class. As it will be further shown, middle class representatives also note a higher level of satisfaction from work, than lower class representatives.

Focus Group Participants on “good work”¹⁶

The vast majority of discussion participants named stability and “good salary” as main characteristics of a “good job”. Second came the requirement that work should be “interesting” and “bring satisfaction”. Among other requirements: professional and career growth perspectives; “normal management”; good team; comfortable office, located not far from home.

Notably, quite often respondents placed in the first place among the requirements the content of work – that it should be interesting and bring satisfaction.

“Regular salary. Growth possibility” (Kyiv-1).

“Would be interesting to work at and paid well” (Odesa).

“When work brings you satisfaction, you understand? For me, it’s salary yet again. Let’s say the three criteria that I count as good work: it is a certain, normal working schedule, yes, flexible. A decent salary, of course. And to enjoy it” (Kharkiv).

Regular and additional work. In conditions of social and economic crisis especially important becomes the issue of making changes to one’s social and economic behaviour, or at least, creating a strategy of possible changes, in case of worsening of social and economic standing of the family. Besides, as it was noted before, the current position of many respondents included in middle class “nucleus” and periphery is not high enough in order to hope to survive economic hardships at the expense of savings.

At the time of survey, 9% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, while working at their regular job, also had a side job, 7% – among periphery, 4% – among lower class, and 8% – among higher (Table “Type of employment of respondents”). Among working representatives of middle class “nucleus”, 12% combine their regular job with a side job, 11% – among periphery, 10% – among lower class, and 13% – among higher. Work at two jobs simultaneously by shifts – 1% of respondents in all social class groups, incl., 2% of working representatives of middle class periphery and 3% – of lower class. So it can be stated that, currently, to provide for their financial well-being, an additional job is required for working representatives of all social class groups equally.

There are 57% of working upper class representatives, who do not need a side job, 38% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 29% – of its periphery, 21% of lower class representatives (Table “Do you have the need for an additional job...?”, p.32). So, the lower the status of a social class group, the more often its representatives have a need for an additional job, explaining this need by the necessity of additional income: such necessity was noted by 10% of upper class representatives and 55% – of lower class.

Such reasons for additional work as “I am interested in mastering new knowledge, skills, possibilities” and “I am interested in communicating with new people” were most often named by upper class representatives, and least often – by lower: thus, the first reason was marked by 13% of upper and only 5% – of lower class; second – by 10% and 3%, respectively.

In the situation, when their income does not allow to satisfy the needs of the family, 40% of middle class “nucleus” representatives are inclined to look for an additional job (this is more, than in any of the groups

Type of employment of respondents, respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Work in a regular job	36,1	35,1	43,6	53,6	39,5	26,4
Pensioner	27,9	10,4	18,2	9,4	21,8	44,8
Work from time to time	7,8	2,9	6,1	3,8	7,1	9,6
Work in a regular job and have a side job	6,5	8,3	7,5	9,4	6,7	4,0
I do not work, live not at my own expense	5,4	4,6	4,5	3,3	5,0	5,9
I am a homemaker and do not look for a job	5,3	4,2	5,4	3,7	6,1	5,1
Entrepreneur, business owner	4,6	26,3	6,8	10,2	5,4	1,0
Student	4,1	7,1	5,8	5,2	6,0	1,1
I work at 2 jobs by shifts	1,2	0,6	1,1	1,1	1,2	1,0
Other	3,6	5,6	3,6	3,2	3,8	3,1

¹⁶ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.36-37.

Do you have the need for an additional job (employment)? If yes, why?
employed, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
I need additional income	43,0	9,6	40,5	36,3	42,8	55,3
I do not need an additional job	28,3	56,6	32,4	38,2	29,2	21,0
I am interested in mastering new knowledge, skills, possibilities	7,7	13,3	8,4	8,3	8,5	4,9
I am interested in communicating with new people	5,2	9,6	5,3	4,1	6,0	3,2
I have a lot of free time	1,7	1,2	1,4	1,5	1,3	2,1
I do not want to be a homemaker (do house chores)	0,7	1,2	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,5
Other	1,8	1,2	1,2	0,9	1,4	2,9
Hard to answer	11,6	7,2	10,1	10,0	10,2	10,2

under study), 18% in this case are inclined to look for another job, 17% – to reduce their needs. Only 6% are ready to ask for a salary raise from their management, 6% – to start their own business, 3% – to emigrate, even less (1% each) – to ask for state support, resort to political forms of protest or gain money violating the law (Table “What action are you inclined to take first...?”).

Middle class periphery representatives are most often ready to look for an additional job (32%), to reduce their needs (23%), to look for another job (16%). Representatives of upper class – to look for an additional job (23%), to reduce their needs (19%), to start their own business (16%).

Lower class representatives (among which, as noted above, 45% are pensioners) are most often ready to reduce their needs (33%), look for an additional (22%) or other (13%) job. Working representatives of lower class are most often inclined to look for an additional (34%) or other (21%) job, as well as reduce their needs (21%).

The presented data demonstrates, among other things, that middle class “nucleus” representatives, in the situation, when their income is not enough to meet the needs of their family, are rather inclined to independent active action, first of all, looking for an additional job, than the passive reaction to adverse economic situation (reduction of the level of needs), or reliance on state support.

Leisure time and activities

Leisure time. By availability of leisure time, lower class is relatively (and rather dubiously) ahead of other groups. There were 40% of middle class “nucleus” representatives (as well as its periphery), who noted availability of leisure time, 34% of upper class representatives and 47% – of lower class (Table “Which of the following do you have?”, p.21). But among the working representatives of the mentioned social class groups, there was no difference by this criterion (34%, 32%, 37% and 33%, respectively). Similarly, social class groups did not differ by the level of unmet need for leisure time (Table “Which of the following do you feel you need?”, p.30).

We should note that this study does not confirm the popular point of view, according to which working women have less leisure time than men. Among working population in general, enough available leisure time is noted by similar shares of men and women – 32% and 33%, respectively. Similarly, among working men and women that belong to middle class “nucleus”, the difference in the number of those, who noted the availability of leisure time, is statistically insignificant – 32% and 37%, respectively. At the same time, male representatives of this social class group had the unmet need for leisure time even more often than female representatives – 40% and 32%, respectively. Such situation may exist due to the fact that even when a woman works, the main burden of providing for the well-being of the family is still a man’s responsibility, who has to perform this function at the expense of his leisure time and activities.

What action are you inclined to take first, in case your income does not allow to satisfy the needs of your family?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Look for an additional job	28,3	23,2	34,0	39,9	31,6	21,5
Reduce the needs	24,4	19,2	21,2	17,4	22,7	32,9
Look for other job	15,3	7,0	16,9	17,9	16,4	12,5
Ask for state support	5,5	2,4	3,0	1,4	3,7	10,0
Ask for a salary raise from the management	3,9	7,2	4,5	5,7	4,0	2,9
Start my own business	3,3	15,9	4,6	5,5	4,2	1,3
Emigrate	2,7	8,9	2,7	3,0	2,6	1,8
Resort to political forms of protest	1,2	1,2	1,0	0,5	1,2	1,0
Gain money violating the law	0,8	1,7	0,8	0,5	0,9	0,7
Hard to answer	14,6	13,4	11,3	8,2	12,6	15,3

Focus Group Participants on Their Workday and Leisure Time¹⁷

The length of most respondents' workday, according to them, is usually 8 hours; some of them work longer or have a variable schedule. Leisure time on a workday is usually spent on house chores, children, television, computer. Discussion participants noted that in the past weeks they have been spending more and more time on watching news from the ATO zone (Anti-Terrorist Operation).¹⁸

Summarising respondents' answers about the ways they spend their leisure time on workdays, we see confirmation that regardless of the formal "class" equality of men and women, ("this is not significant for affiliation with middle class"), women, as opposed to men, are overloaded with household duties. From respondents' statements appears that cooking, looking after the house, cleaning, etc. is a "second job" for a woman. Also, no one among focus group participants ever had or has a housekeeper, there were only two instances of hiring a baby-sitter for children and even that — for a brief period of time.

"On the way from work — shopping. The rest of time — bedtime routines with family..." (Kyiv-1).

"To clean, to cook — all of this takes time. I don't have a housekeeper..." (Kyiv-1).

"I do homework with my child, then feed my husband, feed the cat, and drop to sleep" (Odesa).

"[After work] we start our second work. What I mean is not a job, but cooking, cleaning and all that..." (Kharkiv).

On weekends respondents sometimes visit friends and family, and also spend time on their hobbies, walks and reading. What attracts attention, is the inclination for passive rest ("catch up on sleep"). Only a small portion of discussion participants preferred sports, health-promoting activities, etc.

"If it's summer, usually — to the beach. If it's winter, possibly to the sea, or for a walk in the centre of the city" (Odesa).

"On the weekend, the main thing is to catch up on sleeping" (Odesa).

"Friday is my free day, so I can spend it on some force majeure situations or on duties, on family or friends, for example..." (Kharkiv).

"In winter — more at home on the couch — I want to hibernate, like a bear" (Kharkiv).

"Just not working! Fresh air. Spiritual rest, church" (Kyiv-1).

"I read books. Can play some type of sport game. In winter I can play bowling, in summer — go out in the nature. After work — I would rather watch news on TV" (Kyiv-2).

Middle class "nucleus" representatives, who live in cities, mentioned having leisure time a little more often, than this social class group's representatives, who live in villages (36% and 28%, respectively), approximately the same balance was among middle class periphery representatives — 33% and 28%, respectively. **Thus, the idea that, in general, city residents have more leisure time than village residents, was confirmed.**

Leisure activities. The difference in the lifestyle of subjective middle class and lower class representatives appears in the content of their leisure activities. In particular, middle class representatives more often spend their leisure time on personal development. Thus, 51% among them, at least once a month or more often read fiction (among lower class representatives — 30%), read specialised literature — 52% and 28%, respectively; go in for sports — 35% and 14%, respectively. They visit theatres and cinemas, museums and exhibitions more often than lower class representatives (Table "How often do you do the following?", p.34).

Focus group discussions showed that respondents-representatives of middle class rather actively study foreign languages through attending language courses in their free time (by the way, this is the only form of professional development that focus group participants agree to fund on their own, all other forms, they would prefer to be funded by the employer).¹⁹ This is why the national survey questionnaire included the question on language skills, including, foreign languages (on conversational level).

As seen from the table "Which languages can you speak?", it is middle class "nucleus" and upper class representatives, who most often know foreign European languages (English, French, German, Polish, Spanish). Thus, 36% of middle class "nucleus" representatives declared knowledge of at least one of these languages, 47% of upper class, 23% of middle class periphery and only 13% of lower class representatives. Of course, it is hard to estimate the quality of this knowledge by survey results, but we can at least see, representatives of which social class groups spend more time on learning languages.

Summarising the presented survey results, we can note that in general, leisure practices of middle class representatives are more meaningful than those of lower class representatives, provided that the first ones have less leisure time, than lower class representatives.

Which languages can you speak?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Ukrainian	92,5	92,6	94,9	97,1	94,0	92,0
Russian	86,7	94,5	89,3	89,5	89,2	82,3
English	13,6	39,5	18,9	27,4	15,5	6,5
Polish	4,3	5,4	5,0	6,6	4,3	4,7
German	3,7	6,5	4,4	4,5	4,3	3,1
French	1,2	6,2	1,6	1,8	1,5	0,6
Spanish	0,5	1,8	0,4	0,5	0,4	0,5
Other	2,9	11,5	2,9	3,1	2,8	2,1
Hard to answer	0,5	0,0	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,7

¹⁷ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class Through the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.32-33.

¹⁸ ATO started in April 13, 2014; focus groups were conducted in May-June.

¹⁹ In each focus group two-three participants said that they either finished a language course or are currently taking one; they paid for this course themselves.



How often do you do the following?
respondents, %

Read fiction			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	25,6	16,3	37,4
Several times per year	33,6	32,9	32,6
Once or twice per month	17,8	20,3	16,0
At least once a week	14,1	18,9	7,7
Almost daily	8,9	11,6	6,3
No answer	0,0	0,0	0,0
Read specialised literature			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	37,6	28,3	53,4
Several times per year	20,9	20,1	19,1
Once or twice per month	18,0	20,5	12,9
At least once a week	16,5	21,1	11,7
Almost daily	6,9	10,0	2,9
No answer	0,0	0,0	0,0
Listen to music			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	9,9	6,1	18,0
Several times per year	5,6	4,7	6,3
Once or twice per month	11,7	12,6	11,1
At least once a week	25,2	24,4	26,9
Almost daily	47,4	52,2	37,7
No answer	0,1	0,0	0,0
Play musical instruments			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	87,4	84,6	92,3
Several times per year	6,0	7,3	4,9
Once or twice per month	2,4	3,7	0,9
At least once a week	2,4	2,6	0,9
Almost daily	1,5	1,6	0,9
No answer	0,3	0,2	0,3
Watch sports competitions			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	37,2	31,9	48,9
Several times per year	18,1	19,5	14,6
Once or twice per month	20,8	21,3	18,0
At least once a week	17,0	19,5	13,4
Almost daily	6,3	7,3	4,6
No answer	0,5	0,4	0,6
Go in for sports			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	62,0	50,8	77,1
Several times per year	11,5	13,4	8,6
Once or twice per month	8,6	11,2	5,4
At least once a week	10,7	14,2	6,0
Almost daily	6,8	10,0	2,3
No answer	0,4	0,4	0,6
Visit museums and exhibitions			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	69,9	59,3	84,9
Several times per year	25,6	33,5	14,0
Once or twice per month	3,7	5,7	0,9
At least once a week	0,6	0,8	0,0
Almost daily	0,1	0,2	0,0
No answer	0,4	0,4	0,3

Visit theatres			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	73,7	64,0	87,1
Several times per year	23,1	30,7	12,3
Once or twice per month	3,0	4,7	0,6
At least once a week	0,1	0,2	0,0
Almost daily	0,1	0,2	0,0
No answer	0,1	0,2	0,0
Visit cinemas			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	66,3	54,3	83,7
Several times per year	25,2	33,9	13,4
Once or twice per month	7,3	10,2	2,0
At least once a week	0,9	1,2	0,9
Almost daily	0,1	0,2	0,0
No answer	0,1	0,2	0,0
Visit dance clubs, night clubs, etc.			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	79,8	72,4	92,0
Several times per year	11,8	16,3	4,3
Once or twice per month	6,5	8,7	2,9
At least once a week	1,3	1,8	0,6
Almost daily	0,2	0,4	0,0
No answer	0,4	0,4	0,3
Visit friends or have them visit you			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	5,6	2,6	9,1
Several times per year	26,2	18,5	36,0
Once or twice per month	45,9	50,6	40,3
At least once a week	20,2	25,2	13,7
Almost daily	1,7	2,8	0,3
No answer	0,3	0,2	0,6
Spend leisure time in the nature			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	7,8	4,3	13,7
Several times per year	23,7	18,7	29,1
Once or twice per month	33,4	39,2	23,4
At least once a week	17,7	23,4	12,0
Almost daily	16,7	14,0	20,6
No answer	0,7	0,4	1,1
Spend leisure time shopping in stores, markets, etc.			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	7,2	5,5	10,3
Several times per year	10,4	9,3	12,0
Once or twice per month	29,9	31,1	27,7
At least once a week	41,2	38,4	41,7
Almost daily	11,1	15,4	8,3
No answer	0,2	0,2	0,0
Go outside the boundaries of your residential community			
	All	Middle Class	Lower Class
Never	13,1	8,1	22,6
Several times per year	33,6	31,7	33,7
Once or twice per month	29,5	32,5	26,0
At least once a week	16,8	18,3	13,4
Almost daily	6,7	8,9	4,3
No answer	0,3	0,4	0,0

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2.7. SOCIAL WELL-BEING

Social well-being indicators include the level of respondents' satisfaction with their life in general and its separate aspects, self-evaluation of the level of social institutions' influence on the course of their life and activity; vision of their social prospects "here and now"; self-evaluation of their emotional state while thinking about their life; evaluation of the role and social significance of social class group that they include themselves in, and social evaluation of prestige level of belonging to this group.

Satisfaction with life and its separate aspects

Satisfaction with life in general. As seen from the data presented in table "To which extent are you satisfied...?", middle class "nucleus" representatives estimated their level of satisfaction with life in general as 3.4 on the average,²⁰ periphery representatives as 3.2, upper class – 3.8, lower – 2.7. So the higher is the status of a social class group, the higher is the average level of satisfaction of its representatives with the course of their life. The same trend is observed in self-evaluations of satisfaction with separate aspects of life.

Satisfaction with separate aspects of life. Middle class "nucleus" representatives (as well as citizens of Ukraine in general) are most satisfied with family relationships and relationships with people around them.

Simultaneously, **rather moderate is satisfaction of middle class "nucleus" representatives with aspects that characterise their living conditions and quality of life:** work, housing conditions, level of well-being, quality of goods and services, health condition, – all received average points from 3 to 3.6. Periphery and lower class representatives demonstrated lower level of satisfaction with these aspects of life: from 2.7 to 3.3 points and from 2.1 to 2.9, respectively. Upper class representatives are satisfied with them to a greater extent – from 3.2 to 3.8 points.

Lower is the level of satisfaction with aspects connected with personal development and fulfilment, including fulfilment prospects and achieving life goals in the future (possibility to acquire education or provide necessary education for children (grandchildren), actualisation of talents, opportunities for personal fulfilment, self-affirmation, freedom of action to make important life decisions, opportunity to participate in the work of NGOs, political parties, satisfy cultural needs and requests, have meaningful leisure time, future prospects

To which extent are you satisfied with the following aspects of your life and the life of society?*
overall score

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Family relationships	4,1	4,3	4,2	4,2	4,1	4,0
Relationships with people around you	3,7	4,0	3,8	3,9	3,7	3,5
Health condition	3,2	3,8	3,4	3,6	3,3	2,8
Work*	3,2	4,1	3,4	3,6	3,3	2,9
Housing conditions	3,0	3,6	3,2	3,4	3,1	2,7
The course of life in general	3,0	3,8	3,2	3,4	3,2	2,7
Your position in society, social status	2,8	3,6	3,1	3,3	3,0	2,4
Opportunity to satisfy own cultural needs and requests	2,8	3,6	3,0	3,2	2,9	2,5
Level of freedom of action to make important life decisions	2,8	3,5	3,0	3,1	2,9	2,5
Opportunities for actualisation of talents, personal fulfilment, self-affirmation	2,7	3,4	2,9	3,1	2,8	2,3
Opportunity to have meaningful leisure time	2,7	3,7	2,9	3,1	2,8	2,4
Quality of goods and services	2,7	3,2	2,8	3,0	2,7	2,4
Level of well-being	2,6	3,5	2,9	3,1	2,8	2,1
Opportunity to participate in the work of NGOs, political parties	2,6	3,4	2,7	2,9	2,7	2,3
Possibility to acquire education or provide necessary education for children (grandchildren)	2,5	3,7	2,7	2,9	2,6	2,1
Your future prospects, possibilities to improve current standing	2,4	3,4	2,7	2,9	2,6	2,0
Level of protection of civil rights	2,3	3,0	2,5	2,5	2,4	2,0
Ability to influence social life in your city, village, district	2,3	3,1	2,4	2,5	2,4	2,0
Level of democracy in society	2,3	2,8	2,4	2,4	2,4	2,1
Work of central and local government	2,2	2,7	2,3	2,3	2,2	2,0
Socio-political system of the country	2,1	2,7	2,2	2,3	2,2	2,0
The extent, to which the rule of law is ensured in society	2,0	2,5	2,1	2,1	2,1	1,8
Ability to protect violated rights in a legal way	2,0	2,6	2,1	2,1	2,1	1,8
How social justice is ensured in society	2,0	2,6	2,1	2,1	2,1	1,8
Situation in the country on the overall	1,9	2,4	1,9	2,0	1,9	1,7

* Non-working respondents did not mark this option in the table.

²⁰ On a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where "1" is "not satisfied at all", and "5" – completely satisfied.

and opportunities to improve current standing), – which are estimated by middle class “nucleus” representatives within the range from 3.2 points (“opportunity to satisfy cultural needs and requests”) to 2.9 points (“opportunity to participate in the work of NGOs, political parties”). Representatives of middle class periphery, as in the previous case, are less satisfied with these aspects of life: from 2.9 to 2.6 points, respectively; lower class representatives – from 2.0 to 2.5 points, respectively. Upper class demonstrated a higher level of satisfaction with these aspects as well (from 3.6 points to 3.4 points, respectively).

The lowest level of satisfaction among all social class groups is with aspects of life connected with ensuring civil rights and freedoms, ability to influence social life,

level of democracy in society, socio-political system of the country, work of central and local government, the extent, to which the rule of law is ensured in society, ability to protect violated rights in a legal way, how social justice is ensured, situation in the country on the overall – assessments of satisfaction of middle class “nucleus” representatives are within the range from 2.5 points (“level of protection of civil rights” and “ability to influence social life” on the local level) to 2.0 points (“situation in the country on the overall”), middle class periphery – from 2.4 points to 1.9 points, respectively; lower class – from 2.0 points to 1.7 points, respectively. Upper class representatives are satisfied with these aspects to a greater extent – from 3.1 to 2.4 points, respectively.

SATISFACTION WITH LIFE AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

As study results show, the level of satisfaction with life in general and with its separate aspects is significantly influenced by such personality feature as “locus of control”, which means the extent of internal dependence/independence of an individual on external factors and his conditions of life, and is determined in the terms of internality/externality.²¹ “If a person mostly assumes responsibility for events that take place in his life, explaining them by his behaviour, character, talents, this demonstrates presence of internal control. If a person is inclined to attribute responsibility for everything to external factors, looking for reasons in other people, environment, destiny, or chance, this demonstrates presence of external control”.²²

This personality trait is developed in the process of socialisation and under the influence of prevalence in society or in a certain social group of internals or externals, which is conditioned by the features of socio-psychological atmosphere, mentality of society or this social group. In other words, internality or externality are traits “brought up” by the society, and thus, not only personal, but also social characteristics.

Locus of control is very important for the development of many socio-psychological traits of an individual, character of his interaction with other people. As defined by J. Bledsoe, the characteristic features of internals are emotional stability, adherence to moral standards, friendliness, high willpower.²³ According to V. Joe, external persons more often demonstrate suspicion, anxiety, depression, aggression, conformity, lack of principles, cynicism, deceitfulness.²⁴

In the process of research, the level of internality/externality was being determined by answers to question “To which extent do you control your own life?”.²⁵ Those representatives of middle

class “nucleus”, who estimated their ability to influence their own life with “1” or “2” points, i.e. people with low locus of control level (externals), evaluate their level of satisfaction with the general course of their life, on the average, as 2.7 points, while the mean value of satisfaction among those, who estimated their influence on the course of their life as “4” or “5” points (internals), is 3.5 points.

The difference in the level of satisfaction between internals and externals is demonstrated in all aspects of life without exception. The biggest difference between these two groups is in the level of satisfaction with their position in society (2.8 and 3.4 points, respectively), the freedom of action in making important life decisions (2.7 and 3.2, respectively), work (3.1 and 3.6 points, respectively), opportunities for actualisation of talents, personal fulfilment (2.7 and 3.1 points, respectively), level of well-being (2.7 and 3.2 points, respectively), level of protection of civil rights (2.2 and 2.6 points, respectively), future prospects, possibilities to improve current standing (2.5 and 2.9 points, respectively).

Besides, according to data in table “To which extent do you control...?”, the locus of control level significantly increases from the lower to the upper class.

While among lower class representatives, the share of respondents, who evaluated their influence on the course of their own life with “4” or “5” points (i.e., internals) was 38%, among middle class periphery representatives this number was already 62%, middle class “nucleus” – 74%, upper class – 89%. **So, almost three quarters of middle class “nucleus” representatives are internals, i.e., people, who assume responsibility for their life, and are, as a rule, neither conformists, nor paternalistically-minded. These people are ready for active actions and are able to perform them.**

To which extent do you control your own life?
respondents, %

	Points:	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Externals:	1	6,9	1,6	2,7	1,3	3,3	14,4
	2	8,5	1,6	5,7	3,8	6,4	12,9
	3	25,7	7,0	22,4	19,0	23,8	30,3
Internals:	4	30,0	22,7	35,5	40,0	33,7	23,5
	5	23,7	66,4	29,7	33,8	28,0	14,5
	No answer	5,3	0,8	4,0	2,2	4,7	4,4

²¹ The term was introduced by J. Rotter, who considered the “locus of control” a stable personality trait developed in the process of socialisation. See: Rotter J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. – Psychological Monographs, 1966, No. 80 (1), p.1-28.

²² Muzdybayev K. The Psychology of Responsibility. – Leningrad, 1983, p.44.

²³ Bledsoe J.C. Personality characteristics differentiating internal and external college woman. – Journal of Psychology, 1979, No.103, p.81-86.

²⁴ Joe V.C. Review of the internal-external control construct as a personality variable. – Psychological Reports, 1971, No.28, p.619-640.

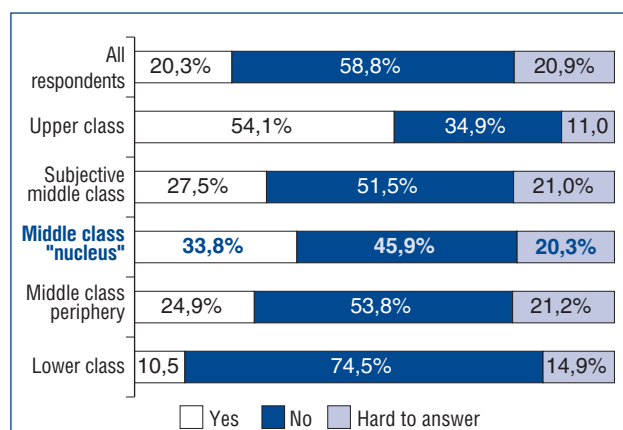
²⁵ On a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where “1” is “do not influence at all”, and “5” – “influence strongly”.

The view on social prospects, desire to migrate

We can assume, that the following two circumstances are majorly grounded on low satisfaction with life aspects, connected with the condition of civil rights and freedoms, ability to influence social life, level of democracy development, ensuring social justice, situation in the country overall. Here they are:

- **Over a half (52%) of subjective middle class representatives and the relative majority (46%) of its “nucleus” representatives currently do not see social prospects for themselves in Ukraine** (among lower class representatives – 75%, upper – 35%) (Diagram “Do you currently see social prospects for yourself in Ukraine?”). In this case, women, who belong to middle class “nucleus”, said more often than men that they do not see social prospects for themselves (48% and 43%, respectively).

Do you currently see social prospects for yourself in Ukraine?
respondents, %



□ Yes ■ No □ Hard to answer

2005-2014 dynamics

	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
Yes	17,5	22,1	20,3	28,0	33,5	27,5
No	63,3	55,5	58,8	54,8	45,7	51,5
Hard to answer	19,3	22,4	20,9	17,3	20,8	21,0

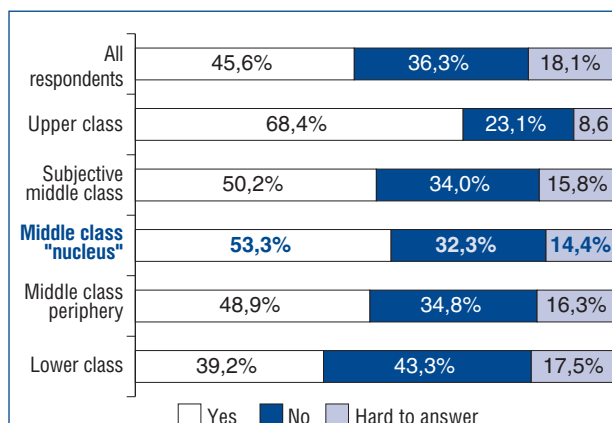
% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

	Female	Male
Yes	31,4	36,2
No	48,3	43,4
Hard to answer	20,2	20,4

While in 2005, when a similar survey was conducted, 28% of subjective middle class representatives saw social prospects for themselves in Ukraine, and in 2008 their share grew to 34%, – in 2014 it dropped to 28% again.

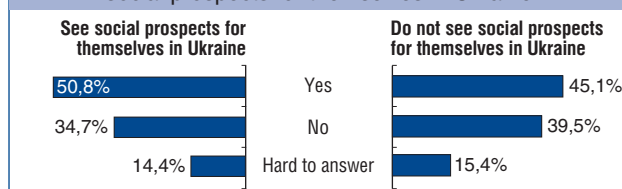
- **A half of middle class representatives and over a half (53%) of its “nucleus” representatives would like for their children to live and work abroad** (among lower class – 39%, upper – 68%) (Diagram “Would you like for your children to live and work abroad?”). Notably, this desire does not depend on whether or not respondents see their own social prospects in Ukraine: 51% of those, who see their own social prospects in Ukraine think about their children’s future abroad, and 45% of those, who do not see their own social prospects in Ukraine.

Would you like for your children to live and work abroad?
respondents, %



□ Yes ■ No □ Hard to answer

% of respondents, depending on whether they see social prospects for themselves in Ukraine



A rather high level of the desire to migrate among middle and upper class representatives can be also connected to a more pronounced disposition to mobility (incl., territorial), extended to children.

Evaluation of the social role of middle class and the prestige of belonging to it

Representatives of all social class groups, as all respondents in general, highly appreciate the social role of middle class. Thus, the majority of subjective middle class and its “nucleus” representatives, as well as a relative majority of lower class representatives are inclined to attribute to middle class the defining role in establishing consumer standards, models of popular culture, practices of compliance with law and ethical norms of conduct (Table “Which class currently mainly determines in Ukraine...?”, p.39). Upper class representatives agreed with the defining role of middle class in the practices of compliance with law and ethical norms of conduct, while evaluating as equal the roles of middle and upper classes in establishing consumer standards and models of popular culture.



SELF-EVALUATION OF EMOTIONAL CONDITION: MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS

Despite their rather pessimistic outlook on social prospects and view on the future of their children outside of Ukraine, among subjective middle class representatives prevail positive emotions.

Thus, according to results of survey conducted in July 2014, the majority of subjective middle class representatives (54%), while describing the feelings that they have most often when they think about their life, named feelings from the positive spectrum ("hope that life will gradually change for the better", "feeling that life is going well", "I feel I am a happy person", "the feeling of self-confidence") (Table "What feelings do you have most often...?").

Among lower class, such feelings were chosen by only 23%. Feelings from the negative spectrum ("fear of the future", "anxiety,

anticipation of aggravation, undesirable changes", etc.) were marked by 36% of middle class representatives and by 68% of lower class representatives.

Emotional state depends on the age of respondents. Thus, among subjective middle class representatives, 60% of young people under 39 y.o. have positive feelings regarding their life, while among the older age group (from 50 y.o. and older) – only 46%, negative feelings – 30% and 43%, respectively.

Regarding the dynamics of emotional condition factors, from 2005 to 2008, the share of those subjective middle class representatives that chose positive feelings grew from 54% to 62%, but in 2014 it dropped back to the 2005 level. The same dynamics was observed in the total array of respondents in general.

What feelings do you have most often, when you think about your life?

	All respondents			Subjective middle class			Lower class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
Hope that life will gradually change for the better	28,2	27,1	27,2	32,6	32,0	35,0	21,9	19,1	18,3
Fear of the future	9,5	10,6	15,5	10,0	10,9	13,2	9,3	12,2	21,4
Anxiety, anticipation of aggravation, undesirable changes	6,7	5,1	13,7	4,4	3,8	8,9	9,5	8,4	15,7
Feeling that life is going well	8,8	12,1	6,1	13,4	17,1	7,9	3,7	4,7	3,1
I have not really thought about my life, I live as I can	5,9	4,1	5,0	4,5	2,7	4,9	6,5	4,6	5,4
Dissatisfaction with life	11,7	6,9	4,7	9,7	4,2	4,3	15,7	11,7	6,6
Irritation with the fact that the current life does not satisfy me	7,1	7,0	4,4	5,9	5,9	4,1	9,3	9,4	4,9
Feeling of self-confidence	2,7	6,1	3,9	5,1	8,1	6,1	0,4	3,6	0,9
I feel I am a happy person	1,7	3,8	3,4	2,5	4,6	4,9	0,9	2,2	1,1
Feeling of lack of choice	3,3	2,9	2,8	3,3	2,3	1,8	2,8	2,3	4,6
Feeling of lost opportunities, hopes that did not come true	3,9	4,2	2,3	3,6	3,5	1,6	4,4	5,6	4,0
Feeling of hopelessness	2,7	1,5	2,3	1,1	0,5	1,0	4,7	3,4	4,6
Tiredness of life	3,5	3,3	1,9	1,7	1,8	0,6	5,5	6,3	3,4
Feeling that life is unjust to me	1,1	1,5	1,1	0,7	0,8	0,4	1,5	2,3	1,7
Life has gone in vain	1,0	0,6	0,4	0,5	0,1	0,2	1,6	1,3	0,9
Envy of the happier people	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,1	0,2	0,3
Hard to answer	2,2	3,1	5,4	1,1	1,6	5,1	2,2	2,6	3,1
Total feelings of positive spectrum	41,4	49,1	40,6	53,6	61,8	53,9	26,9	29,6	23,4
Total feelings of negative spectrum	50,7	43,9	49,2	40,9	34,1	36,1	64,4	63,1	68,1



Only in establishing standards of behaviour in business, middle class "nucleus" representatives noted almost equal roles of upper and middle class (44% and 41%, respectively). All other groups (incl., the relative majority of middle class periphery representatives and subjective middle class) name upper class as the group that sets standards of business ethics.

The majority of subjective middle class representatives (both, its "nucleus" and periphery), think that middle class is the main taxpayer in Ukraine (Diagram "Who is the main taxpayer in Ukraine?"). Lower class representatives equally consider both middle and lower class the main taxpayers, upper class representatives – both middle and upper.

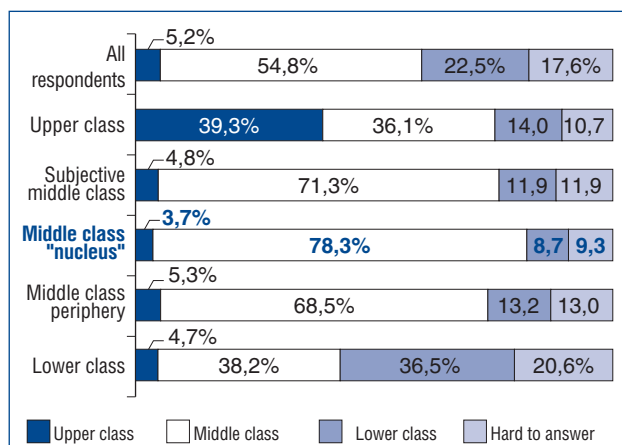
However, despite the high rating of the role of middle class in society, only 28% of respondents think belonging to it (currently in Ukraine) is prestigious; among middle class "nucleus" representatives – only one-third (Diagram "Is it currently prestigious to belong to middle class in Ukraine?").



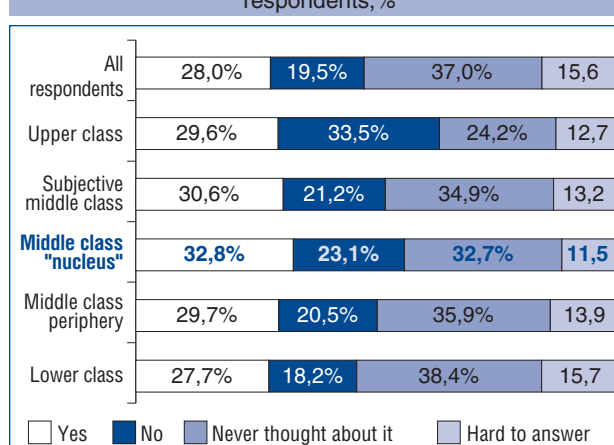
Which class currently mainly determines in Ukraine...?
respondents, %

Standards of business behaviour						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper	41,1	50,4	43,0	44,3	42,5	41,9
Middle	31,6	33,1	37,3	40,9	35,8	26,2
Lower	4,1	8,2	3,4	2,6	3,7	4,1
Hard to answer	23,1	8,3	16,3	12,2	18,0	27,9
Practices of compliance with law						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper	21,6	31,8	21,6	22,2	21,4	22,8
Middle	40,0	45,1	49,5	53,8	47,8	29,5
Lower	14,2	12,4	11,2	10,0	11,7	18,5
Hard to answer	24,1	10,7	17,7	14,0	19,2	29,2
Consumer standards						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper	21,5	42,8	20,2	19,1	20,6	26,3
Middle	44,6	37,8	54,8	61,1	52,2	32,6
Lower	11,1	10,5	8,8	7,7	9,2	13,8
Hard to answer	22,7	8,9	16,3	12,1	18,0	27,3
Models of popular culture						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper	18,6	42,3	18,9	18,6	19,1	20,2
Middle	47,3	37,4	56,0	58,6	55,0	36,7
Lower	10,7	9,3	8,5	9,6	8,1	13,9
Hard to answer	23,3	11,0	16,5	13,1	17,9	29,1
Ethical norms of behaviour						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper	14,6	28,5	14,7	14,3	14,9	14,7
Middle	44,4	49,2	54,7	61,7	51,8	34,7
Lower	12,5	8,1	9,0	6,7	10,0	17,2
Hard to answer	28,5	14,2	21,6	17,3	23,3	33,3

Who is the main taxpayer in Ukraine?
respondents, %



Is it currently prestigious to belong to middle class in Ukraine?
respondents, %





Most respondents (53%) either never thought about it (37%), or found it hard to answer (16%). Every fifth respondent (20%) did not think it prestigious to belong to middle class.

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, 23% did not view belonging to middle class as prestigious, 33% never thought about it, 12% – found it hard to answer. Among middle class periphery representatives, 30% thought it was prestigious, 21% – not prestigious, 36% never thought about it, 14% found it hard to answer.

Notably, upper class was the only social class group, in which there was no statistically significant difference between the number of supporters of the idea that belonging to middle class was prestigious, and the number of those, who denied its prestige. In all other groups, the number of those, who viewed belonging to middle class as prestigious, prevailed, but in none of the groups did this number make up the majority of representatives.

It can be assumed, that the difference between estimations of significance of middle class, on the one hand, and the current level of prestige in belonging to it in Ukraine, on the other, is caused by low indicators that characterise financial and social-economic standing of current Ukrainian middle class, as well as by the lack of attention to it from the government, which, in people’s view, mostly cares for supporting big business (55% of respondents are convinced in that, while 12% think that social-economic policy of the government is aimed at supporting middle class).²⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Main socio-demographic indicators that significantly influence the probability of respondent’s affiliation with middle class, are respondent’s age and place of residency (city or village). Older people and

village residents more often include themselves in lower strata of society.

There is a relation between respondents’ including themselves in a certain class and their gender. But it is mostly a derivative from the age factor, as the number of people over 60 y.o. for women is larger by a half than that for men. And older age greatly increases the probability of respondents’ inclusion in lower strata.

By social status, the basis of middle class “nucleus” is made up of specialists, entrepreneurs, managers and skilled workers. The basis of middle class periphery – pensioners, skilled workers and specialists.

The share of middle class “nucleus” representatives has certain regional differences: in the Centre and in the West it is somewhat larger than in the South, East and Donbas.

Social background has significant influence on a respondent’s affiliation with a certain class. The higher one’s parents’ social class affiliation and education level was, the higher social step can they take. School education of respondents is also a notable influence on their social class self-definition. Individuals, who graduated from a city school have better chances of belonging to higher classes of society, than those, who graduated from a village school.

Financial standing of Ukrainian middle class (including its “nucleus”) generally does not match the classical concept of middle class. Besides, its latest changes are not positive. While during 2005-2008 financial standing of middle class improved, after 2008, due to the influence of many adverse factors (from global financial and economic crisis to the current military conflict in Ukraine), the level of its financial well-being has gone down.

A similar tendency is also characteristic for middle class income, which, although mainly ensures affordability of necessary material values, is insufficient for ensuring the proper quality of life, satisfaction with this life in general and its separate aspects.

The higher the status position of a social class group is, the higher is the average level of its representatives’ satisfaction with their life in general and its separate aspects.

The lowest among all social class groups was the level of satisfaction with aspects of life connected with the level of protection of civil rights and freedoms, ability to influence social life, level of democracy in society, socio-political system of the country, work of central and local government, extent, to which the rule of law is ensured in society, ability to protect violated rights in a legal way, how social justice is ensured, situation in the country on the overall.

²⁶ For more information, see Section 4 of this Report.

3. MIDDLE CLASS: LIFE VALUES AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Social class groups differ between themselves, among other things, by their guiding values and social behaviour aspects. It should be noted that guiding values and social behaviour are interdependent. On the one hand, the behaviour of social groups to a great extent mirrors their guiding values. On the other, – guiding values develop under the influence of those behaviour practices, in which social group members are involved.

Moreover, in order to be able to say that a certain social group has “established”, that it exists as an agent of social action, it is necessary that its members are united by a common value system (or at least, a number of fundamental integrating values). Otherwise, there are no grounds for talking about existence of such a group.

3.1. LIFE VALUES

Respondents’ guiding values were determined through corresponding direct questions regarding the importance and significance of different aspects of life. In this case, the answers give an idea about the cognitive aspect of respondents’ guiding values, but at the same time they are greatly influenced by social stereotypes and the desire to give socially expected answers.¹ This is why we used an approach that provides a possibility to also determine the emotional, or emotional-motivational aspect of respondents’ guiding values and create a more objective idea about them.

Value system: cognitive aspect

As can be seen from the data summarised in table “Which of the following is necessary to be successful in life?”, answers to this question reflect the most popular

stereotypes in society and do not differ much among representatives of different social class groups.

Meanwhile, two positions attract attention. *Firstly*, among most important features that contribute to success, respondents often name not only the need to have talents, education and work hard, but also “luck”: 87% of middle class “nucleus” representatives noted this, – which can be a sign of their lack of confidence in themselves and their abilities. *Secondly*, it was also often noted, that it is necessary to have “acquaintances and friends in the right places” (noted by 86% of middle class “nucleus” representatives). We can assume that this characterises the “corruption culture” in Ukrainian society engrained at the level of social stereotypes, which also includes, among others, middle class.

The cognitive aspect of guiding values is also reflected in the notion of which material values, as well

Which of the following is necessary to be successful in life?
% of those, who chose options “very important” or “rather important”

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Talents	89,2	82,2	91,0	92,1	90,5	89,5
Hard work	87,7	83,9	89,3	89,8	89,1	87,3
Acquaintances and friends in the right places	86,3	77,4	85,7	86,1	85,4	88,5
Good education	85,9	84,2	87,3	88,6	86,9	85,1
Luck	85,8	70,3	86,2	87,0	85,8	87,7
Ambition	76,2	68,0	78,4	78,8	78,3	76,0
Good reputation	71,5	68,7	74,3	75,8	73,6	71,1
Wealthy family	66,1	65,2	63,2	64,1	62,9	71,2
Educated parents	63,5	69,4	63,0	65,1	62,1	64,7
Residence in a big city	45,1	45,9	44,4	46,6	43,5	45,9
Being indiscriminate about means of reaching success	35,4	29,3	32,1	33,2	31,6	41,3
A certain nationality	20,5	20,8	18,2	17,9	18,2	23,2
A certain gender	22,2	23,7	19,9	21,0	19,6	24,5

¹ Here, cognitive aspect means conscious self-perception of an individual, i.e. such perception that is analysed by the individual himself, and thus can be consciously altered in his answers, as a rule, towards a more flattering image of himself in the eyes of his environment.

as personality traits and characteristics should an individual possess in order to be included in middle class. In the case of middle class, their answers are about themselves. Thus, respondents had to choose from two lists: the first one included “material world objects” (car, income, savings, etc.) (Table “*Which of the following must a person have in order to be included in middle class?*”), the second one – personal and social traits and characteristics: self-respect, civic activism, law abidance, etc. (Table “*Which characteristics and traits must a person have in order to be included in middle class?*”).

Material values. As seen from the table “*Which of the following must a person have...?*”, ideas of different social class groups about what a middle class representative must own do not differ much. Most often, representatives of all groups name the following: “steady income that ensures high level of living, and allows to make savings”, “comfortable housing”, “possibility to comfortably spend vacation, incl. abroad”, “long-term use items (household appliances, furniture, etc.)”, “car”, “possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family”, “innovative communication and work appliances (computer, Internet, etc.)”, “work that matches one’s qualification, with adequate remuneration”, “possibility to use paid educational services for the entire family”, “savings”.

These answers reflect the established in society stereotype of social success and the value of “consumer society”, which are equally shared by all society strata, and lack of which causes social dissatisfaction that gets stronger along with deterioration of a social class group’s financial standing.

Personal traits as values. Among personal and social traits and characteristics that an individual must have in order to be included in **middle class** (Table “*Which characteristics and traits must a person have...?*”), the following are named most often by respondents: “high level of education”, “pursuit of welfare through one’s own work”, “high level of culture”, “self-respect, dignity”, “desire to provide good education for one’s children (grandchildren), teach them to lead a healthy lifestyle and to continually improve their level of education and culture”, “self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government”, “law abidance”, “desire for professional self-actualisation, continuous self-education, self-improvement, further training”, “tolerance, respect for others”, “healthy lifestyle”, “professional affiliation with white collars (intelligentsia, managers, etc.)”.

It should be noted that such traits as “civic activism” and “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government”, although named by 47% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, still belonged to the number of traits named least often. Same tendency was observed for “rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one’s superiority over others” (49%). This can be viewed as proof that such values as “rational needs”, “civic activism” and “commitment to democratic values” are not internalised enough in the consciousness of middle class.

Along with this, “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government” is named by young representatives of middle class “nucleus” (aged 18 to 29 y.o.) as such that must be present in middle class representatives, less often (40%), than in general among representatives of this social class group.

Self-evaluation of presence of social traits and characteristics and the need for them. Respondents also evaluated the presence in themselves of the named above traits and characteristics, and answered, whether they need them (in case they think they do not possess these traits and characteristics) (Tables “*Which traits and characteristics do you have?*” and “*Which traits and characteristics do you lack?*”, p.44).

Middle class “nucleus” representatives most often answer that they have self-respect, dignity, law abidance, tolerance, respect for others, pursuit of welfare through their own work, self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government, high level of culture, healthy lifestyle, high level of education, desire for professional self-actualisation (these qualities were named by more than a half of middle class “nucleus” representatives).

Thus, they repeat most of those qualities, which, according to this group of respondents, must be present in a middle class representative. In this case (as in the case, described above), such qualities as “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government” and “civic activism” belong to those qualities that respondents think they possess least often (30% and 27%, respectively). Slightly more often, middle class “nucleus” representatives note that they possess such quality as “rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one’s superiority over others” (44%).

Combining the shares of those, who have these traits and those, who lack them, we receive the following results:

- “civic activism” – 55% of middle class “nucleus” representatives have or feel the need to have it;
- “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government” – 56%;
- “rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one’s superiority over others” – 59%.

A smaller value of possession/need for a quality indicator (53%) has only “readiness for changes (permanent place of residence, place of work, profession)” (Table “*Share of respondents who either possess a trait (characteristic) or feel the need to have it*”, p.45). Along with this, **possession/need for quality “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them” and “civic activism” were present in middle class “nucleus” representatives to a greater extent, than in middle class periphery and lower class representatives (with no statistical difference from the upper class),**



Which of the following must a person have in order to be included in middle class?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Steady income that ensures high level of living, and allows to make savings	75,5	44,9	75,5	78,0	74,5	78,1
Comfortable housing	70,5	56,1	73,4	77,2	71,8	69,4
Possibility to comfortably spend vacation, incl. abroad	65,6	52,3	67,5	69,5	66,7	66,5
Possibility to use paid health and wellness services for the entire family	61,2	52,8	63,0	63,7	62,8	63,6
Long-term use items (household appliances, furniture, etc.)	60,7	48,8	64,5	66,9	63,5	59,1
Car	59,3	52,3	61,6	64,9	60,2	58,0
Innovative communication and work appliances (computer, Internet, etc.)	59,2	53,0	61,9	63,0	61,4	57,7
Work that matches one's qualification, with adequate remuneration	56,8	41,9	59,5	61,3	58,8	56,4
Savings (bank deposits, securities; real estate that brings income, etc.)	56,6	48,7	58,4	57,6	58,7	57,9
Possibility to use paid educational services for the entire family	55,1	42,9	56,8	58,0	56,3	56,5
Insurance (medical, retirement, life)	46,1	42,8	46,7	47,5	46,3	47,8
Own business	43,1	30,1	41,4	40,0	41,9	45,7
Country (weekend) house	40,7	32,8	41,4	41,3	41,4	39,9
Leisure time	37,1	32,1	39,7	42,5	38,6	35,5
Use of credits (for housing, car, etc.)	28,8	25,9	29,4	29,9	29,2	29,3

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

Which characteristics and traits must a person have in order to be included in middle class?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
High level of education	65,2	43,7	65,6	69,6	64,0	66,7
Pursuit of welfare through one's own work	61,0	51,6	65,3	67,5	64,4	59,8
High level of culture	60,9	43,0	63,2	66,9	61,7	60,9
Desire to provide good education for one's children (grandchildren), teach them to lead a healthy lifestyle and to continually improve their level of education and culture	60,8	44,4	63,4	65,0	62,8	60,6
Self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government	59,1	45,9	62,5	63,6	62,0	59,1
Self-respect, dignity	58,9	46,3	63,1	65,9	62,0	56,7
Law abidance	58,2	44,2	60,7	63,3	59,7	57,8
Desire for professional self-actualisation, continuous self-education, self-improvement, further training	57,1	47,3	58,9	60,8	58,1	57,1
Tolerance, respect for others	52,5	44,0	55,6	57,7	54,8	52,3
Healthy lifestyle	48,4	39,6	51,2	53,8	50,2	47,8
Professional affiliation with white collars (intelligentsia, managers, etc.)	45,1	38,3	47,4	53,3	45,0	43,4
Rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one's superiority over others	43,2	39,4	46,4	48,6	45,6	41,9
Civic activism	42,4	35,0	44,6	47,1	43,6	41,0
Commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government	41,5	34,4	43,7	47,1	42,2	40,7
Readiness for changes (permanent place of residence, place of work, profession)	34,7	35,4	36,7	40,9	34,9	32,5

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.



Which traits and characteristics do you have?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Self-respect, dignity	72,1	69,8	76,1	77,3	75,6	68,0
Law abidance	72,1	65,3	73,7	73,3	73,9	73,9
Tolerance, respect for others	68,3	59,0	69,7	69,1	70,0	68,5
Pursuit of welfare through one's own work	55,9	58,7	62,1	67,2	60,0	48,5
Healthy lifestyle	51,3	60,9	52,8	53,4	52,5	49,6
Self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government	48,3	58,1	56,4	63,1	53,7	37,3
Rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one's superiority over others	40,2	34,6	41,9	44,3	41,0	39,8
High level of culture	37,6	58,9	45,6	55,5	41,6	28,1
Desire for professional self-actualisation, continuous self-education, self-improvement, further training	34,3	51,7	42,0	50,7	38,4	22,9
Desire to provide good education for one's children (grandchildren), teach them to lead a healthy lifestyle and to continually improve their level of education and culture	31,3	47,1	36,2	38,9	35,1	26,3
High level of education	28,3	65,5	37,3	53,2	30,8	17,5
Commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government	23,8	27,5	26,8	29,5	25,7	20,7
Professional affiliation with white collars (intelligentsia, managers, etc.)	22,7	50,5	29,2	41,5	24,2	14,5
Civic activism	22,3	29,2	26,3	27,1	26,0	17,3
Readiness for changes (permanent place of residence, place of work, profession)	16,1	36,7	18,9	23,1	17,2	12,2

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

Which traits and characteristics do you lack?*
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Desire to provide good education for one's children (grandchildren), teach them to lead a healthy lifestyle and to continually improve their level of education and culture	36,1	14,9	35,1	31,9	36,4	39,1
High level of education	32,7	21,7	31,8	23,1	35,3	32,3
Readiness for changes (permanent place of residence, place of work, profession)	25,9	17,0	28,8	29,2	28,7	23,1
Professional affiliation with white collars (intelligentsia, managers, etc.)	24,3	23,4	24,3	19,7	26,2	23,0
Civic activism	23,5	29,6	25,2	27,7	24,2	22,7
Self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government	23,4	18,4	20,7	16,7	22,3	29,0
Desire for professional self-actualisation, continuous self-education, self-improvement, further training	22,9	17,6	22,2	17,6	24,1	23,9
High level of culture	22,1	11,8	21,8	18,7	23,0	24,1
Commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government	21,7	23,1	24,5	26,5	23,7	20,0
Healthy lifestyle	20,5	20,0	21,9	23,5	21,2	19,8
Pursuit of welfare through one's own work	17,0	15,4	15,8	13,5	16,7	19,5
Rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one's superiority over others	15,2	24,0	15,0	14,3	15,2	14,8
Tolerance, respect for others	9,8	10,2	11,0	12,1	10,6	8,8
Self-respect, dignity	7,7	7,6	7,0	5,5	7,6	9,3
Law abidance	6,9	12,1	7,9	8,5	7,7	5,4

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

Share of respondents who either possess a trait (characteristic) or feel the need to have it, respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Self-respect, dignity	79,8	77,4	83,1	82,8	83,2	77,3
Law abidance	79,0	77,4	81,6	81,8	81,6	79,3
Tolerance, respect for others	78,1	69,2	80,7	81,2	80,6	77,3
Pursuit of welfare through one's own work	72,9	74,1	77,9	80,7	76,7	68,0
Self-confidence and self-reliance, rather than reliance on social assistance from the government	71,7	76,5	77,1	79,8	76,0	66,3
Healthy lifestyle	71,8	80,9	74,7	76,9	73,7	69,4
High level of education	61,0	87,2	69,1	76,3	66,1	49,8
High level of culture	59,7	70,7	67,4	74,2	64,6	52,2
Desire to provide good education for one's children (grandchildren), teach them to lead a healthy lifestyle and to continually improve their level of education and culture	67,4	62,0	71,3	70,8	71,5	65,4
Desire for professional self-actualisation, continuous self-education, self-improvement, further training	57,2	69,3	64,2	68,3	62,5	46,8
Professional affiliation with white collars (intelligentsia, managers, etc.)	47,0	73,9	53,5	61,2	50,4	37,5
Rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one's superiority over others	55,4	58,6	56,9	58,6	56,2	54,6
Commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government	45,5	50,6	51,3	56,0	49,4	40,7
Civic activism	45,8	58,8	51,5	54,8	50,2	40,0
Readiness for changes (permanent place of residence, place of work, profession)	42,0	53,7	47,7	52,3	45,9	35,3

* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

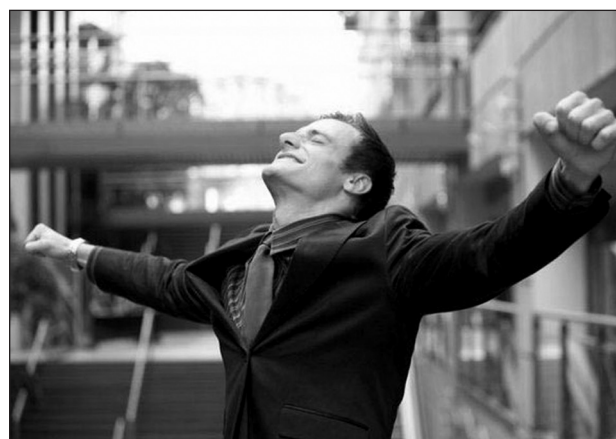
and possession/need for quality "rational needs, absence of lust for luxury, demonstration of one's superiority over others" was more pronounced than among lower class representatives.

Value system: emotional-motivational aspect

Indirect study of respondents' guiding values is possible through their answers about the level of satisfaction with different aspects of life and their general course of life. Interdependence between satisfaction with a separate aspect of life and general satisfaction with life brings out the emotional-motivational, importance value of this aspect. Thus, there is a possibility to determine this importance without asking respondents about it, as in the situation, when direct questions are asked like "What is of greatest importance to you in life?", people are usually incapable to adequately evaluate, what has a bigger or a smaller value for them, and "what seems important [for the respondent himself], is quite often not so".²

According to this approach, proposed by V. Yadov, A. Zdravomyslov and developed by a Ukrainian

sociologist V. Khmelko, the more the rate of satisfaction with an aspect of life influences satisfaction with life in general, the higher is the importance of this aspect for an individual or a social group. This value, or "influence coefficient" is calculated according to the respective methodology (Box "Main principles of methodology for researching guiding values using regression", p.46).³



² Yadov V.A., Zdravomyslov A.G. Man and His Work in the USSR and After: University textbook – Moscow, 2003, p.71.

³ More information about this method of studying guiding values, see: Khmelko V.E. Social Orientation of an Individual: Some Problems in the Theory and Methodology of Sociological Research. – Kyiv, 1988, p.132.

MAIN PRINCIPLES OF METHODOLOGY FOR RESEARCHING GUIDING VALUES USING REGRESSION

In this methodology, the structure of guiding values is described with the help of regression coefficients (in the text they are named “influence coefficients”), which characterise the extent of influence of satisfaction with separate life aspects on the general satisfaction with the course of life (Table “*Influence coefficients...*”).

These coefficients can have values from -1 to 1. The value of an “influence coefficient” shows numerically the extent, to which, for example, satisfaction with work defines satisfaction with life. Thus, if the “influence coefficient” is 0.125, this means that a 1-point increase of satisfaction with work causes a 0.125-point increase of satisfaction with the course of life in general. If an increase of satisfaction with a certain aspect of life causes a decrease of satisfaction with life, the value of this “influence coefficient” is negative. If satisfaction with a certain aspect of life does not influence satisfaction with life, the value of this “influence coefficient” is close to zero. So, the smaller this coefficient’s absolute value is, the smaller is the extent, to which a certain aspect of life influences satisfaction with life in general.

In case a certain “influence coefficient” turns out to be statistically insignificant, the programme of processing statistical information automatically excludes the aspect of life this coefficient describes, and it will not be present in the list of aspects that determine satisfaction with life in general.

“Influence coefficients” that characterise the influence of satisfaction with separate aspects of life on satisfaction with the course of life in general

“Influence coefficients”	Aspects of life
Middle class “nucleus”	
0,240	Housing conditions
0,197	Level of freedom of action in making important life decisions
0,163	Relationships in the family
0,125	Work
0,122	Relationships with surrounding people
0,084	Situation in the country on the overall
Middle class periphery	
0,136	Housing conditions
0,129	Relationships with surrounding people
0,126	Level of well-being
0,115	Relationships in the family
0,109	Work
0,106	Situation in the country on the overall
0,099	Level of freedom of action in making important life decisions
0,082	Possibility to satisfy cultural requests and needs
0,078	Possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time
0,048	Work of central and local government
Lower class	
0,152	Housing conditions
0,138	Work
0,132	Situation in the country on the overall
0,106	Relationships in the family
0,096	Future prospects, possibilities to improve current standing
0,094	Level of democracy in society
0,092	Possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time
0,083	Relationships with surrounding people
Lower class (only working)	
0,214	Housing conditions
0,128	Relationships in the family
0,123	Situation in the country on the overall
0,115	Work
0,110	Own position in society, social status
0,106	Possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time
0,096	State of own health
Upper class	
0,364	Relationships in the family
0,341	Level of well-being
0,252	State of own health



So the guiding values structure of social class groups may be described using coefficients that characterise the extent of influence of separate life aspects on the level of satisfaction with the course of life in general (Table “Influence coefficients...”).

As seen from this table, **the level of satisfaction with life among middle class “nucleus” representatives is primarily defined by satisfaction with the following:**

- housing conditions (value of “influence coefficient” is 0.240);
- level of freedom of action in making important life decisions (0.197);
- relationships in the family (0.163);
- work (0.125);
- relationships with surrounding people (0.122);
- situation in the country on the overall (0.084).

For middle class periphery representatives the following aspects of life have the most emotional-motivational value:

- housing conditions (0.136);
- relationships with surrounding people (0.129);
- level of well-being (0.126);
- relationships in the family (0.115);
- work (0.109);
- situation in the country on the overall (0.106);
- level of freedom of action in making important life decisions (0.099);
- possibility to satisfy cultural requests and needs (0.082);
- possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time (0.078);
- work of central and local government (0.048).

For lower class representatives, the most value has satisfaction with the following:

- housing conditions (0.152);
- work (0.138);
- situation in the country (0.132);
- relationships in the family (0.106);
- future prospects, possibilities to improve current standing (0.096);
- level of democracy in society (0.094);
- possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time (0.092);
- relationships with surrounding people (0.083).

As 45% of lower class representatives are pensioners and specifics of older people’s guiding values could have influenced the structure of values of the whole group, “influence coefficients” were calculated separately for working lower class representatives. It was discovered that for this group of respondents most significant are: satisfaction with housing conditions (0.214), relationships in the family (0.128),

situation in the country on the overall (0.123), work (0.115), own position in society, social status (0.110), possibility to meaningfully spend leisure time (0.106), state of health (0.096). As we can see, the most significant aspects of life in the value structure of working lower class representatives are the same as in the guiding values structure of the lower class in general.

In the guiding values structure of the upper class there are only three significant aspects that influence satisfaction with life in general: relationships in the family (0.364), level of well-being (0.341), state of health (0.252). The guiding values structure of the upper class (in its emotional-motivational composition) turned out to be most “egocentric” and is limited to well-being, state of health and relationships in the family.

However, this does not mean that upper class representatives are distancing themselves from the problems of society. Data presented below shows that upper class is characterised by significant interest to social issues and high level of social activism. At the same time, high social status also ensures a high level of “emotional autonomy” of upper class representatives from social problems. In other words, admitting the available social problems, for upper class representatives (along with the fact that they are aware of their social significance), is not a factor that directly influences their emotional state and level of satisfaction with life (as opposed to, e.g., lower class).

In this case, the interest to social problems is caused by sociocentric motives, the desire to help in solving them, even though they do not bother an individual personally or his social class group. To a large extent this is also characteristic of middle class “nucleus”.

At the same time, guiding values structure of middle class “nucleus” and periphery representatives is very similar to guiding values structure of the lower class. In all three groups satisfaction with life is influenced by relationships in the family and with surrounding people, work, housing conditions, as well as the situation in the country on the overall. However, **middle class (both, “nucleus” and periphery) differs with a high significance of the freedom of action level in making important life decisions, – which to a certain extent is correlated with the described above predominance of individuals characterised by internality in these groups.**

In the guiding values structure of low-status social class groups, there are aspects of life that can be associated with factors causing frustration in these groups’ representatives.⁴ Thus, a relatively high importance of satisfaction with “future prospects, possibilities to improve current standing” for lower class representatives indicates that low level of satisfaction with these prospects and possibilities to a large extent defines their satisfaction with life in general. In the same way, the low level of satisfaction with development of democracy in this group influences the low level of its satisfaction with the course of life, – **which can be viewed as a demonstration that it is lower class that mostly experiences consequences of the low level of democracy in Ukrainian society.**

⁴ Frustration – a special (negative) psychological state, which occurs if an individual, on the way to his goal (or satisfaction of an important need), meets obstacles that he cannot overcome. Close to the feeling of hopelessness.

3.2. SOCIO-POLITICAL VALUES

In order to study socio-political values, respondents were offered several pairs of statements (concerning guarantees of equality, freedoms, value of democracy, etc.), and asked to choose one of them. Results of this survey are summarised in table “Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?”

Democracy/economy. Regarding the value of democracy, choosing between two statements “the most important, primary thing is democracy, the rule of law (justice)” and “the most important, primary thing is strong economy”, the majority (53%) of middle class “nucleus” representatives gave their preference to strong economy (democracy – 42%). Answers of this group’s representatives did not have a statistically significant difference from the answers of other social class groups.

On the other hand, there were statistically significant regional differences. Thus, the only region, where among middle class “nucleus” representatives the number of those, who gave their preference to democracy as opposed to strong economy, was the West (50% and 44%, respectively). Likewise, only in the West, there was a similar relation among all respondents (47% and 40%, respectively). So, in this case, the position of middle class “nucleus” representatives largely reflects general public opinion in the region.

Equality. Middle class “nucleus” representatives slightly more often than lower class and middle class periphery representatives agreed that “equality means, first of all, equal possibilities to demonstrate one’s talents and equality of all before the law” (65%), contrasted with statement “equality means, first of all, equal income, level of life, social standing for all” (32%). Among middle class periphery representatives 60% supported the first point of view, among lower class representatives – 53%, upper class – 68%.

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, most often supported the first statement residents of the Western (72%), Eastern (68%) regions and Donbas (85%).

Freedom/regulation. Also more often than representatives of lower class and middle class periphery, middle class “nucleus” representatives agree with the statement that “it is better to live in a society of intellectual freedom, where everyone is responsible for himself and takes care of himself” (40%), although the majority of them still agrees that “it is better to live in a society, where everything is regulated by the state, and there is no excessive social inequality” (51%). Among middle class periphery representatives, 34% support the first point of view, among lower class representatives – 29%, upper – 45%.

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives most often agree with the first statement residents of the West (51%) and Donbas (50%), but here, their position is significantly different from the opinion of the rest of residents in the Western and Donbas regions, where only 39% and 26% of all respondents, respectively, agree with this statement.

Paternalism. Less often than lower class and middle class periphery representatives, middle class “nucleus” representatives agree with statement that “the state has to provide all citizens with a decent level of life, possibly not a very high one, but for all” (29%), the majority of them (67%) think that “the state has to create conditions for the citizens to be able to provide a decent level of life for themselves”.

MIDDLE CLASS: ATTITUDE TO INEQUALITY

Subjective middle class representatives more than lower class representatives believe that social inequality is fair, if this inequality is merit-based, i.e. is formed on the basis of different levels of talent, education, invested work effort. Thus, 44% of subjective middle class representatives consider inequality of housing conditions fair, depending on financial possibilities, – contrasted with 30% of those, who included themselves in lower class (Table “Are the following types of social inequality fair or unfair...?”). Also, 64% of middle class representatives think that inequality in work remuneration is fair, depending on the type of work, degree of responsibility at the workplace, higher education requirement (among lower class representatives – 56%), agree with different amount of pensions depending on the type of work and duration of employment, 62% and 51%, respectively.

Are the following types of social inequality fair or unfair? respondents, %

Different work remuneration depending on the type of work, degree of responsibility at the workplace, higher education requirement			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	59,2	63,6	56,0
Unfair	31,7	27,8	36,0
Hard to answer	9,1	8,5	8,0
Different amount of pensions depending on the type of work and duration of employment			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	56,8	62,2	50,9
Unfair	34,3	28,3	42,3
Hard to answer	8,9	9,6	6,9
Different housing conditions depending on financial possibilities			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	37,3	43,7	29,7
Unfair	49,3	44,1	55,7
Hard to answer	13,4	12,2	14,6
Different amount of pensions depending on the status of a government employee, deputy, etc.			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	14,5	15,9	8,3
Unfair	73,1	70,3	81,4
Hard to answer	12,5	13,8	10,3
Different quality of education depending on financial possibilities of parents			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	11,3	14,6	7,4
Unfair	82,1	78,0	88,0
Hard to answer	6,6	7,3	4,6
Different quality of healthcare depending on financial possibilities			
	All	Middle class	Lower class
Fair	7,5	9,3	6,6
Unfair	85,8	83,7	88,0
Hard to answer	6,6	6,9	5,4

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At the same time, only 15% of middle class representatives think that different quality of education depending on financial possibilities of parents is fair (although, it is slightly more than among lower class representatives – 7%). Even smaller is the share (9%) of those, who included themselves in middle class and think that different quality of healthcare depending on financial possibilities is fair.



Which of the following statements do you agree with the most?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Equality means, first of all, equal possibilities to demonstrate one's talents and equality of all before the law	57,6	67,9	61,7	65,2	60,3	53,4
Equality means, first of all, equal income, level of life, social standing for all	34,8	25,7	33,4	31,5	34,1	38,3
Hard to answer	7,6	6,4	4,9	3,3	5,6	8,3
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
The most important, primary thing is democracy, the rule of law (justice)	39,7	40,1	40,2	41,9	39,6	40,1
The most important, primary thing is strong economy	51,0	55,1	52,8	52,5	52,9	50,7
Hard to answer	9,3	4,9	7,0	5,6	7,6	9,2
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
It is better to live in a society of intellectual freedom, where everyone is responsible for himself and takes care of himself	31,9	45,2	35,7	40,3	33,9	28,5
It is better to live in a society, where everything is regulated by the state, and there is no excessive social inequality	54,7	41,8	53,4	51,1	54,3	59,5
Hard to answer	13,4	13,1	10,9	8,7	11,8	12,0
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Relations between people must be defined by tradition, "unwritten rules"	26,9	39,0	28,7	29,6	28,4	26,3
Relations between people must be defined by written rules (law)	62,1	54,1	61,9	63,3	61,3	63,0
Hard to answer	11,0	6,9	9,4	7,1	10,3	10,7
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
There are different communities in Ukraine, they must have the right to honour their heroes, celebrate their holidays, respect their traditions. This does not interfere with integrity and unity of the country and civil society	56,8	55,0	60,3	61,5	59,8	54,1
There have to be introduced the same symbols for everyone in Ukraine: heroes, holidays, traditions. Otherwise, Ukraine will never be an integral state	31,4	33,6	30,4	30,4	30,4	34,0
Hard to answer	11,8	11,4	9,3	8,1	9,7	11,9
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
The state has to provide all citizens with a decent level of life, possibly not a very high one, but for all	37,9	32,2	35,2	28,9	37,8	43,4
The state has to create conditions for the citizens to be able to provide a decent level of life for themselves	54,2	59,9	59,0	66,8	55,8	49,3
Hard to answer	7,9	7,9	5,8	4,4	6,4	7,4

Which of the following statements do you agree with the most? respondents, %						Continued
REGIONS						
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
Equality means, first of all, equal possibilities to demonstrate one's talents and equality of all before the law	71,6	54,1	58,6	67,5	85,2	
Equality means, first of all, equal income, level of life, social standing for all	24,9	42,0	36,9	30,2	13,3	
Hard to answer	3,6	3,9	4,5	2,4	1,5	
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
The most important, primary thing is democracy, the rule of law (justice)	49,5	39,9	23,4	39,2	46,4	
The most important, primary thing is strong economy	43,7	55,1	71,2	57,5	45,9	
Hard to answer	6,8	5,0	5,4	3,3	7,7	
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
It is better to live in a society of intellectual freedom, where everyone is responsible for himself and takes care of himself	50,8	33,3	30,0	36,2	49,5	
It is better to live in a society, where everything is regulated by the state, and there is no excessive social inequality	40,4	58,3	57,3	54,5	44,4	
Hard to answer	8,7	8,3	12,7	9,4	6,1	
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
Relations between people must be defined by tradition, "unwritten rules"	31,1	36,9	22,7	20,7	20,4	
Relations between people must be defined by written rules (law)	61,6	55,9	68,2	70,9	75,5	
Hard to answer	7,4	7,2	9,1	8,5	4,1	
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
There are different communities in Ukraine, they must have the right to honour their heroes, celebrate their holidays, respect their traditions. This does not interfere with integrity and unity of the country and civil society	58,6	63,7	58,2	53,1	71,9	
There have to be introduced the same symbols for everyone in Ukraine: heroes, holidays, traditions. Otherwise, Ukraine will never be an integral state	32,7	29,8	33,6	35,7	19,9	
Hard to answer	8,7	6,5	8,2	11,3	8,2	
	WEST	CENTRE	SOUTH	EAST	DONBAS	
The state has to provide all citizens with a decent level of life, possibly not a very high one, but for all	27,3	28,7	33,3	28,6	29,6	
The state has to create conditions for the citizens to be able to provide a decent level of life for themselves	67,5	67,6	62,2	66,7	66,3	
Hard to answer	5,2	3,7	4,5	4,7	4,1	

Law/unwritten rules. Choosing between statements “relations between people must be defined by tradition, “unwritten rules” and “relations between people must be defined by written rules (law)”, most respondents in all social class groups gave their preference to second statement, although upper class representatives less often (54%) than representatives of other social class groups (from 61% to 63%). To a certain extent this slightly different position of upper class can reflect the currently popular practice among Ukrainian elite to “solve issues by mutual agreement”.

With the statement that “relations between people must be defined by tradition, “unwritten rules”, slightly more often agree middle class “nucleus” representatives in Western and Central regions (respectively, 31% and 37%), contrasted with Southern, Eastern and Donbas regions (from 20% to 23%).

Tolerance. Middle class “nucleus” and periphery representatives more often than lower class representatives

agreed that “there are different communities in Ukraine, they must have the right to honour their heroes, celebrate their holidays, respect their traditions. This does not interfere with integrity and unity of the country and civil society”. Among middle class “nucleus” representatives this point of view was supported by 62%, among its periphery – by 60%, lower class – 54%, upper – 55%. An alternative point of view “there have to be introduced the same symbols for everyone in Ukraine: heroes, holidays, traditions. Otherwise, Ukraine will never be an integral state”, is shared by 30% of middle class “nucleus” and periphery representatives and 34% of lower and upper class representatives.

The first statement is supported by the majority of middle class “nucleus” representatives in all regions, but most often – in Donbas (72%). Among population in general, Donbas is the region, where this statement is supported most often.



Generalising the above-said, we can note that middle class “nucleus” representatives, in general, demonstrate a greater extent (than periphery and middle class representatives) of commitment to democratic values, personal freedom and responsibility, rule of law, tolerance. At the same time, in correlation “democracy/economy”, they (as representatives of all other social class groups)

attribute primary value to economy, despite the fact that, in particular, in Ukraine economic development is slowed down by the lack of the rule of law (administration of justice), democratic norms and standards in economic and socio-political relations, which are instead dominated by corruption and practices of “solving issues” not according to the law, but “by agreement”.

Focus Group Participants on Life Values⁵

Judging by statements of discussion participants, life values of Ukrainian middle class representatives are connected with things that directly fill their life, – family and work. Family, children, health and the well-being of the family, work that provides this well-being, – these are the things, around which life of a middle class individual is mainly centered, in them are the guiding values, goals and achievements of this person, it is these things that they strive for and consider their happiness.

Probably, due to current situation in the country, the number of primary values includes stability, peace and tranquillity. Other values, life goals and guiding values of middle class named by discussion participants take in this type of rating the following, lower positions.

Family, family values were named among the first in all focus groups without exception. During discussions, comparing life values of different social classes, focus group participants also discovered other characteristics and advantages of middle class, stating that such values and virtues are more characteristic of it as patriotism **stating that such values and virtues are more characteristic of it as patriotism, spirituality, morality, empathy, desire to help the weaker, responsibility, etc.**

As a result, the emerging portrait of a middle class representative seems to be that of an almost perfect person, which, however, does not quite coincide with other statements of respondents, sometimes rather unexpected. Thus, in one of the groups a higher level of patriotism among middle class representatives was explained the following way: “Because they live on government wages and are afraid to lose their job” (Odesa).

“Family values, health... Family. There is nothing that’s more important” (Kyiv-2).

“Stable political situation in the country” (Kyiv-2).

*“Spirituality and culture. He was brought up this way, and he cannot steal, kill or offend.
Lower class cannot afford to do this, [upper – can justify].
Culture, spirituality means compassion,
being happy for someone means spirituality,
empathy” (Kyiv-1).*

*“I think everybody agrees on that – health comes first.
And of course a person is thinking along the lines of having
some income” (Lviv-1).*

*“[Middle class values]
family...Work...Health” (Odesa).*

*“They value their reputation”
(Odesa).*

*“Responsibility... First of all to the relatives...
And to the state and to clients. With whom you work”
(Lviv-1).*

This understanding of values is well correlated with the view of discussion participants on what is an achievement for middle class, what is prestigious for it, which guidelines and principles

it uses in life and what are the signs of its progress – all of which are also connected with family, work and well-being.

Thus, for the majority of discussion participants, the feeling of happiness is primarily connected with family – with birth of children, their health, education, success: “Our happiness is in children” (Lviv-1). Quite often the feeling of happiness is brought by work – success in it, bonuses, recognition, etc.

Besides, trips abroad turned out to constitute happiness for many respondents – often also with family, with children. Respondents also named everyday things, like “a cat ran away and then we found it”, “tasty cake, sunrise”, “something was aching severely and then stopped”.

Sometimes, in statements there are memories of recent poverty: “If I do not take a sum away from my food [budget], and can set apart money for [some trip with my family] – this is already... great happiness, yes”.

Sometimes the feeling of happiness is caused by changes in the country, or as a tribute to current military activity times, information like: “A piece of news in the Internet that today our forces destroyed 40 insurgents” (Kyiv-2).

Primary value of family and children for discussion participants is, naturally, demonstrated in their understanding of a “**successful life**”. Notably, for many people, a “successful life” is connected not only with children, but also with solving problems of completely grown-up children, which is characteristic for the Ukrainian way of life: “As they say: parents take care of their children till retirement. Till children’s retirement” (Odesa).

At the same time, **thinking about a life that is successful, respondents mentioned things that they probably currently lack, things that have not happened as of today and are uncertain to happen in their future life. Most often in this context were mentioned self-confidence and confidence in the future.** Discussion participants mentioned the topic of confidence several times, their statements regarding this were mostly pessimistic.

*“Successful life means ability to solve children’s issues.
Social issues, when children are married – and you have
given them a place to live. And they also gave birth to your
grandchildren” (Odesa).*

*“It’s when everything is all right in your family.
Everyone has what they need, everyone is happy and calm”
(Kharkiv).*

*“It’s family. And children have gotten their education,
some stage...” (Kyiv-2).*

“You got up and you feel confident in your life” (Kyiv-2).

*“When you and your relatives – all of you are happy...”
(Lviv-2).*

*“It’s a house, a car and healthy relatives...everyone is
around you... Not somewhere, but here” (Lviv-2).*

“And, I will tell you, – confidence in the future” (Lviv-2).

⁵ For more information, see: Ukrainian Middle Class in the Eyes of Its Representatives..., p.54-58.

3.3. SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Sometimes guiding values of social groups can be determined more adequately through features of their social behaviour, rather than through direct answers of respondents about the value of certain life aspects for them.

Important events in the recent past. Among other things, the extent of guiding values' influence on social behaviour can be judged by answers to question: *"Which of the following happened to you in the past 10 years?"* Middle class "nucleus" representatives more often than periphery and lower class representatives (although, more rarely than upper class representatives) answered that they raised their level of education, qualification, acquired another profession. So, while on the declarative level middle class "nucleus" representatives talk about the importance of education not much more often than its periphery and lower class representatives, on the level of real behaviour, differences from lower class are much more pronounced – among middle class "nucleus" 32% noted that during the past 10 years they raised their level of education, qualification, acquired another profession, among periphery representatives – 21%, and among lower class – only 9% (among upper class – 42%). Also, slightly more often than lower class representatives, middle class "nucleus" representatives answered that they have mastered a foreign language – 8% vs. 1% (among upper class representatives – 11%).

Evaluation of social behaviour of immediate social environment. Features of social behaviour of different social groups can be also demonstrated through answers to question: *"Which share of people, with whom you directly communicate, can be characterised with the following?"* It should be kept in mind that middle class "nucleus" is composed only of those respondents, whose immediate social environment includes mostly middle class representatives, thus, their answers to this question describe specifically middle class characteristics.



Describing behaviour and characteristics of other people, to a great extent respondents describe specifics of their own behaviour and own personality characteristics, as in this case respondents' answers are significantly influenced by the psychological mechanism of projection.⁶ Analysing such evaluations it is important to pay attention to features attributed by respondents most often to the "majority", as it is the "majority" of other people (as viewed by the respondent), at whom the respondent psychologically aims his projection. As it is virtually impossible to form a certain single portrait of this majority, the probability of attribution to it of own qualities is higher than in case of characterising a specific person. Besides, in the process of describing other people, we can overcome (or at least significantly reduce) the effect of self-censorship (the respondents' desire to avoid answers that do not agree with social standards, or on the contrary, attribute to an individual or a group socially desirable, socially acceptable characteristics that they do not have in reality).

Which of the following happened to you in the past 10 years?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Purchased expensive things (furniture; household appliances, etc.)	28,5	39,5	35,0	41,7	32,2	19,9
Improved their housing conditions	19,2	32,3	24,4	30,2	22,1	12,5
Changed jobs or were promoted	18,5	27,7	22,8	28,9	20,3	12,7
Raised their level of education, qualification, acquired another profession	17,7	41,7	24,1	31,6	21,1	9,2
Improved their financial standing	15,1	37,5	21,2	28,5	18,2	6,3
Bought a car	10,3	32,7	14,2	20,7	11,6	4,8
Travelled abroad	7,1	20,2	10,0	14,5	8,2	3,7
Changed place of residence (moved to the city, or to another district/oblast)	6,5	12,0	7,9	8,9	7,4	5,2
Mastered a foreign language	3,8	11,0	5,8	8,3	4,7	1,4
Started their own business	1,9	6,7	2,9	3,9	2,5	0,9
Other	8,0	5,2	5,1	2,9	6,0	12,9
Hard to answer	28,5	10,9	19,0	10,1	22,6	39,8

⁶ "Projection is attribution to other people or things of qualities, feelings and intentions that are ingrained in own personality... In projection, features that we do not discern and do not accept in our own personality are viewed as striking and obvious in other people." See: Kopets L.V. Personality psychology. – Kyiv, 2007, p.208.



Which share of people, with whom you directly communicate, can be characterised with the following?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Trying to live without breaking the rules of morality						
All or most of them*	56,5	53,1	61,2	64,1	60,1	53,6
Approximately half of them	16,0	18,4	16,5	17,5	16,2	15,8
Few or no one**	13,1	18,6	12,8	11,2	13,5	15,1
Hard to answer	14,4	10,0	9,5	7,3	10,3	15,5
Trying to live without breaking the law						
All or most of them*	53,5	40,0	58,5	59,7	58,0	50,3
Approximately half of them	15,4	17,7	15,8	18,6	14,7	15,9
Few or no one**	14,8	24,0	14,3	12,8	14,9	16,8
Hard to answer	16,4	18,3	11,3	8,9	12,3	17,0
Desire to protect and put into practice democratic values						
All or most of them*	37,0	41,1	40,8	42,1	40,2	33,2
Approximately half of them	20,7	17,7	23,5	28,6	21,4	18,7
Few or no one**	17,8	20,8	17,0	14,5	17,8	21,8
Hard to answer	24,5	20,3	18,7	14,4	20,5	26,3
Active civic engagement						
All or most of them*	13,5	23,3	16,3	16,1	16,4	11,4
Approximately half of them	20,0	21,3	22,0	27,8	19,6	16,7
Few or no one**	50,5	44,2	50,0	48,9	50,4	55,8
Hard to answer	15,9	11,2	11,7	7,2	13,6	16,1
Turning for help to influential friends to solve their own problems						
All or most of them*	12,1	22,7	14,4	14,3	14,5	9,6
Approximately half of them	16,2	19,6	18,3	22,7	16,5	13,1
Few or no one**	50,0	48,4	49,6	49,0	49,8	56,3
Hard to answer	21,7	9,2	17,7	14,1	19,1	21,0
Participation in charity support						
All or most of them*	11,5	21,8	14,3	14,4	14,3	8,0
Approximately half of them	17,4	23,1	20,0	23,7	18,5	14,2
Few or no one**	57,9	46,3	56,1	55,2	56,4	64,3
Hard to answer	13,2	8,8	9,6	6,7	10,8	13,5
Giving bribes to officials for solving their problems in state or other type of institutions						
All or most of them*	8,8	18,1	8,3	8,5	8,2	8,8
Approximately half of them	11,0	10,5	12,0	14,1	11,2	10,6
Few or no one**	48,4	48,7	51,7	51,5	51,8	50,0
Hard to answer	31,9	22,8	28,0	25,9	28,8	30,6
Participation in the work of non-governmental and volunteer organisations						
All or most of them*	6,6	22,5	8,4	8,2	8,5	4,2
Approximately half of them	11,2	16,9	13,1	15,4	12,2	8,2
Few or no one**	67,2	52,5	67,2	69,3	66,3	72,9
Hard to answer	15,0	8,1	11,3	7,1	13,0	14,7
Trying to evade paying taxes in different ways						
All or most of them*	4,8	13,2	5,1	5,7	4,7	3,9
Approximately half of them	8,3	8,4	9,2	9,7	9,0	7,7
Few or no one**	55,8	56,8	58,6	60,0	58,0	58,3
Hard to answer	31,2	21,4	27,2	24,6	28,2	30,1
Trying to receive bribes or other types of illegal income						
All or most of them*	4,8	12,2	4,7	4,8	4,7	5,1
Approximately half of them	7,3	10,3	7,9	9,4	7,2	7,0
Few or no one**	52,1	50,9	56,0	56,3	55,9	54,2
Hard to answer	35,3	26,6	31,4	29,4	32,3	33,8

* Total answers for "all or almost all" and "most of them" options.

** Total answers for "few" and "(almost) no one" options.

As the practice of social research shows, respondents are less inclined to attribute socially acceptable characteristics to the majority of representatives of their social environment, than to themselves. So evaluation of other people (representatives of immediate social environment) allows to create a more non-biased representation of the extent, to which social qualities and characteristics are present in

different groups, than respondents' self-evaluation of their presence in themselves.

Thus, among middle class "nucleus" representatives, 27% characterise themselves with civic activism, but only 16% of this group's representatives attribute this feature to the majority⁷ of people, with whom they directly communicate. Similarly, 73% of middle class "nucleus"

⁷ I.e., "all", "almost all" and "most of" those people, with whom respondents directly communicate.



representatives attributed to themselves law abidance, while “trying to live without breaking the law” is seen in the majority of people, with whom they communicate, only by 60%.⁸

So, in order to create a more non-biased representation, it makes sense to look at specifics of social behaviour of respondents’ immediate social environment through their evaluations. As noted above, 16% of middle class “nucleus” representatives said that the majority of people, with whom they directly communicate, can be characterised with **active civic engagement**. This is slightly more than among lower class representatives (11%).

Likewise, among middle class “nucleus” representatives, in comparison with lower class, slightly higher were **indicators of participation in the work of non-governmental and volunteer organisations** (8% and 4%, respectively), **participation in charity support** (15% and 8%, respectively). These indicators were the highest among upper class representatives: 23% noted that the majority of their social environment can be characterised with active civic engagement and participation in the work of non-governmental and volunteer organizations, 22% – participation in charity support.

Desire to protect and put into practice democratic values in their immediate social environment was noted by 42% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 33% of lower class representatives and 41% – upper class.

Middle class “nucleus” representatives rather highly evaluated **moral qualities** of their social environment. Thus, 60% of middle class “nucleus” representatives noted that the majority of people, with whom they directly communicate, are trying to live without breaking the law, – which is more than among lower (50%) and upper (40%) class representatives. There were 64% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, who said that the majority of their social environment are trying to live without breaking the rules of morality (lower class – 54%, upper – 53%).

Alongside with this, middle class “nucleus” representatives slightly more often than lower class representatives noted that people in their immediate social environment can be characterised with turning for help to influential friends to solve their own problems (14% and 10%, respectively), most of such answers were given by upper class representatives (23%). Talking about such characteristics as trying to evade paying taxes in different ways, giving bribes to officials for solving their problems in state or other type of institutions, only a small share (from 4%

to 9%) of middle class “nucleus” representatives, as well as lower class representatives noted that this is characteristic for most of those, with whom they communicate. The majority of these cases were among upper class representatives. For example, giving bribes to officials was named by 18% of upper class respondents.

Certain characteristics named above had **regional differences**. Thus, middle class “nucleus” representatives in the Western region more often than representatives of this social class group in general said that the majority of people, with whom they communicate can be characterised with active civic engagement (23% and 16%, respectively). Participation in charity support was named most often as characteristic for the majority of their environment by middle class “nucleus” representatives in the Western and Central regions (respectively, 20% and 19%, with the general number for the group – 15%).

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above we can conclude the following: despite the fact that middle class “nucleus” representatives, generally, evaluate moral qualities of their environment higher than lower class representatives (but lower than upper class representatives), they also see in this environment signs of corruptive behaviour more often than lower class representatives.

However, it is possible that such situation is due to the fact that people with lower social status simply have fewer possibilities to solve problems through corruption.

Middle class “nucleus” representatives think that to be successful in life, first of all, one must have talents and work hard, although luck and having acquaintances in the right places are also considered the integral elements of success.

Respondents think that a middle class representative must possess the following material values in the first place: steady income, comfortable housing, as well as such personal traits as high level of education, pursuit of welfare through one’s own work, high level of culture, self-respect. Middle class “nucleus” representatives more often than lower strata representatives took action to raise their level of education or qualification.

The minority of respondents indicate that middle class representatives must possess such characteristics as civic activism and commitment to democratic values, and the minority of middle class representatives note that they have these characteristics.

The level of satisfaction with life for representatives of all classes (except the upper) was mainly influenced by housing conditions. For middle class “nucleus” representatives, the level of freedom of action was also very important, which differs them from representatives of other social class groups.

The level of paternalism among citizens decreases along with the increase of their social status, the majority of representatives of all social class groups think that strong economy is more important than democracy.

⁸ The only exception is in the comparison of self-evaluation of presence in middle class “nucleus” representatives of the quality “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl. from abuse of discretion on the part of government” (30% noted its presence in their personality), while quality “desire to protect and put into practice democratic values” was attributed to the majority of their social environment by 42% of representatives of this social class group. But here, most likely, the reason lies in the non-identical wording of evaluated qualities, as the first wording contains phrase “defend from abuse of discretion on the part of government”, which the second wording does not have.

4. MIDDLE CLASS: CIVIC ACTIVISM, READINESS FOR ASSOCIATION AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRATIC STANDARDS

Social or social class group can only exist as a social community on condition that it is organised as an agent of social action. However, this does not mean that it has to be homogenous, and that common interests of this agent of social action have to be built on defending class interests in the Marxist interpretation of this word, and namely, economic interests in their opposition to economic interests of other classes or social class groups. One can agree with P. Bourdieu, who wrote that the “flaw of Marxist class theory, and especially its failure to include all array of objectively registered differences, is the result of narrowing down the social world only to economic plane..., and disregard for positions taken in different planes and subplanes, namely, in respects of cultural production”¹ (here, P. Bourdieu also included formation of values).

Middle class is integrated as a social community on the basis of recognition of common interests of its members, but these common interests do not have to be viewed as common economic interests. To be more precise, common economic interests in middle class are demonstrated extremely rarely due to its heterogeneous socio-professional structure. If common economic interests do arise, it is only on the level of separate socio-professional groups in its composition. As noted by O. Kutsenko, “accumulation in society of a system of postmaterial values, and, on this basis of values that have undergone changes, – the growth of new social movements, development of protest culture above dominating class relations, become, in their turn, constituent elements of a new emerging middle class”.²

Integration, association into new social communities inevitably bring out the issue of trust in its various aspects – trust in government, state and social institutions, members of society, with whom an individual interacts or could potentially interact.

The issue of common interests and the problem of trust are interconnected – trust is supported by the idea of having common interests, and vice versa, without trust, recognition of common interests is impossible, even less so – realisation of common interests through civic activity.

4.1. TRUST IN SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Trust in society, on the one hand, has many levels and components: micro-level – family, relatives, friends, acquaintances; meso-level – trust in organisations, where a citizen works, studies; trust in people, together with which a citizen belongs to the same big communities, but with whom he may or may not have direct contact (for example, residents of one city); macro-level – trust in social institutions, authorities, society in general.

On the other hand, **trust is an integral characteristic of society**, – different levels and spheres of trust are interconnected, a decrease of trust in one sphere, eventually, inevitably leads to a decrease of trust in another one.

Integral index of trust. During the study, the respondents were asked to evaluate the extent, to which they trust authorities and social institutions, organisations,

where they work or study, family members, relatives, residents of their city/village, etc.³ (Table “*How much do you generally trust these people and social institutions?*”, p.56).

Based on respondents’ answers, we **Integral Index of Trust**, which includes the following components (the so-called section indices of trust – box “*Calculation Methodology...*”, p.56):

- index of trust in state and social institutions (includes indicators of trust in the central government of Ukraine, local government, National Bank, commercial banks, insurance companies);
- in immediate social environment (includes indicators of trust in respondent’s family members, relatives, neighbours, friends);
- in people, who do not belong to the immediate social environment (trust in strangers; residents of city/village, where the respondent lives);

¹ Bourdieu P. Sociology of Social Space – Saint Petersburg, 2007, p.35.

² Kutsenko O.D. Society of the Unequals. Class Analysis of Inequalities in Contemporary Societies: Attempts at Western Sociology. – Kharkiv, 2000, p.186.

³ Trust was evaluated on the scale from “0” – “do not trust at all” to “10” – “trust completely”.

How much do you generally trust these people and social institutions?*
overall score

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Family	8,9	8,5	9,1	9,1	9,1	8,7
Relatives (but not family)	8,1	7,9	8,2	8,2	8,2	7,9
Friends	7,6	7,6	7,7	7,9	7,7	7,5
Neighbours	6,6	6,5	6,7	6,7	6,8	6,6
Residents of your city/village	5,9	5,9	6,0	6,0	6,1	5,8
Colleagues at work, educational institution, other organised activity	5,9	6,1	6,1	6,1	6,1	5,6
Official or non-official organisation, where you work, study, perform other activity	5,5	5,7	5,7	5,8	5,7	5,2
Ukrainian society in general	4,9	5,3	5,1	5,0	5,1	4,7
Local government	3,7	4,5	3,9	3,9	3,9	3,4
Central government of Ukraine	3,5	4,4	3,7	3,8	3,7	3,2
A stranger	3,5	4,0	3,6	3,7	3,6	3,5
National Bank of Ukraine	3,0	4,1	3,2	3,1	3,2	2,7
Commercial banks	2,5	3,5	2,6	2,6	2,6	2,2
Insurance companies	2,4	3,4	2,6	2,7	2,5	2,1

* On a 10-point scale from "0" to "10", where "0" is "do not trust at all", and "10" – "trust completely".

- in organisations, institutions and social environment at a workplace or educational institution (trust in the official or non-official organisation, where the respondent works, studies, performs other activity; as well as trust in colleagues at work, educational institution, other organised activity);
- in society in general (one indicator "*How much do you trust the society in general?*").

The values of the Integral index of trust (Table "*Index of Trust*") are, statistically, significantly lower among lower class representatives in comparison to all other social class groups (Integral index of trust values in upper class, middle class "nucleus" and periphery did not have statistically significant differences).

Similarly, the values of all section indices of trust have statistically significant differences in lower class as compared to middle class "nucleus" and periphery, as well as to upper class, by indices of trust in state and social institutions, in organisations and institutions, social environment at a workplace or educational institution, in society in general.

It should be noted that all section indices of trust without exception, among middle class "nucleus" and periphery representatives (which together make up subjective

Calculation Methodology of Section Indices of Trust and the Integral Index of Trust

Because each section index was calculated using a different number of indicators, in order to make values of different indices comparable, during their calculation, the so-called normalising was performed – by the way of dividing the sum of points received according to indicators that belong to the section index by the number of indicators. For example, if the index of trust in immediate social environment includes indicators of trust in respondent's family members, relatives, neighbours, friends (i.e. four indicators), the value of the index of trust for each respondent is calculated as the sum of points he chose answering each of the questions (indicators), divided by 4.

The Integral index was calculated as the sum of points for section indices (received after their normalising), divided by the number of section indices (i.e. by 5, as we have five section indices). The Integral index and section indices can have a value from 0 to 10.

middle class) did not have statistically significant differences. Upper and subjective middle classes differ only by the values of two section indices – trust in state and social institutions (which is higher in upper class – 4.0 and 3.2 points, respectively) and trust in immediate social environment: it is higher among representatives of subjective

Index of Trust

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Integral index of trust	5,2	5,6	5,4	5,4	5,4	5,0
Index of trust in:						
immediate social environment	7,8	7,6	7,9	7,9	7,9	7,6
organisations and social environment at a workplace or educational institution	5,7	5,9	5,9	6,0	5,9	5,4
society in general	4,9	5,3	5,1	5,0	5,1	4,7
people, who do not belong to the immediate social environment	4,7	4,9	4,8	4,9	4,8	4,7
state and social institutions	3,0	4,0	3,2	3,2	3,2	2,7

middle class (7.6 and 7.9 points, respectively). **So the highest level of trust in immediate social environment among all social class groups is among subjective middle class representatives.**

Trust in state and social institutions. Among all section indices of trust, the lowest values in all groups without exception, had the index of trust in state and social institutions. However, its value increases from 2.7 in lower class to 3.2 in subjective middle class and 4 – in upper class.

It should be noted that the **level of trust in government and social institutions is an indicator of legitimacy of the current socio-political regime in the country.** S. Lipset characterises legitimacy as “the ability of system to persuade people, and support this faith, that the existing political institutions are the best possible for the society”.⁴ M. Weber wrote that the necessary condition for social stability is recognition by the majority of population of the legitimate nature of government and its actions.⁵ “Due to the growing role of the state in the sphere of economy, the legitimacy of the regime is to a great extent determined by its economic efficiency”, however, along with this, “in the situation of efficiency crisis, which occurs, e.g. during the economic depression, preservation of the regime, its survival significantly depends on the degree of its legitimacy”,⁶ – says M. Dogan. So, **the low level of legitimacy of government and social institutions in the situation of socio-economic crisis is an additional factor that destabilises society.**

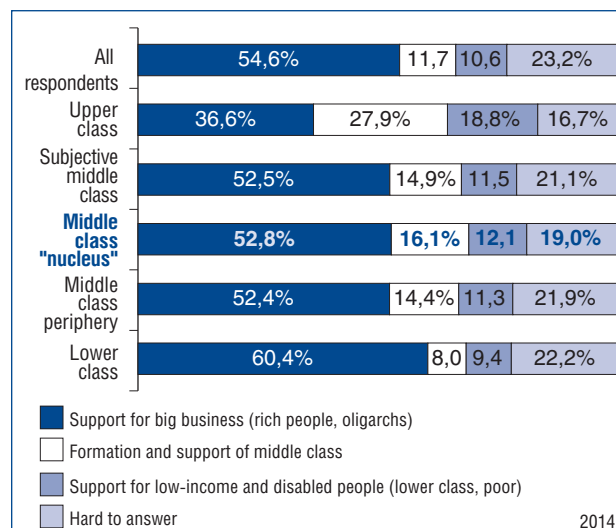
Based on study results, even in regions, where the value of index of trust in state and social institutions among population is slightly higher (West and Centre of the country), it still does not exceed 3.3 points. Although, despite the very low (2.6 points) index of trust value in the Eastern region among population in general, this value among representatives of middle class “nucleus” is higher (3.5 points), i.e. the same as among middle class “nucleus” representatives in the Western region. So it can be said that within the middle class there is a certain potential for support of the current socio-political system in the country, but the development of this potential (or, on the contrary, its reduction to zero) will depend primarily on the political course taken by the government, the extent, to which this course will meet society’s interests.

There are differences by separate indicators that form the index of trust in state and social institutions. Thus, the level of trust in financial institutions is even lower than the level of trust in government. Trust in local government is evaluated by middle class “nucleus” representatives as 3.9 points, in central government – 3.7 points, while the level of trust in commercial banks is 2.6, and insurance companies – 2.7 points.

Evaluation of government policy. In the attitude to government’s social policy dominate negative evaluations. Thus, only 16% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 14% of its periphery representatives, 8% of lower class representatives and 28% of upper class think that socio-economic policy of the government is aimed at formation and support of middle class (Table “What is the socio-economic policy of the government primarily aimed at?”).

The majority of representatives in all groups (except upper class) think that government policy is primarily aimed at support for big business (rich people, oligarchs): among middle class “nucleus” representatives – 53%, its

What is the socio-economic policy of the government primarily aimed at?
respondents, %



What is the socio-economic policy of the government primarily aimed at?

Dynamics (2005-2014)						
	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
Formation and support of middle class	10,0	12,4	11,7	13,0	16,4	14,9
Support for low-income and disabled people (lower class, poor)	16,0	18,4	10,6	16,0	19,1	11,5
Support for big business (rich people, oligarchs)	48,2	47,4	54,6	45,3	42,7	52,5
Hard to answer	25,8	21,9	23,2	25,6	21,7	21,1
Regional profile, % of middle class “nucleus” representatives						
	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Formation and support of middle class	16,1	18,6	15,0	6,3	15,5	20,4
Support for low-income and disabled people (lower class, poor)	12,1	15,3	10,6	5,4	19,2	6,1
Support for big business (rich people, oligarchs)	52,8	48,6	54,3	61,3	49,8	55,6
Hard to answer	19,0	17,5	20,2	27,0	15,5	17,9

⁴ Lipset S.M. Political man. The social basis of politics. – New York, Doubleday, 1959. – p.77.

⁵ Weber M. Economy and society. – Berkely, 1978, p.215.

⁶ Dogan M. Legitimacy of regimes and crisis of trust. – Sociological research, 1994, Issue 6, p.154.

periphery – 52%, among lower class representatives – 60%, among upper – 37%. This point of view is predominant in all regions. Thus, among middle class “nucleus” representatives, it is supported by 49% of Western region residents and 61% of Southern region residents (Table “*What is the socio-economic policy of the government primarily aimed at? (regional profile)*”, p.57).

Confidence in this has only intensified during the past ten years (in society in general, as well as among subjective middle class representatives). In 2005, among all respondents, 48% supported this point of view, in 2008 – this percentage was 47%, and in 2014 – 55%; among subjective middle class representatives – 45%, 43% and 53%, respectively (Table “*What is the socio-economic policy of the government primarily aimed at? (dynamics)*”, p.57).

The fact that subjective middle class representatives (especially, its “nucleus”) are better protected socially (compared to lower class, they more often have workplace agreements, guaranteed vacation, sick leave and pension benefits at their workplace (Table “*At your workplace, do you have the following...?*”), is hardly a result of government policy. Rather, it is the result of higher competitive capacity of middle class representatives in the labour market (which allows them to take jobs with better social protection).

Attitude to government policy is demonstrated in answers to question: “*What do you feel, when you pay taxes?*” The relative majority of middle class “nucleus” representatives said that they feel “this money will be stolen by officials anyway” (30%), “taxpayers’ money is not stolen, but is distributed incorrectly” (21%), “they take away my honestly earned money” (15%). Middle class “nucleus” representatives have positive feelings more

rarely: “this money is the guarantee of my social security in the future” – 13%, “this money will come back to me and my family through the state system of social support” – 12%, “I feel a part of the common financial system of the country” – 12%, “I support those, who needs this money more than I do” – 8%. In general, 36% of middle class “nucleus” representatives have the feelings from the positive spectrum, 52% – from the negative. Negative feelings on this account also prevail over positive ones among middle class periphery representatives (32% and 52%, respectively) and lower class representatives (24% and 53%, respectively). Only among upper class representatives the shares of those, who feel positive (48%) and negative (41%) emotions did not have statistically significant difference (48% and 41%, respectively).

Interrelation of trust and social communication.

Statement about interrelation of trust in different spheres and on different levels is supported by the fact that middle class “nucleus” representatives, in those regions, where, for example, they expressed higher level of trust in government and social institutions (Western and Eastern regions), also demonstrated higher (compared to other regions) levels of trust in other spheres, e.g., more often expressed their trust in people, who are not in their immediate social environment and trust in society in general.

Generally, in the society on the whole, as well as among middle class “nucleus” representatives, the highest is the trust in representatives of immediate social environment (the index of trust is 7.8 and 7.9 points, respectively). In the second place is trust in organisations and social environment at workplace or educational institution (5.7 and 6 points, respectively). So, the highest level of trust is observed in places, where respondents have direct contact, communication.⁷

At your workplace, do you have the following...? % of working respondents

Workplace agreement						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Yes	71,3	77,4	75,6	82,0	72,0	64,9
No	28,3	22,6	23,9	17,7	27,4	35,0
No answer	0,5	0,0	0,5	0,3	0,7	0,1
Guaranteed vacation						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Yes	68,0	81,0	72,6	77,9	69,6	59,2
No	31,5	19,0	26,9	21,6	29,8	40,7
No answer	0,5	0,0	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,1
Guaranteed pension benefits						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Yes	67,9	72,6	72,5	78,0	69,3	59,6
No	31,5	27,4	26,9	21,3	30,1	40,1
No answer	0,6	0,0	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,4
Guaranteed sick leave benefits						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Yes	64,2	73,8	68,6	74,1	65,5	57,5
No	35,1	26,2	30,6	25,2	33,6	42,5
No answer	0,6	0,0	0,8	0,6	0,8	0,1

⁷ As one of the ways to increase the level of trust in society, as well as trust in government and social institutions, we can offer intensified communications, creation of channels of information exchange between different segments of society, government and citizens. Besides, modern information technologies (e.g. e-governance mechanisms) are perfectly suited to implement this.

What do you feel, when you pay taxes? respondents, %						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
This money will be stolen by officials anyway	28,6	24,0	27,9	29,8	27,2	30,4
Taxpayers' money is not stolen, but is distributed incorrectly	16,6	10,7	18,3	21,3	17,1	15,6
They take away my honestly earned money	16,2	10,7	16,2	15,1	16,7	16,1
This money is the guarantee of my social security in the future	11,5	11,5	13,2	13,2	13,2	8,6
This money will come back to me and my family through the state system of social support	10,5	16,2	11,8	11,9	11,7	8,8
I feel a part of the common financial system of the country	9,1	15,5	9,3	11,7	8,4	8,3
I support those, who needs this money more than I do	7,6	15,3	8,9	8,4	9,1	5,3
Other	2,9	2,1	2,8	2,9	2,7	2,6
Hard to answer	20,3	14,5	16,0	10,0	18,5	24,0

So far, the high level of trust is limited by the rather narrow circle of citizens' social environment and is not spread enough in the society as a whole. This is demonstrated by answers to questions regarding whether or not one can trust the majority of people. Only 27% of all respondents and 28% of middle class "nucleus" representatives think that one can trust the majority of people, – while 58% and 60%, respectively, think that "one has to be very careful in relations with people" (Table "Can one trust the majority of people...?").

So, among all section indices of trust, the lowest values in all social class groups without exception had the level of trust in state and social institutions. Because the level of trust in government and social institutions is an indicator of legitimacy of socio-political regime, in the situation of a socio-economic crisis, this is a factor that destabilises the society.

Middle class is characterised by the highest among all social class groups level of trust in immediate social environment, which can be one of the preconditions of its social integration. In middle class environment, there is a certain potential for supporting the current socio-political system in the country. Whether this potential will be realised or reduced to zero, depends primarily on the extent, to which government policy meets the interests of society.

4.2. TOLERANCE TO REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER SOCIAL AND SOCIAL CLASS GROUPS

The issue of trust in society is closely connected with the issue of tolerance, which means patience with another, "strange way of living, behaving, other traditions, feelings,

beliefs, ideas".⁸ This tolerance is based, first of all, on trust, i.e. on believing that tolerant attitude to representatives of other groups will be mutual, that is, the groups treated with tolerance will be similarly tolerant and will not hurt the interests of the group that I belong to, and my interests. It can be said that tolerance is the highest manifestation of trust in society, i.e. trust in people and groups that are distant and different from the individual and from the group, to which he belongs.

The level of tolerance or social distancing is demonstrated by respondents' answers to question about the extent, to which representatives of different groups are ready to accept representatives of other groups as members of their family (Table "What would be your attitude...?", p.60).

The level of tolerance to groups that differ by cultural or religious factors is rather high. This is demonstrated by the total share of respondents, who viewed the potential marriage of their family member to a representative of another culture, another language, member of another church or religion, a foreign citizen, either positively, or these factors did not matter to them at all, which made up over a half of all social class groups' respondents. (With the exception of a slightly lower share among upper class representatives of those, who treated with tolerance the fact that their family will be joined by a member of another church or religion – it was slightly less than a half (45%) of this group).

We can also note the increase of share of those, who viewed positively the fact that their family will be joined by a foreign language speaker: this share increases along with the increase of social class status of the group (from 24% of lower class representatives to 28% of middle class

Can one trust the majority of people or does one have to be very careful in relations with people? respondents, %						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
One can trust the majority of people	26,6	27,8	27,7	28,4	27,4	26,2
One has to be very careful in relations with people	57,9	55,1	58,4	59,6	58,0	59,9
Hard to answer	15,6	17,1	13,9	12,0	14,6	13,9

⁸ Sociology. Encyclopaedia. – Minsk, 2003, p.11-28.



What would be your attitude, if your family, e.g. through marriage of your children (grandchildren) was joined by a...?
respondents, %

Representative of upper class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	56,9	79,3	63,0	66,8	61,5	48,3
Negative	6,5	1,5	4,4	3,3	4,9	11,3
Do not care	25,0	11,4	24,5	22,8	25,2	28,0
Hard to answer	11,6	7,9	8,0	7,1	8,4	12,4
Representative of middle class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	67,2	69,4	70,4	73,8	68,9	63,9
Negative	1,4	9,9	1,1	0,7	1,2	1,8
Do not care	24,9	14,0	24,4	22,6	25,1	27,9
Hard to answer	6,5	6,7	4,2	2,9	4,7	6,5
Representative of lower class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	29,4	23,8	25,3	22,6	26,3	38,0
Negative	22,8	44,5	28,6	35,1	25,9	13,2
Do not care	32,6	21,1	31,7	29,0	32,7	37,0
Hard to answer	15,2	10,7	14,5	13,4	15,0	11,8
Representative of another culture						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	23,4	28,3	23,1	24,3	22,6	23,4
Negative	19,1	28,8	20,8	22,5	20,1	18,0
Do not care	37,1	23,8	37,4	36,4	37,8	39,9
Hard to answer	20,3	19,1	18,6	16,9	19,4	18,7
Member of other church or religion						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	18,0	17,9	17,7	17,7	17,7	17,8
Negative	24,7	34,0	26,2	27,8	25,5	25,3
Do not care	36,7	26,4	37,0	37,2	36,9	38,9
Hard to answer	20,7	21,7	19,2	17,3	19,9	18,1
Foreign language speaker						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	26,1	34,3	26,8	28,0	26,3	24,0
Negative	13,3	18,1	13,1	12,7	13,2	14,7
Do not care	42,8	29,4	44,4	45,3	44,0	45,1
Hard to answer	17,8	18,2	15,8	14,1	16,4	16,2
Foreign citizen						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	31,2	45,9	32,5	33,8	32,0	28,4
Negative	11,9	11,2	12,0	11,1	12,4	13,4
Do not care	38,7	23,7	39,5	39,6	39,5	40,9
Hard to answer	18,2	19,1	16,0	15,5	16,2	17,2
City resident						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	55,1	63,5	56,3	61,0	54,4	53,1
Negative	1,6	4,9	1,9	0,9	2,3	1,3
Do not care	37,1	25,7	37,1	34,6	38,1	40,1
Hard to answer	6,1	5,8	4,8	3,5	5,3	5,5
Village resident						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Positive	43,3	45,1	41,1	39,1	41,9	45,3
Negative	6,4	16,3	8,5	11,2	7,4	4,4
Do not care	41,3	31,0	42,2	42,4	42,1	43,2
Hard to answer	9,0	7,6	8,2	7,3	8,5	7,1

“nucleus” representatives and 34% – upper class, as well as a similar increase of positive attitude to a foreign citizen joining the family – 28%, 34% and 46%, respectively).

Along with this, together with an increase of a social class group’s status comes a slight increase of negative attitude to representatives of another church or religion joining the family (25%, 29% and 34%, respectively). Also, upper class representatives slightly more often than representatives of other social class groups expressed their negative attitude to representatives of other culture joining their family (29%), while in other social class groups this indicator was from 18% to 23%.

Together with an increase of a social class group’s status comes a slight increase of positive attitude to city residents joining the family (from 53% of lower class representatives to 64% – of the upper), which is probably caused, primarily, by the major part of city residents among upper and middle class representatives, in comparison to lower class. This is also the cause for an increased share of respondents with negative attitude to village residents joining their family (from 4% of lower class representatives to 16% – of upper class).

The share of those, who would have negative attitude to lower class representatives joining their family grows from 13% of lower class representatives to 35% of middle class “nucleus” representatives and 45% of upper class representatives. This is probably caused by the fact that such prospects are viewed by many representatives of middle and upper class as lowering of their family’s social status. It should be noted, that also among representatives

of lower class only 38% would view positively marriage of someone from their family to a lower class representative, so they too would prefer that their family is joined by a person with a higher social status than theirs.

So the presented data demonstrates that despite a rather high level of social and socio-cultural **tolerance**, **Ukrainian society is also characterised with a certain level of social distancing, foremost, according to social status characteristics. This poses an influence on formation of civic and political activism, as well as on the readiness to joint efforts for promotion of common social interests (e.g., rule of law principles).**

4.3. PERCEPTION OF COMMON INTERESTS WITH OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS

Study results allow to analyse, to which extent middle class and middle class “nucleus” representatives feel they have common interests with representatives of different groups in Ukrainian society.

As demonstrated by the data in tables “*To which extent are your personal interests close to the interests of each of the following groups*” and “*Representatives of which of the following social groups do you feel that you have most common interests with?*”, respondents in all social groups have, in the first place, the feeling of common interests with their group. Similarly, in all groups rather significant is the feeling of common interests with representatives of the same nationality and residents of the same region. Its level is either only slightly lower than the feeling of common interests with their social group (as among middle class “nucleus” representatives), or does not have

To which extent are your personal interests close to the interests of each of the following groups?*
overall score

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Representatives of the same nationality that you have	4,0	4,1	3,9	3,9	3,9	4,0
Residents of your region	3,9	3,8	3,9	3,9	3,9	4,0
Working class representatives	3,9	3,5	3,7	3,6	3,8	4,1
Middle class representatives	3,6	4,1	4,0	4,2	4,0	2,9
Lower class representatives	3,4	3,1	3,2	3,0	3,2	4,0
Upper class representatives	2,0	3,9	2,3	2,5	2,2	1,5

* On a five-point scale from 1 to 5, where “1” means that the interests of the respondent and the named group are absolutely opposite, and “5” – their interests completely coincide.

Representatives of which of the following social groups do you feel that you have most common interests with?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Upper class	1,1	39,4	0,7		1,0	0,1
Middle class	45,6	35,1	73,4	100	62,5	13,5
Working class	28,9	13,4	18,4		25,9	39,7
Lower class	14,0	0,8	1,7		2,4	38,4
None of them	1,3	0,0	0,7		1,0	1,4
Hard to answer	8,9	11,3	5,0		7,1	6,8



Are there people among your close acquaintances that belong to...?
respondents, %

Upper class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
No, there are not	53,0	12,4	41,3	31,4	45,3	72,1
I have 1-2 such close acquaintances	30,5	24,8	41,9	51,2	38,1	17,9
I have many close acquaintances, who belong to this group	7,9	60,6	10,3	13,2	9,1	3,4
Hard to answer	8,6	2,2	6,5	4,1	7,4	6,7
Middle class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
No, there are not	7,5	2,8	1,4	0,7	1,7	15,0
I have 1-2 such close acquaintances	23,8	17,6	14,6	10,4	16,3	37,4
I have many close acquaintances, who belong to this group	62,2	77,3	81,0	87,5	78,3	40,7
Hard to answer	6,5	2,2	3,0	1,4	3,7	6,9
Working class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
No, there are not	1,3	4,2	1,5	1,8	1,3	0,9
I have 1-2 such close acquaintances	12,0	45,5	13,6	16,8	12,3	9,2
I have many close acquaintances, who belong to this group	81,0	45,6	80,8	78,1	81,9	85,6
Hard to answer	5,8	4,6	4,1	3,3	4,5	4,3
Lower class						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
No, there are not	8,3	20,0	11,4	14,2	10,3	2,6
I have 1-2 such close acquaintances	20,4	46,8	27,1	33,0	24,7	10,1
I have many close acquaintances, who belong to this group	58,1	26,0	49,2	40,6	52,8	79,4
Hard to answer	13,3	7,2	12,3	12,3	12,3	7,9
People, who can provide the necessary support in solving certain problems at work, in relations with authorities, etc.						
	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
No, there are not	19,8	11,0	14,9	11,1	16,4	31,3
I have 1-2 such close acquaintances	38,5	27,6	44,9	51,7	42,1	31,6
I have many close acquaintances, who belong to this group	22,7	52,4	24,3	23,1	24,8	19,7
Hard to answer	19,0	9,1	15,9	14,2	16,6	17,4

Representatives of which of the following social groups most often belong to the circle of your friends, close acquaintances?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Middle class	46,8	42,8	73,9	100	63,2	15,4
Working class	30,8	8,2	18,3	-	25,8	44,9
Lower class	11,3	0,8	1,5	-	2,2	30,5
Upper class	1,0	35,8	0,6	-	0,9	0,2
Hard to answer	10,1	12,4	5,6	-	7,9	9,0

statistically significant differences from it (as among representatives of middle class periphery and among representatives of lower and upper classes).

Among social groups, singled out not according to the territorial or ethnic marker, but according to a social class (stratification) marker, representatives of subjective middle class, middle class “nucleus” (and especially its periphery) and lower class feel a high degree of common interests with the working class. And most distant all named above groups are from upper class representatives (while its representatives often feel that they have common interests with middle class almost on the same level as with higher class).

The more respondents communicate with representatives of a certain group, the more often they note that they have common interests with this group. Thus, 78% of middle class “nucleus” representatives most often said that they have a lot of close acquaintances among working class, 41% – among lower class, and only 13% – that they have a lot of close acquaintances among upper class (Table “Are there people among your close acquaintances that belong to...?”). To a great extent this explains the idea in middle class “nucleus” representatives of having common interests with working class and a weak feeling of common interests with the upper class.

However, subjective middle class representatives most often communicate with those, whom they also include in

middle class – 74% among them said that their friends, close acquaintances most often belong to middle class (Table “Representatives of which of the following social groups most often belong to the circle of your friends, close acquaintances?”). Upper class representatives equally often included in their immediate social environment representatives of middle (43%) and upper (36%) class, while representatives of lower class most often name those, whom they include in working class (45%), and only 31% said that their circle of friends and close acquaintances includes lower class representatives.

Identity. The wider the community, with which a person identifies herself is, the wider can be the sphere of her activity, the broader the interests that she will stand up for, and problems that she will take part in solving. In the context of the country (state) this “broadest” community is all society as a whole, or “citizens of the country”.

It is among representatives of middle class “nucleus” and upper class that the share of those was the biggest, who choosing between different options of self-identification (a village/region resident, citizen of Ukraine/former Soviet Union/Europe/world, representative of an ethnic group/nation), **selected option “citizen of Ukraine”**: among upper class representatives and middle class “nucleus” – 72%, middle class periphery – 67%, lower class – 55% (Table “Who do you think you are in the first place?”).

Who do you think you are in the first place?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Citizen of Ukraine	62,1	72,0	68,3	72,3	66,7	54,8
Resident of the village, district or city, where you live	20,4	9,6	17,2	13,2	18,8	25,8
Resident of the region (oblast or several oblasts), where you live	8,3	5,9	7,0	6,6	7,1	9,7
Citizen of the former Soviet Union	2,7	0,0	1,3	0,9	1,5	4,3
Representative of your ethnic group, nation	2,4	2,0	2,0	2,2	1,9	2,0
Citizen of the world	1,6	4,1	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,6
Citizen of Europe	1,2	3,3	1,8	2,7	1,4	0,3
Other	0,9	3,1	0,5	0,2	0,6	0,9
No answer	0,4	0,0	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,5

Who do you think you are in the first place?
middle class “nucleus” representatives, %

	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Citizen of Ukraine	72,3	78,5	80,0	63,1	65,0	51,5
Resident of the village, district or city, where you live	13,2	10,4	12,0	18,9	12,1	19,4
Resident of the region (oblast or several oblasts), where you live	6,6	3,0	1,3	9,9	12,1	19,9
Citizen of the former Soviet Union	0,9	0,3	0,7	0,9	0,5	3,6
Representative of your ethnic group, nation	2,2	3,8	2,0	0,9	1,9	1,5
Citizen of the world	1,7	0,5	1,8	0,9	2,3	3,6
Citizen of Europe	2,7	2,7	1,7	4,5	6,1	0,5
Other	0,2	0,5	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,0
No answer	0,1	0,3	0,2	0,9	0,0	0,0

The biggest number of “citizens of Ukraine” was among those middle class “nucleus” representatives, who live in the Western (79%) and in the Central (80%) regions, the least – in Donbas (52%). In Donbas and Eastern region, more often than in the country on the overall, middle class “nucleus” representatives viewed themselves, first of all, as residents of the region: 20%, 12% and 7%, respectively (Table “Who do you think you are in the first place? (regional profile)”).

So, self-identification of middle class “nucleus” representatives, first of all, as citizens of Ukraine can be viewed as demonstration of a civic stand, responsibility not only for themselves and their family, region or social group, but for the future of the country as a whole. Along with this, a rather big share of residents in the East and, especially, Donbas, who identify themselves not with the country, but with the region, shows serious problems with formation of civic awareness and, consequently, political nation and civil society (Table “Who do you think you are in the first place? (among representatives of middle class “nucleus”)”, p.63).

These issues, as any other issues that are associated with the state of public opinion, cannot be solved within a short timeframe. Changes in public opinion take place in the process of changes in all social spheres. On the other side, social changes are the result of social activism. Clearly, first of all, this activism should be demonstrated by those social or social class groups that have the corresponding potential, in particular, capacity for association, social integration, recognition of problems existing in society, and perception of these problems as such that prevent both, self-actualisation of this group’s representatives and the development of society as a whole.

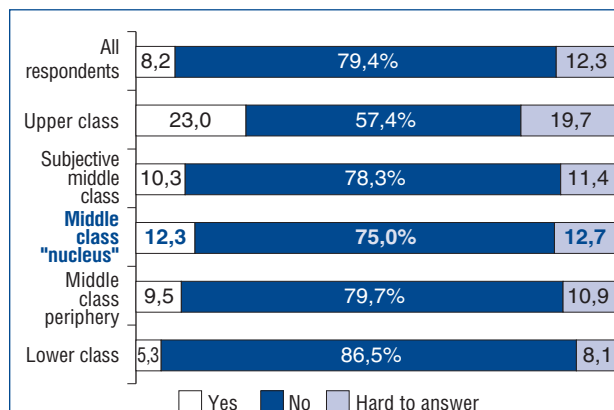
4.4. CIVIC ACTIVISM

According to survey results, the majority of citizens are convinced that in order to include someone in middle class, he must possess such characteristics as “civic activism” (this option was marked by 42% of respondents), as well as “commitment to democratic values and readiness to defend them, incl., from abuse of discretion on the part of government” (42%). Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, 47% support this point of view (concerning both qualities), among its periphery 44% and 42%, respectively, among lower class representatives – 41% for each quality, upper class – 35% and 34%, respectively. Sociological survey results of 2014 concerning civic activism of middle class “nucleus” are summarised in diagram “Characteristics of civic activity...” (p.67).

At the same time, much smaller shares of respondents noted that they personally possess these qualities: among middle class “nucleus” representatives – 26% and 27%, respectively; among its periphery representatives – 26% for each quality, lower class representatives – 17% and 21%, respectively, upper – 29% and 28%, respectively (Table “Which traits and characteristics do you have?”, p.44).

Involvement in civic activity. Positive answers to question whether or not they are personally involved in active civic work (i.e. talking about specific activity, and not about some rather undetermined “civic activism”) were given by a noticeably smaller number of respondents – 12% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 10% of its periphery, 5% – lower class, 23% – upper (Table “Would you say that you are involved in active civic work?”).

Would you say that you are involved in active civic work?
respondents, %



2005-2014 dynamics

	All respondents			Subjective middle class		
	2005	2008	2014	2005	2008	2014
Yes	9,4	11,6	8,2	13,2	15,5	10,3
No	84,5	76,2	79,4	80,9	71,4	78,3
Hard to answer	6,1	12,2	12,3	6,0	13,2	11,4

Comparing how much civic activism has changed in the past years (we can perform this comparison for subjective middle class group), in contrast to 2008, the share of subjective middle class respondents, who said they were involved in active civic work, dropped from 16% to 10%. This corresponds with the general tendency in society – in the total array of respondents this share dropped from 12% to 8% (Table “Would you say that you are involved...”).

Interest in politics and political life. Interest in politics is a factor that to some extent influences civic activism. Thus, among those middle class “nucleus” representatives, who are interested in politics, 14% noted that they are involved in active civic work, while among those, who are not interested in politics, – 9%. Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, who have firm political beliefs, 17% are involved in active civic work, while among those, who do not have such beliefs, – 9%.

In the past years, the number of subjective middle class representatives, who are interested in politics and have firm political beliefs, has not changed, but the number of those, who regularly follows political events in Ukraine has significantly increased (their share in this social class group increased from 45% in 2008 to 59% in 2014 (Table “Would you say that you...?”). However, judging by the fact that the share of people involved in active civic work has decreased within the same period of time, this “following political events” is rather more of passive observation nature.

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives, 64% noted that they are interested in politics, among its periphery representatives – 59%, lower class – 53%, upper – 73%; regularly follow political events in Ukraine – 59%, 59%, 52% and 70%, respectively; have firm political beliefs – 45%, 43%, 37% and 57%, respectively.

Participation in the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). 10% of middle class “nucleus” representatives take part in the work of NGOs, 9% –

Would you say that you...? respondents, %								
Are interested in politics							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	55,6	73,0	60,3	64,3	58,7	52,8	59,8	68,8
No	38,2	22,9	34,3	31,6	35,5	42,3	35,8	27,2
Hard to answer	6,2	4,2	5,4	4,2	5,9	5,0	4,4	4,0
Regularly follow political events in Ukraine							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	53,8	70,2	58,7	59,0	58,6	52,2	56,0	62,2
No	40,3	29,8	36,4	37,0	36,2	42,7	40,4	33,5
Hard to answer	5,9	0,0	4,9	4,0	5,2	5,1	3,6	4,3
Have firm political beliefs							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	39,8	57,0	43,8	44,7	43,4	37,0	40,0	49,6
No	47,5	38,4	43,8	43,8	43,8	52,4	47,3	40,2
Hard to answer	12,8	4,6	12,4	11,5	12,8	10,6	12,7	10,3
Take part in the work of non-governmental organisations							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	7,3	19,6	9,4	10,0	9,1	4,5	7,5	12,5
No	88,0	76,0	86,4	86,0	86,5	91,6	87,8	84,2
Hard to answer	4,6	4,4	4,2	4,0	4,3	3,9	4,7	3,3

of its periphery, 5% of lower class representatives and 20% – upper (Table “*Would you say that you take part in the work of non-governmental organisations?*”). Along with this, the arrays of those, who answered that they take part in this activity, and those, who said they are involved in active civic work, overlap only partially. Thus, among middle class “nucleus” representatives, who answered that they are involved in active civic work, only 56% said that they take part in the work of NGOs, and among those, who take part in the work of NGOs, also not everyone (69%) is involved in active civic work. The differences between answers to these questions are probably due to the fact that not all respondents view participation in the work of NGOs as “active civic work” (and vice versa).

Calculating the total share of those, who take part in active civic work or participate in the activity of NGOs, among middle class “nucleus” representatives it amounts to 15%, among periphery – 14%, lower class – 7%, upper class – 32% (Table “*The total share of those, who answered that they are involved in active civic work or take part in the work of NGOs*”, p.66).

Participation in volunteer events and movements, helping Maidan/Anti-Maidan. Noticeably more representatives of all social class groups take (or took) part in volunteer events and movements, than in active civic work or work of NGOs. Sociological survey data of 2014 on participation of middle class “nucleus” representatives in volunteer movements, as well as helping Maidan, are summarised in diagram “*Characteristics of participation...*” (p.69). Thus, 19% of middle class “nucleus” representatives take (took) part in them, 14% – of its periphery, 8% – lower class and 33% – upper (Table “*Do (did) you personally take part in...?*”, p.66).

Would you say that you...? respondents, %				
Are interested in politics				
	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
Yes	55,0	55,6	62,0	60,3
No	40,0	38,2	33,4	34,3
Hard to answer	5,0	6,2	4,7	5,4
Regularly follow political events in Ukraine				
	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
Yes	41,1	53,8	44,6	58,7
No	54,1	40,3	50,4	36,4
Hard to answer	4,9	5,9	5,0	4,9
Have firm political beliefs				
	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
Yes	36,9	39,8	42,4	43,8
No	51,8	47,5	46,6	43,8
Hard to answer	11,2	12,8	11,0	12,4

Among those, who take or took part in volunteer events and movements, only 42% said that they are involved in active civic work or take part in the work of NGOs.

While among those, who are involved in active civic work or take part in the work of NGOs, only 46% take or took part in volunteer events and movements.

The total share of those, who are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or in volunteer events and movements is 26% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 22% – of its periphery, 13% – lower class and 46% – upper (Table “*The total share of those, who answered that they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements*”).

There were 30% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, who noted that they helped Maidan participants, 21% – of its periphery, 15% – lower class and 30% – upper; participated in fundraising for the benefit of military formations, respectively, 48%, 39%, 28% and 49%. Notably, among both, middle and lower class representatives, the share of those, **who took part in helping Anti-Maidan participants is very small** (1-2%); this share is slightly higher among upper class representatives (12%).

Regional differences. Survey results show that civic activity is mostly demonstrated by middle class “nucleus” representatives in the Western region, and least of all – in the Southern. Thus, in the West of the country, 19% answered that they are involved in active civic work, in the South – 5%, in the Centre, East and Donbas – from 9% to 12% (diagram “*Characteristics of civic activity...*”).

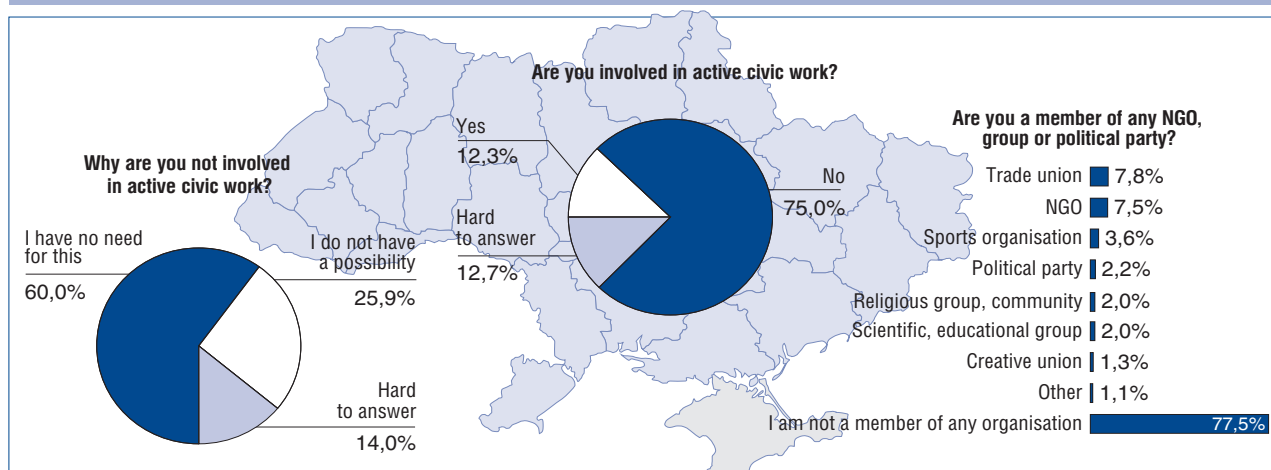
Partially, these differences reflect the differences of the civic activism level of the entire array of these regions’ residents. Thus, the level of civic activism of Southerners is also the lowest in the country (4%). But in all other regions (including the West), the level of participation in civic work is almost the same – 8-10%. Concerning Western region, we can state that the level of civic activism of middle class “nucleus” here is higher than among all residents of the region together.

In the West, 12% of middle class “nucleus” representatives take part in the work of NGOs, 6% in the Centre, 4% in the South, 13% in the East, 18% in Donbas (according

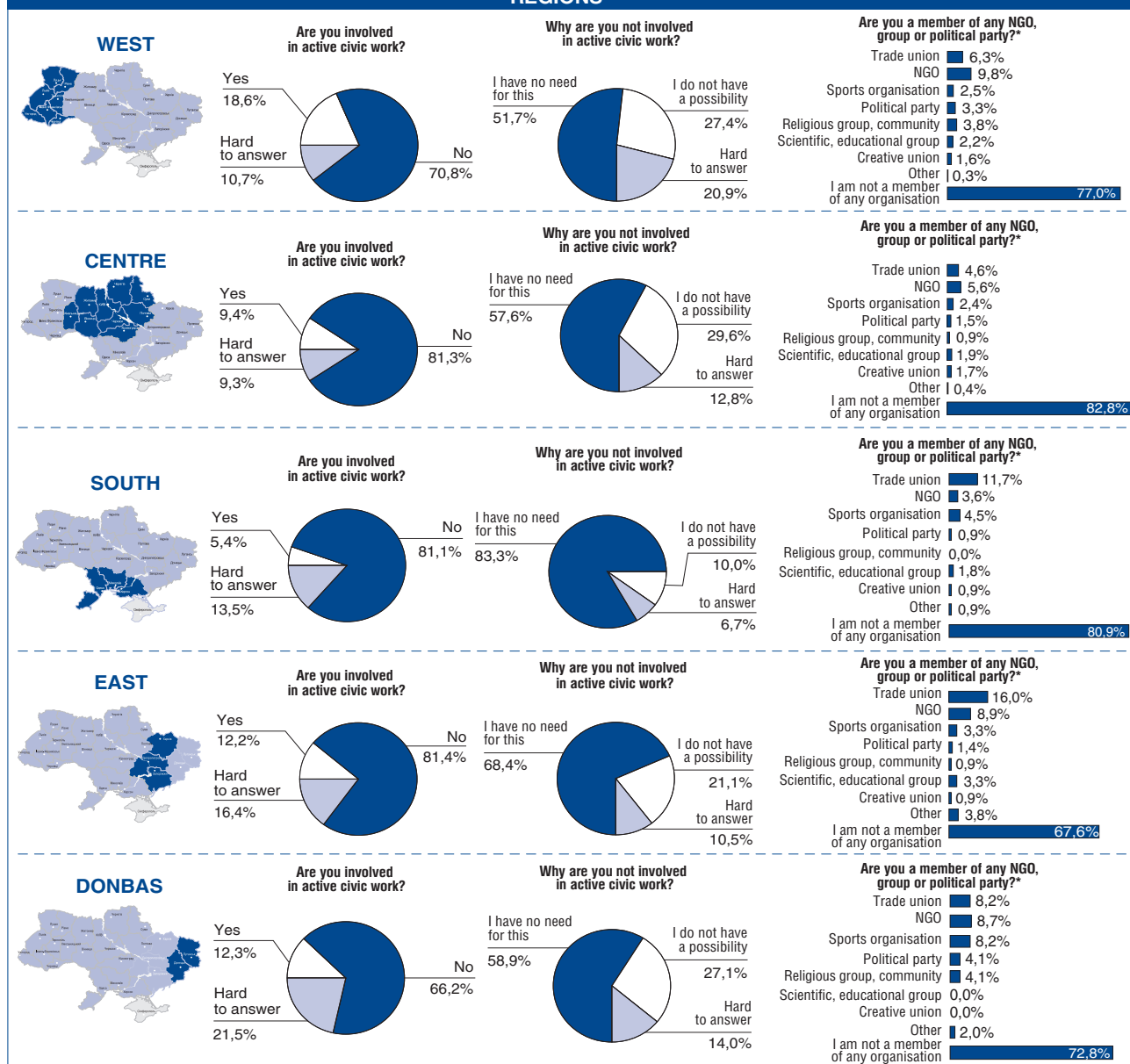
Do (did) you personally take part in...? respondents, %

Fundraising for the benefit of military formations							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	35,3	49,1	41,9	48,0	39,3	27,7	45,5	50,6
No	63,6	48,0	56,8	50,7	59,4	71,5	53,3	48,1
No answer	1,1	2,9	1,3	1,3	1,3	0,8	1,2	1,3
Helping participants of Maidan							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	19,2	30,2	23,4	29,8	20,8	14,8	23,7	36,2
No	79,7	66,5	75,3	68,8	77,9	84,5	74,8	62,7
No answer	1,1	3,3	1,3	1,4	1,3	0,8	1,5	1,1
Volunteer events or movements							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	12,5	33,0	15,5	18,6	14,3	8,1	14,9	22,4
No	86,4	63,7	83,1	79,9	84,4	91,2	83,3	76,5
No answer	1,1	3,3	1,4	1,5	1,3	0,8	1,8	1,1
Helping participants of Anti-Maidan							% of middle class "nucleus" representatives	
	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class	Female	Male
Yes	1,8	11,5	2,0	1,5	2,2	1,2	0,8	2,3
No	96,9	85,2	96,4	96,7	96,3	98,0	97,4	96,0
No answer	1,3	3,3	1,6	1,8	1,5	0,8	1,8	1,7
The total share of those, who answered that they are involved in active civic work or take part in the work of NGOs								
All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class			
11,3	32,3	14,0	15,4	13,5	7,2			
The total share of those, who answered that they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements								
All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class			
18,6	46,1	22,9	26,2	21,5	12,5			

Characteristics of civic activity of middle class "nucleus" representatives



REGIONS**



* Respondents were asked to mark all possible options.

** The following break-up of territory into regions is used: **West**: Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Chernivtsi oblasts; **Centre**: city of Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy, Chernihiv oblasts; **South**: Mykolayiv, Odesa, Kherson oblasts; **East**: Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhya, Kharkiv oblasts; **Donbas**: Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

to these figures, the only statistically significant difference is between the West and the Centre). Percentage of people, who personally take or took part in volunteer events and movements: in the West – 25%, in the Centre – 19%, in the South – 11%, in the East – 17%, in Donbas – 13%.

The total share of those, who said that they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements, was the largest in the Western region (33%), the smallest – in the South (15%). In the Centre, in the East and in Donbas it was from 24% to 26%.

The following percentage of respondents took part in helping the participants of Maidan: in the West – 48%, in the Centre – 35%, in the South – 7%, in the East – 15%, in Donbas – 12%. Participation in helping the Anti-Maidan participants was very low in all regions – from 0% to 3%.

Gender differences. As in the society in general, among middle class “nucleus” representatives there are gender differences in the level of civic activism. Thus, women, who belong to middle class “nucleus”, less often than men take part in the work of NGOs (8% and 13%, respectively), in volunteer events and movements (15% and 22%, respectively), also less often show their interest in politics: among women 60% are interested in politics, among men – 69%, regularly follow political events – 56% and 62%, respectively (Table “*Would you say that you ...?*”, p.65).

The total share of those, who said that they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements, is 30% among men, and only 22% among women (p.70).

NGO membership. 51% of middle class “nucleus” representatives think that when people have common goals

Would you say that you are involved in active civic work?

% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Yes	12,3	18,6	9,4	5,4	12,2	12,3
No	75,0	70,8	81,3	81,1	71,4	66,2
Hard to answer	12,7	10,7	9,3	13,5	16,4	21,5

Would you say that you take part in the work of non-governmental organisations?

% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Yes	10,0	11,7	6,3	3,6	12,6	18,4
No	86,0	84,2	89,4	91,9	83,6	78,1
Hard to answer	4,0	4,1	4,3	4,5	3,7	3,6

Do (did) you take part in volunteer events or movements?

% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Yes	18,6	24,6	18,7	10,8	17,4	13,3
No	79,9	74,3	78,7	87,4	81,7	86,7
Hard to answer	1,5	1,1	2,6	1,8	0,9	0,1

The total share of those, who answered that they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements,

% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
26,2	32,8	25,0	15,3	25,8	24,0

Do (did) you take part in helping Maidan participants?

% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

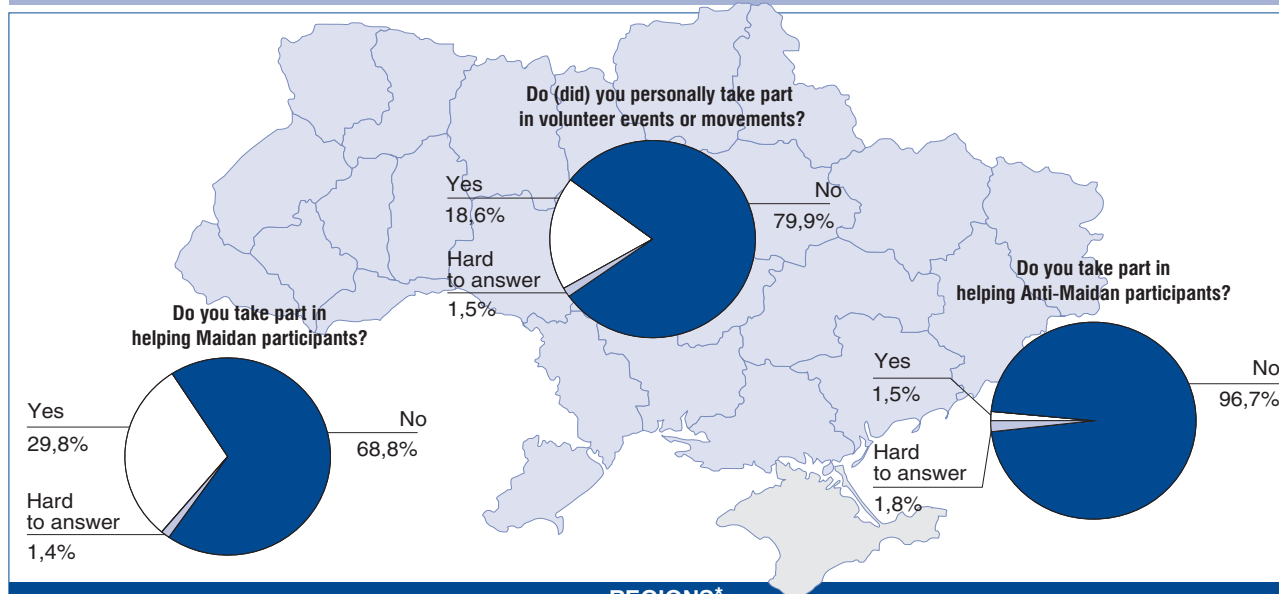
	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Yes	29,8	47,8	34,8	7,3	14,6	11,7
No	68,8	51,1	63,0	90,9	84,5	88,3
Hard to answer	1,4	1,1	2,2	1,8	0,9	0,0

Do (did) you take part in helping Anti-Maidan participants?

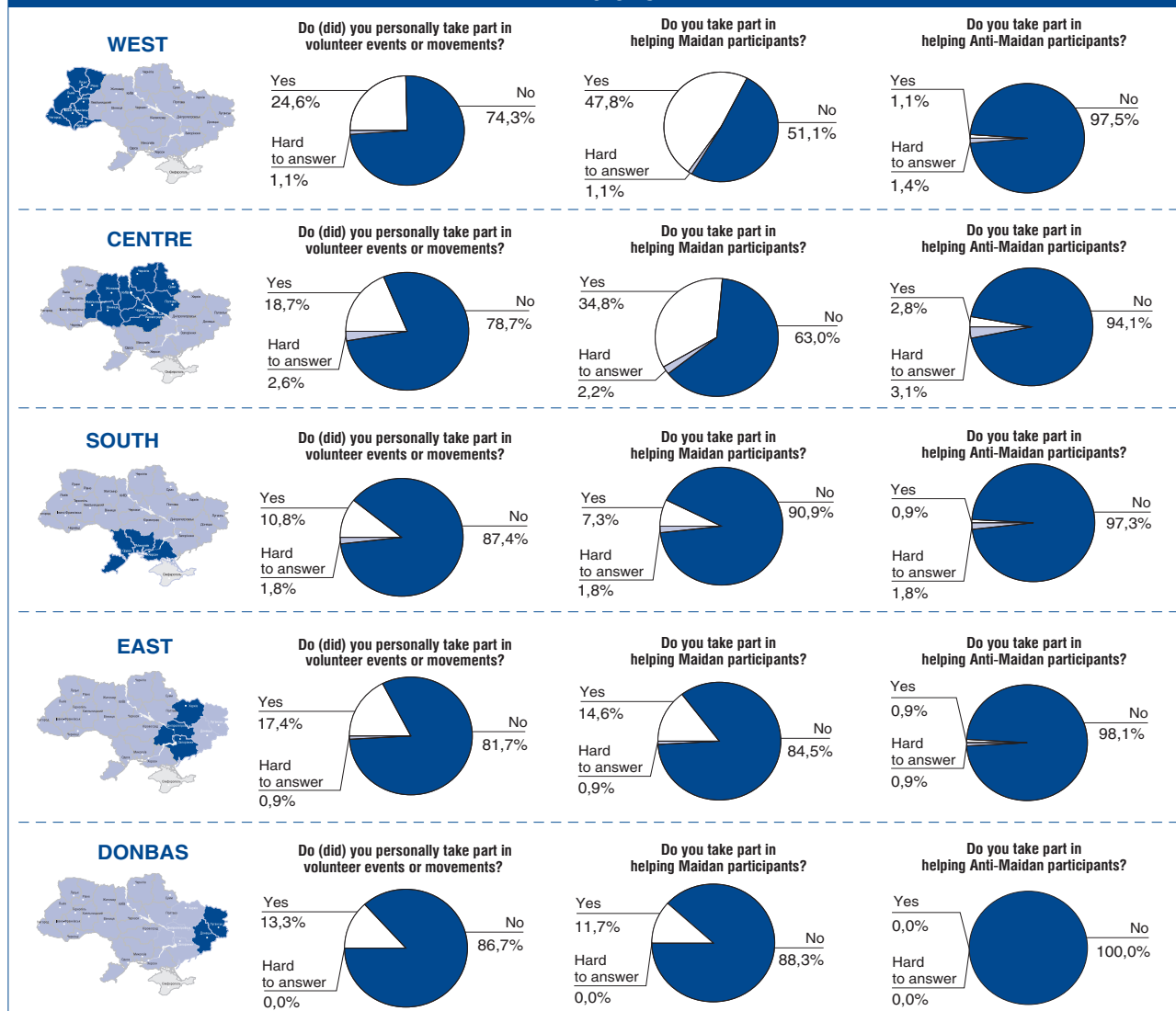
% of middle class “nucleus” representatives

	Ukraine	West	Centre	South	East	Donbas
Yes	1,5	1,1	2,8	0,9	0,9	0,0
No	96,7	97,5	94,1	97,3	98,1	100,0
Hard to answer	1,8	1,4	3,1	1,8	0,9	0,0

Characteristics of participation of middle class "nucleus" in volunteer events or movements, helping Maidan/Anti-Maidan



REGIONS*



* The following break-up of territory into regions is used: **West:** Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Chernivtsi oblasts; **Centre:** city of Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Kirovohrad, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytskyi, Cherkasy, Chernihiv oblasts; **South:** Mykolayiv, Odesa, Kherson oblasts; **East:** Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhya, Kharkiv oblasts; **Donbas:** Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

and want to reach them, they should create an NGO or join an already existing one (among middle class periphery representatives, this idea is supported by 47%, lower class representatives – 45%, upper – 49% (Table “*If people have common goals and want to reach them...?*”).

The total share of those, who said they are involved in active civic work, take part in the work of NGOs or take (took) part in volunteer events and movements, % of middle class “nucleus” representatives

Female	Male
22,4	30,2

Among middle class “nucleus” representatives 8% are members of an NGO, among middle class periphery representatives – 5%, lower class – 2%, upper – 18%); trade union members – 8%, 6%, 3% and 8%, respectively, political parties – 2%, 3%, 2% and 6%, respectively. Respondents, who said that they are not members of any civic group, made up 78% among middle class “nucleus” representatives, 83% – of its periphery, 90% – lower class and 62% – upper class representatives (Table “*Are you a member of any NGO, group or political party?*”).

Least often note their NGO membership middle class “nucleus” representatives, who live in the South of the country (4%), – which corresponds with the generally low level of civic activity among representatives of this

social class group in the South. The share of respondents with NGO membership is slightly bigger among men, than among women 9% and 6%.

It should be noted that **NGO membership is often just a formality**. Thus, among those middle class “nucleus” representatives, who said that they are members of an NGO, 44% said that they do not take part in its work.

Motivation for civic activism and reasons for refusal to participate in it. Answering the question, why they participate in civic activity, representatives of all social class groups most often said that this activity is consistent with their beliefs (this answer was given by 42% to 49% of those social class group representatives, who participate in civic activity). In the second place according to frequency of choosing – the factor that this activity is interesting for them (from 27% to 33%). From 8% to 11% participate in this activity because they receive money for it, from 4% to 9% – because this activity helps them solve their personal issues (Table “*Why do you participate in this activity?*”).

It is also appropriate to compare survey results from 2014 and 2008. They show that the role of “ideological and political” motive for participating in active civic work has grown: among subjective middle class representatives the share of those, who chose option “this activity is consistent with my beliefs”, increased from 31% to 48%.

Concerning the reasons for not participating in civic work, 60% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, who

If people have common goals and want to reach them, what should they do in order to have better outcomes?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Create an NGO or join an already existing one	44,9	48,6	48,2	51,4	46,9	45,2
Act non-officially (without registering this activity and without creating organisations)	19,1	25,7	21,5	22,4	21,1	17,6
Act individually	7,8	9,5	8,3	8,2	8,4	6,2
Other	4,5	1,9	4,7	5,0	4,5	3,8
Hard to answer	23,7	14,3	17,3	12,9	19,1	27,1

Are you a member of any NGO, group or political party?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class “nucleus”	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Trade union	5,4	7,8	6,7	7,8	6,2	2,9
NGO	4,2	18,0	5,6	7,5	4,8	2,2
Religious group, community	2,5	3,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,8
Political party	2,0	6,0	2,4	2,2	2,5	1,6
Sport organisation	1,9	9,3	2,6	3,6	2,2	0,5
Scientific, educational group	0,9	5,4	1,3	2,0	1,0	0,4
Creative union	0,9	3,8	1,1	1,3	1,0	0,6
Other	0,7	0,0	0,8	1,1	0,6	0,2
No, I am not a member of any civic group	84,3	61,9	81,3	77,5	82,9	90,1

do not take part in it (approximately the same percentage of other social class groups' representatives) said that they do not have a need for it (diagram "Why do you not participate in active civic work?").

Why do you participate in this activity?*

% of those, who participate in civic activity

	All respondents	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
This activity is consistent with my beliefs	45,7	48,1	46,4	49,0	41,8
This activity is interesting for me	29,4	28,3	30,9	27,0	33,2
I receive money for it	8,5	7,6	8,9	6,9	11,0
This activity helps me solve my personal issues	8,4	8,9	9,2	8,8	4,3
Other	2,3	1,3	1,1	1,4	1,9
Hard to answer	5,8	5,8	3,5	7,0	7,8

* No data available for upper class due to insufficient representation.

This reason also dominated in 2008 (Table "Why do you not participate in active civic work? (dynamics)").

Most often, the absence of need to participate in civic activity is named as a reason among middle class "nucleus" representatives in the South (83%), least often – in the West (52%) (Diagram "Characteristics of civic activity...", p.67).

Answering the question, under which conditions they may develop the need for civic activism, middle class "nucleus" representatives, who do not have the need for it (31%), most often said that it may develop, if such activity brings specific benefits for them or their family, another 19% chose option "if such activity brings specific benefits for the society". So, we can conclude, that

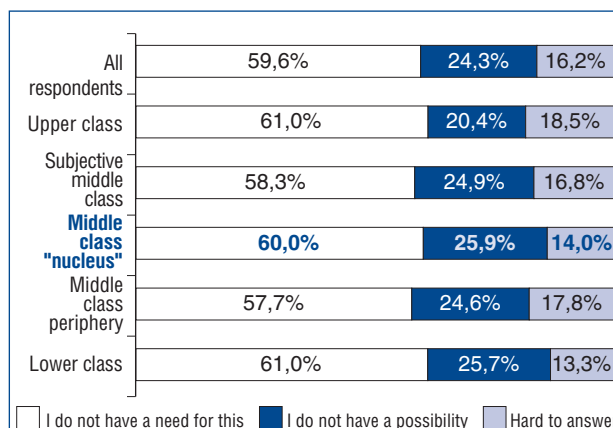
Why do you participate in civic activity?

% of those, who participate in active civic work

	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
I receive money for it	13,0	8,5	11,7	7,6
This activity helps me solve my personal issues	16,4	8,4	16,1	8,9
This activity is consistent with my beliefs	27,3	45,7	31,2	48,1
This activity is interesting for me	37,5	29,4	36,3	28,3
Other	2,3	2,3	2,1	1,3
Hard to answer	3,4	5,8	2,5	5,8

Why do you not participate in active civic work?

% of those, who do not participate in civic activity



Why do you not participate in active civic work?

% of those, who do not participate in civic activity

	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
I do not have a need for this	58,8	59,6	60,1	58,3
I do not have a possibility	31,0	24,3	31,6	24,9
Hard to answer	10,2	16,2	8,3	16,8

the main reason for the lack of desire to demonstrate civic activism is that citizens often do not see its benefits (both, for themselves and their family, and for the society as a whole). However, the number of those, who choose option "if such activity brings specific benefits for me or my family" has significantly decreased compared to 2008 (Table "Under which conditions may you develop the need for active civic work?", p.72), – which can be viewed as a proof that the idea of "absence of benefits" from civic activity among middle class "nucleus" representatives has become less common.



Under which conditions may you develop the need for active civic work?
% of those, who do not participate in civic activity due to the lack of need for it

	All respondents	Upper class	Middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
If such activity brings specific benefits for me or my family	29,4	20,8	30,5	30,9	30,3	27,3
If there is a threat to life, health or well-being of my relatives and such activity helps to eliminate this threat	23,7	21,1	24,3	25,7	23,7	22,2
If I receive money for it	19,8	10,8	19,0	18,1	19,4	19,5
If such activity brings specific benefits for the society	16,6	16,6	18,2	18,4	18,1	13,7
If such activity helps me become famous	3,1	6,8	2,8	2,1	3,1	2,4
Other	5,8	9,4	5,9	6,4	5,7	5,8
Hard to answer	19,7	19,4	17,1	16,2	17,4	21,6

Under which conditions may you develop the need for active civic work?
% of those, who do not participate in civic activity due to the lack of need for it

	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2008	2014	2008	2014
If I receive money for it	21,9	19,8	20,6	19,0
If such activity brings specific benefits for me or my family	37,1	29,4	41,8	30,5
If such activity brings specific benefits for the society	14,8	16,6	15,7	18,2
If there is a threat to life, health or well-being of my relatives and such activity helps to eliminate this threat	29,2	23,7	28,4	24,3
If such activity helps me become famous	3,9	3,1	4,0	2,8
Other	5,7	5,8	3,5	5,9
Hard to answer	14,5	19,7	10,0	17,1



Those respondents, who say that they do not participate in active civic work due to the lack of possibility, name lack of free time as their main reason. This answer is prevalent in all social class groups. Among middle class "nucleus" representatives, who do not have a possibility to participate in active civic work, this reason was named by 54%.

4.5. PROTEST ACTIVITY POTENTIAL

As noted above, the level of trust in government and social institutions among all social class groups, including middle class representatives, is very low, – as well as evaluation of work of state institutions. In this situation, we can talk about high level of protest potential in society as a whole, and in middle class, as one of the most active groups.

What prevents you from participating in civic activity?*
% of those, who do not participate in civic activity due to the lack of possibility

	All respondents	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Lack of free time	40,1	49,8	54,4	48,0	26,9
I do not see a leader, whom I can trust	14,1	13,6	18,5	11,6	14,8
Lack of money and other resources to engage in such activity	12,0	9,2	6,0	10,4	17,4
Lack of knowledge on how to reach my goal	9,0	7,8	7,6	7,9	9,1
I have no associates	5,8	4,4	5,3	4,0	7,0
Threat of interference of authorities, law enforcement agencies, management, etc	4,3	4,7	5,2	4,4	4,3
Other	15,2	11,6	5,4	14,2	20,4
Hard to answer	10,8	9,1	11,1	8,3	12,4

* No data available for upper class due to insufficient representation.

To what measures would you resort first of all in order to defend your violated rights?
respondents, %

	All respondents	Upper class	Subjective middle class	Middle class "nucleus"	Middle class periphery	Lower class
Turn to court	37,3	49,0	44,2	51,4	41,3	30,4
Turn to a lawyer	26,6	49,6	34,1	40,6	31,4	18,8
Turn to public prosecution office	16,0	27,9	20,2	23,4	18,9	11,3
Turn to influential acquaintances for help in solving the problem	11,3	13,8	13,7	17,8	12,1	8,5
Turn to authorities (including people's deputies and the President)	10,1	11,3	11,2	13,0	10,4	9,4
Turn to human rights NGOs	4,4	5,9	4,7	5,6	4,3	4,4
Turn to Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights	4,1	8,7	5,2	5,6	5,1	2,7
Turn to European Court of Human Rights	2,9	9,2	3,6	5,1	3,0	2,0
Conduct acts of disobedience (picketing, hunger strikes, etc.)	2,7	2,0	3,1	3,4	2,9	2,0
Turn to international organisations	2,1	3,2	2,6	3,5	2,2	1,7
Other	2,8	0,5	2,2	2,3	2,1	3,5
I would not resort to any measures	18,3	7,6	13,8	8,8	15,8	26,4
Hard to answer	17,6	10,8	13,3	8,1	15,4	18,8

Protection of violated rights. In the situation of low legitimacy of government institutions and a popular belief that government does a poor job in protecting citizens' interests, it is important, how citizens themselves can defend their rights.

In case their rights are violated, middle class "nucleus" representatives more often than middle class periphery and lower class representatives, in the first place, tend to turn to court (51%, 41% and 30%, respectively), to a lawyer (41%, 31% and 19%, respectively) or public prosecution office (23%, 19% and 11%, respectively)

(Table "To what measures would you resort first of all in order to defend your violated rights?") Middle class "nucleus" representatives express their plans to turn to a lawyer less often than upper class representatives (50%), according to the number of expressed intentions to turn to court and public prosecution office, these two groups did not have statistically significant differences. So, representatives of middle class "nucleus" and upper class more often than middle class periphery and lower class representatives are inclined to defend their rights in court.



20% of middle class “nucleus” representatives (this is more, than among its periphery representatives (15%) and lower class (11%)), but less than among upper class representatives (27%)), are ready to defend their rights through turning to human rights organisations and institutions (human rights NGOs, international organisations, Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights, European Court of Human Rights).

13% of middle class “nucleus” representatives, 10% – of its periphery, 9% of lower class representatives and 11% – of upper, note that they, first of all, intend to turn to authorities (including people’s deputies and the President).

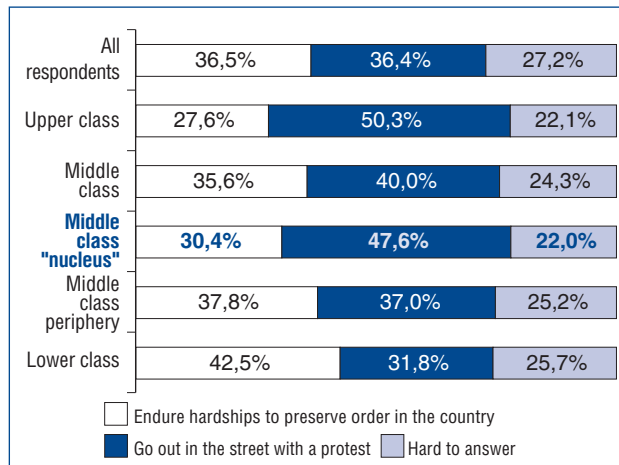
However, it should be noted that 18% of middle class “nucleus” representatives in this situation intend to seek help of influential acquaintances (among periphery representatives – 12%, lower class – 9%, upper – 14%). This demonstrates that **a significant portion of middle class will use corruption schemes to defend their rights.**

Will resort to acts of disobedience (picketing, hunger strikes) only 3% of middle class “nucleus” representatives (approximately the same figures are registered in all social class groups). This demonstrates that **the majority of middle class “nucleus” representatives, as well as other social class groups, are not inclined to resort to drastic means of influence in order to defend their rights.** Escalated use of these measures is possible only in the situation of complete disregard for demands of people, who are trying to defend their rights within the limits of the law or the use by government of inadequately strict measures against protesters (as it happened at the end of 2013).

There were 9% of middle class “nucleus” representatives and 8% of upper class representatives, who would not resort to any measures in order to defend their violated rights. This is less than among representatives of middle class periphery (16%) and lower class (26%), – which is a sign that middle class “nucleus”, along with the upper class, (or at least, a part of it), as an agent of social action, is a potential leader in defending democratic values and civil rights.

Intentions to participate in street protests. Despite the low percentage of those, who are ready to use acts of

Which is better – to endure hardships (financial, oppression of civil rights, etc.) to preserve order in the country, or to go out in the street with a protest?
respondents, %



Which is better – to endure hardships (financial, oppression of civil rights, etc.) to preserve order in the country, or to go out in the street with a protest?
respondents, %

	All respondents		Subjective middle class	
	2009*	2014	2009	2014
Endure hardships to preserve order in the country	34,8	36,5	30,1	35,6
Go out in the street with a protest	46,5	36,4	50,1	40,0
Hard to answer	18,7	27,2	19,9	24,3

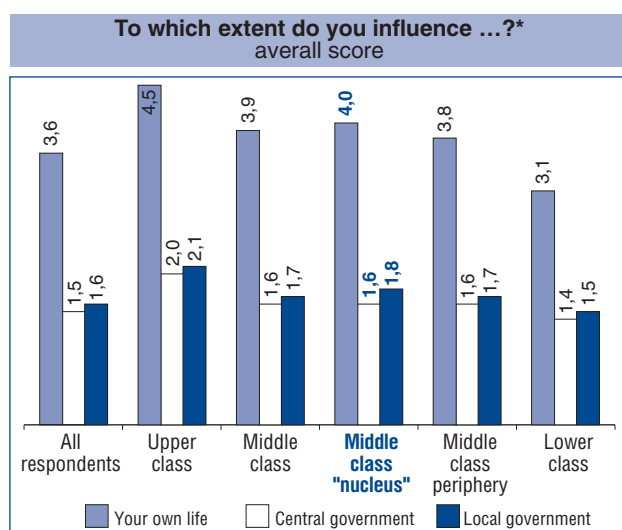
* Study conducted by the Sociological Service of the Razumkov Centre on October 19-26, 2009. There were 2010 respondents in all regions of Ukraine. Theoretical sampling error – 2.3%.

disobedience as the first means of defending their rights, middle class “nucleus” also retains a potential willingness to resort to street protests, if necessary. Thus, 48% of this social class group’s representatives, choosing between alternative statements: “endure hardships to preserve order in the country” and “go out in the street with a protest”, prefer the first option (the latter one was chosen only by 30%) (Table “Which is better – to endure..?”). Similar is the position of upper class representatives (50% and 28%, respectively). Among representatives of middle class periphery, both statements are supported equally (37%, each), while lower class representatives are rather inclined to “endure hardships” – 32% and 43%, respectively.

Thus, **the lower the social ranking of a social class group is (and objectively worse, its social conditions), the less are its representatives ready to resort to acts of protest. This contradicts the idea that the poorest strata of society have the most protest potential, and confirms the statement that in the modern society it is middle class that is the agent of social transformation (incl., if necessary, through acts of protest).**

Influence of internality/externality on protest activity.

In general, a higher level of civic activism in middle class (compared to lower class), and, especially, in its “nucleus”, can be connected with a higher level of internality: as noted above, defining the level of their influence on the course of their life on the 5-point scale, middle class “nucleus” representatives estimated it at 4, while lower class representatives – at 3.1 points. The highest level of internality was registered among upper class representatives (4.5 points) (Diagram “To which extent do you influence...?”) Along with this, middle class representatives (as well as representatives of other groups) estimate their ability to influence central and local government as low (respective values are only 1.6 and 1.8 points).



* On a 5-point scale from 1 to 5, where "1" means do not influence at all, and "5" – strongly influence.

Combination of a high level of internality with awareness of the low ability to influence work of government structures is also a factor in formation of protest potential of a social community.

CONCLUSIONS

Summarising the above, we can state that middle class “nucleus” (and its periphery) exhibit a higher than in lower class level of trust in social environment, society as a whole, state and social institutions. The majority of middle class “nucleus” representatives (as well as its periphery and upper class representatives), in the



first place, identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine. These factors have a positive influence on the readiness of middle class to participate in civic activity aimed at implementation of goals not only narrowly defined and associated with their group, but also goals important for the whole society.

Middle class “nucleus” representatives (as well as upper) are more interested in politics and civic activism as opposed to lower class. Similarly, their level of participation in active civic work is higher contrasted to lower class representatives. In the past years, the share of those middle class representatives, who motivate their participation in civic activity by ideological and political reasons has grown.

However, civic activism is still popular only among a minor part of representatives of this social class group. Although, it should be noted that the socially active stratum of middle class, which is involved in active civic work, is rather influential in the modern Ukrainian society and, to a significant degree, it is this stratum that shapes the image of middle class and standards of social behaviour of this social class group.

Most often the lack of desire to participate in civic activity is justified by respondents’ not seeing its benefits. At the same time, in the past years, the notion of the “lack of benefits” from civic activity has become less popular among middle class representatives.

The higher level of civic activism of middle class “nucleus” representatives (compared to lower class) can be explained by a higher level of internality (belief that they can define the course of their life themselves).

Civic activism of middle class “nucleus” to a great extent is developing in the form of protest activity. Clearly, this is connected with peculiarities of current socio-political and socio-economic situation in the country, absence of established, stable channels of communication between different segments of Ukrainian society, foremost, between government and civil society, low level of trust in government.

Compared to lower class, middle class “nucleus” representatives (and upper class representatives), in case their rights are violated, more often demonstrate their readiness to defend them in court, through turning to human rights organisations and institutions, and taking part in acts of protest. Also, a major part of middle class “nucleus” (as well as of upper class) can be characterised with readiness to use corruption schemes to defend their rights.

Despite the low level of trust in government, middle class “nucleus” (as well as upper class) retains certain potential for support of the socio-political system that is currently being established in the country.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The project, first of all, was aimed at finding out whether the contemporary Ukrainian society has a social group (social class) that best fits the concept of the middle class (the middle class “nucleus”) and, secondly, at determining to what extent this group is able to embrace, promote and defend democratic values, norms and standards. Accordingly, opinion polls and group interviews were selected as research methods with the criteria primarily based on the respondents’ self-identification and self-ratings (self-identification criteria).¹

Using the strong identification criteria (the respondents identifying themselves with the middle class by trinomial and quadrinomial scales and based on the test for integral self-assessment of a respondent’s social status), a relatively high prosperity level (at least “generally, we have enough for living, but we find it hard to buy durables”), a high educational level (at least a secondary vocational education), a social circle in which the middle class prevails, and associating themselves with the middle class, we distinguished the middle class “nucleus” (14% of Ukrainians) and “periphery” (35%). The lower class included 31% of the respondents, while the upper class comprised somewhat more than 1%.

Considering the characteristics of the respondents who identified themselves with the upper class it can be assumed that those mainly belong to the so-called lower upper class.² However, according to some social characteristics (including social activity level), the upper class is closer to what is known as the “typical” middle class rather than the middle class “nucleus”.

The largest groups in the social structure of the middle class “nucleus” are specialists (28%), entrepreneurs and executives (11% each), skilled workers (15%), white-collar workers and pensioners (9% each). So, wage and salary workers make up the majority of the middle class “nucleus”. The largest groups in the upper class social structure are entrepreneurs (18%), skilled workers (15%), specialists (14%), pensioners (13%), executives and students (9% each).

The social and class identification of the respondents demonstrates a dependency on a settlement type, the age and the gender. The middle class “nucleus” (just as the upper class) mostly consists of the residents

of big cities³ and the active working-age population (under 49), predominantly male. The latter indicator, however, is largely due to the age factor, since the share of senior citizens over 60 is 1.5 higher among women than men, so the old age (and a pensioner’s status) makes it more likely that a respondent will fall into lower social class groups.

An important factor of the middle class evolution is the social background, as there exists intergeneration reproducibility – in other words, the parents of the middle class “nucleus” members also belonged to the middle class. Members of the upper class mostly say that their parents were members of the middle class. This may serve to confirm the assumption that the middle class forms the basis for the upper class.

Education is also an essential factor in the development of the middle class. In particular, it is more customary for the middle class “nucleus” (as well as the upper class) to improve their academic and qualification level than for the lower class. However, the fact that quite a number of highly educated young people identify themselves with the lower class is indicative of an utterly unfavourable social and economic environment in the country as well as faulty employment, education and social policies, and therefore causes social tension and discontent.

The financial standing of the Ukrainian middle class does not always correspond to the concept of the typical middle class. The middle class welfare is definitely higher than that of the lower class. However, while from 2005 to 2008 the wealth status of the middle class improved, in 2014, due to numerous adverse factors (including the global financial and economic crisis and the current hostilities in Ukraine), the level of its welfare dropped as compared to 2008.

The middle class “nucleus” (just as the upper class) differs substantially from the lower class, first of all, by having innovative communication and work facilities (computers, Internet, etc.), comfortable homes, cars and employment according to their qualification. On the other hand, less than half of this group reported having a car or a good job. Somewhat more than a quarter of the middle class “nucleus” members have good and stable incomes. The savings of the middle class “nucleus” are also rather modest. Though its members

¹ Such criteria may be called “subjective-objective” like “subjective data about facts” (V. Paniotto). See *Middle Class in Ukraine: Identification Criteria* (Expert Assessments, Citizens’ Perceptions and Self-Identification). – Razumkov Centre Library, Kyiv, 2014, pp. 9-13.

² Moreover, as social research shows, the upper strata of the upper class are rarely accessible for mass opinion polls.

³ The largest share of the core middle class lives in the cities of the Western and central regions of the country.

have a much better situation with savings than lower social classes, a quarter of them have no savings at all; only 15% think that if they lose the source of income, their savings will be sufficient to last through 6 months.

The current level of income earned by the middle class, though making essential material benefits available, is not enough for a high-quality life, which, among other things, implies the ability to make sufficient investments in one's (and/or family members') health and education, and actually to be satisfied with various aspects of daily living and life in general.

The members of the middle class "nucleus" (just like Ukrainians in general) are most of all satisfied with their relationships with family members and the surrounding people. Moderate content is reported as to the quality of life, social status and business environment as well as the options to satisfy the personal development needs and self-actualization.

The middle class "nucleus" members are least of all satisfied with the way their civil rights and freedoms are protected, poor options of influencing the social life, the state of democracy and social justice as well as the overall situation in the country. It can be assumed that this is largely the reason why a relative majority (46%) of the middle class "nucleus" does not see any social prospects in Ukraine.

Apart from skills, education and hard work, all social groups often mention "necessary acquaintances and ties" among the most essential factors contributing to life success. This is a characteristic of the "corruption traditions" rooted in the Ukrainian society in the form of social stereotypes, affecting, in particular, the middle class. The higher a social group is ranked in the social hierarchy, the more involved are its members in corruption.

Thus, the middle class "nucleus" (as well as the middle class in general and the upper class) would more often than the lower class defend their rights in court, apply to law enforcement authorities and institutions or take part in public protests. However, the majority of the middle class "nucleus" (as well as the upper class) would also resort to corrupt practices to protect their rights.

At the same time, social activity, democratic attitudes and rational needs are least mentioned by representatives of the middle class "nucleus" among personal and social qualities and characteristics a person must possess to be associated with the middle class. So, it can be argued that such values as "rational needs", "social activity" and "democratic attitudes" are not internalized deeply enough by the middle class "nucleus" and the middle class in general.

On the whole, the structure of values practised by the "nucleus" and periphery middle class has much



in common with that of the lower class. However, the difference is in appreciating the freedom of action while making important life decisions. The middle class "nucleus", as compared to the lower class, is characterized by a greater commitment to liberal social and political values, such as personal freedom and equality (primarily, in terms of equal opportunities) and rarely has paternalistic expectations from the government.

They more often describe members of their social surrounding as individuals who strive to protect and put into practice democratic values and live without breaking the law or violating the moral principles.

The middle class "nucleus" members also have one of the characteristics inherent in the typical middle class, which is self-reliance. In particular, representatives of the middle class "nucleus" more often report pursuing prosperity through personal efforts, being self-confident and relying mainly upon themselves.

The prevailing majority of the representatives of the middle class "nucleus" (just as the upper class) identify themselves as the citizens of Ukraine in the first place. This may be viewed as a manifestation of their civic mindedness, responsibility not only for themselves, their families, region or social group, but also for the entire country. At the same time, a relatively large number (mainly in the East and Donbas) of those who identify themselves with this region rather than with the whole country (including some middle class "nucleus" members), evidence critical problems relating to civic awareness.

The middle class "nucleus" (along with the upper class) versus the lower class take more interest in politics and public activities, and they tend to have



stronger political beliefs. This is obviously the reason for their higher involvement in public activities. Over the recent years, more and more representatives of the middle class have participated in public activities due to their ideological and political beliefs. However, public activity still remains characteristic of only the smallest share of this social group. It should also be noted that the socially active layer of the middle class involved in public activities is rather influential in the society and for the most part creates the middle class image and sets the standards of social behaviour for the overall Ukrainian middle class.

Another reason for the higher involvement of the middle class “nucleus” (as compared to the lower class) in public activities is obviously a higher level of their internality (being sure that they can determine the course of their life on their own). At the same time, representatives of the middle class (like other groups) report having little ability to influence the central and local authorities. The combination of high internality and awareness of their low ability to influence governmental structures is one of the factors in developing a protesting potential of this social class group.

The middle class “nucleus” is distinguished among other social class groups by having the highest confidence in the immediate social surrounding and a relatively high level of tolerance. Moreover, the feeling of community with the middle class was determined as the definitive feature of the middle class “nucleus” (i.e. this feeling is common for all members of this group). The combination of these characteristics can be viewed as one of the prerequisites for social integration of the middle class as a subject of social activity.

When analyzing the features of the feeling of community, it should be kept in mind that it is not only about economic interests, but also about values and outlooks. According to A. Turen, “the criteria for identifying class actors in a specific historical context include social movements for defending specific cultural models and orientations”.⁴ That is, social and class solidarity can be (and is increasingly) manifested in the modern society in defending not only common economic interests, but also shared social and cultural values being an integrating factor for a certain community. To some extent, it was proven by the Maidan phenomenon, whose participants hardly had any mutual economic interests.

Summing up the characteristics of the middle class and its “nucleus”, we can see that, from the perspective of adhering to democratic values, norms and standards and the willingness to promote them, these characteristics are rather controversial, just as the trends of the country’s social and political development. The Ukrainian middle class “nucleus” has a certain potential to embrace such values, norms and standards and unite the nation for defending and promoting them. However, there are grounds to assert that such potential largely depends on the government’s position and activity.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that out of the five parties forming the parliamentary coalition in Ukraine’s Verkhovna Rada of the 8th convocation, only two, “People’s Front” and “Batkivshchyna”, declared support for the middle class in their election platforms. Moreover, it follows from the agenda provisions stating that the middle class is associated with the class of entrepreneurs since it is only mentioned in connection with the support of small and medium business. Accordingly, the official parliamentary and governmental documents such as the Coalition Agreement and the Action Plan of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers contain no term ‘middle class’ and only mention small and medium business.

At the same time, these documents do not provide for a fundamental salary reform. Thus, interests of the middle class as it is currently understood, i.e. salary employees, mainly social and professional groups whose work requires a high level of education and qualifications (teachers, doctors, scientists, public servants, etc.) are, in fact, neglected by the acting government.

Ignoring the majority of the Ukrainian middle class can lead either to its disappearance as a social phenomenon or to a burst of its protest potential, even in an unpredictable form.

⁴ See O.D. Kutsenko. Society of Unequals. Class Analysis of Inequalities in Modern Society: Efforts of Western Sociology. – Kharkiv, 2000, p.178.

POPULATION WITH MEDIUM INCOME AS THE BASIS FOR MIDDLE CLASS FORMATION IN UKRAINE

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The discussion around existence in Ukraine of a middle class most often comes down to the issue of term definition. The answer to the question, what we mean by Ukrainian middle class, determines further evaluations and expert conclusions. Thus, middle class is a certain group in the middle of social hierarchy, or, according to the classical definition, – a special social group that fundamentally differs from the rest of society and gains social importance as a social class on condition of significant quantity of people in it (up to the size of the most numerous social group) and execution of functions inherently associated only with this group.

According to the first approach, there should be a middle class of different size in any society, according to the second one – its existence in a society that has not reached a certain level of development is doubtful. Identification of middle class according to the second approach is a purely sociological problem, as it is necessary to establish the fact of existence of a special group, which is united by a system of relations, views, behaviour, values, etc., and which clearly identifies itself with such a group, and thus, has intentions and capacity for performing functions inherent for middle class. As opposed to this, in order to single out a social group in the middle of society according to objective characteristics, foremost, socio-economic, it is enough to use purely objective sources of more or less good quality.

Ukrainian society of independence period is characterised by extremely low self-esteem of people's own status, especially, in the situation of evaluating their financial and consumer capacity. Correspondingly, those people, who according to the first approach could be objectively included in Ukrainian middle class, often did not identify themselves with this social group. Their position can be determined as providing a rationale for non-belonging, rather than the search of arguments in favour of belonging to middle class; the most popular explanation in this case was (and still is) absence of certain material assets or consumer capacity. There are many reasons for this self-evaluation, but the main one, traditionally, is the focus on standards of the European so-called "upper" middle class, not on the standards of Ukrainian society.

So, today, it is not enough to look for the definition of Ukrainian middle class in scientific literature and scientific environment. A more correct approach is to determine the nature of this notion through the eyes of society itself. And if it turns out that there is a huge gap between the views of society, especially, its middle strata, and the reality, the obvious conclusion will be that there is no established middle class in its classical understanding.

1. POPULATION WITH MEDIUM INCOME

Middle class can be identified according to a number of subjective and objective characteristics, with a key role in this process of a sociological component, because:

- 1) self-identification is a key feature and the main reason for including a person in middle class;
- 2) without the sociological component it is impossible to examine the validity of other criteria from the point of view of society.

However, objective characteristics allow for a more precise evaluation of socio-demographic and socio-economic portrait of a middle class representative, specifics of his behaviour in consumer market and financial situation, compared to other society groups.

Besides, analytical generalisations on the basis of objective indicators can be an illustration of not only a statistical profile, but also of a result of long-term processes in society.

ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The information for this research was drawn from Ukrainian Household Living Conditions Survey, which is performed on a regular by-quarterly basis by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (Derzhstat) and meets basic international requirements for studies of this type. The main problem of this information source is a shift of the sample towards population with low income, which leads to reduction of quality of income indicators and characteristics connected with them. It should be noted that similar studies in other countries also have similar flaws due to a number of objective reasons of social nature and purely technical factors.

In this research, **population with medium income** was defined by expertise on the basis of analysis of natural gaps in a range of 1% groups ranked by the indicator of total equivalent expenses. Natural gaps, in authors' view, present a number of advantages for studying distribution by income, in particular: they are more sensitive to changes of socio-economic environment and immediately react to internal and external influences. For example, fast growth of real income at macro- and micro-level after 2001 caused an evident stratification in the group of population with medium income, while negative changes after 2008, removed boundaries within the group, and facilitated the process of blurring the boundaries between the group with medium income and the group with high income.

In the study, the indicators of expenses are used as income variable, – as they better reflect the real financial standing of households in conditions of existence of a large unregistered sector of economy. Total expenses are determined according to the methodology of State Statistics Service. Re-calculation of total expenses per notional adult person in the household is done according to equivalent scale 1.0; 0.7; 0.7.

By expertise, two population groups with medium income were singled out: the narrow and the broad one. The first group (narrow) practically merges with the group with high income, which is actually more in line with the real level of consumption of middle class (taking into account the named above flaws of the study), but is too small for search analysis due to the problem of representativeness of

sample array (only 5% of population). So it was decided to increase the researched array by combining population groups with medium and high income. The expanded group is much bigger (14%, as of 2013), which allows for quantitative evaluation and comparisons inside the group, as well as for its combining with arrays, defined by other objective criteria.

Population groups by income	proportion, %	Income groups' margins, UAH/month	Average equivalent expenses, UAH/month	Median equivalent expenses, UAH/month
Destitute population	11,0	below 950	768,9	795,7
Poor population	13,5	950 – 1 187	1 076,6	1 078,9
Population with income below medium	61,5	1 178-2 520	1 724,2	1 673,3
Population with medium income	9,0	2 520-3 484	2 911,1	2 891,3
Population with high income	5,0	from 3 484	4 849,1	4 142,3
All population	100	X	1 794,8	1 583,2

Population with medium income and higher education are people, who belong to the group of population with medium income and have basic, incomplete or complete higher education (including vocational schools and colleges). Population with medium income and sufficient status in the labour market are people with medium income, who have the status of an employer or salaried employee. The shortcoming of this grouping as a result of limited database, is levelling of all salaried employees, regardless of their position and work performed. Also, this categorisation does not include self-employed persons, as people who appeared to be uncompetitive in the labour market.

Population with medium income, higher education and sufficient status in the labour market – people, who simultaneously possess all three characteristics defined above.

On the overall, in Ukraine in 2013, population with medium income made up 14% of population.¹ By its quantity, this group comes after not only the value of the last pre-crisis year (2007), but also 2002, which is a sign of development of negative processes in society, which intensified during the years of the last economic crisis (2008-2009) and caused deterioration of social structure of society (Table “*Quantity and Percentage of People with Medium Income in the Structure of Ukrainian Population*”).

If the income factor is combined with education and/or status in the labour market, the dynamics is positive – there is a significant increase of the groups, which meet 2-3 criteria simultaneously. Concerning education, this can be explained by the fact that the researched age groups are gradually joined by persons, who acquired education in

the post-Soviet period.² In 2013, 9.8% of population were included in the group of population with medium income, who have a higher education diploma, 9.4% – matched the medium income criterion and had sufficient status in the labour market, and 6.6% – matched all three requirements at the same time.

The share of population with medium income within population composition directly depends on the size of the community – it increases along with the increase of community size: in rural areas it is only 8.1%, and in small towns – 1.5 times higher (12.4%), in big cities excluding Kyiv – 16.8%. Clearly, the largest share of population with medium income is characteristic for Kyiv – here this group includes every third person (34.6%) (Diagram “*The Share of Population Group with Medium Income within Population Composition*”).³

Quantity and Percentage of People with Medium Income in the Structure of Ukrainian Population

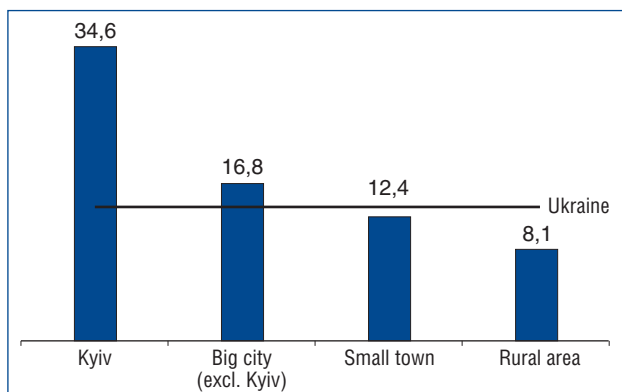
	Quantity of population with medium income, thousand people			Percentage of population with medium income, %		
	2002	2007	2013	2002	2007	2013
Population with medium income	7 432,9	7 864,2	6 137,4	15,6	17,4	14,0
• with higher education	3 205,3	3 582,2	3 086,7	6,7	7,9	9,8
• with sufficient status in the labour market	2 945,1	3 666,4	2 945,1	6,2	8,1	9,4
• with higher education and sufficient status in the labour market	2 073,8	2 584,6	2 080,8	4,3	5,7	6,6

¹ The events at the end of 2013 worsened the total distribution of population by income. It is sufficient to note that according to data from the nine months of 2013, a different situation was observed: the share of population with medium income made up 16.5%, i.e. less than in the same period in 2007 (17.4%), but slightly higher than in 2002 (15.6%).

² In the past decade, percentage of high school graduates, who continue their education at higher education institutions, has significantly increased, which caused a gradual increase of the number of people with higher education, as well as the average duration of education.

³ Here and further in the text, if not specified otherwise, information in tables and diagrams is based on authors' calculations of micro-data from Household Living Conditions Survey of State Statistics Service.

The Share of Population Group with Medium Income within Population Composition, % by the type of settlement, 2013



2. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF A HOUSEHOLD WITH MEDIUM INCOME

Comparison of main characteristics of narrow and broad groups⁴ households shows their similarity. Thus, they are characterised by living primarily in big cities (67% and 59%, respectively), which is conditioned by better opportunities to receive income. Medium income households of narrow and broad groups, compared to an average Ukrainian household, are characterised by a lower parenthood status indicator – only 13% and 20%, respectively (compared to 38% in the country, in general), have children. Among childless households of these groups prevail one- or two-person households, which make up 83-84% of the total array. So, the main characteristics of the two mentioned groups of population with medium income are rather similar, which provides a possibility to study the broad group for a more detailed portrait of their “classical representative” – a typical household with medium income.

Typical households with medium income

- include one (33%) or two (36%) people. In 80% of cases such households do not have children, the rest, as a rule, have only one; small children are present twice less often, than on the average in the country;
- mostly include only people of working age (43% of households);
- in 52% of households a woman is its head, in most cases (62%), the level of education of the head is higher education, which exceeds the average rate for the country almost by 1.5 times. In 57% of cases, household head works (vs. 46% on the average in the country);
- in general, **adult household members** have high level of education – 64% of them have higher education (vs. 46% on the average in the country);
- most of them work – 57% (vs. 47%). Also higher is the share of employers – 1.6% vs. 0.6%;
- work at privately-owned enterprises less often than on the average in the country (29% vs. 36%), and more often – at state enterprises and institutions (44% vs. 39%);

- more often than the rest of the working people are employed in extractive industry, financial and insurance spheres, information and telecommunications, professional, scientific and technical activity, education, public administration; less often – in agriculture, construction, healthcare and provision of social benefits;
- are characterised with a higher level of professional competency. Thus, in processing industry, 70% of workers from this group acquired higher education in engineering sciences, while among other workers this percentage is 62%; in education, correspondence with acquired education is 62% vs. 58%, in healthcare – 70% vs. 62%.

If to the group of population with medium income additional conditions are applied, which to a greater extent correspond with the classical understanding of middle class, and namely, – obligatory presence of higher education and an occupation that brings income, we can speak about a certain “nucleus” of the population group with medium income. Its main characteristics are mostly the same as described above. Representatives of the so-called “nucleus” primarily live in big cities (over 60%), which is conditioned by higher standards of work remuneration in such settlements, as well as by better employment possibilities and bigger aggregation of people with higher education.

The typical household-representative of the “nucleus” of medium income group is a family without children, all members of which are of working age. They make up 49% of the total array. Among them prevail married couples (43%) and single people (38%). Consequently, among “nucleus” representatives, the share of families with children is smaller compared to the rest of Ukraine: only 29% vs. 38% on the average in the country, also 82% of such families have only one child, and there are almost no families with many children.

Thus, typical representatives of the group of people with medium income in Ukraine are one- or two-person households, which include mostly working-age people (younger than 49 y.o.), living primarily in big cities, mostly containing people with higher education, salaried employees, working, as a rule, according to the education they acquired.

3. INCOME: LEVEL, SOURCES, FEATURES OF FORMATION

The portrait of a classical representative of the population group with medium income provides main answers to the question about sources of income – **their main share has to come from employment**. True, the so-called earned income (work remuneration and income from entrepreneurial activity) of representatives of the population group with medium income makes up 61.4% of family budget, which is much more in comparison to poor households (49.6%) and the average percentage for Ukraine (56.5%) (Table “Structure of General Income of Households”, p.82).

Less often than among representatives of other arrays the income of the group under study is formed with pensions (20.1% vs. 26.5% among poor, and 24% on the average in the country). The population group with medium income has a noticeably lesser share in income from

⁴ As noted above, the narrow group makes up about 5% of population and cannot be studied in detail. This is why the presented characteristics mostly concern the broad group, which in 2013 made up 14% of population.

Structure of General Income of Households,
%

	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Remuneration of work	52,3	55,7	47,5
Pension	24,0	20,1	26,5
Financial aid from relatives and acquaintances	4,4	6,6	3,5
Income from entrepreneurial activity and individual work	4,2	5,7	2,1
Cost of consumed products obtained from personal gardens and farms, self-produced and stored foods	3,9	2,2	5,7
Other social transfers	3,9	2,1	6,9
Income from selling products from personal farms and gardens	2,9	2,1	4,0
Benefits and subsidies	1,0	1,0	0,6
Income from real estate	0,8	0,5	1,0
Income from selling own property	0,4	1,7	0,0
Other income	2,4	2,3	2,4

other social transfers (besides benefits and subsidies) – 2.1% vs. 6.9% for poor and 3.9% on the average in Ukraine.

Pensions. For more than a decade, in Ukraine, pensions have been the second most important source of income of households. Currently, over half (55,5%) of Ukrainian households receive pension payments, i.e., in each second household there is at least one pensioner.

In the population group with medium income, pensions were received by a rather significant percentage of

households (51.8%), which taking into account socio-demographic characteristics of this group can be a sign that within this group there is a group of people of working age, who retired from their main workplace according to special laws (law enforcement agencies, hazardous industry workers, other welfare beneficiaries). This conclusion is also confirmed by the fact that the size of pensions in the population group with medium income is, on the average, 416 UAH more than the average amount for the total array of households.

Educational allowances. In Ukraine, educational allowances as a separate source of income cannot provide their beneficiaries a place within the group with medium income. In 2013, the amount of educational allowance even in higher education institutions of III-IV level of accreditation was fixed at 730 UAH, for A level students – 790 UAH. This leads to low value of this income source in the country on the overall, and in the group with medium income as well – the share of educational allowances in the income of Ukrainians was only 0.63%; in the budget of households with medium income – 0.45%. However, the share of households that receive educational allowances in the population group with medium income was slightly bigger than in the country on the overall – 6.1% vs. 5.8%, which is indicative of better possibilities, at least, financial, for education.

Social transfers. In the analysis of income in the form of social transfers, special attention must be paid to a system of financial aid paid according to insurance principle (primarily, unemployment aid) or from the state budget in the form of social aid.

State social aid for families with children. This type of social support of population is characterised by almost

WORK (EMPLOYMENT) AS THE SOURCE OF INCOME

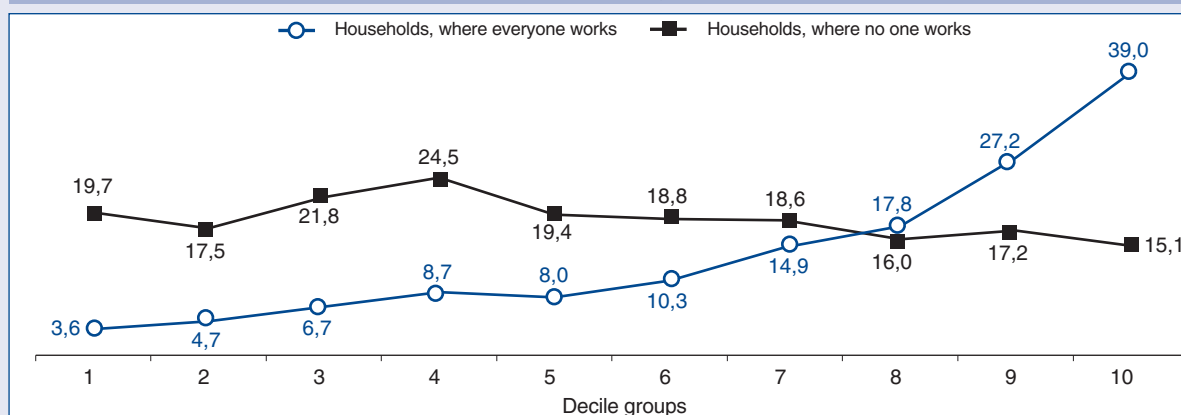
Despite the low standards of work remuneration in Ukraine and a strong, economically unjustified, component of establishing the differentiation, work still brings more money than income from non-labour sources (social transfers, income from rent, stocks, etc.), and only employment can currently guarantee movement to income groups of a higher level. Among households that consist exclusively of working people, most belong rather to upper decile groups, and only a small share are in the low income zone. In their turn, households with non-working people are more equally distributed among decile groups, with most concentration in groups 2-7.

The last economic crisis has been a serious blow to the part of inequality that was caused by individual productivity, due to which the role of work remuneration decreased in formation of general inequality and reduction of differentiation in work remuneration.

As a result of the crisis, work remuneration started making a smaller relative contribution (compared to previous years) to Gini coefficient, which measures the general differentiation by income. On the other side, differentiation of salary itself has changed – Gini coefficient for the salary variable has become smaller.

Contribution of work remuneration in formation of general inequality in society has drastically diminished in 2008-2010, and even though in 2011, there was a positive tendency for its growth, 2013 data never reached the pre-crisis level (62.1% vs. 4.4% in 2007). The effect of blurring the economically justified component of inequality or its movement to the non-official sector can exacerbate social problems and increase tensions in society: on the one hand, due to decreased economic and social activity of population, on the other, – due to budget shortfalls of funds for social transfers.

Distribution of Households Depending on the Presence of Working People in their Composition,
% by decile groups



Unemployment benefits

The number of registered unemployed people at the end of October 2013 was 10 thousand people, or 21% of all unemployed working-age people determined by the ILO (International Labour Organization) methodology. Unemployment benefits were received by 81.4% of people with unemployment status.⁵ Among the recipients, each ninth belonged to the group of population with medium income and almost each third – to poor. Consequently, among poor, the benefits were received by 4.1%, in the group of population with medium income – only 2.1%. However, the fact of presence in the latter group of not just unemployed, but of people, who receive respective aid, can be a sign not only of the economic crisis consequences for the labour market, but also of certain attitude in society to receiving social transfers.

100% reach to potential recipients.⁶ This programme has primarily categorical nature, and in the situation of aid at childbirth – solely categorical nature, as its main goal is to influence the demographic situation in Ukraine. According to data from 2013, at least one type of aid for children was received by 13.8% of country households, among which, each 15 (6.9%) belonged to the group of population with medium income. In this group, only 5.5% of households received a certain type of payments for children, which exactly corresponds with the socio-demographic composition of population with medium income (with a predominance of single people of married couples without children).

System of Social Aid on Categorical Basis

In Ukraine, social aid system was established on the basis of belonging to a certain category of the needful, and only with time, along with its improvement and reform, a transfer was started to aid on a targeted basis. Currently, due to implemented measures, certain types of social assistance to families with children include a check of their level of income only on condition, if the recipient seeks larger payments. Thus, a financial payment can be received by a person that belongs to a certain category regardless of the level of her income.

Besides the aid for children, some other types of payments are provided solely on categorical basis. In particular:

- assistance to disabled from childhood and disabled children;
- compensation payments and aid to citizens, who were affected by the Chernobyl accident (about 12 types of aid);⁷
- carer's allowance (a monthly payment to low-income individual living with a disabled person of I or II group due to a mental disorder, who, upon conclusion of a medical panel of a healthcare institution, requires constant care);
- social aid for orphan children and children deprived of parental care, – allowance to foster parents and adoptive parents.

Social benefits system. A special type of social support that is provided on the categorical basis is the system of social benefits. In 2013, at least one type of social benefits was received by 42.8% of households of the country, with almost each sixth (17.6%) belonging to the group of population with medium income. If among the poor, income in the form of social benefits was received by 35.1%, in the population group with medium income this percentage was 43.5%, which is a sign that this type of transfer is targeted primarily at non-poor people.

Social Protection System in Ukraine: Influence on Inequality

Traditionally, social protection system of any country is meant to support vulnerable population groups and, thus, aims to a certain extent to level out the general inequality in society.

In Ukraine, social protection system is aimed at increasing the inequality, especially in the part of pensions and social benefits, which make a significant additional contribution to differentiation of population by income. But if the contribution of pensions to the general inequality has a smaller relative share compared to the share of pensions in the structure of income, the contribution of social benefits to the inequality exceeds their role in people's income structure (1.1% vs. 0.9%). Thus, we can assume that the most benefit from using social support receive those strata of population that are better provided for.

The percentages of social benefits' contribution to the general inequality of income among population of Ukraine demonstrate that this programme does not execute its functions of social protection of vulnerable population groups. And even though, currently, social benefits make up in the income of country's population a larger share than all social assistance programmes together (with the exception of aid to families with children), they are not targeted at poor population, thus, increasing the unjustified inequality in society.

Influence of Certain Types of Social Support on General Stratification of Society (on the basis of decomposition of Gini-Tail Coefficient)

	Relative share in the structure of general income, %	Contribution to Gini coefficient, %
Aid for children	2,39	-2,00
Aid to low-income families	0,19	-0,41
Other types of aid	0,43	0,34
Housing subsidies	0,10	0,00
Social benefits	0,85	1,12

Consequently, the major programmes of social assistance have a different orientation towards population with low income. This conclusion is confirmed by the results of analysis of a share of the total sum of money from each of the programmes, received by different decile groups. While the money of the low-income family programme is concentrated in poorest decile groups 1-4, the money of social assistance programme is shifted towards richest decile groups 8-10. Also, assistance to families with children has mostly uniform distribution, but with larger concentration in the low income zone and smaller – in the zone with high income. Housing subsidies have almost no representation in extreme positions (the richest and the poorest groups), and are mostly concentrated in the middle zone – from 3 to 8 decile group.

Targeted social aid. Today, the only type of social aid that is provided solely on targeted basis and demonstrates high level of social efficiency is aid to low-income families. A high level of targeting this type of aid at poor people is stipulated by its rather low amount, but even this does not safeguard it from being included in the program of non-poor population. Thus, according to 2013 data, in Ukraine, aid for low-income families is received by 2.2% of households. With this, 52.3% of recipients were poor, almost 3% – belonged to population group with medium income. And even though this is too small a percentage

⁵ Holovach O.L. Labour market at the end of October 2013. – Internet publication "UA-Reporter", <http://ua-reporter.com/novosti/143841>.

⁶ Legislation of Ukraine, among the general array of families with children, taking into account socio-economic processes that have most influence on their level and way of living, determines six most vulnerable types, which have the right for state social support in the form of financial payments. And namely: (1) aid in connection with pregnancy and delivery; (2) aid at childbirth; (3) aid at adoption; (4) aid to help support a child under the age of three; (5) aid for children under guardianship; (6) aid for children to single mothers.

⁷ Information regarding compensation payments in 2013 to the affected by the Chernobyl accident. – Official web-site of Haysyn Regional State Administration, <http://www.gaysin-rda.gov.ua/2012-08-18-21-26-10/216.html>.

(in the group of population with medium income recipients of aid make up only 0.2%, i.e. within the margin of statistical error), it still shows the significant scale of unregistered income, which **allows the non-poor to seek targeted payment, as well as predominance of welfare mentality in society, when households that are far from poor think it is normal to gather papers every six months to turn to social assistance authorities for small payments.**

Besides the aid for low-income families, since 1996 in Ukraine a housing subsidies programme is also implemented on the targeted basis, with the purpose of preventing the growth of debt of population to communal service providers, in conditions of tariffs adjustment to the production cost of appropriate services. Under current legislation, the right of the household to participate in the housing subsidies programme is determined by taking into account its level of income and the relative share of expenses for housing and communal services' payments (15% of total income for all types of families, 10% – for families with pensioners, disabled and children under 18 y.o.).

In 2013, despite the fact than on the average in the country, expenses for goods and services of the housing and communal sphere did not exceed 8.4% (6.7% – in the population group with medium income), the housing subsidies programme was used by 4.4% of Ukrainian households. Among them, every 12 recipient household belonged to the group with medium income, every sixth – to poor. Together with this, the efficiency of this type of social transfer has remained very low for many years – in 2013, the poor received only 17% of the total amount of money allocated for the programme. Among poor people, 3.8% received subsidies, which is less than on the average in the country, and in the group of population with medium income, recipients made up 2.2%. Thus, the programme is not clearly targeted at low-income population, and medium income households are using this type of support rather actively.

Thus, presence in the income structure of representatives of medium income population group of such sources as social aid, first of all, its targeted types, demonstrate, on the one hand, the significant scale of unregistered income in the country and the deficient selection mechanism of potential aid recipients, which allow non-poor households to participate in these programmes, and, on the other hand, – the guiding values of medium income group, which are more characteristic of socially vulnerable and inactive members of society, focused on receiving the maximum amount of all formally appropriate types of support from the state.



⁸ In 2002, possession of traditional long-term use goods by the population group with medium income was also noticeably higher than on the average in Ukraine.

4. POSSESSION OF PROPERTY IN MEDIUM INCOME HOUSEHOLDS

Long-term use goods. Households with medium income are traditionally better provided with real and personal property. Possession of long-term use goods (personal property) in this group is noticeably higher than on the average in Ukraine, – currently, this is true not so much for commonly used goods, but rather for rarely used and expensive goods⁸ (Table “*Possession of Long-Term Use Goods by Households*”). Thus, if possession of refrigerators and colour TVs is on the average level in the country, possession of air conditioners, cars and computer equipment is 25-50% higher.

Possession of Long-Term Use Goods by Households, %

	2002		2012	
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Ukraine	Population with medium income
Refrigerator	95,9	90,4	97,5	97,4
Colour TV	86,5	72,4	95,7	95,8
Mobile phone	-	-	95,0	90,8
Washing machine	83,5	73,9	89,5	86,6
Microwave	7,9	2,7	50,8	40,8
Video equipment (VCR, DVD, digital cameras)	28,0	14,5	44,4	36,7
Computer	8,0	2,7	39,8	32,6
Car	27,4	15,4	28,6	21,6
Laptop	-	-	18,1	13,2
Audio system	9,9	4,5	17,1	12,8
Air conditioner	1,2	0,3	11,7	7,8

On the overall, the major share (90% and over) of medium income households have a refrigerator, a washing machine, a colour TV and a mobile phone, almost every other – a computer or a laptop and video equipment, every third – a car, every eighth – an air conditioner.

Accommodation and housing conditions. Households with medium income, as the rest of the households in the country, mostly live in private accommodation – 91.6% vs. 94.6% on the average in the country. However, they much more often than other groups rent accommodation – 6.8% vs. 3.5% on the average in the country (Table “*Distribution of Households by the Type of Housing Ownership*”). Notably, the highest rate of private accommodation residents is among poor households (96.2%); clearly, they have less resources to rent accommodation (1.6%), however, there is no substitution with state or institutional housing. Therefore, the conclusion is obvious: purchasing accommodation is currently mostly unaffordable for the population group with medium income, this is why they solve the housing problem (incl., separation of multi-generation families) by the way of renting accommodation. In contrast, poor families have to live in multi-generation households, not having a possibility to buy, rent housing or receive it for free.

Distribution of Households by the Type of Housing Ownership, %

	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Private (privatised, purchased) or cooperative property	94,6	91,6	96,2
Local council property (state)	1,7	1,4	2,1
Institutional	0,2	0,2	0,1
Rented accommodation	3,5	6,8	1,6

Housing conditions of the population group with medium income are on the overall slightly better in comparison to other population groups. The majority of this group's representatives live in separate accommodation. For city residents, traditionally, is characteristic a large share of those, who live in separate apartments (73.3%) and a smaller share of those, who have private houses (17.3%). On the other side, 6.3% of this group's representatives live in dormitories (with 3.8% on the average in the country). In rural areas, distribution of households by the type of housing is the same for all income groups – over 90% live in private houses (Table “*Distribution of Ukrainian Households by the Type of Housing...*”).

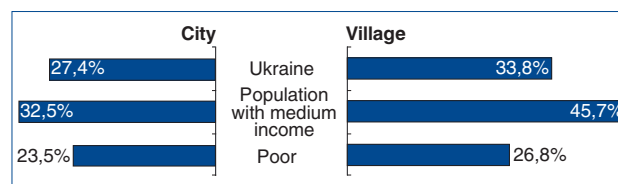
The majority of Ukrainian population live in houses built before 1991. Distribution of households depending on the period of housing construction has rather small differences between different income groups: it should be noted that compared to the poor, a smaller share of population with medium income live in very old houses (built prior to 1970), and a slightly bigger one – in new, built in the period of independence (Diagram “*Distribution of Households by the Period of Housing Construction...*”).

Housing of medium income population group representatives is more spacious. Thus, in cities, on the

average per one person, there are 32.5 sq.m. of accommodation, which is 5.1 sq.m more than on the average in cities, and 9 sq.m more than in poor households.

In rural areas, there is traditionally more housing space, and the difference between the population group with medium income and the poor is more significant: 45.7 sq.m vs. 26.8 sq.m (i.e. the difference is 18.9 sq.m.) (Diagram “*Average size of the total housing area...*”).

Average size of the total housing area per one person, sq.m



Besides larger space, housing of the group with medium income is also characterised by a bigger number of rooms. Thus, in 77.6% of city accommodations there is not more than one person per room, while among poor households this percentage is only 52%. In rural areas, these figures are 89.4% and 53.9%, respectively. On the other side, each 10 city household in the medium income group has unsatisfactory living conditions, when there are two or more people per room (Table “*Distribution of Households by the Load per One Room*”, p.86).

So, the population that belongs to the medium income group mostly live in more spacious accommodation, the number of rooms in which is not less than the number of people, who live in it.

Comfortable housing entails presence of certain basic amenities, the set of which differs for the city and rural areas.⁹ In the medium income group, over a third of households, regardless of the type of location, have a sufficient level of comfort, while in poor households it

Distribution of Ukrainian Households by the Type of Housing and Type of Location, %

	Ukraine		Population with medium income		Poor	
	City	Village	City	Village	City	Village
Separate apartment	67,4	5,1	73,3	6,4	57,2	5,4
Shared accommodation	0,7	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,4	0,0
Private house	25,1	92,2	17,3	91,3	35,9	91,8
A part of private house	3,1	2,6	2,6	1,7	3,8	2,8
Dormitory	3,8	0,1	6,3	0,5	2,7	0,0

Distribution of Households by the Period of Housing Construction and the Type of Location, %

	Ukraine		Population with medium income		Poor	
	City	Village	City	Village	City	Village
In 1940s and before	6,7	9,8	5,4	8,6	8,8	10,5
In 1950-1959	10,7	15,1	9,0	11,5	13,0	15,3
In 1960-1969	21,5	25,5	19,7	22,6	21,6	25,6
In 1970-1980	26,4	21,8	27,2	23,0	26,9	21,8
In 1981-1990	24,6	18,8	28,1	25,4	22,4	17,6
In 1991-2000	8,5	7,1	8,6	7,4	6,9	7,1
In 2001 and later	1,5	2,0	2,1	1,6	0,4	2,1

⁹ Level of comfort of housing: in cities – share of households, whose accommodations have basic amenities (hot water, bathtub or shower, landline); in rural areas – central gas supply, waterline and wastewater disposal system.

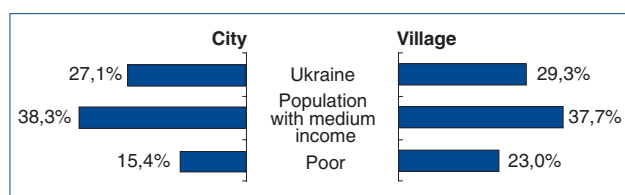
Distribution of Households by the Load per One Room, %

	Ukraine		Population with medium income		Poor	
	City	Village	City	Village	City	Village
Less than one person per room	31,4	47,1	41,2	72,1	23,4	30,1
One person per room	32,0	23,1	36,4	17,3	28,6	23,8
One-two persons per room	19,6	19,1	12,1	6,5	21,6	28,6
Two persons per room	10,1	7,0	7,5	2,5	14,6	10,9
Two-three persons per room	5,9	3,3	2,3	1,6	9,7	6,0
Three or more persons per room	1,0	0,4	0,5	0,0	2,1	0,6

is significantly lower (15.4% of city and 23% of village households) (Diagram “Level of Housing Comfort of Households...”).

However, the situation, where over 60% of city households of the medium income group have insufficient level of housing comfort cannot be deemed satisfactory. In part, this can be explained by changed ideas of fundamental comfortable conditions. Thus, because of popularity of mobile communications, people cancel their landline service, which, thus, lowers the indicator of housing comfort level. Besides, in conditions of unstable hot water supply, in many cities there is a tendency of cutting centralised supply and transfer to individual water heating in separate buildings.

Level of Housing Comfort of Households in Ukraine (2013), %



Land plots. Today, a peculiar component of property is land ownership. Introduction of a moratorium for purchase and sale of land shares and low profitability of small and medium-scale agricultural production lead to extremely inefficient use of land for receipt of profit. The limited possibility to individually conduct farming activity on one's own land plot or to lease it, extremely reduces economic capacity of land for its owner. On the other hand, the moratorium for sales of land shares prevents the owner from selling the land to an efficient owner and receiving at least one-time income. Thus, land ownership does not necessarily mean that it will become a source of regular or at least one-time income.

The data from Household Living Conditions Survey does not allow for determination of a clear status of a land plot concerning legal aspects of its use (weekend house plot, personal subsidiary plot or a share from division of land. Taking into account these limitations of the database, we can assume with a certain degree of certainty that the land share is a plot of land over 1 ha.

On the average in the country, 54.4% of families have land plots in their ownership, among poor families – the number is much higher – 67%, and in the group of population with medium income – only 41.6%. Besides, land plots of people with medium income are usually smaller (up to 10 ares) – 40.3% of all land plots, while poor people mostly have land plots with area of 10-100 ares (40.4% of the total array) (Table “Distribution of Households that Own Land...”).

In contrast, big land plots (over a hectare), which appeared in the process of division of collective farms' land, are mostly concentrated in the hands of their primary owners. These plots are mostly owned by the poor, rather than people with medium income, as a result of the nature of distribution according to location of residence: big land plots are mostly owned by village residents, who are also characterised with higher levels of poverty, and, consequently, a smaller part of the group with medium income.

Distribution of Households that Own Land by the Size of Land Plot, %

	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Less than 10 ares	36,0	40,3	32,4
10-100 ares	37,0	36,1	40,4
More than 100 ares	27,0	23,7	27,1

Presented data demonstrates that representatives of the medium income population group have better indicators of being provided with goods and being able to afford comfortable housing conditions not only compared to less profitable groups, but also in comparison with average indicators for the whole country. However, characteristics of living standards of population groups with medium income mostly do not match the idea that Ukrainians have of consumer capacities of middle class, as they are significantly inferior to social standards of developed countries.

5. CONSUMPTION IN HOUSEHOLDS

An informative indicator of the standard of living of population on the overall and its separate groups, along with property ownership, educational and status characteristics is also consumption possibilities. International experience in middle class studies shows that the image of this group's representative is associated, on the one hand, with a certain level of income, and on the other, – with their ability to purchase with the money that they have certain goods and services. Here we talk about being able to afford not the things that are absolutely necessary (like warm clothes or footwear in winter), but about a number of positional goods (like real estate, cars, household appliances, etc.), about a possibility to travel or attend cultural events, eat according to one's preferences, visit cafes and restaurants, receive paid services in the social sphere (healthcare, educational, social workers', etc.) at most prestigious institutions of the country, make savings, use insurance services, etc.

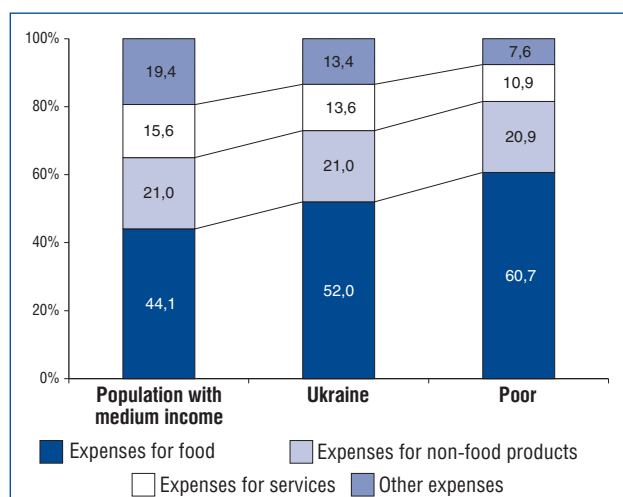
After all, middle class is a group, representatives of which do not worry anymore about providing themselves with the minimal set of goods, rather, their way of living is slightly below the level of the rich.

The difference between consumption possibilities of the rich and middle class (which is formed, primarily, due to the size of income) is illustrated by the following example: if the rich can afford to acquire education at any educational establishment of the world, middle class will consider prestigious domestic educational establishments; or, if the representatives of the richest population group can buy a premium class car, middle class group representatives can either buy it on credit or they will prefer to buy a less expensive car.

Consumer characteristics of representatives of population with medium income should be the mean values for the country and could be used as a standard for measuring the level and quality of life. But a shift of society structure towards the least provided for society stratum, as, for instance, in Ukraine, lowers the value of medium indicators for the country, compared to indicators for the group with medium income.

Nutrition. In Ukraine, during the entire period under study (since 1999), the overall structure of expenses of any social stratum was, on the whole, identical: the predominant expenditure area (despite its steady reduction) was and still is expenses for food (Diagram “Structure of Overall Total Expenses”).

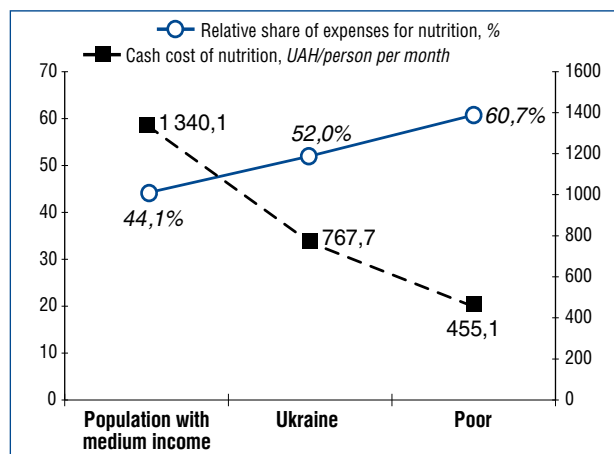
Structure of Overall Total Expenses, %



Of course, their shares are different depending on the income group: thus, poor spend 60.7% of their total expenses on providing for their need in food, while representatives of the group with medium income – 44.1%, which separates them from the poverty line defined by the structural criterion,¹⁰ already by 15.9 pp. At the same time, in monetary terms, expenses for food are, on the contrary, higher among population with medium income – 1 340.1 UAH/person per month vs. 455.1 UAH among the poor and 767.7 UAH on the average in the country (Diagram “Relative Share and Amount of Average Per Capita Expenses for Food Products”).

Looking at the structure of overall expenses, we should not forget that against the background of mental predisposition of Ukrainians to a high-calorie diet, they are characterised with the lack of reason in purchasing, lack of thrift, and wastefulness. Thus, in order to emphasise

Relative Share and Amount of Average Per Capita Expenses for Food Products



his status (even though, this does not reflect reality) a typical Ukrainian consumer, according to conclusions of the Vice President of Ukrainian PR League, “can let his salary go down the drain in three days in order to entertain his guests freely for holidays” or spend all his money for leisure, which mostly takes place “at the table”.¹¹ As a result, the low level of income combined with immature consumer behaviour lead to predominance of the food share in the structure of expenses of Ukrainian households.

Clearly, such differences in the structure of expenses of medium income population and the poor cause a noticeable differentiation in access to consumption of certain goods and services. And the higher the level of income, the bigger consumer possibilities are when it comes to diversity of both sources of food, and quantitative and qualitative content of people’s nutrition. According to data from 2013, regardless of whether the person is a representative of the poor or the group with medium income, they eat mostly purchased foods: 37.6% of budget is spent for purchasing food products by the group with medium income, which is for almost 10 pp less than by the poor.

While the poor mostly have to cook their food themselves, population with medium income can afford to use café and restaurant services, which corresponds with their status, level and way of living.

On the other side, the cost of product is lowered by its self-production, i.e. growing it in one’s own garden. As seen from the diagram “Structure of Expenses, Incl., Food Expenses” (p.88), the group of population with medium income is minimally involved in production of food products in their own garden. A small amount of products that they receive from their own garden (2.8%) is rather an evidence of desire to grow vegetables themselves during the warm period or the desire to eat organic foods, than the lack of money to provide for their needs in food and attempt to reduce financial expenses for necessary products. For the poor, the issue of growing food in their own garden has a different nature, as it allows to reduce their total food expenses by 10.6%.

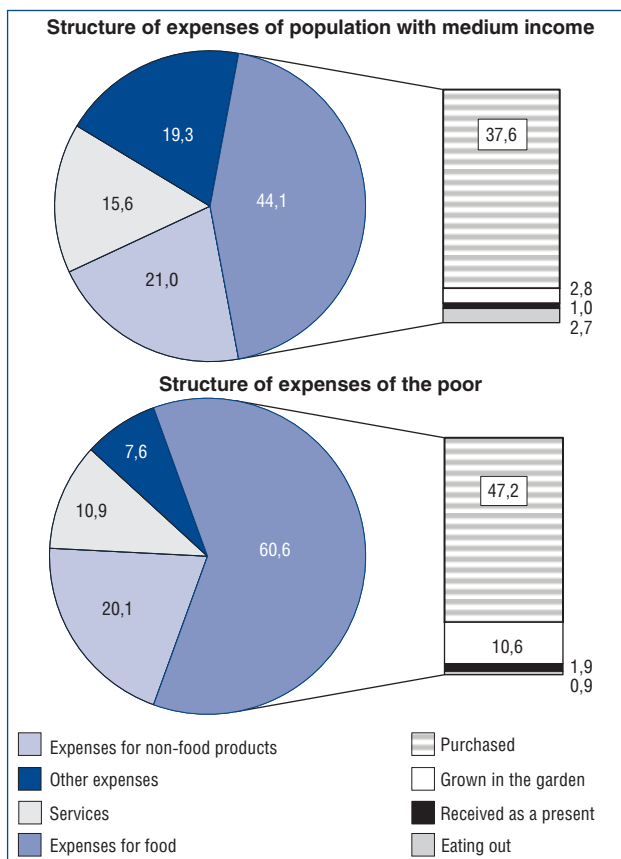
Ultimately, this distribution of “sources” of food along with the level of income of medium income group representatives leads to differentiation in the level of access

¹⁰ Poverty line by structural criterion – expenses for food make up over 60% of overall total expenses of a household.

¹¹ Ukrainians are ready to save at the expense of essential things in order to be able to afford expensive positional purchases. – Informational-analytical web-site vkurse.ua, <http://vkurse.ua/ua/analytics/ukraincy-gotovy-ekonomit-na-zhiznennno-neobkhodimom.html>.

to certain products, which is reflected in everyday nutrition, its quantitative and qualitative indicators. Data from 2013 shows that the diet of representatives of population group with medium income was more consistent with standard consumption than that of poor people, especially, when it concerns nutritional and expensive products, such as fruit, vegetables, grapes, nuts, meat (Table “*Consumption of Main Food Products*”).

Structure of Expenses, Incl., Food Expenses, %



Differences from standards in the group of population with medium income are observed only in bread and bread products consumption, where consumption exceeds the norm by 30%, and in potato consumption: almost 18% underconsumption. Clearly, underconsumption of potatoes in no case is a sign of limited access to this

Consumption of Main Food Products, kg/month per person

	Standard consumption	People with medium income	Poor
Milk and dairy products	31,7	31,8	13,1
Eggs and egg products	24,2	27,0	16,0
Vegetables	13,4	11,9	5,5
Potato and potato products	10,3	8,5	6,2
Bread and bread products	8,4	11,1	7,5
Fruit, berries, nuts, grapes, melons	7,5	10,0	2,8
Meat, meat products, incl., variety meats and fat	6,9	8,8	3,1
Sugar, honey	3,2	4,1	2,2
Fish and fish products	1,7	3,0	1,1
Oil, margarine, and other oils	1,1	2,4	1,3

group of products. Similarly, overconsumption of bread cannot be treated as a characteristic of a social products group that due to their low cost and high calorific value, in conditions of limited financial possibilities of a household, can be used as a substitute for other foods to appease hunger. A more detailed analysis of products included in the everyday diet of the group of population with medium income shows better diversity and nutritional value of their foods compared to the diet of the poor.

Note on Methodology

We should take into account specific features of the database concerning information about food product groups: available data characterises volumes of purchased, received as a gift and home-grown foods, but this does not mean that all of them were consumed. We cannot exclude cases, when excess products or cooked foods spoil and are thrown into the trash. Especially, this may concern cheap products (for example, bread), which are bought without limitation and may be not consumed.

According to 2013 data, in the group of population with medium income, consumption exceeded that of the poor: in the group of meat products – veal and beef by 4 times, pork – by 60%, poultry – by 75%, by almost 76% – dried, corned and smoked meat and edible variety meat; seafood – by 10 times, by three times – canned fish and seafood, as well as cheese and fermented dairy products. The group of products “oil, margarine and other oils” also had quantitative and qualitative differences. Thus, if everyday diet of the group with medium income has more olive oil (20 times more), in the poor group, people consume more margarine and other oils (1.2 times).

The biggest is the difference between representatives of these two groups in consumption of vegetables, fruit and soft drinks. In 2013, the poor, compared to the group with medium income, consumed on the average twice as little bananas, citruses, apples, leafy and stem vegetables; on the average, by a third – less dried fruit, pears, berries, drupes and other fruit; even cabbages, root vegetables and mushrooms – by 50-70% less. Also, a high level of income allows representatives of the group with medium income to have more variety in their diet through soft drink consumption, in particular, they consume 3.5 times more mineral and spring water, 2.8 times more fruit and 1.3 times more vegetable juices.

Differences in the quantitative satisfaction of nutrition needs among the households of two income groups, limited access of the poor to some food products, as well as qualitative characteristics of consumed products, lead to differences in energy value and nutritional substances content in the daily diet, its balance/imbalance and efficiency/inefficiency. Data of 2013 shows that a representative of a population group with medium income consumed during a day such quantity of products, which contained 123 g proteins, 207 g fat and 488 g carbohydrates and provided him, respectively, with 4269 kcal. At the same time, a poor person ate foods for the value of 2501 kcal, which contained 68 g proteins, 106 g fat and 323 g carbohydrates (Table “*Qualitative Parameters of Nutrition...*”).

Comparison to norms and minimum standards developed on the basis of WHO recommendations¹² regarding the optimal food intake and its calorific value on the level of 2800 kcal/day, causes concern regarding

¹² Absolute poverty line, where the criterion is energy value of daily food intake per person; according to international standards it was 2800 kcal/person (extreme poverty line – 2100 kcal).

Qualitative Parameters of Nutrition and Their Balance

Income groups	Actual consumption (g)			Actual energy value (kcal)	Balanced consumption, on the basis of actual energy value of daily intake (g)		
	Proteins	Fat	Carbohydrates		Proteins	Fat	Carbohydrates
Average for the country	92	150	401	3 299	165	110	412
Population with medium income	123	207	488	4 269	214	142	534
Poor	68	106	323	2 501	125	83	313

the energy value indicators of both poor and medium income groups. In the first case, there is underconsumption of nutrients, which can hinder the recovery of energy necessary for human health and life, in the second case – overconsumption can lead to being overweight, which will also have a negative influence on human life and health condition.

Balanced Nutrition

Today the issues of minimal nutrition standards, insufficient or excessive calorific value of daily food intake, lack of specific nutrients in it (foremost, proteins) were outweighed by the issue of maintaining a balanced daily diet. There is a number of methodologies for determining the balance between daily food intake components, one of which, based on recommendations of European Food Safety Authority, EFSA,¹³ contains norms of protein consumption in the amount of 0.83 g per 1 kg of body weight of an adult person (including elderly people),¹⁴ its content in the daily diet in the amount of 10% of daily calorific value of consumed food and, depending on this, total energy value of food. Another approach, used by the Institute, takes the calorific value of consumed foods as the starting point, and using a proportional relation (20% proteins: 30% fat : 50% carbohydrates) of qualitative components, answers the question, whether food intake is balanced and which components create the imbalance.

In 2013, in order to ensure balanced nutrition, a representative of a medium income group, in order to receive 4269 kcal, had to eat foods that contain 213 g proteins, 142 g fat and 533 g carbohydrates. Thus, we can conclude, that nutrition of the medium income population group is not balanced, and the imbalance is caused by insufficient consumption of proteins (33% less), carbohydrates (9% less) and overconsumption of fat (45% more).

Although the situation with excessive calorific value of consumed foods and simultaneous imbalance of its components is to a certain extent justified by traditional culinary preferences of Ukrainians, on the overall, it proves absence of healthy nutrition in Ukraine, regardless of the income group, as well as low culture of consumption, the problem of lack of awareness among population regarding the content of nutritional elements in their food, its energy value, and especially, regarding harmful substances in it.

Thus, the higher level of income provides representatives of medium income population group with better possibilities, in comparison to the poor and the average indicators for the country, in the context of being able to afford not only the necessary quantity of food, but also such food that makes the daily diet more diverse and beneficial for health and living. However, troubling are the excessive calorific value of consumed foods and the

imbalance of nutritional elements, which on the overall characterise food intake as low-value, irrational and, ultimately, harmful for health and well-being. Besides, **taking into consideration that the group of population with medium income must be the basis for formation of the future middle class, and with time become the dominating and fundamental socio-economic stratum in Ukrainian society, the country has to concentrate on formation in its representatives of a responsible food consumption culture, aimed at maintaining health.**

6. EXPENSES OF HOUSEHOLDS FOR NON-FOOD GOODS AND SERVICES

Another important factor in evaluating the well-being of the medium income population group are expenses for non-food goods and services, incl., those of non-consumption nature (savings, purchasing real estate, insurance, investment, etc.) Based on data of 2013, non-food expenses of Ukrainian population had little differences depending on the income group. Thus, if the poor spent, on the average, 34.7% of overall total expenses for non-food goods and services, medium income population – only by 1.9 pp more, but in monetary value expenses of the poor were 4.7 times less than in the medium income group (2 861.2 UAH/person per year vs. 13 340.9 UAH).

However, it is not only monetary value that is the evidence of differences between non-food consumption and non-consumption expenditures of different income groups, indicative are also the shares of their main components, in particular, the structure of expenses for non-food goods and paid services. Thus, non-food consumption and non-consumption expenditures can be relatively divided into three groups:

- *the first* – mandatory – expenses for these items allow to satisfy a number of physiological needs



¹³ The quantity of protein intake among population: latest data of the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA). – Official web-site of Ukrainian Research Institute of Nutrition, <http://www.niipitan.com.ua/>.

¹⁴ 1 g of proteins provides 4 kcal of energy value.

of an individual for clothes, housing, etc., they can include expenses for clothes and footwear, payment for housing and utility products and services;

- *the second* – conditionally required or forced – i.e., on the one hand, these expenses can be minimised by keeping to reasonable spending pattern (for instance, purchasing home textiles without an “extra supply”), on the other one – these expenses are forced, for example, purchasing medicines or payment for healthcare services in case of sickness. This group of non-food goods and services includes housekeeping expenses, maintenance and repair of accommodation, healthcare;
- *the third* – additional or positional (purchasing household appliances, real estate, vehicles, jewellery, savings, education and other paid social sphere services, leisure and tourism, insurance, financial services, etc.).

Ability to afford goods and services from the first group of non-food expenses is connected with the fact that they are mandatory for all social strata and income groups without exception, the difference can be only in the quantity, quality or frequency of purchases. Provision of people with goods and services from the second group is significantly limited by their cost.

In the structure of expenses for non-food goods and services, both among the poor and among the population with medium income, the dominating group is the mandatory one, while the second and third group of expenses are 1.6 times higher among population with medium income, as opposed to the poor (Table “*Structure of Expenses for Non-Food Goods...*”).

In the life of Ukrainians, due to climatic conditions, expenses for housing and utility products and services (further – HUPS) are an indispensable part of any household’s budget. The difference in HUPS expenditure of the poor and population with medium income (1.6 times in shares and 2.6 times in monetary value) is the result of influence of such factors as: tariffs depending on the region, type of location and type of fuel; total accommodation area; as well as subjective factors of using goods and services (electricity, water, heat, etc.)

It should be noted that one characteristic feature of a middle class representative is availability of own housing, or possibility to rent it and simultaneously save money to buy housing in the future or construct it on credit. Indirectly, housing expenses can indicate the possibility of a person to have own housing. Thus, in 2013, the population group

with medium income, in the context of payments for housing had a larger percentage of expenses for rent (1.6% of the total budget vs. 0.2%), while in the structure of expenses of the poor, dominated expenses for own housing (0.83% vs. 0.79%). The medium income population group, in the context of providing the family with own separate housing has bigger expenses for its purchasing (2.6% of the total income), while for construction – only 0.22% (the poor – only 0.01%).

Expenses for housekeeping and maintaining accommodation in good condition, including purchasing modern household appliances, are, according to the proposed classification, conditionally required or forced expenses. Predominance in the structure of expenses of medium income group representatives (2.6 times by the share and 9.1 times in monetary value) of expenses for housekeeping and maintaining accommodation in good condition shows that this item of expenditure, in conditions of the lack of funds, can be minimised by means of purchasing only cheap goods or by postponing the purchase of more expensive goods for the future.

Healthcare (medical services). The amount of healthcare expenses depends not only on the level of income of a household, but also on the number of characteristics that influence morbidity of a person (individual characteristics, condition of environment, rhythm and way of life, climate, type of settlement, etc.). But, leaving their influence out, we can state that healthcare expenses are bigger among representatives of medium income population group: 3.3% vs. 2.7% of poor households budget. The group of population with medium income in 2013 had a possibility to spend for healthcare 0.1% of overall expenses, for dental services – 0.37%, for hospital services – 1.12%, while the poor did not spend even 1% for all of these together.

Rather low values of healthcare expenses indicator in Ukraine, unfortunately, are not the evidence of excellent health condition of Ukrainians. Here, other factors are in action: on the one hand, the operating system of social security in the country, which in the context of mitigating (eliminating) the consequences of such social risks as sickness, disability, loss of ability to work, foresees several types of mandatory state social insurance and guarantees a person during the period of her inability to work (e.g. during pregnancy or due to a workplace accident) a certain amount of income, and on the other hand, – the principle of free provision of healthcare services for population by state and municipal institutions, at least, when it comes to primary healthcare. Together, these factors provide to

Structure of Expenses for Non-Food Goods and Services

	On the average in the country		Population with medium income		Poor	
	%	UAH/per.	%	UAH/per.	%	UAH/per.
Expenses for non-food goods and services, incl.:	34,7	6 142,7	36,6	13 340,9	31,8	2 861,2
Clothes and footwear	5,9	1 049,3	5,4	1 953,9	6,3	563,9
Housing and utility products and services	8,6	1 521,1	6,9	2 500,8	10,7	961,9
Housekeeping, maintenance of accommodation in good condition, incl., equipment	4,4	785,2	6,1	2 228,8	2,7	244,2
Personal and public transportation	4,1	733,0	6,1	2 240,9	2,0	184,0
Healthcare	3,2	562,9	3,3	1 208,8	2,7	239,0
Vacation and leisure	1,2	218,0	1,8	652,7	0,6	50,5
Education	1,2	212,3	1,3	473,2	1,0	93,1
Other expenses	6,0	1 061,0	5,7	2 081,8	5,8	524,6

the population, regardless of income, the ability to afford fundamental healthcare services, especially, to socially vulnerable population groups.

It should be noted that more fundamental studies of health condition of Ukrainian population by income groups show that there are no significant differences in their state of health. The only observed differences concern cases of chronic diseases. But this fact cannot be viewed as unequivocal, as the low percentage of people with chronic diseases among poor people (about 34% vs. almost a half of population with medium income) rather signifies the lack of information among people with low income regarding their chronic disease, ignoring and careless attitude to own health condition, or the inability to afford healthcare services that could detect disease in due time.

Another characteristic feature of middle class is “social investment” in own future, primarily, in health. For this, representatives of medium income population group make insurance payments for cases of sickness, accidents, etc. or lead an appropriate way of life (engage in active sports, follow a balanced diet, undergo preventive medical examinations, etc.). At the same time, Ukraine is characterised by the overall low level of trust in insurance companies and their services, which is confirmed by overall expenses of Ukrainians for health insurance – only 0.01%; among medium income group representatives they are slightly larger – 0.04%.

Education (educational services). Particular groups of expenses, which include one more type of “social investment” – education, can be of greater interest in the context of studying correspondence of living conditions of population with medium income to the classical idea on consumption and way of living of middle class in developed countries.

Ideas of population group with medium income on satisfying their cognitive needs (acquiring knowledge, skills, understanding) are assessed positively, however, this is not reflected in the amount of expenses for goods and services in the sphere of education. Education in Ukraine is hypothetically free, although, in reality, it requires considerable amounts of money on all levels, and far from everyone, who is willing to acquire higher education can do so. Expenses for education of population group with medium income in 2013 made up only 1.3% of their budget, or 473.2 UAH/person per year, while poor people spent even less – 93.2 UAH/person. On the overall, representatives of the group of population with medium income aim to provide their children with high-quality higher education, while poor people – with primary and secondary: thus, expenses of the poor for primary and secondary education made up 0.48% vs. 0.2% of expenses of population with medium income; expenses for higher education were distributed differently – 0.28% vs. 0.84%.

Rather unsettling is the low priority of self-education in the group of population with medium income, as only 3.9% of this group’s representatives attend courses, paid trainings, classes, etc. in order to raise their level of qualification and overall development.

Leisure. Statistical database does not allow to study, how representatives of each income group spend their leisure time. It can be concluded that the higher income group can easier afford tourist and sports services and activities only comparing the overall amount of expenses for these services. Overall in Ukraine the percentage of



expenses for purchasing books, visiting theatres, museums, other art and culture establishments, is scarce – only 1.2%, including tourism, sports and activities in the nature. This is caused by the attitude of population to spending their leisure time in the period of society’s transfer to “consumer society”. Popularity of malls, where in one building there are food and non-food stores, cinemas, bowling, cafes, beauty salons, sports clubs, children’s playgrounds, etc., substitute the notion of real recreation. The ideology of these malls implies that a person, who is visiting a food store, can also visit a cinema or a café “along the way”. Shopping malls “steal” people’s money as well as their time and energy – after a visit to the mall one does not wish to go to a museum or theatre. Besides, different information media compel people to purchase things that must be owned by every modern society member, including, physical features and appearance, which has also distorted people’s idea of leisure and the structure of expenses for it. External conformity with standards and following fashion trends makes people use their free time, in best case, to visit a gym to look after their body, and in worst case, – to visit a shop and purchase trendy things.¹⁵

Unfortunately, this situation is not only a sign of overall low level of income among Ukrainian population, but also of insufficient popularity among households, primarily with medium income, of a desire to improve self, develop culturally and spiritually, raise one’s level of qualification and education. And, **taking into account the importance of establishing middle class in Ukraine, popularity of these ideas and their reinforcement in the minds of medium income group representatives, deserve a special attention from the state.**

Savings. Taking into account that representatives of medium income population group have over a third of overall total resources of Ukrainian households, and the level of their consumption approaches medium standards and above, we can assume that there is a possibility of formation of internal investment potential in the country, primarily, at the expense of this group. In 2013, the relative share of investments (purchase of shares, certificates, foreign currency, bank deposits) within the overall expenses structure of medium income population group made up only 4.3% (1.2% – among the poor) (Table “Share of Investment Expenses ...”, p.92).

Hypothetically, we can assume that in Ukrainian reality, when securities markets hardly function, buying

¹⁵ Yukhymenko P.I. Economic History: Textbook. – Kyiv, 2004, p.300-306. Internet address: <http://www.info-library.com.ua/books-text-3000.html>.

real estate can serve as a way of investing for households. For medium income group, this is another 2.6% of overall expenses (poor people do not have such expenses at all). So, households of the group under study could turn almost 7% of their current income into investment capital, but only if corresponding conditions are created in the country.

Share of Investment Expenses and Real Estate Expenses in the Structure of Total Expenses of Households, %

	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Purchase of shares, certificates, foreign currency and bank deposits	3,0	4,3	1,2
Purchase of real estate	0,7	2,6	0,0

The generally low percentage of savings (which are usually not turned into investment capital) demonstrates the nonconformity of medium income population group with the classical notion of middle class.

Thus, currently, the consumer component of the portrait of a Ukrainian medium income group representative still remains unclearly defined and formed. On the overall, consumer behaviour and consumption guidelines of medium income population are characterised not so much with luxury, as with being provided with certain goods and services, as well as a possibility to spend money for certain things in the context of taking care of the future.

In particular, their income is sufficient to: (1) satisfy their needs in nutrition according to their taste; (2) acquire necessary paid healthcare and education services; (3) adhere to the “median” principle, which guarantees availability in everyday life of goods and services that are not luxurious, but provide for their needs – some real estate, vehicles, modern appliances; (4) spend leisure time for self-education; (5) be able to afford traditional forms of leisure (tourism, sports, museums, theatres, concerts, etc.) that require paying for them; (6) take credits, loans, make savings.

7. CERTAIN SUBJECTIVE EVALUATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MEDIUM INCOME POPULATION¹⁶

Traditionally for Ukraine, the majority of population are inclined to underestimate their financial standing because of subjective lack of money and unsatisfied consumer needs. Also, the level of self-evaluation of income has a clear dependence on objective characteristics of household prosperity: self-evaluation level increases with each next income or expenditure group. The presence of this pattern during a long period of observation allows to use subjective evaluations for a fundamental study of formation specifics of households’ level of life and make conclusions regarding differences in subjective evaluations of various social groups.

Self-evaluation of financial standing. From 2002, there has been a clear tendency of increasing self-evaluation of income among Ukrainian population, but stagnation processes of last years observed in the level of life of population could not but bring about a slowdown

in the positive dynamics of subjective income evaluations (Table “*Self-Evaluation by Households...*”). While in 2002, 36.5% of population viewed their income as more or less sufficient, by 2007 this percentage increased to 60.7%, and in 2013, it grew only by 0.2 pp and made up 60.9%. Also, percentage of those, who could not provide even for sufficient nutrition, in 2013, significantly reduced as compared to 2007, – 3.3% vs. 4.1%, however, in comparison with 2002-2007 dynamics (when a three-fold reduction took place), such changes are completely levelled out.

Representatives of the medium income population group evaluate their income’s purchasing power much higher compared to an average Ukrainian household: almost 60% view their income as sufficient, and every fifth household is making savings (compared to every 10th among general population). Almost 20% of representatives of the medium income population group state that they had to deny themselves the most necessary things, however, this is half as much as in general for the whole array of Ukrainian households.

People’s evaluations of changes in their financial standing quite accurately reflect socio-economic environment transformations: thus, general improvement of situation in the inter-crisis period of 2002-2007 was reflected in the subjective component by a significant increase (1.5 times) of positive evaluations of financial standing changes and a reduction by a quarter of purely negative ones. In 2013, compared to the pre-crisis 2007, the share of positive evaluations went down by a half and the negative – significantly grew (by 14%) (Table “*Evaluation of Changes of Financial Standing...*”).

Dynamic changes in evaluations of representatives of medium income population group on the whole repeated the national tendencies, but differed by intensity of changes: while the percentage of positive evaluations experienced milder fluctuations, the negative ones saw an insignificant decrease (compared to average Ukrainian level) in 2007 and a more noticeable growth in 2013. This yet again confirms the hypothesis that the last economic crisis and post-crisis stagnation had the hardest adverse effect on the medium society strata. However, according to 2013 data, representatives of the medium income group still evaluate changes of their financial standing on a much higher level.

Optimism in evaluating future changes, according to 2013 data, has drastically dropped, and evaluations



¹⁶ Analysis was performed on the basis of section “Self-evaluation by households of their income level” from selective Household Living Conditions Survey performed by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on a regular basis. For the analysis of dynamics were used data from 2002, 2007, 2013. We compared self-evaluation of two groups of population with medium income (“broad” and “narrow”) and the overall self-evaluation in Ukraine. As noted above, analysis of the second group of population with medium income is rather limited due to representation requirements.

Self-Evaluation by Households of Their Income Level,
%

	2002			2007			2013		
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
There was enough and we made savings	3,3	8,6	0,6	8,0	15,5	3,7	10,4	20,5	4,0
There was enough, but we did not make savings	33,2	53,4	17,6	52,7	66,1	39,7	50,5	59,4	40,8
We regularly denied ourselves the most necessary things besides food	50,2	34,0	54,6	35,1	17,1	49,1	35,8	18,8	49,1
We could not provide even for sufficient nutrition	13,4	4,0	27,1	4,1	1,2	7,5	3,3	1,2	6,0

themselves dropped to the level below the 2002 one. While expectations of deterioration of situation have had a slight increase, the percentage of people, who hope for positive changes, has dropped by more than a half (Table “*Evaluation of Future Changes of Financial Standing*”). Similar tendencies are characteristic for the medium income group, although the percentage of “optimists” among them is traditionally higher: in 2013, higher by almost 1.5 times – 15.1% vs. 10.5%.

In the forecasts of financial standing changes “in the following year” stands out optimistic evaluation of 2007. A sharp increase is observed in the number of people, who expect a possible improvement of their financial standing, but this happens at the expense of reduced number of those, who expect their financial standing to remain unchanged. Pessimistic evaluations have not changed compared to 2002.

Choice of consumer strategy. Consumer strategies are traditionally directly related to actual financial standing of a household and indirectly reflect pent-up demand (or an imbalance between the needs and actual possibilities to satisfy them). Analysing the list of ways people would spend money in case of significant increase of its amount, we can make conclusions about the most wide-spread problems in society, as well as about specific financial difficulties of separate social groups.

Analysis shows that the problems of the medium income population group are similar to general problems in society: inability to improve housing conditions, lack of so-called “relatively spare” money for savings, as well as financial issues in recreation organisation. Special for medium income group is a much higher, compared to average Ukrainian, percentage (10.4% vs. 5.9%) of people, who want to spend their money for development of entrepreneurship (Table “*Ways to Spend Money in Case of Significant Increase of Income*”, p.94).

8. MOST IMPORTANT VALUES OF POPULATION WITH MEDIUM INCOME

It is traditionally believed that middle class differs from the rest of society, in the first place, by its value system. This research studies the population group with medium income, which can become the basis for formation of middle class, but currently does not identify themselves with a separate social group. Analysis of first-level values shows that representatives of medium income population group care more about their education, work and career, financial well-being, preservation of social relations, than an average person. Meanwhile, they are less concerned with the problem of social justice in society – possibly, because they rely more on themselves and are less dependent on relations of distribution.

Evaluation of Changes of Financial Standing in the Past 12 Months,
%

	2002			2007			2013		
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Improved	11,8	19,7	6,7	16,0	24,9	10,8	8,1	13,4	5,6
Remained unchanged	61,4	62,9	55,3	62,1	58,2	64,3	67,0	65,0	68,0
Deteriorated	28,8	17,4	38,0	21,8	17,0	24,6	24,9	21,6	26,4

Evaluation of Future Changes of Financial Standing,
%

	2002			2007			2013		
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Will improve	12,5	16,5	10,1	22,2	27,1	19,1	10,5	15,1	9,9
Will remain unchanged	67,2	67,6	64,5	58,4	56,4	58,7	67,1	64,1	65,3
Will deteriorate	20,3	15,9	25,2	19,4	16,5	20,2	22,5	20,8	23,3

Ways to Spend Money in Case of Significant Increase of Income,
%

	2007			2013		
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Housing	30,8	30,7	31,0	32,9	28,5	37,1
Savings	20,6	23,6	18,5	26,1	30,7	22,6
Recreation	13,8	14,6	11,7	11,7	11,8	11,8
Healthcare	10,6	4,9	14,5	6,5	3,5	8,4
Car	6,5	6,9	5,3	6,3	6,9	3,8
Education	7,4	4,9	9,6	6,0	3,7	7,8
Development of entrepreneurship	5,0	9,9	1,9	5,9	10,4	3,0
Household appliances	2,6	0,5	5,7	1,3	0,4	3,0
Clothes, footwear	0,1	-	0,2	-	0,1	-
Food	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	2,7	3,8	1,6	3,3	4,1	2,5

Speaking about topmost values for representatives of medium income population group, they are: health (first level of importance), family and children (second level). These priorities have remained unchanged in 2013, – both, for medium income population and for Ukrainians in general (Table “*Top Values*”). Speaking about the third level of importance, the situation is not quite unequivocal. Most people name confidence in the future, social stability, friends and communication.

This tendency is preserved both, in medium income groups and in Ukraine in general. Differences are insignificant.

We can only observe increased importance of education for representatives of the second group of population with medium income in 2013 (third level of importance), compared to the year before that, – primarily at the expense of decreased importance of work and career, friends and communication. In 2013, there were also slight changes in Ukraine in general. They concerned an increase of importance of financial well-being, work and career, education (by 3-7 pp).



CONCLUSIONS

The conducted study shows that the group of population with medium income does not possess specific features characteristic of middle class. Their consumer behaviour, financial position, property ownership, guidelines and subjective evaluations mostly do not conform to classical notions of a special social group with specific social functions.

Contrary to classical belief in family orientation of a middle class representative, and intentional choice of a family as a target of the study in researching middle class, typical representatives of the group of population with medium income in Ukraine are one- or two-person households, with every third household being represented by single persons, and their major part – without children in their composition. However, other demographic and socio-economic characteristics of representatives of the medium income group mostly conform with wide-spread views: households include primarily people of working age, who belong to age group of younger than 49 y.o.; they mostly live in big cities; have in their composition mainly people with higher education, who most often are salaried employees; and, most importantly, their professional activity usually corresponds to their education, which is not always the case in contemporary Ukraine.

The portrait of a classical representative of the medium income group provides the main answers to the question about household income sources – their main share has to come from employment, and the share of social transfers has to be minimal. Thus, over 60% of income of medium income households is made up of work remuneration and income from entrepreneurial activity, although social transfers in

Top Values, %						
Indicators	2007			2013		
	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor	Ukraine	Population with medium income	Poor
Health						
1 level of importance	82,3	81,0	80,3	81,8	81,9	78,8
2 level of importance	15,2	15,9	17,2	16,1	16,0	19,0
3 level of importance	2,5	3,2	2,5	2,1	2,2	2,2
Family and children						
1 level of importance	19,8	19,5	22,4	20,3	20,3	23,8
2 level of importance	73,5	74,0	70,4	74,5	73,4	72,4
3 level of importance	6,7	6,6	7,3	6,4	6,4	3,8
Financial well-being						
1 level of importance	4,7	6,3	5,3	3,8	4,4	4,0
2 level of importance	27,3	27,8	26,4	24,0	25,9	23,2
3 level of importance	68,0	65,9	68,3	72,2	69,7	72,8
Work, career						
1 level of importance	7,9	7,3	6,5	5,9	7,1	5,9
2 level of importance	24,5	26,4	25,0	23,3	28,8	19,1
3 level of importance	67,6	66,3	68,6	70,8	64,0	75,1
Education						
1 level of importance	6,8	3,8	9,1	5,0	8,1	5,2
2 level of importance	29,3	34,4	26,9	24,1	29,2	21,6
3 level of importance	63,9	61,7	64,0	70,9	62,8	73,2
Friends, communication						
1 level of importance	1,6	1,6	1,0	1,4	3,2	0,9
2 level of importance	18,1	19,3	14,5	15,6	22,2	20,3
3 level of importance	80,3	79,1	84,5	83,0	74,6	78,9
Confidence in the future						
1 level of importance	3,9	4,9	3,2	2,9	3,3	2,7
2 level of importance	15,2	13,7	17,0	11,4	12,3	9,6
3 level of importance	80,9	81,5	79,8	85,7	84,4	87,7
Social justice						
1 level of importance	3,5	5,5	2,8	2,4	1,8	2,0
2 level of importance	12,5	13,3	12,6	11,1	12,7	11,7
3 level of importance	84,0	81,1	84,6	86,5	85,5	86,3

the form of pensions and scholarships, as well as social aid, form more than a fifth part of their budget. So rather well-off households think it normal to receive not only categorial payments and compensations (social benefits, different types of aid for children, etc.), but also targeted types of aid (housing subsidies and aid for low-income families), in order to register for which, it is necessary to gather documents and visit social security administrations every six months to get the payments.

Presence of such sources of income as social aid in income structure of medium income group representatives, demonstrates, on the one hand, the inefficient work of social security bodies on determining their target groups in conditions of widely spread tendency for unregistered income, and on the other, – specific guiding values of the group under study, which are rather typical for socially vulnerable and inactive society members, aiming to obtain all possible types of state support, than for the classical middle class representatives.

Consumer characteristics of Ukrainian population to a great extent reflect a number of problems connected with limited purchasing power, recurrent accumulation of unrealised demand and generally low consumption culture. Medium income group copies features typical for consumer behaviour of the general population of the country. Their diet lacks balance – with predominance of fat and underconsumption of proteins together with excessive calorific value of daily consumption, even though the higher level of income (e.g. compared to poor people) allows to make their diet more diverse with product groups that are more useful for health and living.

On the overall, the consumer component of the portrait of a Ukrainian medium income group representative still remains unclearly defined and formed. Generally, consumer behaviour and consumer guidelines of this group's representatives are characterised not only by desire to provide their family with a certain set of goods and services, but also by awareness of the need to make social investments. Judging by evaluation of their financial capacity and structure of actual expenses, it can be said that their income is sufficient to: (1) satisfy their needs in nutrition according to their taste; (2) acquire necessary paid healthcare and education services; (3) adhere to the “median” principle, which guarantees availability in everyday life of goods and services that are not luxurious, but provide for their needs – some real estate, vehicles, modern appliances; (4) spend leisure time in a useful way and be able to afford traditional forms of leisure (tourism, sports, museums, theatres, concerts, etc.); (5) take credits, loans, make savings. However, for many representatives of this group, recreational family trips and saving money for major purchases and own business, pose a big problem. The generally low percentage of savings (which are also usually not turned into investment capital) in expenditure structure of medium income group representatives, demonstrates the nonconformity of this group with the classical notion of middle class.

Households with medium income are traditionally better provided with personal and real property. Possession of long-term use goods by this group is significantly higher than in general for Ukraine, besides, this concerns not so much commonly used goods, as rarely used and expensive ones. As opposed to this, the question of property ownership is equivocal. For instance, land ownership in Ukraine does not mean a high property ownership status, which brings income; land shares are mostly owned by their original owners and do not provide any significant income either from independent farming or from leasing. This is why the percentage of big land plot owners among representatives of the group under study is

smaller than on the average for the country. Currently, purchasing accommodation is virtually unaffordable for representatives of medium income population group, this is why representatives of this group solve their housing problem (incl., in connection with separation of multi-generation families) by renting housing. Because of this, the majority of households in the group under study occupy more spacious accommodations, the number of rooms in which is usually not less than the number of people living in them. So, due to a higher level of current income, they can afford to rent accommodation (if necessary), but cannot afford to save enough money to purchase their own accommodation.

Representatives of medium income group evaluate their income's purchasing power much higher, compared to an average Ukrainian household, but every fifth household with medium income states that they had to deny themselves the most necessary things. The problems of the group with medium income are similar to general problems in the country: inability to improve housing conditions, lack of so-called “relatively spare” money for savings, as well as financial issues in recreation organisation. Special for medium income group is a much higher, compared to average Ukrainian, percentage of people, who want to spend their money for development of entrepreneurship. Representatives of this group, compared to average Ukrainian society representatives, care more about their education, work and career, financial well-being, preservation of social relations. Meanwhile, they are less concerned with the problem of social justice in society – possibly, because they rely more on themselves and are less dependent on relations of distribution.

On the overall, the conducted research showed that representatives of the medium income group have better quantitative and qualitative characteristics of being provided for and being able to afford comfortable living conditions, compared to average indicators for the country. However, basic characteristics of the level of life of medium income households mostly do not match the idea Ukrainians have of middle class, as their social standards are significantly below those of the developed countries. So, objectively, in Ukraine, there is a certain medium-level group according to income and financial capacity, which could become the basis for the future middle class. Besides, as a rule, this group possesses the required educational and professional characteristics. Nevertheless, as today's society tends to overestimate the value of the material component and to understate self-evaluation of own income, the medium income population group does not possess the main characteristic for its transformation into middle class – self-awareness as a special social group able to become a powerful driving force in the society.