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TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL VALUES IN UKRAINE TO THE EUROPEAN UNION VALUES

The article aims to analyze basic value approaches and define the main and decisive factors of values transformation. The research methods include descriptive analysis, institutional approach, and economic and statistical methods. The hypothesis of the study is to study how public perceptions have changed in extreme conditions (military conflict) towards European integration values. The broad scope of economic and sociological works reveals the necessity of a special analysis of the European integration and regional values adaptation in Ukraine and defines the problem for study, use, and dissemination of knowledge of the European Union values. The analysis of various value theories identifies the urgency and necessity of human behavior from the human value estimation study. We estimate how economic development depends on economic, political, and social values transformation and the overall indicators (market and democracy) reforms in Ukraine. We apply data from surveys to the comparing the population’s attitude toward European values since Ukrainian independence. The designation of core values allows formulating a strategy and intensifying a more sustainable strategy of political and social-economic development.

Key words: transformation, political and social-economic values, European Union values.

JEL Classification: P48, P50, P51, P52.

Introduction. The paper aims to define the perception of Ukrainians toward European values in extreme conditions of military aggression.

People perceive values differently. The problem of values becomes relevant in our time when cultural traditions are devalued and forms of government in social change. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, two value vectors appeared in the post-Soviet space. One vector remains attached to Soviet values based on coercion and autarchic, despotic governance. Another, as in Ukraine, is gradually converging with European values, based on respect for basic human rights and democratic norms.

The path to a market economy shows the necessity of the solution of a variety of problems in all spheres. Economics, politics, science, and culture are the most significant spheres in the process of system transformation. Successful realization of economic reforms toward the market is closely connected with the process of democratization of society. Democratization of society, pluralism of opinions, and free access to information are positive achievements in the direction of the democratic transformation in Ukraine.

The basic reforms included privatization, free market setting, and institutional reforms. Privatization and economic openness have been fully and effectively achieved in Central European countries. Basic economic reforms have become the fundamental basis for the creation of science and the development of education in these countries. Integration into the world educational system and the use of all its achievements foster the growth and the rational use of the intellectual potential of these countries. European countries offer access to worldwide educational databases, world educational programs, new methods of education, new literature, etc. Foundation of international
funds for education in East European countries, interchange of lecturers and students between the universities, work on joint educational projects and other forms of cooperation facilitate access to global cultural values.

Since its independence, Ukraine has pursued a policy aimed at developing and adapting European values, that were strongly supported by a large portion of the population, while also maintaining a system of regional, Ukrainian values. European values define the rule of law, democracy, freedom of speech, honesty/transparency, the desire to provide equal opportunities for all citizens, etc. Weatherill (1995) stresses that the EU requires its legal order, which comprises a range of legislative competencies, and political, and judicial institutions. It is coordinated with national law. The EU needs respect for fundamental rights and local diversity. This is an approach to the political economy designed not only to identify important patterns of similarity and difference across nations but also to elucidate the processes whereby national political economies change. Hall & Soskice (2001) propose an approach to the political economy designed not only to identify important patterns of similarity and difference across nations but also to elucidate the processes whereby national political economies change. This methodology anticipates an institutional change in all the developed democracies and provides a framework within which the import of those changes can be assessed. The interdisciplinary approach applies to working across boundaries of knowledge and creating new knowledge from various sources. The interaction between subject areas is in support of the constructivist paradigm which allows for new knowledge construction and a deeper understanding of ideas.

Ukrainian values determine personal well-being, such as health, success, family, and lack of stress, together with intellectual and personal development, and paternalistic values.

The evolution towards the balance between these two systems of norms has placed Ukraine on the front line of post-Soviet and Western spheres of influence. The conflict between post-soviet and European Union values precipitated the Russian annexation of Crimea and support of internal contradictions in Ukraine resulted in a full-scale military invasion in February 2022.

**Analysis of recent studies and publications.** The value term can be defined as the importance and worth of any good. The value theories estimate the monetary worth of any good or consider the importance of something to be valuable or beneficial. The behavior approach for value theory comprises multiple and functional values. They are based on the principles or standards of behavior and reflect diverse forms of reactions to economic, social, and political events. Sheth (1991) considers the consumer choice for buying goods and asserts that consumption values in a specific choice context can greatly enhance marketing efficiency. At the level of values, we also find a connection with the dominant style of thinking. The priority of a holistic, spatial, and figurative perception of the world – is an objective prerequisite for the dominance of collectivist values. The priority of the logical is an individualistic approach to thinking and understanding the world (Nosova & Lypov, 2022).

The application of the value theory (Schwartz, 1992) reflects theoretical questions about the value and goodness of all varieties of four higher-order values. The theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992) defines the following ten value types: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity-tradition, benevolence, universalism, and the four higher-order values, including self-enhancement, conservation, self-transcendence and openness to change. This approach explains human behavior from the human value estimation, where each individual differs in the degree to which they use them.

Universal values are the same value or worth for all, or almost all, people. Spheres of human value encompass morality, aesthetic preference, human traits, human endeavor, and social order. Empirically, Schwartz identified two motivational conflicts conservation versus openness to change and self-transcendence versus self-enhancement. Similarly, self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism) focus on the other outcomes, that are incompatible with self-enhancement (Ponizovskiy et al, 2020).

The value system is a link between the common European civilization and its national and cultural components in the sense of the results between centrifugal and centripetal forces on the continent (Shkalina, 2020). Transition analyses changes in societal subsystems (e.g. energy, mobility, cities), focusing on social, technological, and institutional interactions. Transformation refers to large-scale changes in whole societies. In sociology, value theory is concerned with personal values which are popularly held by a community, and how those values might change under
particular conditions. Economic analysis emphasizes goods sought in a market and tends to use consumer’s choices as evidence (revealed preference) that various products are of economic value. There is a distinction between economic and moral goods, where an economic good is whatever stimulates economic growth. Foster (2020) elaborated on the theory of instrumental value. He incorporated warranted criteria of judgment in inquiry and proposed “instrumental efficiency” as a definitive value principle.

The successful continuation of human experience necessarily includes solving problems, and resolving situations that infringe on the continuity of the social process, and therefore necessarily involves value. To assume that value theory need not be applied is to set up a paradox: to explain something without considering the determinants of that which you seek to explain (Foster, 2020, 36). A theory of property rights proposes private persons or groups control resources and allow themselves to exercise control over valuables (Alston et al, 1996).

The study of modern approaches includes a pragmatic constructivist approach for progressing study in International Relations (Peter M. Haas & Ernst B. Haas, 2002), conflict resolution (Fisher et al., 2000), and modernization theory.

Mumtaz Ahmad (2021) argues the basic tenets of the theories of international relations are the relationships between order and power. In this regard, his study directs understanding of the normative position of the main theories of international relations and defines a kind of relationship between values and power share in international relations. Chase Dunn & Grell Brisk (2019) assert that the modern world system is a self-contained entity based on a geographically differentiated division of labor and bound together by a world market. The authors follow the idea of the global system established on the stratified structure of inequality. This implied that the whole system was the proper unit of analysis, not national societies and that development and underdevelopment had been structured by global power relations for centuries. Cato (2006) stresses that state’s citizens should have the right to make choices about the nature of the political and economic systems. Aziz et al (2022) assert that political institutions play a more important role compared to economic institutions.

Conflict resolution “involves transforming the relationship and situation such that solutions developed by the parties are sustainable and self-correcting in the long run”. (Fisher et al., 2000, p. 179) Achieving such a resolution will require addressing the parties’ basic human needs. Mechanisms for dealing with further differences must allow for meaningful involvement by all concerned parties. At the most general level, this suggests that societies must support equality and equity between groups (Fisher et al., 2000).

The appearance of conflicts can be decreased by the strategy that uses avoiding, defeating, compromising, accommodating, and collaborating. The application of the theory of conflictology indicates the rallying of the nation, and the deepening and aggravation of the conflict on both sides of the conflict, for example, Friedrich Glasl’s model of conflict escalation. It should be noted the transformation of consciousness under the influence of the media (propaganda) between both conflicting sides. The conflict affects country’s normal development. The conflict can increase corruption in the countries as they attempt to find gaps to overcome sanctions imposed by Western countries (Pereira et al, 2022). Dweck &Ehrlinger (2006) apply implicit theories (by teaching people an incremental view) and emphasize a clear reduction in people’s tendency to label and stereotype, an increase in their sensitivity to progress and change, and an upswing in the desire to learn. Resolving destructive, violent conflicts is a complex and multi-level process, that required, conflict resolution, transformation, and management. communication, negotiation, and changing the focus from destruction to the construction of a peaceful society.

Modernization theory explains how changes in values (such as attitudes toward gender equality or religiosity) affect political sentiment and promote political and economic changes (Luijkx et al, 2020). Beichelt (2012) explores the levels of democracy in new EU member states and states that in some dimensions which form of the EU’s trans and supra-national regulatory system affects the quality of democracy and existing relationships. Schepppele et al (2021) stress that judicial protection of EU values is a more reliable method for ensuring their realization than a political mechanism.

Much work to date focuses on the consequences of internal civil wars, and conflicts, however. How applicable outcomes from conflicts that, in some sense, are supported by at least some percentage of the population (Lukes, 2005) are to a setting where far is almost universally opposed is not clear. In such settings, it is possible, that war could precipitate major societal and even
institutional and organizational change, as well as strengthen states (Tilly, 1985). The precise form of these evolutions requires a more specific focus in the complex context of Ukraine. On the one hand, such an experience could solidify acceptance of norms, resulting in progress (Morris, 2014); on the other, more parochial developments that exclude other opinions or groups could risk further inflaming existing differences (Hoi and Bowles, 2007). Given the context in Ukraine, either outcome – and even both outcomes in different geographic and cultural spaces – seem possible.

The behavioral approach studies the influence of social, cognitive, and emotional factors on economic behavior, economic decision-making by individuals and institutions, and the consequences of this effect on market variables (Nosova, 2020). Legal forms of behavior are the subject of works discussing the organization theory of law. Legal and political institutions play a central role in the allocation of power within a society (Nosova, 2022).

Values assessment should account for the process of significant migration from Ukraine in the condition of military aggression. This suggests a need for consideration of voices (attitudes) within and outside of Ukraine, particularly as the attitudes and beliefs of those who leave may be different from those, who remain. For example, those who remain might have greater incentives to select attitudes or beliefs that maintain peace than those who have left (Lebson, 2013). Amable B. (2003) approves that an alternative is a definition of a common theoretical framework for comparative analysis and applying it to the study of modern economies.

The broad scope of economic and sociological works reveals the necessity of a special analysis of the European integration and regional values adaptation in Ukraine and defines the problem for study, use, and dissemination of knowledge of the European Union values. The creation of institutions and systemic enforcement by the government at the national level of democracy, fundamental rights, and the Rule of Law of the European Union compliance ensure the formation of an optimal balance between European and regional values.

Statement of the objectives of the article. The checked hypothesis that Ukrainian’s ideas about European values are coherent and consistent, depends on the region of residence, age, duration, and personal support for Ukraine’s European Integration.

The sources of data are individual and household survey data from “How Ukrainians Perceive European Values” (2017), “Ukraine in World Values Survey 2020” (2020), “Are Ukrainian values closer to Russia or Europe?” (2022) and other international databases and indicators, such the Bertelsmann Stiftung’s Transformation Index (BTI), the Democracy Barometer, World Bank database, Heritage Foundation, and national statistics.

Presentation of the basic material. The paper is built on a series of questions in the literature that asks how behaviors and attitudes respond to major external shocks in general and to war, in particular (e.g. Bauer et al., 2016), and on how public perceptions change in the face of escalating conflicts (Pereira et al, 2022). An interdisciplinary approach is applied, based on the evaluation of the public perception of various groups of the population to the European integration values who are in a state of aggression in Ukraine and the surveys’ results in the period before it.

How Ukraine perceives European values is studied through the comparative analysis of the population’s attitude to them since the country became independent in 1991. European values are enshrined in such EU legal documents as the Copenhagen criteria for EU membership, the Lisbon Treaty, the treaties implementing the EU, and the constitution.

European values regulated in these normative documents are the following:

- peace is seen as the absence of armed conflict and the resolution of conflicts between states, if they arise, peacefully, through negotiations;
- human rights are an integral part without which the state cannot exist; they are followed by all members of society, regardless of their field of activity;
- democracy through justice and equality for all;
- individual freedom – a necessary condition for the existence of society, reveals the highest spiritual essence of man and the value of life;
- legality – strict observance and observance of laws by all subjects of law;
- equality – equality of all citizens of society before the law and the court;
- tolerance – perception, and patience of subjects who differ in views and ideas;
- solidarity – social cohesion and unity of action, in the process of which certain goals are achieved;
- self-realization – the process of formation of personality through the realization of its purpose;
- respect for other cultures – respectful and tolerant attitude to "foreign" culture;
- a special kind of spiritual and practical activity based on faith in the sacred.

The European Union declares the fundamental EU values to be the ones "common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail". They are human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, and human rights. The Ukrainian values determine the values of personal well-being, such as health, success, prosperity, a happy family, and lack of stress, while intellectual and personal development, and paternalistic values.

To estimate the change in the perception by Ukrainian people of European values before and during the military aggression, we will compare the data from available surveys.

In May 2017 2,000 respondents aged 18–65 were face-to-face interviewed in the framework of the empirical survey “How Ukrainians perceive European values (2017).” As a part of an all-Ukrainian quantitative survey in 2017, respondents were asked to note which three European values are the most important to them personally. (Empirical Survey. Ed. Mattes Buhbe, 2017). At the same time, they had to answer which of the list of values, in their personal opinion, are the most important for the people of Ukraine and Europeans. It is worth noting that the study used a list of values developed under the international project "Eurobarometer", which is carried out under the auspices of the European Commission (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 – Comparison of Ukrainians and Europeans. Value Perception</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>You Personally (%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion, Freedom of Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Realizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity, Support of Neighbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for other Cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Value of Human Life</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


The survey assessment demonstrates that the value perceptions of the rule of law, democracy, self-realization, tolerance, and respect for other cultures received lower scores in Ukraine compared to European scores. The rule of law is considered an important factor for successful reform realization. The low score depicts that the state suffers from corruption, political interference, lack of transparency, and ineffectiveness in the administration of justice.

Korostelina (2013) explains this tendency through the incorporation of the Soviet concept of power into a national identity. The process of national identity formation has been provided with the Soviet perception of power, because of the absence of a new ideology, a lack of critical assessment of the Soviet past, an absence of the vision of the outcome, an embryonic culture of democracy, and preservation of the Soviet meaning of power. This is an explanation of the Ukrainian's values as tolerant, patient people, who value personal and family wellbeing above all, historically live their own life, and do not trust a government, but subsume to its power. Estimation results in democracy, self-realization, tolerance, and respect for other cultures prove the hypothesis that Ukrainians’ ideas about European values are fragmentary and contradictory, although Ukrainians largely share the basic values of European institutions.
The survey results confirm the hypothesis that those Ukrainian citizens who have positive attitude towards European integration are more likely to have more coherent and consistent ideas about European values than those who are skeptical about European integration. The concept of introducing new laws ensures positive aspects of cooperation with the European Union.

The most important life values of Ukrainians were discovered in the research of Razumkov Center “The main principles and ways of forming a common identity of Ukrainian citizens”. Among them the following values and principles were mentioned most often: health – 58.4%, a happy family life – 40.9, and financially secure life – 39.3 %, life wisdom – 24%, interesting work – 21%, active life – 19 % (Nafus, 2018). The concept of paternalism is incorporated into Ukrainian national identity through political, social, and economic discourse. It occurs in the double reality of power with the gap between the official narratives of power and a real life.

Ukrainians are referred to as the people who justify the system as legitimate and just for many reasons: by historic habit and deemed moral obligations, by self-interests and/or a fear of sanctions, by identification with the ruler, by zones of indifference, by lack of will and self-confidence, by a desire to support a strong leader based on ambiguous intolerance, hierarchy – reinforcing ideologies, and a general tolerance of injustice. The majority of people considered that the adoption of such laws which is highly progressive for Ukraine, inevitably changes the country beyond recognition, and transforms it into a thriving country, free of prejudice and discrimination.

Further assessment of Ukrainian values provides the data analysis of the survey “Ukraine in the World Values Survey” (2020). The theory justifies the relationship within society and the personal motivation for the application of the four higher-order values. They include openness to change, self-enhancement, self-transcendence, and conservation. Ukrainian values can be analyzed based on Schwartz, an Israeli researcher who developed and studied Ukrainian values and compared them with European ones. Conventionally, all these values can be combined into 10 groups of values: power – control or domination over people and resources; achievement – personal success that meets social standards; hedonism – personal pleasure; stimulation of life, full of thrills, novelty, and complex tasks; independence – independence in decision-making; universalism – high appreciation and protection of the welfare of all people; benevolence – increasing the well-being of people with whom a person often communicates; tradition – respect and acceptance of customs and ideas that come from traditional culture and religion; conformity – avoiding actions that could upset other people, cause harm or violate social requirements and norms; security – security, harmony, and stability of society.

Political values comprise liberalism, patriotism, protection of national and ethnic identity, horizontal social hierarchy, and humanitarian dominance. Economic values include efficiency, speed, reliability, ease of use, flexibility, status, aesthetic appeal, motion, and cost.

Economic value assessment is based on the data of ratings of international organizations to determine the ease of doing business and to define how the regulatory environment is conducive to business operation and stronger protections of property rights. In the World Bank’s Doing Business ranking 2020, In 2019 Ukraine was ranked 71 “Doing Business” score. The indicator of dealing with construction permits is ranked 20. The score for getting credit is 37. The parameter of protecting minority investors gets a score of 45 (Doing Business, 2020). The following indicators have received the lowest scores compared to others and need further economic reforms toward the creation of an attractive business environment. Basic values are assessed in the following indicators comparing freedom to equality, two-thirds of the respondents choose freedom – 63.7. Comparison freedom to equality, two-thirds choose security – 65.9%.

The question “How proud are you to be a citizen of Ukraine?”: 47.5% are “quite proud” and 34.7% are “very proud” (82.2% total) of being citizens of Ukraine in 2020 vs. 41.0% and 26.0%, respectively (67.0% total), who had the same opinion in 2011. Economic values determine personal attitude to work, ensure well-being, perception of the welfare system, income difference, distribution of property, and social protection system. The estimation results confirm the high level of paternalistic attitude in society that slowly decreasing (See table 2).

Define the opinion that the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. This confirms that Ukrainians follow a paternalistic model of behavior and rely on government institutions. The proportion of Ukrainians who are ready to defend their country has grown. In 2020 56.9% answered yes, 25.5% answered no, and 17.6% found it difficult to say or gave no answer; in 2011 the respective numbers were 40.3%, 29.8%, and 29.9%. The share of people
signing petitions and attending peaceful demonstrations slightly rises. These data demonstrate that Ukrainians were not actively involved in political actions and social activism.

Table 2 – Values Assessment Analysis in Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>The Question</th>
<th>Answers Yes in 2011</th>
<th>Answers Yes in 2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How proud are you to be a citizen of Ukraine?</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>82.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Are you ready to defend your country?</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Define the opinion that the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The importance of maintaining order in the nation and protecting freedom of speech?</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Are you tolerant of homosexuality?</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Civic activity, and in particular the use of petitions?</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The idea is that most people can be trusted.</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The trust in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The trust in the religious organizations.</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The level of happiness and well-being.</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>78.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The feeling of being unsafe at home in the previous twelve months.</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Financial situation.</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Importance to live in a democratic country.</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Trust in elections.</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Trust in voting in municipal elections.</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The importance of maintaining order in the nation and protecting freedom of speech did not change much: 40.5% in 2020 vs. 42.7% in 2011 and 4.1% in 2020 vs. 3.0% in 2011, respectively. The attitude toward homosexuality became marginally more tolerant but remains one of the least tolerant compared to EU countries: 75.2% in 2020 vs. 79.4% in 2011 said that homosexuality cannot be justified. Civic activity, and in particular the use of petitions, expanded, but it remains one of the lowest compared to EU countries: 9% “took part” and 11% “could take part” in signing petitions in 2011 vs. 13.5% and 38.5%, respectively, in 2020. The idea that most people can be trusted increased, and is supported by 30.1% in 2020 vs. 23.1% in 2011. These figures seem to characterize that Ukrainian civic society has developed previously. The trust in the Armed Forces of Ukraine increased significantly from 58.7% in 2011 to 75.2% in 2020 compared to the religious organizations relatively declined from 75.2% to 72.6%. The level of happiness increased from 68% to 78.3% in the same period (the sum of “quite happy” and “very happy”) in 2020. 35.2% consider themselves the lower middle class, another third, and 13.3% relate themselves to the upper middle class, third – members of the working class, and 15.1% – lower class in 2020. The importance of God in the life of Ukrainians decreased from 64.0% to 56.3% (answers ranged from 7 to 10 on a 10-point scale of importance). Compared to EU countries, this level remains quite high. In 2020 self-evaluations of
health and feeling safe increased: 73.8% in 2020 vs. 69% in 2011 never felt unsafe at home in the previous twelve months, and 45.4% in 2020 vs. 37% in 2011 describe their health as good. The proportion of those who are dissatisfied with their financial situation decreased from 48% to 38.9%.

People deem it slightly more important to live in a democratic country in 2020 than in 2011: 79.2% vs. 74.1%; this indicator is lower than in many European countries. Trust in elections increased from 30% to 54.4% in these years, but voting in municipal elections decreased: the answer "I always vote" was given by 50.8% in 2020 vs. 61.0% in 2011. The results of "Ukraine in World Values Survey 2020" show that the observed changes in this research – increased civic activity, a better quality of life, and less paternalism (at least not as absolute results but as general trends) – can be interpreted as truly positive shifts toward values that, according to the methodology of the World Values Survey, are obtained in successful and developed countries. To find out to what extent Ukraine is more likely to reflect Russian values than the values of its largest European neighbour Poland we use the most recent data from the survey "Are Ukrainian values closer to Russia or to Europe (Reeskens, 2022). The author applies the methodology of Samuel Huntington who claims that political conflict will increasingly run along the dividing lines of civilizations.

The assessment of satisfaction with the political system demonstrates that Ukrainians (8.25) are closer to European attitudes of Poland (9.1) and the Netherlands (8.8) compared to Russia (7.3). (See Figure 1). Satisfaction with the functioning of the political system in selected European countries – Ukraine receives 3.7 scores compared to Russia – 5.4, which reveals the question of reforms discrepancy and low satisfaction of people within the country. This result could be confirmed by the data from the fifth wave of the European Value Survey. In total, almost 89% of the citizens of 37 countries covered by the survey indicate a democratic system as a desirable system of governance (Luijkx et al, 2022). Estimation of trust in the European Union in selected European countries proves that Ukraine (2.4 on a scale of 1-4) and Poland (2.4), where Russia (1.8) is behind these countries. The comparison data of tolerance depicts, that there are no significant differences in self-expression values, in particular views on homosexuality, in Ukraine – 2.6, in Russia, and in Belarus – 2.5. The tolerance to homosexuality is high in the Netherlands (8.6 on a scale of 1-10), and in Poland – 4.0. Reported closeness to Europe in selected European countries identifies the better position of Ukraine (2.1 on a scale of 1-4) compared to Russia (1.8) with regard to the extent to which people feel connected to Europe. However, in Poland (2.9) and the Netherlands (2.6), the connection is even higher. (See Figure 2)

![Fig. 1. Importance of Living in Democracy (scale 1-10)](image)

Source: Reeskens, T. Are Ukrainian values closer to Russia or to Europe? 2022.

An evaluation of the results of the estimations of the analyzed surveys indicates that they are based on specific data samples and reflect a particular focus of research problems. Lack of data samples in some surveys, the predominance of the specific groups of questions for defined groups of people, the absence of similar questions, and the application of diverse research methodology impede the application of comparative analysis for investigation and comparison of their results.
Conclusions. The research proves the existence of cultural similarities and differences between the European Union and Ukraine. The survey estimations were conducted on different groups of respondents. The usage of a variety of survey methods makes it impossible to compare the estimation results. A comparison of the survey assessments determines the following European values, which require adaptation in Ukraine: reported importance of democracy, satisfaction with the political system, reported 'closeness to Europe', and tolerance towards homosexuality. The latest assessment in Ukraine demonstrates that some Ukrainians consider that the state should provide a special policy for European values implementation.

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ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНИХ ТА ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ЦІННОСТЕЙ В УКРАЇНИ ДО ЦІННОСТЕЙ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ

Метою статті є аналіз основних ціннісних підходів та визначення головних і вирішальних чинників ціннісної трансформації. Методи дослідження включають дескриптивний аналіз, інституційний підхід, економико-статистичні методи. Гіпотеза дослідження полягає у дослідженні того, як суспільне сприйняття змінилося в екстремальних умовах (військовий конфлікт) щодо євроінтеграційних цінностей. Широкий обсяг економічних та соціологічних праць розкриває необхідність спеціального аналізу європейської інтеграції та адаптації регіональних цінностей в Україні та визначає проблему вивчення, використання та поширення знань про цінності Європейського Союзу. Аналіз різних теорій цінностей детермінує актуальність і необхідність вивчення людської поведінки з дослідженням оцінки людських цінностей. Ми оцінюємо залежність економічного розвитку від трансформації економічних, політичних і соціальних цінностей і загальних показників (ринкових і демократичних) реформ в Україні. Ми використовуємо дані опитувань для порівняння ставлення населення до євроінтеграційних цінностей за часів незалежності України. Визначення основних цінностей дозволяє сформулювати стратегію та активізувати більш стабільну стратегію політичного і соціально-економічного розвитку.

Ключові слова: трансформація, політичні та соціально-економічні цінності, цінності Європейського Союзу.
