HOW TO GET TO KNOW UKRAINIANS: SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS OF TYPIFICATION ISSUES

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INTRODUCTION

It is challenging to imagine the work of a researcher without typifications, and for educators, discussing and disseminating the results of typifications is equally essential. However, the outcomes of identifying specific social types in sociological reports – often cited in mass media and frequently used in educational settings – may appear as ready-made solutions. It might seem that in society, there exists a clear set of people's types, and with statistical data processing, we instantly find them as if in a mirror, provided we have the data and processing program. Furthermore, the results of cluster analysis can sometimes seem banal, as it appears obvious even to the average citizen that among Ukrainians, there can be both Euro-optimists and Euro-skeptics regarding their attitudes toward the European Union[1], or that people may fall into categories of optimists, pessimists, or those with uncertain expectations during wartime[2]. However, in practice, there is never just one solution. At the heart of analysis, we have a researcher as a subject who must explore various settings for the clustering procedure and justify the choice among proposed sets of types. As the renowned Ukrainian sociologist, Iurii Ivanovych Iakovenko[3] once said, data processing programs are like meat grinders: you can always toss in plastic instead of meat, and even in such cases, with sufficient power, it will produce

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[1] Інститут Горшеніна, Представництво Фонду ім. Фрідріха Еберта в Україні та Білорусі. Українське суспільство та європейські цінності. Київ : Фонд імені Фрідріха Еберта | Представництво в Україні. С. 21–22, 45–56. URL: http://fes.kiev.ua/ n/cms/fileadmin/upload2/JEvropeiski_cinnosti__tables_and_diagrams_MR_.pdf ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[2] Соціологічна група «Рейтинг» (Група «Рейтинг»). Загальнонаціональне опитування #25: СПРИЙНЯТТЯ ЗАГРОЗ НА ЗИМУ 2023-2024. Соціологічна група «Рейтинг», 2023. С. 5. URL: https://ratinggroup.ua/files/ratinggroup/reg_files/rg_ ukraine_cati_monitoring_122023__.pdf ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[3] Учасники проектів Вікімедіа. Яковенко Юрій Іванович. *Вікіпедія*. URL: https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Яковенко_Юрій_Іванович ((дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

minced results resembling ground meat. Yet, whether it is suitable for consumption as a human food is a question with very obvious answer. In this context, the emphasis is placed on the quality of the data itself. Even if the data is of high quality, the 'meat grinder' will always yield some form of 'minced meat' because it is programmed that way. However, this doesn't mean that the resulting columns of meat, obtained using a particular attachment, represent the sole, precise, and reliable reflection of the constituent types that, in addition, often seems to be so simplistic and predictable. Meanwhile, information about the challenges in identifying social types and how these challenges can be addressed is relatively scarce, not widely popular. For those like us, who have sought or are currently seeking relevant information, we aim to demonstrate how complex, interesting, and responsible sociological clustering can be through the lens of three crucial societal circumstances.

Every rule in social life carries an inherent moral underpinning. Edmund Husserl once illustrated this using the example of requirements for a warrior. In the rule 'a warrior must be brave', there exists a moral backdrop that dictates that a courageous warrior is good and deserving of approval, while a cowardly warrior is bad and deserving of condemnation. Similarly, when we say, for instance, 'love your neighbor as yourself', we implicitly assume that someone who loves the neighbor is a good person, whereas someone who doesn't love the neighbor is not. And when we examine the life of each individual, it becomes evident that there is always something more or less significant – sociologists usually study this just as a set of values or life priorities, but there are always rules by which we can discern tendencies to approve or disapprove of value choices. Yielding to desired simple assumptions might lead us to believe that our own choice of a specific value line will inevitably result in others approving a similar path. However, as demonstrated by the opinions of Ukrainian citizens, the division of life's values varies depending on the interaction context. Furthermore, the embodiment of these values often challenges the notion of a direct link between our personal value choices and the positive evaluations of social usefulness exhibited by people who adhere to the same values as ourselves[4]. Psychologists also report that our behavior is subject to the 'moral licensing' effect. If we decide that we have already reached a significant level of goodness, we may allow ourselves to do something bad. From a sociological perspective, this means that while fulfilling responsibilities in one social role, we might grant ourselves an internal license for less responsibility in another social role. Does this phenomenon occur in Ukrainian society? Yes, because moral dilemmas are not merely philosophical exercises or tools for business evaluation. Each of us, in a sense, is both a philosopher and a businessperson. We cannot

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[4] RB_Group. Kulturny kod ukrayinsky 01 2019. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/kulturny-kod-ukrayinsky-01-2019/137650743 (date of access: 31.07.2024).

constantly meet all the expectations placed upon us by others, so we must choose which duties to prioritize, how to allocate our time and effort accordingly to priorities[5]. Therefore, understanding the typification of Ukrainians based on the aforementioned moral aspects and the associated complexities is valuable.

1. Values: how we behave with freedom

First, it is logical to describe the initial results that preceded the cluster analysis. In 2016, the first study was conducted regarding the value profile of respondents, reflecting their hierarchy of values in different contexts of everyday practices based on the modified and adapted classification by Helmut Klages. This exploratory survey took place in Kyiv and revealed the complete justification for considering the sphere-specific division of human activities. In all proposed spheres, respondents predominantly denied any significant value loss (simultaneously indicating that the negative connotation associated with this value orientation by Helmut Klages was recognized by them, at least regarding their own priorities in different areas). However, variations emerged concerning the most important values. Within close personal relationships, most leaned toward value conventionalism (which aligned logically with Helmut Klages' principles); in professional relationships and leisure planning, the majority shifted toward value nonconformism-idealism. Regarding participation in public life, respondents oscillated between value conservatism, value nonconformism-idealism, and value synthesis. Overall, two powerful and opposing dominant value orientations were evident among the participants: value conventionalism and value nonconformism-idealism. Meanwhile, active realism, which Helmut Klages considered most productive value orientation (and we also endorse that), was still emerging, primarily through informal professional and community life. Notably, differences in dominant values within professional relationships were minimal across various professional fields. However, tendencies were observed: finance professionals leaned toward value anti-conventionalism, those in medicine and cosmetology exhibited conflicting inclinations toward value conventionalism, and educators demonstrated pronounced value conventionalism. In the field of arts, individuals balanced self-development values with active realism or lived without that. The results obtained in 2016 partially diverged but also partially aligned with the monitoring findings from the Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine's 'Ukrainian Society – 2013' study[6]. According to the latter, subjective identification in Ukraine predominantly favored value conventionalists (aligned) and value active

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[5] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 ((дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

[6] Ручка А., Наумова М. Цінності і типи ціннісної ідентифікації в сучасному соціумі. *Українське суспільство: моніторинг соціальних змін* / гол. ред. М. О. Шуль-га. Київ, 2013. Т. 1. С. 292–294.

realists (partially aligned). Value nonconformists-idealists were in a 'catching up' position (not aligned), while identification with disillusioned individuals (those experiencing value loss) was relatively weak (aligned), as was identification with hedonistic materialists (the extent of alignment remains unknown, as we did not specifically isolate small-scale value synthesis in our research). Thus, respondents demonstrated a lack of perceived value loss across major spheres of their everyday practices. Within close personal circles, most adhered to value conservatism; in professional relationships and leisure planning, they leaned toward value revolution; and participation in public life involved a balance of these two dominant value orientations and value synthesis. The choice of dominant values and anti-values in everyday practices, corresponding to close personal relationships, professional relationships, leisure organization, and participation in public life, significantly depended on: 1) gender, 2) age category, 3) religious beliefs, 4) educational attainment (having or lacking higher education), and 5) subjectively defined occupational categories determining the dominant type of work[7].

According to the results of a subsequent, representative, and nationwide study conducted by Research & Branding Group in 2019, which included questions about values in a similar vein, the majority of Ukrainians (56%) were value conservatives in family, personal, and friendly relationships. They valued established bonds, trust, and traditions. However, when it came to professional (work-related, collegial) relationships and leisure organization, most Ukrainians (36,2% and 37,6%, respectively) leaned toward freedom of action, self-development, and self-realization. In other words – toward value nonconformism-idealism, according to Helmut Klages' terminology. The situation became more complex when discussing participation in public life. While considering their contribution to the common social good, Ukrainians identified themselves as adherents of the most productive value choice – value active realism (29,6%). However, their inclination was challenged by alternative values: value loss or disillusionment (27,9%), which was undesirable for societal prosperity due to its focus on maintaining minimal conditions for conflict-free coexistence, and value nonconformism-idealism (23,2%), less productive than value active realism[8]. Subsequently, a cluster analysis was performed, preceded by exploratory steps to determine the most suitable clustering method. Based on advice from other experts and publicly available research, two methods were

[7] Тащенко А. Ю. Культурні коди як засіб соціальної ідентифікації у повсякденних практиках : Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата соціологічних наук: 22.00.04 – спеціальні та галузеві соціології. Київ, 2016. С. 125–126, 140–141. URL: https://ir.library.knu.ua/entities/publication/9e9e353c-f2ee-43d4-aa56-d3b8ed2b1634 ((дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

[8] RB_Group. Kulturny kod ukrayinsky 01 2019. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/kulturny-kod-ukrayinsky-01-2019/137650743 (date of access: 31.07.2024).

explored: 'intergroup connections + chi-square' and 'within-group connections + chi-square.' The former yielded a 4-cluster solution, while the latter resulted in a 2-cluster solution. Both methods were applied, and the clusters were compared. Although the 2-cluster solutions were more consistent across the two methods (54,5% and 87% agreement), this alignment was achieved by creating one large cluster using the first method, which was further differentiated by the second method. Therefore, we compared the 4-cluster solution from the first method with the 4-cluster solution from the second method. The results are presented in Table 1 (first method) and Table 2 (second method). In these tables and all other tables below, the largest proportions are highlighted in green, and secondary significant proportions are highlighted in light green.

Table 1

Cluster analysis of Ukrainians' personal values in the 2019 study using the 'intergroup connections + chi-square' method, data presented in %, with the largest proportion indicated by the row

CLUSTERS	Social practices' / relations' sphere	'Time-tested connections, trust, traditions' choice, %	'Freedom of actions, self-development and self-realization' choice, %	'Maintaining the minimal conditions for conflict-free coexistence with other people' choice, %	'The search for compromise of interests and cooperation' choice, %
Cluster 1 (1717 persons)	Private	60,9	25,6	6,1	7,4
	Professional	24,3	37,7	24,9	13
	Leisure	14,1	40,4	30,7	14,8
	Society	16,4	24,2	28	31,3
Cluster 2 (111 persons)	Private	0	22,5	47,7	29,7
	Professional	57,7	39,6	2,7	0
	Leisure	54,1	45	0,9	0
	Society	0	12,6	48,6	38,7
Cluster 3 (46 persons)	Private	63	13	17,4	6,5
	Professional	0	0	39,1	60,9
	Leisure	100	0	0	0
	Society	15,2	43,5	34,8	6,5
Cluster 4 (46 persons)	Private	8,7	17,4	54,3	19,6
	Professional	63	37	0	0
	Leisure	8,7	6,5	39,1	45,7
	Society	76,1	23,9	0	0

Source: constructed by the authors

Table 2

Cluster analysis of Ukrainians' personal values in the 2019 study using the 'within-group connections + chi-square' method, data presented in %, with the largest proportion indicated by the row

| CLUSTERS	Social practices' / relations' sphere	'Time-tested connections, trust, traditions' choice, %	'Freedom of actions, self-development and self-realization' choice, %	'Maintaining the minimal conditions for conflict-free coexistence with other people' choice, %	'The search for compromise of interests and cooperation' choice, %
Cluster 1 (686 persons)	Private	21,6	32,1	22	24,3
	Professional	26,7	35,9	23,5	14
	Leisure	33,2	40,2	13,1	13,4
	Society	37,3	29,3	18,5	14,9
Cluster 2 (762 persons)	Private	90,8	8,5	0,5	0,1
	Professional	16,7	54,2	20,9	8,3
	Leisure	0,9	34,3	44,4	20,5
	Society	7,5	27,2	36,4	29
Cluster 3 (266 persons)	Private	89,8	8,6	1,1	0,4
	Professional	0	16,9	48,5	34,6
	Leisure	37,6	62	0	0,4
	Society	2,3	9,4	32,7	55,6
Cluster 4 (206 persons)	Private	0	82,5	16	1,5
	Professional	97,6	2,4	0	0
	Leisure	8,3	21,8	57,3	12,6
	Society	2,4	13,6	29,1	54,9

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[9, 10]

The second approach was chosen in a previously published study, while the first option was not mentioned before we started to write this chapter. In brief, the second clustering method provides a clearer picture: distinct types have fewer intraclass conflicts within their priority rankings across different relationship spheres. Dominant proportions within each sphere are more convincing due to larger sample sizes compared to the first clustering approach.

[9] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 317. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[10] Tashchenko A. The beauty and horror of society's unpredictability, or Why Ukraine is like the Gorgon Medusa. *Independence. Archive. Prognosis. Ukraine in 1991–2021 and Beyond: A Conference of the Ukrainian Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand in partnership with the University of Melbourne, the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia, 3–5 February 2022. Abstracts*. P. 48. URL: http://www.ukrainianstudies.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Conference-2022-Abstracts_v3.pdf (date of access: 15.07.2024).

All types are statistically relevant within each cluster. The first option might appeal to proponents of the mass society concept, which assumes uniformity among most individuals and challenges civic activism[11, 12]. The second clustering approach better aligns with a crucial value characteristic observed among Ukrainians during Euromaidan[13] and the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war: the rarest types prioritized participation in public life, while the most popular types consistently valued freedom above all else. Significant differences between clusters in the second clustering approach were primarily related to the type of settlement and region – see Figures 1 and 2. The cluster names were adopted from a previously published study. These differences introduced some unexpected findings and novelty compared to the research on the values of Euromaidan participants, as the most civically beneficial types among Ukrainians were more frequently found outside regional centers. Regarding regional distribution in the clustering based on individual priorities, the following emerged: when applying a soft statistical analysis rule (where 3% of cells with an expected frequency less than 5 are not considered significant due to not reaching 20%), it can be noted that opinions included in the analysis differed among representatives of various regions. Specifically, all respondents from Rivne (55 individuals) and Kirovograd (51 individuals) regions were only present in the first two out of four clusters.
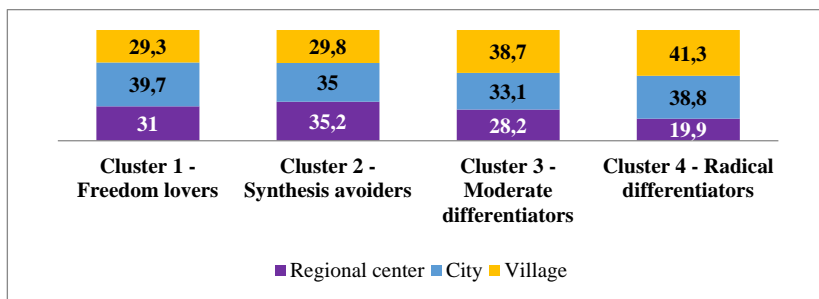
Fig. 1. Differences in cluster distribution based on Ukrainians' personal values across types of residential settlements, studied in 2019, N=1920, significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in %
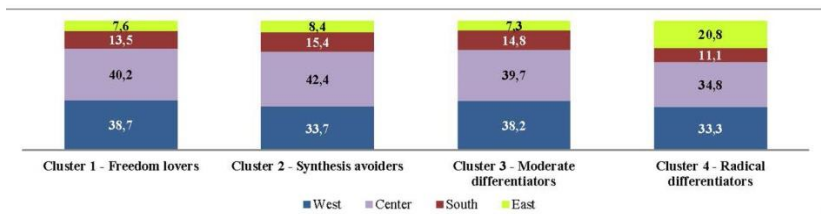
Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[14]

[11] Освіта.UA. Масове суспільство як альтернатива громадського суспільства. *Освіта.UA*. URL: https://osvita.ua/vnz/reports/sociology/12674/ ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[12] Вегеш I. M. Концепція масового суспільства в сучасній зарубіжній політичній думці. *Електронний репозитарій ДВНЗ "УжНУ"*. URL: https://dspace.uzhnu.edu.ua/jspui/bitstream/lib/33127/1/Концепція%20масового%20суспільства%20в%20сучасній%20зарубіжній%20політичній%20науці.%20Підручник.pdf ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[13] Шестаковський О. Радикалізовані європейці: цінності Євромайдану в порівнянні з європейськими. Інфографіка. *Українська правда*. URL: https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/01/14/7009459/ ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[14] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation*

Fig. 2. Differences in cluster distribution based on Ukrainians' personal values across regions of residence, studied in 2019, N=1920, significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in %

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[15]

We advocate against stopping at two-dimensional distributions if there is an opportunity to explore further. In our case, we want to demonstrate the nuances that emerge beyond the illusory simplicity of two-dimensional distributions. By constructing three-dimensional distributions based on life priorities within clusters, we observe that we are indeed constrained by the features already identified as significant contributors to differences. However, the data become more nuanced – see Table 3. Throughout, '*' denotes differences significant at the 0,05 level, '**' represents differences significant at the 0,01 level, and '***' indicates differences significant at the 0,001 level. We utilized attributes such as gender, age, type of settlement, education, socioeconomic status, and partially – region of residence. Initially, regions were not the primary focus due to the regional division, because it has many variations[16] at all and was constructed by Research & Branding Group in their original way. Therefore, from the list of attributes ensuring sample representativeness, prioritizing settlement type was more reliable.

of scientific and human resources. 2024. C. 383. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[15] Ibidem.

[16] Чмирьова Л. Ю. Районування території України як один з факторів просторового соціально-економічного розвитку регіонів. *Ефективна економіка*. 2013. № 3. URL: http://www.economy.nayka.com.ua/?op=1&z=1878&fbclid=IwAR0I6-JwbSf8o7NRfym7dwoDHONWtw_FoUDKnPgjDdPfgVq97ePPNXBjqxk (дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

Table 3

Three-dimensional distributions by clusters based on Ukrainians' personal values, using the 'intragroup connections + chi-square' method, data presented in %, with the largest proportion indicated by the column

CLUSTERS CATEGORIES	Cluster 1 – Freedom lovers	Cluster 2 – Synthesis avoiders	Cluster 3 – Moderate differentiators	Cluster 4 – Radical differentiators
1	2	3	4	5
Differences among men and women in regional centers*				
Men	**39,9**	41	10,4	8,6
Women	32,2	**48**	**14,3**	5,5
Differences among men living in different settlement types*				
Regional center	**39,9**	41	10,4	8,6
City	**37**	40,1	12,4	10,6
Village	29	40,2	**18,1**	**12,7**
Differences among women living in different settlement types***				
Regional center	32,2	**48**	14,3	5,5
City	**39,7**	35,8	12,5	**11,9**
Village	**35,6**	34,1	15,6	**14,7**
Differences among older individuals living in different settlement types**				
Regional center	33,7	**48,7**	13,1	4,5
City	**40,9**	33,5	14,5	**11,2**
Village	34	36	15	**15**
Differences among highly educated individuals living in different settlement types*				
Regional center	**39,5**	**44,4**	10,3	5,8
City	**38,9**	40,4	12	8,7
Village	29	39,4	**17,4**	**14,2**
Differences among low-income individuals living in different settlement types***				
Regional center	34,4	**50,5**	11,1	3,9
City	**36,8**	34,1	**15,9**	**13,2**
Village	32,2	35,5	**17,8**	**14,5**
Differences among individuals with conditionally average income ('average among the poor') living in different settlement types*				
Regional center	**37,1**	42	12,9	8
City	**37,1**	**43,9**	8,2	10,7
Village	31,1	38,7	**17,2**	**13**
Differences among settlement types in Central Ukraine**				
Regional center	31,5	**50,7**	11,3	6,6
City	33,3	**43,9**	14,9	7,9
Village	**36,4**	32,7	**20,1**	**10,7**
Differences among settlement types in Southern Ukraine***				
Regional center	**54,3**	33,3	11,6	0,8
City	**38,7**	40,5	13,5	**7,2**
Village	14,4	**47,8**	**21,1**	**16,7**

Table 3 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5
Differences among settlement types in Eastern Ukraine***				
Regional center	25,2	51	13,2	10,6
City	42,4	24,8	9,5	23,3
Village	22,6	29	11,3	37,1
Differences among individuals with different levels of education in Eastern Ukraine*				
Up to and including secondary general education	43,5	26,9	11,1	18,5
Secondary special education	29,6	33,8	11,7	24,9
Higher education	31	44	10	15

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[17, 18, 19]

Thanks to three-dimensional distributions, we can understand that, firstly, in regional centers, men and women exhibited different inclinations toward freedom as a value. Men more frequently were seeking to maximize it. However, if we hypothetically label the first cluster as the 'male variant' of freedom value preference and the second cluster as the 'female variant,' we find that men's tendency to choose the 'male variant' depends on the type of settlement, while men who opt for the 'female variant' were uniformly represented across all settlement types. A similar pattern emerged for women, but in reverse: female adherents of the 'female variant' varied in representation based on settlement type, whereas % of women choosing the 'male variant' remained consistent across all settlement types, except for a slight increase in non-regional urban areas. Moreover, the peak of 'masculinity' in men and the peak of 'femininity' in women were not observed in rural areas, stereotypically associated with tradition, patriarchy, and inequality. Instead, it occurred in the most progressive administrative units, including non-regional centers, just urban territory. Additionally, we observed varying degrees of tension: men's inclination toward maximizing freedom as a value intensified once we moved beyond the imaginary boundaries of rural areas, while women's more typical, moderate love for

[17] Тащенко А. Ю. Рекомендовано остерігатися: «своя доля і свій шлях широкий» у контексті вікових нерівностей та ейджизму. *Габітус*. 2024. № 58. С. 27. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2663-5208.2024.58.3 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[18] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*. 2024. № 101. С. 86. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[19] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation of scientific and human resources*. 2024. С. 384–385. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

freedom was more prevalent (or desired, according to Ronald Inglehart's deficit hypothesis[20]) primarily in powerful cities – the regional centers. Secondly, higher education more frequently contributed to the formation of more productive civic priorities, particularly in rural areas. In regional centers, it fostered a tendency toward either maximization or moderately expression of value nonconformism-idealism, rather than value active realism. Interestingly, a partial case in Eastern Ukraine also confirmed the correlation between higher education and a desire for freedom of action, rather than value active realism. Furthermore, reaching a respectable age and having low or conditionally average income (despite existing biases against older and economically disadvantaged individuals, and their civic positions) in rural areas tended to push individuals toward the same direction of value active realism in societal participation. According to Helmut Klages, this value orientation is considered the best for the collective good. Thirdly, even the regional differences we left for consideration revealed the complex cultural context of each region, including Western Ukraine, which stood apart from all other regions by the absence of statistically significant differences in the specified attributes. The only consistently repeated similarity across Central, Southern, and Eastern Ukraine was a higher concentration of the rare type of radical differentiators in rural areas. These individuals predominantly view participation in societal life as the focal point of their value active realism. As for the 'audience of freedom' and moderate differentiators, who were notably attuned to value active realism in other public relations (according to Klages, representatives of this social type should also be good, pleasant, and useful colleagues), each region exhibited specific profiles – both super-valuing freedom and super-striving for more productive professional relationships was achieved through representatives from different administrative units, and this warrants further in-depth study. For now, we cannot delve into regional details, as another crucial subtopic awaits us – forming value adherences, which determine attitude towards certain value choices as attractive or unattractive ones.

2. Value adherences: in search of optimism

As we study social phenomena, it is evident that the (un)attractiveness of values through our research lens must be associated with the image of people who embody these values. A preliminary exploratory study in 2016 revealed that when determining their own values, respondents were primarily inclined toward freedom of action, self-development, and self-realization. However, their opinions diverged significantly when evaluating people with similar

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[20] Соколова К. О. Адекватність застосування методики оцінки ціннісного зсуву в Україні: індекс ліберального постматеріалізму. *Український соціум*. 2010. №. 2. С. 71. URL: https://doi.org/10.15407/socium2010.02.069 ((дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

dominant values. Value conservatives (conventionalists) received the highest ratings, while value nonconformists-idealists fared the worst. Interestingly, assessments of individuals with value loss and those with value synthesis were similarly ambiguous, albeit leaning toward positivity. According to the results described in the previous section, few were willing to personally embrace value loss in any major area of everyday practice, while the situation regarding value synthesis was genuinely uncertain – it was perceived as neither clearly good nor bad, neither necessary nor unnecessary. Furthermore, following the logic embedded in Helmut Klages' value classification, we would have expected certain rank correlations that highlighted the contrasts between value conservatives, value nonconformists-idealists, and value active realists in relation to people with value loss (the dyads 'Value conventionalism – Value loss', 'Value nonconformism-idealism – Value loss', and 'Value loss – Value synthesis' should have exhibited numerous inverse rank correlations). After all, departing from acceptable values typically leads to a departure from widely accepted ethical principles. However, respondents demonstrated unique phenomena, perhaps reflective of either Ukrainian or specifically Kyiv mentalities.

The first phenomenon was a striking tendency toward direct similarity in assessments of the same categories of people across different criteria. This trend implied that: 1) if a category of people was positively evaluated based on one criterion, they were similarly evaluated across all other criteria; 2) if a category of people was negatively evaluated based on one criterion, the same held true across all other criteria; 3) if a category of people was ambiguously evaluated based on one criterion, the same ambiguity extended to all other criteria. This pattern was particularly pronounced in assessments of value nonconformists-idealists. Although this inclination varied in strength, it was undoubtedly present. The second phenomenon pertained to the most significant proportional agreement compared to other cases. Only assessments of people with value loss and those with value synthesis could boast such high concordance. In other words, those who positively / negatively / ambiguously evaluated individuals with value loss – they similarly positively / negatively / ambiguously evaluated those with value synthesis.

It indicated grounds to discuss a tendency related to the specific indivisibility inherent in respondents' intuitive ethics. The ordered pattern could have emerged in various ways, at the very least, through three different approaches. Firstly, specific categories of value bearers could have received assessments based on the social utility of their actions for either specific individuals or abstract communities. The criteria proposed to respondents for evaluation pertained to both specific actions toward others

(harming or caring, deceiving or being honest, restricting others' freedom or granting freedom) and abstract social regulators designed for long-term support of large communities (social ideals, where betrayal or fidelity could occur, moral principles adhered to or violated in their activities, and authority respected or undermined by them). For example, assessments might have been distributed such that conservatives were recognized as socially beneficial for abstract, long-standing communities, while active realists were recognized as socially beneficial for specific individuals. Secondly, assessments could have been chaotic or favored ambiguity, which would also indicate a certain orderliness in evaluation based on specific situations conducive or unfavorable to the manifestation of moral virtues, regardless of adhered values. It was found that this type of ordering could be influenced by: 1) young age, during which life is often viewed through the lens of responsibility shared between the individual and circumstances that could vary; 2) higher education, which fosters a habit of more discerning contemplation over contextual nuances; 3) work type, removed from physical exertion and interaction with specific people but closely aligned with the realm of 'pure information', where any general model requires data on situational parameters.

Thirdly, the pattern could have unfolded as it did in 2016 based on the results of exploratory research: specific categories of value bearers receiving purely positive, purely negative, or purely ambiguous assessments of their adherence to generally commendable or disapproved values. The most positively evaluated values were values of duty and acceptability – value conservatism, while values of self-development – value nonconformism-idealism – received the least favorable ratings. Values of mixed states – value loss and value synthesis – garnered the most ambiguous assessments. In light of this evaluation, it is entirely reasonable that the rank correlations identified regarding attitudes toward people with different dominant values partially aligned with Helmut Klages' value classification, as the opposition of different value contents was partially determined by the contrast between values. Certainly, the mystery for the German sociologist would remain in explaining the advantage of direct rank correlations in the 'Value loss – Value synthesis' dyad. However, if he were in our position, he might hypothesize that the prevalence of direct rank correlations in this dyad could be due to insufficient understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of value active realism. At that time, value synthesis had not yet fully developed in Ukrainian society – at least not among a large group of people. Consequently, representatives of Ukrainian society were insensitive to the social consequences distinguishing preserving minimal conditions for conflict-free coexistence from seeking compromise in interests and cooperation. As we had the opportunity to observe from the value portrait of

our respondents, despite their awareness of the drawbacks of value loss for themselves, the parallel awareness of the importance of value active realism significantly lagged behind the inclination toward conservatism and individualism. This discrepancy was also reflected in their perception of dominant values 'for others', specifically for proponents of value synthesis. Therefore, if we generalize broadly, Ukrainians often did not fully understand not only how value active realism could be beneficial for them in adhering to this value, but also how other people, as active realists, could be beneficial for us and society as a whole. The reasons behind systematically perceiving social evil in representatives of value revolution and social good in conservatives remain a subject for exploration, and at least three possible versions came to mind.

The first and most superficial possible reason is ordinary egotism and the associated double standards. This could explain the divergence between 'dominant values for oneself' and assessments of 'dominant values of others', assuming that respondents perceived themselves as representatives of the evaluated categories. Thus, value nonconformist-idealists supporters, when evaluating the category of fellow value nonconformist-idealists, seemed to say: 'I understand that my desire for freedom of action is a social evil, but despite the harm to both individuals and society, I adhere to it because it benefits me and is acceptable for me'. This individual egotism in professional relationships, leisure planning, and public life, where it predominantly existed according to the respondents' value portrait, easily transforms into collective egotism. Alla Lobanova described collective egotism as 'a type of social behavior of production groups, collectives, satisfying material needs that harm other groups, collectives, and affect their interests'[21]. From this perspective, most respondents had an image of themselves and their constant support network (family, relationship partners, friends) whose interests they did not neglect (as long as they did not interfere too much with leisure plans). Simultaneously, they had an image of 'abstract others' or 'situational others' (colleagues, individuals involved in organizing leisure time, Ukrainian citizens) whose interests could be disregarded. The second possible reason involves the accidental revelation of both the unrecognized negative social consequences of adhering to value nonconformist-idealist inclinations and the positive social consequences of gravitating toward value conservatism. It is entirely possible that respondents, when faced with a request to generalize life experience regarding not their own actions but the actions of people with different dominant values overall, inadvertently revealed what they might not have noticed when answering direct questions about themselves. Specifically, the

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[21] Лобанова А. С. Феномен соціальної мімікрії. Київ : Інститут соціології НАН України, 2004. С. 135–136.

ethical cost that sometimes has to be paid for one's value choice within close circles, informal professional environments, among leisure companions, and in the company of other citizens in our country. While consciously avoiding this cost, they still recognize it with a certain 'distance', making visible both the advantages and disadvantages mentioned. If, according to the majority's opinion, value conservatism did not provide grounds for complaints, value nonconformism-idealism often manifested as undermining authority, betraying social ideals, engaging in deception, participating in immoral activities, causing harm to others, and restricting freedom of others for one's own benefit. Although this is not a conscious pursuit, it becomes evident with a certain distance and worthy of acknowledging the reality of the mentioned advantages and disadvantages.

The third and most optimistic explanation is that the divergence between adhering to certain values and the assessments of people who also adhere to these values overall was a reasonable reaction to the lack of differentiation in the questions regarding everyday practices. For instance, respondents' inclination toward freedom of action, self-development, and self-realization was most pronounced in professional relationships and personal leisure. However, its dominance in public life was not unequivocally convincing, and in close interactions, it remained on the outskirts of well-established relationships, trust, and traditions. Logically, when evaluating categories of people where certain value orientations are expressed absolutely, it might have considered not the drawbacks of adhering to these values per se, but rather the pitfalls of their hyperexpression across all possible spheres of activity. For example, value nonconformism-idealism, which was relevant in informal professional communication and personal leisure, could accrue negative points due to its perceived lesser appropriateness in close interactions and participation in social life. In such contexts, it might lead to negatively evaluated actions. However, this raises the question of why respondents did not object to the hyperexpression of conservative value orientations across all areas of activity. Evidently, this is related to the findings from the monitoring conducted by the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, emphasizing the 'vital value syndrome' or the 'security value syndrome' (prioritizing health, family, children, and well-being[22]. Even without a strong need for a sense of security beyond close circles, respondents were unlikely to negatively assess the activities of carriers of values that align best with adherence within their immediate social circles – a priority for Ukrainian culture. The intuitive reasoning of respondents can be reconstructed as follows: 'Perhaps value conservatism is not the

[22] Ручка А. О. Ціннісна метаморфоза в ментальності громадян України під час надзвичайних подій 2014 року. *Українське суспільство: моніторинг соціальних змін* / гол. ред. : В. М. Ворона, М. О. Шульга. Київ, 2014. Т. 2. С. 123.

best choice for all spheres except family, personal, and friendly relationships. However, if someone chooses to adhere to conservative values in all aspects of his / her life, it is unlikely to harm others, as it does not harm their close circles. If conservatism were detrimental in close relationships, it would hardly be appropriate there'. This is how the image of a value-conservative altruist emerged – who, in turn, may prioritize self-care and self-realization in real life[23].

The next study on value adherences in 2019, based on data from Research & Branding Group, which was nationwide, representative, and also grounded in the theory of moral foundations[24], documented a strong and contrasting attractiveness of the image of value conservatives – the individuals who valued time-tested relationships, trust, and traditions (see Table 4). Of course, there were interesting nuances: concerning value conservatives, young men in regional centers and villages were sometimes more negatively biased than middle-aged and older men there. Regarding the value loss, the pattern was reversed, with a caveat it pertained to ordinary cities – not to regional centers – that older men more frequently suspected the disillusioned of immoral behavior. Finally, opinions about active realists diverged somewhat among men and women in different types of settlements, but the trend was consistent with the disillusioned – negative bias toward active realists increased with age (see Table 5). The aforementioned can be explained by the factor of (non)interference: in conditions of intense competition and hard work, those most engaged in the struggle for survival may perceive conservatism in others as an obstacle to their own achievements and their desire to do things their own way – in principle, conservatives are seen by them as a social burden and challenge. However, as social statuses associated with age are acquired, there is an idealization of supporters of the anticipated order as guarantors of their own stable well-being and similar well-being for others. Conversely, the disillusioned, by definition, are perceived as people who should not 'make problems'. Yet, over time, it becomes evident that such individuals do create problems because their concern for inviolability contributes to entrenched double standards in behavior and a specific morality. Under this morality, peace of conscience results not from genuine morality but solely from successfully maintaining an unrealistic image of being 'everyone's companion'. It is no

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[23] Тащенко А. Ю. Культурні коди як засіб соціальної ідентифікації у повсякденних практиках : дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата соціологічних наук: 22.00.04 – спеціальні та галузеві соціології. Київ, 2016. С. 152–161. URL: https://ir.library.knu.ua/entities/publication/9e9e353c-f2ee-43d4-aa56-d3b8ed2b1634 ((дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

[24] RB_Group. Kulturny kod ukrayinsky 01 2019. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/kulturny-kod-ukrayinsky-01-2019/137650743 (date of access: 31.07.2024).

wonder that Helmut Klages considered value disillusionment the worst option in terms of value choice. As for active realists, they are assumed to be favorable circumstances for your own success, regardless of who you are or where you are. However, time reveals that even a predisposition toward compromise and cooperation does not always prevent conflicts of interest, encroachment on positions, painful clashes of principles, and so forth. Consequently, with age, there is a disillusionment with the image of positive, communicative activists as universally omnipotent do-gooders who are always in good spirits, always smooth out sharp edges, and always reach agreements solely through constructive communication.

Table 4

The percentage of respondents who had a positive attitude toward people with specific life priorities, with the highest percentage determined by the column

EVALUATION GROUP UNDER EVALUATION	Harm infliction – no tendency	Misleading – no tendency	Authority undermining – no tendency	Oppression of others – no tendency
Conservatives	64,1	61,8	58,9	52,4
Nonconformists-idealists	29,5	35,3	32,2	38,1
Disillusioned	37,6	36,5	35,7	34,8
Active realists	37,1	37	34,5	32,3

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[25]

Table 5

Four-dimensional distributions regarding respondents' attitudes toward people with specific life priorities, data presented in %, with the highest percentage determined by the column

EVALUATION ALTERNATIVES ACTOR OF EVALUATION	Negative (they act immorally)	Positive (they act morally)	Undetermined (their morality depends on the situation)	No interaction experience
1	2	3	4	5
Group under assessment – people who prioritize time-tested relationships, trust, and traditions (value conservatives)				
Behavior model – harm (non-)infliction**				
Regional center, men aged 18–30	15,8	53,9	25	5,3
Regional center, men aged 31–55	8,9	63,7	13,7	13,7

[25] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 317. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

Table 5 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5
Regional center, men aged 56+	7,6	73,4	7,6	11,4
*Behavior model – authority (non-)undermining**				
Village, men aged 18–30	22,9	51,4	10	15,7
Village, men aged 31–55	8,9	58,5	12,6	20
Village, men aged 56+	20,5	62,8	7,7	9
*Behavior model – (non-)oppression of others**				
Regional center, men aged 18–30	20	44	29,3	6,7
Regional center, men aged 31–55	12,3	51,6	21,3	14,8
Regional center, men aged 56+	6,3	55,7	19	19
Group under assessment – people who prioritize minimal conditions for conflict-free coexistence (disillusioned)				
*Behavior model – harm (non-)infliction***				
City, men aged 18–30	6,8	49,3	31,5	12,3
City, men aged 31–55	13	33,1	42,9	11
City, men aged 56+	14,4	36,1	23,7	25,8
*Behavior model – (non-)misleading**				
City, men aged 18–30	13,5	25,7	41,9	18,9
City, men aged 31–55	15,6	35,1	37,7	11,7
City, men aged 56+	18,2	39,4	21,2	21,2
*Behavior model – authority (non-)undermining**				
City, men aged 18–30	6,8	38,4	42,5	12,3
City, men aged 31–55	16,9	27,3	40,3	15,6
City, men aged 56+	15	40	24	21
Group under assessment – people who prioritize interest compromise and cooperation (active realists)				
*Behavior model – harm (non-)infliction***				
City, men aged 18–30	5,4	37,8	35,1	21,6
City, men aged 31–55	13,6	36,4	29,9	20,1
City, men aged 56+	8,1	32,3	19,2	40,4
*Behavior model – (non-)misleading**				
City, women aged 18–30	13	41,6	18,2	27,3
City, women aged 31–55	6,6	44,3	29,9	19,2
City, women aged 56+	15,4	36,9	20,1	27,5
*Behavior model – authority (non-)undermining**				
Regional center, women aged 18-30	10,1	30,4	43,5	15,9
Regional center, women aged 31–55	8	37,7	26,8	27,5
Regional center, women aged 56+	18	30,3	26,2	25,4

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[26]

[26] Забродіна Д. О., Тащенко А. Ю. Осмислення ціннісної саморегуляції жителів України. *Габітус*. 2022. № 37. С. 24. URL: https://doi.org/10.32843/2663-5208.2022.37.3 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

Despite the excellent opportunity to construct four-dimensional distributions and the already conducted cluster analysis of value orientations in both reconnaissance and nationally representative studies, it was decided to attempt clustering evaluations from scratch. The initial clustering[27] was based on treating relevant variables as pseudo-metric ones – a research practice encountered for ordinal scales and sometimes even for nominal scales. However, the goal was to maximize the alignment of the clustering method with the obtained data. Therefore, a subsequent evaluation clustering was conducted with less ambition, ensuring that the results could be logically compared with the value-based clusters. The same method used in the value orientation cluster analysis – 'within-group connections + chi-square' – was employed. Considering only those who had experience with interaction and had determined their ratings, we had 770 valid observations. Statistical analysis revealed that the optimal number of clusters was three, with differences between them appearing logical, explainable, and sufficiently populated – see Table 6.

Table 6

Repeated cluster analysis of value adherences using the 'within-group connections + chi-square' method. The percentages of respondents who view people with specific life priorities positively are presented. Data is given in %, with the highest percentage determined by the column

CLUSTERS	Behavior model Evaluation	Harm (non-) infliction	(Non-) misleading	Authority (non-) undermining	(Non-) oppression of others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Cluster 1 (483 persons)	Positive attitude towards conservatives	74,3	72,9	70	61,7
	Positive attitude towards nonconformist idealists	54,7	64	62,3	66
	Positive attitude towards disillusioned	58,2	62,1	60,9	60,9
	Positive attitude towards active realists	63,6	67,3	61,1	61,9

[27] RB_Group. Kulturny kod ukrayinsky 01 2019. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/kulturny-kod-ukrayinsky-01-2019/137650743 (date of access: 31.07.2024).

Table 6 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Cluster 2 (189 persons)	Positive attitude towards conservatives	95,2	95,2	93,7	84,7
	Positive attitude towards nonconformist idealists	16,4	17,5	16,9	24,3
	Positive attitude towards disillusioned	19	12,7	15,3	18,5
	Positive attitude towards active realists	31,2	27,5	28	28
Cluster 3 (98 persons)	Positive attitude towards conservatives	88,8	92,9	89,8	87,8
	Positive attitude towards nonconformist idealists	9,2	14,3	5,1	2
	Positive attitude towards disillusioned	69,4	71,4	72,4	74,5
	Positive attitude towards active realists	67,3	64,3	72,4	68,4

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[28, 29]

Therefore, three distinct types of moral perception of other people have emerged. The first social type was noticeably inclined to have a positive opinion of the morality of individuals with any values. While conservatives receive slightly more sympathy compared to others, overall, the gaps in positive attitudes were not very pronounced. According to this perspective, in each value choice, one can find some advantageous moral traits and 'space for improvement'. In a previous publication, this type was appropriately identified as optimistic (hence the original name – 'optimists'). The second social type held a strong, stable

[28] Tashchenko A. The beauty and horror of society's unpredictability, or Why Ukraine is like the Gorgon Medusa. *Independence. Archive. Prognosis. Ukraine in 1991–2021 and Beyond: A Conference of the Ukrainian Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand in partnership with the University of Melbourne, the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia, 3–5 February 2022. Abstracts*. P. 48. URL: http://www.ukrainianstudies.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Conference-2022-Abstracts_v3.pdf (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[29] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 318. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024).
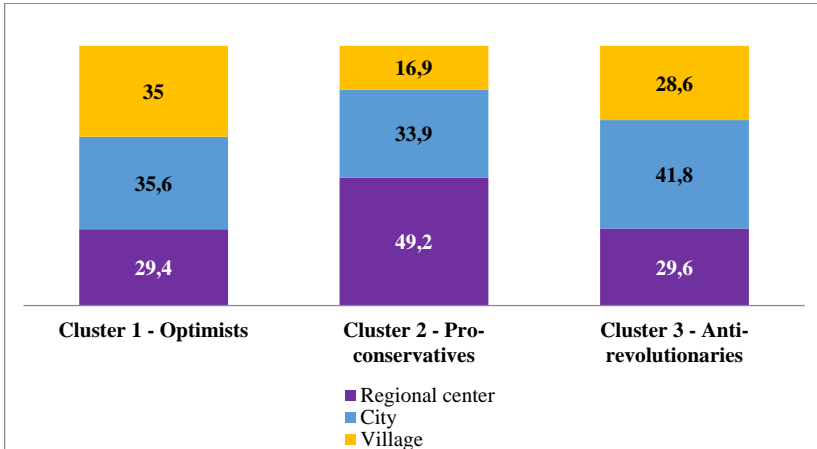
conviction regarding the morality of conservative behavior. They consistently showed more sympathy toward active realists, contrasting with doubts about individuals with other values. However, the significant gap between the top and the second-best image was so pronounced that this type was ultimately recognized as pro-conservative (hence the original name – 'pro-conservatives'). The third social type, against the backdrop of the rest, revealed its character more by contrast. They also appreciated the morality of conservatives, although not as frequently as the second cluster. Moreover, they often believed in the morality of individuals with various values (apparently not directly linking life priorities to the inclination to treat others well or poorly). However, they excluded nonconformist-idealists from their circle of trust, exclusively. Thus, possessing an intermediate type of moral perception alongside the first and second social types, the third cluster had somewhat blurred notions of social good and a clear understanding of social evil, which manifested through freedom of action, self-development, and self-realization (hence the original name – 'anti-revolutionaries'). Interestingly, in Ukrainian society, this last social type was the least represented, aligning with conclusions about Ukrainians' inclination toward anarchic ideas[30], [31], [32]. Now, let's explore whether moral evaluative optimism among Ukrainians was evenly distributed. This optimism could serve as a foundation for easy cultural integration and, consequently, multicultural understanding both within their own society and in host societies. We will begin with a two-dimensional breakdown. Significant differences between evaluation clusters were found only based on settlement type, regions, and material well-being (see Figures 3–5), which paralleled the discovered situation with value clusters – except for the seemingly unexpected issue on material security. After all, value adherences are an even deeper spiritual phenomenon than values themselves. However, if we assume that material satisfaction or dissatisfaction affects the formation of values, it logically follows that socioeconomic status leaves an even more noticeable imprint on shaping value adherences.

[30] Радіо Свобода. В Україні зараз демократія, але з елементами анархії – Палій. *Радіо Свобода*. URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/29023795.html ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[31] Покальчук О. Ідеї, які нас не змінюють. *Дзеркало тижня*. URL: https://zn.ua/ukr/SOCIUM/ideji-jaki-nas-ne-zminjujut.html ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[32] Інститут Соціології НАНУ. [ЄВГЕН ГОЛОВАХА – ІНСТИТУТУ КЕННАНА: «В Україні зберігають стійкість і віру в краще»]. *Facebook*. URL: https://www.facebook.com/InstituteofSociology/posts/pfbid02nWEcDtZc6eagSGZ6cRog7hN4sG4MoVFAGYFk49s TLCpyoJCSqzCxSRxonyS4MmKvl ((дата звернення: 18.07.2024).
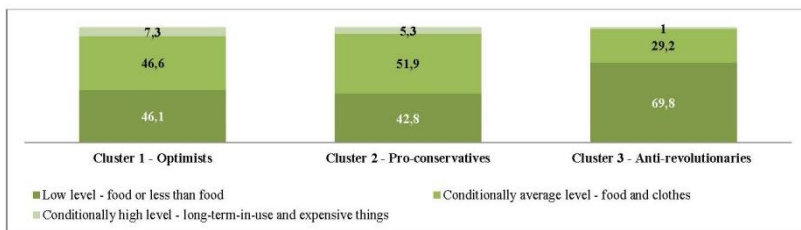
**Fig. 3. Differences in the distribution of clusters based on Ukrainians'
value adherences by settlement types, studied in 2019, N=770,
significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in %**

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by
the authors based on previous presentation[33]
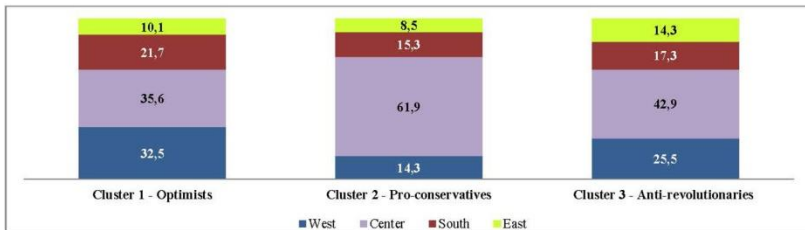
**Fig. 4. Differences in the distribution of clusters based on Ukrainians'
value adherences by regions of residence, studied in 2019, N=770,
significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in %**

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by
the authors based on previous presentation[34]

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[33] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору
працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation
of scientific and human resources*. 2024. С. 383. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-
26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[34] Ibidem.

**Fig. 5. Differences in the distribution of clusters based
on Ukrainians' value adherences by their level of material well-being,
studied in 2019, N=749, significance of differences
is at the 0,001 level, data presented in %**

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[35]

Therefore, optimists were more prevalent in rural areas, in Western Ukraine, and among individuals who were not forced to constantly think about securing food for themselves and their families. These circumstances align with common stereotypes: people tend to perceive rural residents as simpler, more open, and kind-hearted; Western Ukraine is often seen as a region territorially and culturally close to tolerant Europe; and it is widely understood that living on the brink of absolute poverty does not foster a 'taste for freedom', as Pierre Bourdieu would put it[36]. Regarding the connection between clustering and occupational sectors in both value adherences and values, no significant associations were found. Therefore, we omitted relevant data, although we had access to such variables. It would have been possible to formulate important hypotheses if we had more respondents and better cell population distribution. As for regions, statistical analysis was not feasible due to the sample size and the chi-square test's limitations (33,3% of cells had expected frequencies below 5). However, it is worth noting that respondents who answered evaluative questions sometimes aligned with a specific cluster as the entire represented region with statistical significance at the 0,001 level. For instance, all representatives from Sumy (11 individuals) and Mykolaiv (21 individuals) regions fully aligned with the first cluster, the sole representative from Ternopil' region did the same, and all respondents from Donets'k region (9 individuals) aligned with the third

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35 Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики.* 2024. № 101. С. 87. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

36 Bourdieu P. Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste / trans. from French by R. Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts : Routledge, 1986. 632 p. URL: https://archive.org/details/PierreBourdieuDistinctionASocialCritiqueOfTheJudgementOfTaste1984_201810/mode/2up (date of access: 30.07.2024).

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cluster. Of course, a larger sample size would be necessary to determine whether these trends were significant or coincidental. Now, let's explore the three-dimensional distributions of clusters based on evaluations (see Table 7). We will consider gender, age, settlement type, education, material well-being, and an illustrative case from the central region where the authors of this chapter reside. Our research situation regarding regions parallels what was discussed in the analysis of the first clustering case.

Table 7

Three-dimensional distributions of clusters based on Ukrainians' value adherences using the 'within-group relationships + chi-square' method, data is presented in %, with the highest percentage determined by the column

CLUSTERS CATEGORIES	Cluster 1 – Optimists	Cluster 2 – Pro-conservatives	Cluster 3 – Anti-revolutionaries
1	2	3	4
Differences among men in different settlements***			
Regional center	57,7	35,1	7,2
City	62,1	25,8	12,1
Village	75,5	9,8	14,7
Differences among women in different settlements***			
Regional center	51	35,3	13,7
City	62,1	20,9	17
Village	72,4	17,3	10,2
Differences among middle-aged individuals in different settlements*			
Regional center	55,8	35,4	8,8
City	63,2	24,3	12,5
Village	67	17	16
Differences among old-aged individuals in different settlements***			
Regional center	51,7	34,5	13,8
City	57,5	22,5	20
Village	78,5	8,9	12,7
Differences among residents with education up to complete secondary***			
Regional center	54	36,5	9,5
City	54,4	26,3	19,3
Village	73,7	7,9	18,4
Differences among residents with vocational – secondary special – education**			
Regional center	51,6	35,8	12,6
City	68,4	19,5	12
Village	73,6	14,3	12,1

Table 7 (Continued)

1	2	3	4
Differences among residents with higher education in rural areas*			
Up to and including secondary general education	73,7	7,9	18,4
Secondary special education	73,6	14,3	12,1
Higher education	73,8	21,3	4,9
Differences among residents living in extreme poverty***			
Regional center	50	34,2	15,8
City	56,3	20,3	23,4
Village	71,7	12,5	15,8
Differences among residents with conditionally average incomes**			
Regional center	53,8	37,8	8,4
City	63,2	28,8	8
Village	75,5	16,3	8,2
Differences among residents in the Central region of Ukraine***			
Regional center	30,9	60,8	8,2
City	54	29,5	16,5
Village	70,5	17,9	11,6

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[37, 38, 39]

Overall, it may seem repetitive: despite a long list of examples related to specific population categories, we once again observed rural residents to be more optimistic, inhabitants of urban regional centers to be more conservative, and a greater number of anti-nonconformists in ordinary cities. Indeed, denying the already evident polarization would be absurd. Nonetheless, we can observe the conflicting divisions among different clusters within specific population categories. It is not a catastrophic situation when we throw the hands up and say 'okay, let's disperse; there is nothing more to analyze' – sometimes, that temptation arose, but it merely set the stage for potentially conflicting subtypes. For instance, when considering individuals living in extreme poverty, drawing conclusions may be easier because we see clear dominants that align with the two-dimensional distribution based on settlement type. However, among those

[37] Тащенко А. Ю. Рекомендовано остерігатися: «своя доля і свій шлях широкий» у контексті вікових нерівностей та ейджизму. *Габітус*. 2024. №58. С. 27. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2663-5208.2024.58.3 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).
[38] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*. 2024. № 101. С. 88. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 (дата звернення: 15.07.2024).
[39] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation of scientific and human resources*. 2024. С. 385–386. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

with conditionally average incomes, the number of opponents to value nonconformists-idealists decreased, and administrative-territorial specificity diminished. Instead, a clash emerged among urban dwellers with conditionally average incomes, who significantly represented two opposing moral viewpoints. In the Central region of Ukraine, there were more optimists in ordinary towns than we might have expected based solely on the two-dimensional distribution by settlement type and regions. These complexities arose from each three-dimensional distribution, as presented in the table above. However, the most telling challenges emerged when we compared clustering based on values with clustering based on value adherences (see Table 8).

Table 8

Intersection of clusters based on self-priorities and value adherences, significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in % by rows, with the highest percentage determined by the column

CLUSTERS	'Freedom lovers' – maximum personal inclination toward value nonconformism-idealism	'Synthesis avoiders' – moderate personal inclination toward value nonconformism-idealism	'Moderate differentiators' – moderate inclination toward everything except value nonconformism-idealism	'Radical differentiators' – all options are possible but not systematically
'Optimists' – tolerant toward everyone	50	31,8	12,6	5,6
'Pro-conservatives' – tolerant toward conservatives, partially tolerant toward active realists	27,1	57,4	12,2	3,2
'Anti-revolutionaries' – tolerant toward everyone except nonconformists-idealists	31,9	42,6	14,9	10,6

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[40, 41]

[40] Tashchenko A. The beauty and horror of society's unpredictability, or Why Ukraine is like the Gorgon Medusa. *Independence. Archive. Prognosis. Ukraine in 1991–2021 and Beyond: A Conference of the Ukrainian Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand in partnership with the University of Melbourne, the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia, 3–5 February 2022. Abstracts*. P. 48. URL: http://www.ukrainianstudies.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Conference-2022-Abstracts_v3.pdf (date of access: 15.07.2024).

Indeed, personal value choices often diverged from perceptions of behavior's morality due to values – among supporters of the same values and in their interactions with others, positive moral exemplars were not always evident for Ukrainians. On one hand, this situation could lead to pessimistic moralizing about double standards and an 'amoral majority'[42, 43]. On the other hand, it provides fertile ground for reevaluating the meaning of freedom, especially as we seek to strengthen bridges with other European countries based on the idea of a shared love for freedom[44, 45, 46]. It becomes increasingly challenging to maintain the illusion that our own freedom is good / acceptable / desirable while viewing others' freedom as bad / unacceptable / undesirable. As you have seen, the path to recognizing this illusion presented in the form of a regular table was not straightforward, even though our everyday judgments and conclusions – such as 'I always knew / felt / said that…' – may align with the revealed contradiction.

3. Moral licensing: how to decode the hidden hierarchy of social roles

Everyday judgments and conclusions can serve as excellent and eloquent subjects for research, as we will demonstrate using the example of moral licensing, continuing and concluding this subtopic within our broader theme of 'investigating the invisible'. In November 2020, during an all-Ukrainian survey conducted by Research & Branding Group, respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement (on a 9-point scale where '1' represents absolute disagreement and '9' represents absolute agreement) with six statements: 1) '*If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues*'; 2) '*If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country*'; 3) '*If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family*'; 4) '*If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country*'; 5) '*If I do everything*

[41] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 318. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[42] Чадюк М., Головаха Є. Про «феномен аморальної більшості». *Газета «День»*. URL: https://day.kyiv.ua/article/podrobytsi/pro-fenomen-amoralnoyi-bilshosti (дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

[43] Прокопишин Т., Головаха Є. Євген Головаха про феномен «аморальної більшості». *Громадське радіо*. URL: https://hromadske.radio/podcasts/ya-vyshche/yevgen-golovaha-pro-amoralnu-bilshist ((дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

[44] Таранюк І., Рябчук М. Рябчук: українці від росіян відрізняються любов'ю до свободи. *BBC News Україна*. URL: https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-38671637 (дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[45] Ukrinform. Посол України у Фінляндії: «сісу» фінів і любов українців до свободи – це фактично синоніми. *Укрінформ – актуальні новини України та світу*. URL: https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-world/3836711-posol-ukraini-u-finlandii-sisu-finiv-i-lubov-ukrainciv-do-svobodi-ce-fakticno-sinonimi.html (дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

[46] Мялик С., Чижевський Р. Поляків і українців об'єднує любов до свободи. *PolskieRadio.pl*. URL: https://www.polskieradio.pl/398/7866/artykul/3278924,поляків-і-українців-об'єднує-любов-до-свободи (дата звернення: 18.07.2024).

possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'; 6) '*If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues*'. By treating this scale as pseudo-metric and calculating average values with standard deviations for each statement, we observed that overall, Ukrainians were less inclined to recognize the possibility of sacrifices. Often, the most principled position was chosen ('never under any circumstances', which may result from moral questions frequently intersecting with our ideals) – see Table 9. Also, there was a considerable number of non-responses for each statement, likely stemming from the discomfort associated with moral reflection and making moral choices – see Table 10. The variability in responses was quite broad, suggesting that we were dealing with several social groups producing different combinations of moral licenses – see Table 11[47, 48].

Table 9

Percentages of respondents who chose the extreme position '1' (indicating complete disagreement with the proposed statement) in the 2020 survey responses regarding moral licensing

Statements / Answers	Among those who answered	Among all participants
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	26,1	22,4
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	24	20,6
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	46	39,4
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	27,4	22,9
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	45,5	38,8
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	28,1	22,8

Source: constructed by the authors

[47] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 (дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

[48] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 319. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024)

Table 10

Non-responses to the moral licensing statements in the 2020 survey responses regarding moral licensing, data is presented in a percentage

Statements / Answers	N/A
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	**14,1**
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	**14,4**
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	**14,3**
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	**16,2**
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	**14,8**
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	**18,8**

Source: constructed by the authors

Table 11

Averages and standard deviations in responses to the moral licensing statements in the 2020 survey, data is presented as percentages among those who answered

Statements / Statistics	Averages	Standard deviation
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	**4,4641**	**2,93138**
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	**4,3045**	**2,72954**
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	**2,8061**	**2,25917**
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	**3,7586**	**2,47833**
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	**2,7886**	**2,18909**
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	**3,6737**	**2,38570**

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[49]

In this case, men and women did not differ in their opinions. The majority equally disagreed with the willingness to make disproportionate efforts, while the proportion of those willing to upset the balance was

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[49] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 (дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

highest among both men and women when it came to responsibilities benefiting the family (see Table 12). People's opinions varied significantly by age only when weighing family against the country on the opposite scale. Older individuals were more likely to disagree that they could do less for the country than for their family, whereas middle-aged individuals were more inclined to express their opinion regarding the statement 'everything for the country, less for the family' (see Table 13 and Figure 6). In both cases, the statistical significance of differences was present at the 0.05 level.

Table 12

Portion of the distribution of answers to the moral licensing questions by gender category in the 2020 survey, data is presented as percentages among all survey participants who answered (N=1800)

Statements / Categories	Men who chose agreement – points 7–9	Women who chose agreement – points 7–9
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	27,4	26
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	22,3	21,8
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	8,3	7,6
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	14,1	10,8
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	7,2	6,4
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	11	9,8

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[50]

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[50] Ibidem.

Table 13

**Portion of the age distribution of responses to the moral licensing
questions in the 2020 survey, data is presented as percentages
among all survey participants who answered (N=1800)**

Statements / Categories	Aged 18-30, chose agreement – points 7–9	Aged 31-55, chose agreement – points 7–9	Aged 56+, chose agreement – points 7–9
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	28,4	27,2	24,8
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'*	22	24,3	19
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'	9,4	7,5	7,4
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'	13,1	13,2	10,6
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'*	7,2	6,7	6,7
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'	10,4	11	9,4

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[51]
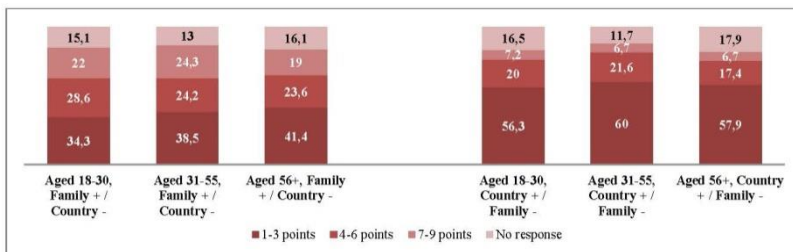
**Fig. 6. Full distribution of general differences in moral licensing among
Ukrainians by age, studied in 2020, N=1800, significance
of differences is at the 0,05 level, data presented in percentage**

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Constructed
by the authors

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[51] Ibidem.

In this context, individuals from regional centers were less likely to avoid expressing their own opinions and more likely to take a principled disagreement stance regarding disproportionate execution of obligations. When in agreement, they were more willing to take less responsibility towards colleagues. People from ordinary towns tended to agree with a moral license that could be described as 'family +, country -' more often than those from villages but less frequently than those from regional centers. Individuals from villages were more likely to agree with a moral license that could be termed 'colleagues +, family -' (see Table 14 and Figure 7).

Table 14

Portion of the distribution by type of settlement, responses to moral licensing question, data presented as percentages among all survey participants (N=1800)

| Statements / Categories	Regional center, chose points 7–9	City, chose points 7–9	Village, chose points 7–9
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	31	27,4	21,4
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	22,8	22,7	20,6
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'***	5,8	6,9	11,2
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	13,2	11	13
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'***	7,6	5,1	8
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	14,8	7,3	9,4

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[52]

Although most regions favored maximum responsibility, representatives from Eastern Ukraine were more frequently associated with this position. Notably, representatives from Southern Ukraine stood out in agreement-with-statements positions, more readily acknowledging that being slightly

[52] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 (дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

less responsible for family or colleagues under conditions of full task execution might apply to them (see Table 15 and Figure 8).
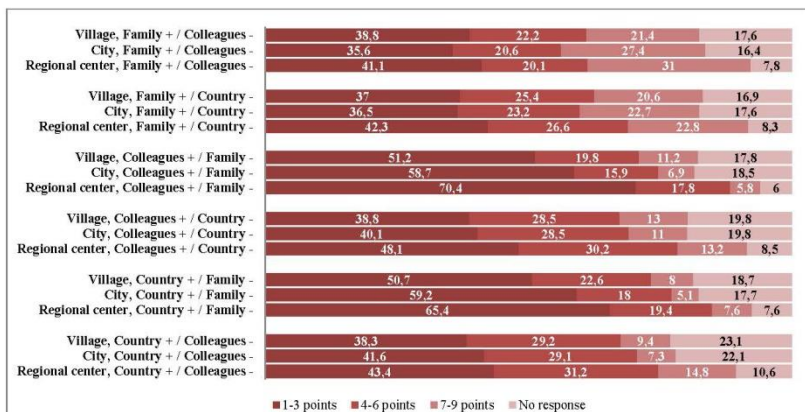
Fig. 7. Full distribution of general differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by type of settlement, studied in 2020, N=1800, significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in percentages

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[53]

Table 15

Portion of the distribution by region of residence, responses to moral licensing questions, data presented as percentages among all survey participants (N=1800)

Statements / Categories	West, chose points 7–9	Center, chose points 7–9	South, chose points 7–9	East, chose points 7–9
1	2	3	4	5
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	20,4	28,2	42,7	19,5
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	20,8	19,4	36,1	19,9

[53] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation of scientific and human resources*. 2024. С. 389. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

Table 15 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfil certain obligations toward my family'***	9,9	6,8	12,9	3,1
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfil certain obligations toward my country'***	12,4	9,7	20,9	9,9
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfil certain obligations toward my family'***	8	7,6	7,9	2,9
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfil certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	7,8	12,4	14,6	6,8

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[54]
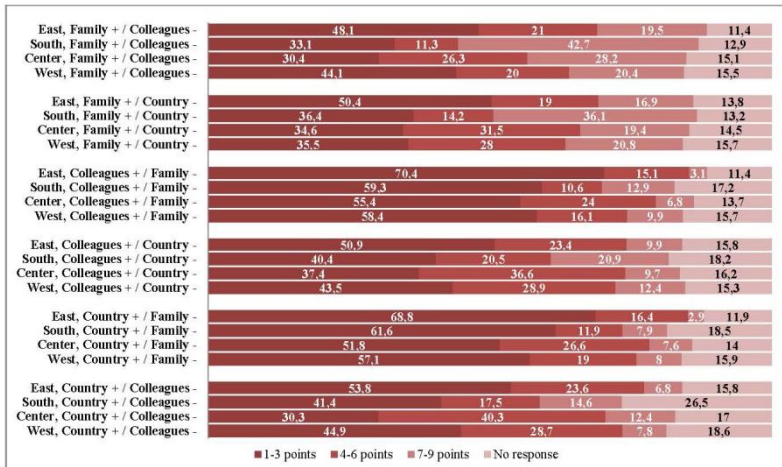
Fig. 8. Full distribution of general differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by region of residence, studied in 2020, N=1800, significance of differences is at the 0,001 level, data presented in percentages

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[55]

[54] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 (дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

Additionally, significant differences were found between population categories of varying levels of affluence (among those who responded to the question about their financial status, N=1715), as well as significant differences among individuals with different levels of education (among those who responded to the question about their educational level, N=1797) – see Tables 16 and 17. We won't delve into detailed interpretation at this moment, as a separate publication has addressed this question[56]. However, by the number of those who responded to these two questions, it immediately became evident that for Ukrainian society, the issue of material well-being was more painful and morally complex than the issue of education level. It is worth emphasizing that education also played a role in the overall approximation – the significance of this our emphasis will become clearer a little bit later.

Furthermore, thanks to four-dimensional distributions, it was revealed that although gender seemed insignificant in moral licensing at first glance, there were significant differences among urban women of different ages – see Table 18. Therefore, even if clustering is not feasible, maximizing data granularity remains crucial.

Cluster analysis was initiated by exploratory hierarchical clustering on a randomly selected subset of observations and completed by clustering all observations using the k-means method (verified by f-statistics + with a different order of variables + on half of randomly selected observations). It showed that among all individuals who expressed opinions on all statements (1393 out of 1800), the most popular combination of moral licenses (546 individuals out of 1393) was nearly complete unwillingness to self-indulge in responsibilities both within family, work, and civic social roles (although it is more likely that this illustrated reluctance to acknowledge instances of self-indulgence). Less popular combinations indicated recognition of willingness either for moderate moral licensing without specific benefit (282 individuals out of 1393), or for moral licensing benefiting the family (260 individuals out of 1393), or for confident moral licensing without specific benefit (160 individuals out of 1393), or for moral licensing not benefiting the country (145 individuals out of 1393)[57]. Of course, we understand that the formulations used in the study were not perfect and might occasionally overlap. For instance, when considering responsibilities toward colleagues, this perspective may relate to work motivation, and employees might be convinced (or persuaded) that something in the work process pertains not directly to their relationships with colleagues but rather to their families or country.

[55] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation of scientific and human resources*. 2024. C. 388. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

[56] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*. 2024. № 101. C. 77–96. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[57] Tashchenko A., Zabrodina D. To see a free man and die? Specifics of shared adherence to values in Ukrainian society. *Scientific journal of Polonia University*. 2022. Vol. 51, no. 2. P. 319. URL: https://doi.org/10.23856/5137 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

Table 16

Full distribution of general differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by level of material well-being, studied in 2020, data is presented in percentages with the highest percentage determined by the column

Statements	Categories	1–3 points	4–6 points	7–9 points	No response
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'**	Low level	40,3	19,5	25,3	14,9
	Conditionally average level	36	23,7	27,9	12,4
	Conditionally high level	46,1	11,7	33,6	8,6
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	Low level	41,4	21,5	22,1	14,9
	Conditionally average level	35,3	29,8	22	13
	Conditionally high level	46,1	18,8	25,8	9,4
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'**	Low level	44,2	24,8	13,1	17,9
	Conditionally average level	41,4	33,6	11,4	13,6
	Conditionally high level	45,3	28,9	14,8	10,9
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'**	Low level	59,4	17,3	6,7	16,5
	Conditionally average level	58,9	23	6,5	11,6
	Conditionally high level	64,1	14,8	10,2	10,9
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	Low level	44,5	25,4	9	21,1
	Conditionally average level	38,1	36	10,4	15,5
	Conditionally high level	46,9	22,7	19,5	10,9

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[58]

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[58] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*. 2024. № 101. С. 91. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 (дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

Table 17

Full distribution of general differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by level of education, studied in 2020, data is presented in percentages with the highest percentage determined by the column

Statements	Categories	1–3 points	4–6 points	7–9 points	No response
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'**	Up to and including secondary general education	38	17	24,5	20,5
	Secondary special education	35,2	21,7	29,7	13,4
	Higher education	42,7	22,2	24	11
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	Up to and including secondary general education	35,3	23,5	21,3	19,9
	Secondary special education	36,5	26	23,6	14
	Higher education	43,2	24,6	20,6	11,5
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'**	Up to and including secondary general education	58	14,8	7,8	19,4
	Secondary special education	57,8	19,4	8,4	14,5
	Higher education	64,3	17,3	7,4	11
'If I do everything possible for my colleagues, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'***	Up to and including secondary general education	41	27,2	9,4	22,4
	Secondary special education	40,3	29,2	14,4	16,1
	Higher education	46,2	29,8	11,5	12,5
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my family'**	Up to and including secondary general education	56,1	17,8	6,2	19,9
	Secondary special education	56,8	21,3	6,6	15,2
	Higher education	62,4	19	7,4	11,2
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'***	Up to and including secondary general education	40,2	28,8	7,3	23,7
	Secondary special education	38,5	31,3	10,2	20
	Higher education	45,3	28,3	12,3	14,1

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[59]

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[59] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матері-альної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та*

Table 18

Four-dimensional distributions of responses to moral licensing questions by population subcategories with statistically significant differences, studied in 2020, data presented as percentages among all survey participants with the highest percentage determined by the column

ANSWERS CATEGORIES	1-3 points	4-6 points	7-9 points	No response
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'*				
City, women aged 18–30	30,9	17,3	32,1	19,8
City, women aged 31–55	45,3	19,5	25,2	10,1
City, women aged 56+	34,9	19,8	23	22,2
'If I do everything possible for my family, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my country'*				
City, women aged 18–30	27,2	24,7	27,2	21
City, women aged 31–55	43,4	20,1	24,5	11,9
City, women aged 56+	41,3	22,2	14,3	22,2
'If I do everything possible for my country, I can allow myself not to fulfill certain obligations toward my colleagues'*				
City, women aged 18–30	32,1	32,1	8,6	27,2
City, women aged 31–55	49,1	28,3	8,2	14,5
City, women aged 56+	42,1	27,8	3,2	27

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[60]

Significant differences between producer groups of different moral license combinations were present only in terms of material status (based on subjective assessments) and regional breakdown. In the over-responsible ('heavy-duty') cluster, a higher proportion of the least affluent individuals and representatives from Eastern Ukraine were observed compared to other clusters. In the cautious and pro-family clusters, a higher proportion of representatives from Central Ukraine was observed. In the easy-going cluster, a higher proportion of representatives from Southern Ukraine was observed, while in the anti-country cluster a higher proportion of

[60] Забродіна Д. О., Тащенко А. Ю. Осмислення ціннісної саморегуляції жителів України. *Габітус*. 2022. № 37. С. 25. URL: https://doi.org/10.32843/2663-5208.2022.37.3 (дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

representatives from Western Ukraine was observed[61]. However, it is important to remember that words do not always equate to behavior, and 'family' / 'colleagues' / 'country' require further clarification, as do the lists of duties associated with them. Regarding individual regions, the situation was as follows. The first cluster included the majority from Volyn' (38 individuals), Kyiv (36), and Chernigiv (56) regions. The second cluster included the majority from Ternopil' (36 individuals), Chernivtsi (50), and Kherson (36) regions. The third cluster included the majority from Ivano-Frankivs'k region (56 individuals). The fourth cluster included the majority from Rivne (50 individuals), L'viv (40), Khmelnytskyi (69), Zakarpattia (53), Sumy (40), Vinnytsia (45), Cherkasy (41), Kyiv city (41), Zaporizhzhia (63), Mykolaiv (66), Dnipro (50), Lugans'k (72), and Kharkiv (63) regions. And the fifth cluster included the majority from Zhytomyr (64 individuals), Poltava (50), and Kirovograd (47) regions. However, the path to these results was not as straightforward as it may seem and requires further description.

Initially, hierarchical clustering was performed to determine the optimal number of clusters. For this purpose, the relevant scale for questions was used in the study as a pseudo-metric one, and three times a random selection of 20% of observations was organized. Accordingly, 298 / 270 / 271 observations suitable for cluster analysis were obtained, and two clustering methods were tested. The first method was 'between-group linkage + squared Euclidean distance', which indicated that the optimal number of clusters would be 4 / 2 / 4 clusters. The second method was 'Ward's method + squared Euclidean distance', which indicated that the optimal number of clusters would be 3 / 2 / 4 clusters. However, checking the construction of clusters in the range from 2 to 4 showed an unsatisfactory level of cluster agreement. Then we increased the sample size of randomly selected observations to 25%, resulting in 346 observations suitable for cluster analysis, and retested the same two methods. 'Between-group linkage + squared Euclidean distance' indicated that the optimal number of clusters would be 5 clusters, while 'Ward's method + squared Euclidean distance' suggested 4 clusters as an optimal option. Therefore, variations from 2 to 5 clusters were constructed again, and the 5-cluster solution based on 'Ward's method + squared Euclidean distance' appeared most interesting from a sociological explanation perspective. Consequently, preliminary the abovementioned 5-cluster solution identified such groups related to moral licensing that each later could receive clear, socially comprehensible profiles of their representatives – see Tables 19 and 20.

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[61] Tashchenko A. (Не)рівність зобов'язань: які в українців моральні ліцензії. *SlideShare*. URL: https://www.slideshare.net/slideshow/ss-0863/266193235 (дата звернення: 31.07.2024).

Table 19

**Results of test hierarchical clustering to determine
the optimal final number of clusters in moral licensing, 2020**

Clusters	Statistics	Family + / Colleagues -	Family + / Country -	Colleagues + / Family -	Colleagues + / Country -	Country + / Family -	Country + / Colleagues -
Cluster 1 (132 persons)	Averages	1,7803	1,8409	1,4470	1,5606	1,4242	1,7576
	Standard deviation	1,14128	1,11087	0,83176	0,78398	0,72176	1,13327
Cluster 2 (63 persons)	Averages	5,0317	4,6667	5,4286	5,1905	5,3810	5,2063
	Standard deviation	1,90896	1,84041	1,38790	1,52249	1,24988	1,27202
Cluster 3 (66 persons)	Averages	7,9545	7,7121	2,5606	4,8485	2,3030	5,1364
	Standard deviation	1,14263	1,34468	2,28795	2,59729	1,70040	2,64800
Cluster 4 (72 persons)	Averages	4,0833	4,2917	2,1667	4,5139	2,2500	3,5694
	Standard deviation	2,17379	1,83424	1,32154	2,12956	1,49883	1,73470
Cluster 5 (13 persons)	Averages	8,4615	7,0000	7,9231	7,0769	7,6154	8,0769
	Standard deviation	0,66023	1,35401	1,18754	1,80100	0,86972	1,44115

Source: constructed by the authors

Table 20

**Results of final clustering of responses to moral licensing questions
using the k-means method, N=1393, 2020**

Clusters	Statistics	Family + / Colleagues -	Family + / Country -	Colleagues + / Family -	Colleagues + / Country -	Country + / Family -	Country + / Colleagues -
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cluster 1 (260 persons) – Pro-family	Center	7,96	6,68	1,87	4,21	2,12	5,17
	Standard deviation	1,12969	2,16869	1,07903	2,28590	1,42582	2,02547
Cluster 2 (160 persons) – Easy-going	Center	7,74	6,84	6,46	6,21	5,66	6,13
	Standard deviation	1,21048	1,77171	1,84932	1,84421	2,33391	2,20847
Cluster 3 (145 persons) – Anti-country	Center	3,03	5,58	1,46	5,79	1,55	2,81
	Standard deviation	1,94870	1,97790	0,90539	1,90826	1,14219	1,78725

Table 20 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cluster 4 (546 persons) – Heavy-duty	Center	1,92	1,73	1,45	1,55	1,48	1,74
	Standard deviation	1,37237	0,99953	0,85784	0,78909	0,86348	1,11215
Cluster 5 (282 persons) – Cautious	Center	4,17	4,16	4,78	4,71	4,97	4,94
	Standard deviation	1,59533	1,63426	1,67770	1,59690	1,50528	1,60636

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[62]

The expected and actual agreement between the test and the result was as follows: between the first test cluster and the fourth final cluster – 98,5% agreement; between the second test cluster and the fifth final cluster – 69,8% agreement; between the third test cluster and the first final cluster – 77,3% agreement; between the fourth test cluster and the third final cluster – 50% agreement; and between the fifth test cluster and the second final cluster – 100% agreement. Quality verification of the conducted clustering through ANOVA showed that all variables were equally appropriate (the significance of the F-statistic was at the 0,001 level). Therefore, all the good-clustering indicators were quite satisfactory. However, for even greater confidence, an additional check was organized – clustering with a different order of variables, that resulted in identical outcomes, and clustering of randomly selected 50% of all observations using the same k-means method, the result of which is presented in Table 21.

Table 21

Centroids of clusters for moral licensing based on selected random 50% observations, with a valid sample size of 705

CLUSTERS CRITERIA	1st (69 persons)	2nd (66 persons)	3rd (290 persons)	4th (133 persons)	5th (147 persons)
Family + / Colleagues -	3,33	7,79	1,90	8,03	4,35
Family + / Country -	5,59	6,91	1,73	7,06	4,03
Colleagues + / Family -	1,62	6,65	1,41	2,01	4,72
Colleagues + / Country -	5,96	6,77	1,55	4,37	4,53
Country + / Family -	1,45	6,09	1,49	2,09	4,84
Country + / Colleagues -	2,61	6,29	1,74	4,92	4,95

Source: constructed by the authors

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[62] Ibidem.

The agreement (both expected and actual) between the post-check and the main result was as follows: between the fourth post-check cluster and the first final cluster – 96,2% agreement; between the second post-check cluster and the second final cluster – 98,5% agreement; between the first post-check cluster and the third final cluster – 97,1% agreement; between the third post-check cluster and the fourth final cluster – 99% agreement; between the fifth post-check cluster and the fifth final cluster – 91,8% agreement. Those were high-level indicators of good clustering, and quality verification of the clustering conducted on randomly selected 50% of observations through ANOVA also showed that all variables were equally appropriate (the significance of the F-statistic was at the 0,001 level). Therefore, we could confidently proceed further and determine significant differences between clusters in the final clustering results. During the analysis of two-dimensional distributions, these differences manifested in relation to regions of residence (significance at the 0,001 level) and material status (significance at the 0,01 level), which can take place as more fundamental and systematic driver of morality in a less affluent society compared to education level factor – see Figures 9 and 10. The significance of differences by regions (oblasts) was at the 0,001 level, but in 22,4% of cells, the expected frequency was less than 5, so we cannot even apply a soft rule regarding the acceptability of interpreting chi-square test results. However, purely illustratively, without making far-reaching assumptions and conclusions, we can note that: the first cluster lacked representatives from Ivano-Frankivs'k and Donets'k regions; the second cluster lacked representatives from Rivne, Zakarpattia, and Luhans'k regions; and the third cluster lacked representatives from Zhytomyr, Chernigiv, Poltava, Mykolaiv, and Luhans'k regions. This does not imply that the same would hold with sufficient cell fill – for that, more respondents would be needed, our note is intended only for preliminary orientation.
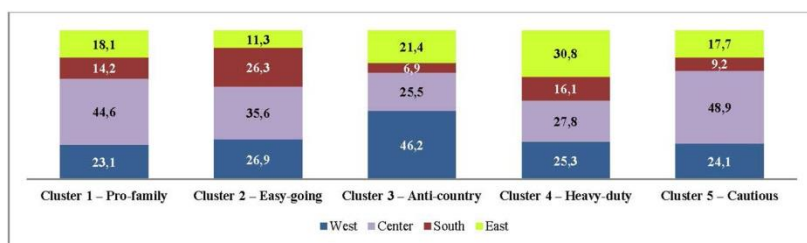
Fig. 9. Distribution of differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by region of residence, studied in 2020, n=1393, data presented in percentage

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[63]

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[63] Ibidem.
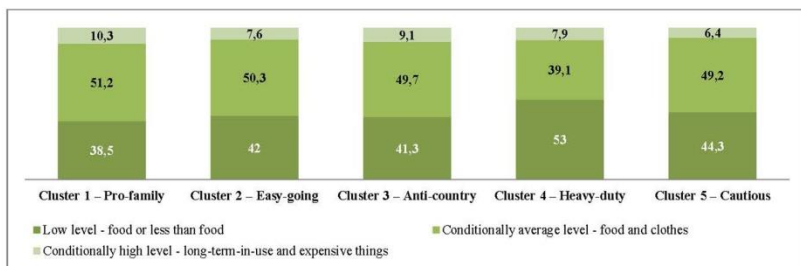
Fig. 10. Distribution of differences in moral licensing among Ukrainians by socioeconomic status, studied in 2020, N=1393, data presented in percentage

Data source: Research & Branding Group and Anna Tashchenko. Represented by the authors based on previous presentation[64]

An intriguing aspect of cluster analysis lies in examining the sectors where representatives of different clusters were more prevalent. Although the available data may not suffice for strict significance conclusions, due to expected frequencies being less than 5 in 16,7% of cells, we can apply a more lenient rule for interpreting chi-square test results. Consequently, we found differences that exhibit statistical significance at the 0,01 level – see Table 22.

Considering the respondents' need to assess perceptions of obligations toward colleagues, let's first focus on the employed sector, excluding students, unemployed individuals, retirees, disabled persons, and those on paternal leave. Then, we also include those working abroad, albeit acknowledging their limited representation. Subsequently, we explore the sector of the unoccupied and those concealing their employment status, recognizing that they have hypothetical ideas of colleagues and situations related to obligations regarding them too. During the analysis of three-dimensional distributions, we reintroduced only gender, age, settlement type, education, and material status as relevant factors; additionally, due to the previously mentioned ambiguous regional divisions in Ukraine, we partially considered the region of residence – see Table 23.

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[64] Ibidem.

Table 22

**Two-dimensional distributions of clusters for moral licensing among
Ukrainians by their employment sector, k-means method,
data is presented in percentage, highest proportion is determined
by the column**

Clusters Categories	Cluster 1 – Pro-family	Cluster 2 – Easy-going	Cluster 3 – Anti-country	Cluster 4 – Heavy-duty	Cluster 5 – Cautious
State service (government, local bodies, security forces, etc.)	8,8	7	10,5	54,4	19,3
Large governmental enterprise	11,4	15,9	20,5	31,8	20,5
Large private company	21	9,9	13,6	36,4	19,1
Small and medium-sized enterprises (including entrepreneurs)	20,7	10,5	12,5	35,4	21
Public sector entity (education, medicine, etc.)	19	19	5,4	36,9	19,6
Farming (including ranchers)	18,4	18,4	10,5	31,6	21,1
Working abroad	0	0	22,2	66,7	11,1
Student	18	2	14	34	32
Unemployed	15,8	12	11,3	43,6	17,3
Pensioner, a disabled person, etc.	18,7	8,6	8,9	42,6	21,2
Paternal leave	25,4	14,3	4,8	44,4	11,1
Refusal to answer	18,4	21,1	2,6	31,6	26,3

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[65]

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[65] Yuzva L., Tashchenko A. Sociocultural migrants' media portrait and prerequisites for migrants' integration reflected by the Ukrainian top media. *Проблеми розвитку соціологічної теорії: суспільство та держава: 30 років незалежності України* : матеріали XVIII Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції «Проблеми розвитку соціологічної теорії: Суспільство та держава: 30 років незалежності України», Київ, 24–25 вересня 2021 року / ред. Л. Малес та ін. Київ, 2022. С. 123. URL: https://sociology.knu.ua/sites/default/files/newsfiles/2021-issuesinthedevelopmentofsociologicaltheory_proceedings.pdf (дата звернення: 30.07.2024).

Table 23

**Three-dimensional distributions of clusters for moral licensing
among Ukrainians using the k-means method, data is presented
in percentage, with the highest proportion determined by the column**

Clusters Categories	Cluster 1 – Pro-family	Cluster 2 – Easy-going	Cluster 3 – Anti-country	Cluster 4 – Heavy-duty	Cluster 5 – Cautious
1	2	3	4	5	6
Differences among men and women with higher education*					
Men	17,6	15,3	9,3	38,4	19,4
Women	15,5	8,1	12,5	47	16,9
Differences among women with different levels of education*					
Up to and including secondary general education	19,9	8,8	11	36,8	23,5
Secondary special education	21,5	13,5	8,3	35,4	21,2
Higher education	15,5	8,1	12,5	47	16,9
Differences among women of varying wealth**					
Low level	14,7	10,6	8,4	47,1	19,1
Conditionally average level	23	11,6	13,2	31,8	20,4
Conditionally high level	25	8,3	12,5	43,8	10,4
Differences among people of different ages with higher education*					
Aged 18-30	19,1	11,2	16,4	32,9	20,4
Aged 31-55	13,1	12,3	9,9	46,4	18,3
Aged 56+	20,4	8,3	6,5	50,9	13,9
Differences among people of middle age with different levels of education**					
Up to and including secondary general education	10,7	17	13,4	39,3	19,6
Secondary special education	24,1	11,3	9,2	33,3	22
Higher education	13,1	12,3	9,9	46,4	18,3
Differences among people of middle age with varying wealth**					
Low level	12,2	13,1	8,4	48,5	17,7
Conditionally average level	19,4	13	12	34,3	21,3
Conditionally high level	29	12,9	9,7	35,5	12,9
Differences among people with higher education and different levels of wealth*					
Low level	11,9	9,9	7,3	56,3	14,6
Conditionally average level	17,6	11,5	13	38,5	19,5
Conditionally high level	21,5	12,7	13,9	38	13,9
Differences among residents of different types of settlements in the west region of Ukraine***					
Regional center	12,4	3,4	28,1	41,6	14,6
City	24,8	8,3	13,8	31,2	22
Village	12,4	17,4	15,2	37,6	17,4

Table 23 (Continued)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Differences among residents of different types of settlements in the center region of Ukraine*					
Regional center	25	12,8	8,2	34,2	19,9
City	22,5	11,8	9,5	28,4	27,8
Village	21,5	8,9	3,7	27,4	38,5
Differences among residents of the west of Ukraine with different levels of education*					
Up to and including secondary general education	11,1	13,6	11,1	39,5	24,7
Secondary special education	20,7	13,6	18,9	29,6	17,2
Higher education	12,7	7,1	20,6	44,4	15,1

Source: represented by the authors based on previous presentation[66, 67, 68]

Analyzing employment sectors would be challenging due to the large number of employment categories while grouping these categories would require a specific research inquiry. The most interesting aspects revealed in the tables above and their continuing relevance in the context of martial law. Firstly, working abroad and the willingness to betray the homeland in terms of fulfilling minor or major duties were associated only in specific cases and primarily among representatives of the anti-country cluster. Within the category of employed individuals in other countries, they coexisted with a significant portion of representatives from the most civically responsible cluster. This argument supports the notion that emigration does not automatically imply disloyalty. Secondly, in the three-dimensional space, we witnessed a compelling resurgence of education as a differentiating moral factor. The higher education often aligned with the maximum declared responsibility toward others, regardless of social roles. Despite the questionable reality, this feature remained an encouraging trait of Ukrainian society, signifying the existence of ideals. While these ideals may diverge from actual behavior, acknowledging this discrepancy does not negate their significance as moral benchmarks.

[66] Тащенко А. Ю. Соціальні конфігурації релігійності, освіченості та матеріальної забезпеченості. *Соціальні технології: актуальні проблеми теорії та практики*. 2024. № 101. С. 91–92. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2707-9147.2024.101.7 (дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[67] Тащенко А. Ю. Рекомендовано остерігатися: «своя доля і свій шлях широкий» у контексті вікових нерівностей та ейджизму. *Габітус*. 2024. № 58. С. 27–28. URL: https://doi.org/10.32782/2663-5208.2024.58.3 (дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

[68] Тащенко А. Ю. Дослідження, доступні кожному: міграція і війна з точки зору працівника, що не мігрує. *Ukrainian universities amidst new realities: the conservation of scientific and human resources*. 2024. С. 387. URL: https://doi.org/10.30525/978-9934-26-434-4-17 (date of access: 15.07.2024).

CONCLUSION

Thus, based on the presented material, you could see that knowledge of social types as a result of clustering is a product of scientific and creative exploration. It always requires reasoned choices rather than being created once and forever from a single possible variant. This demands vigilant monitoring of results of other sociological research, as well as staying informed about national and international news, culture of daily life, and political events, etc. Using our studies of Ukrainians – their values, value adherences, and moral licensing – you observed that the quest for specific definitiveness regarding clusters and further details typically preceded professional public discourse about which clusters were even possible. The last-mentioned involves arguing for and against why one clustering option was adopted while others remained unexplored alternatives, and how reflective the capacity of different alternatives was – thus, how we can perceive the same society in different versions of subjectivity. Even in this chapter, some 'uninteresting' alternatives, that were omitted during statistical verification of the optimal number of clusters, are disclosed insufficiently because when you examine dozens of typification variants, you end up with an extensive string of data tables, and not everything makes it into research notes capturing your reflections, doubts, and decisions.

Nevertheless, conducting and articulating such work remains important because sociological education and enlightenment remain crucial[69, 70]; the theme of values and their identification remains fundamental and intriguing[71, 72]; beyond the potential of sociological education, questions about education as it is and its social responsibility need ongoing discussion, especially considering its role in providing transparent social demarcation during times of profound crises[73, 74, 75]. Ultimately, offering at least approximate social typifications and

[69] Наукове товариство студентів і аспірантів факультету соціології КНУ імені Тараса Шевченка. Шлях до соціології: історія Валентини Василівни Чепак. *Telegraph*. URL: https://telegra.ph/SHlyah-do-sociologii-istoriya-Valentini-Vasilivni-CHepak-06-28 ((дата звернення: 15.07.2024).

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[73] The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on education in the aspect of increasing inequality (as example of school education) / V. Chepak et al. *Challenges and opportunities of*

their minimally emotionally-charged interpretation serves as significant mental support in understanding the current reality[76, 77]. We are constantly in search of typical criteria for comparison and the best conclusions from comparisons – are the current conditions in Ukraine typical for gathering another Maidan[78]? what type was Ukraine as a whole[79]? what type of Ukraine can and should be[80]? what typical prejudices do Ukrainians have about themselves[81]? what new social types emerge during war[82]? We rejoice when we have or acquire intellectual support for comparison, and when this makes us conscious – especially in the suffering realms of science and culture – of Ukrainian alternatives[83], breakthroughs[84], and

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victories[85] of global significance. We hope that ahead of Ukrainians lies much diligent work in understanding themselves within the context of understanding Ukrainians worldwide.

SUMMARY

The chapter explores the foundations of social typification using statistical-analytical methods within Ukrainian society. The authors delve into the complexity and fascination of the research path toward choosing between various social typification options, which underpinned previously published information on the clustering of values and moral characteristics in Ukrainian citizens' behavior. This monograph section presents previously unpublished notes on the cluster analysis of values, value adherences, and moral licensing based on data from representative nationwide surveys. The authors also supplement the retrospective analysis and provide new interpretations of differences among different clusters of Ukrainians, relying on two-dimensional, three-dimensional, and four-dimensional distributions. Special emphasis is placed on education, which is included in the author's analysis alongside characteristics such as gender, age, type of settlement, region, and socioeconomic status. The findings disclosed in this section touch on essential themes for the everyday lives of Ukrainians during wartime – love for freedom, tolerance toward others, attitudes toward civic duties, etc. The authors argue that any clustering approach should be rigorously tested for its relevance to specific societal circumstances, ultimately benefiting both Ukrainians and anyone interested in their culture.

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