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## **Transformation of Russian and Ukrainian Society in the Conceptions of T.I. Zaslavskaja and N.V. Panina: A Comparative Analysis<sup>1</sup>**

*Abstract*

*Using comparative analysis, the paper argues that normative-personal conception by N.V. Panina may be considered as an explanation of social behaviour of the actors of transformation process and the level of development of human potential in transforming society (which in turn are the central ideas in T.I. Zaslavskaja's conception of societal transformation of the society), allowing for their dependence on socio-psychological, psychic and personal qualities of their bearers. Both conceptions are examples of increment in theoretical knowledge, approved and verified by empirical investigations. N.V. Panina's normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society and T.I. Zaslavskaja's activital-structural conception of societal transformation of Russian society possess a considerable prognostic potential, both of them complement scientific ideas of post-Soviet transformation and outline the ways for creation of the fundamental theory of social changes in the post-Soviet societies under transformation.*

**Keywords:** *post-Soviet transformation, activital-structural conception of societal transformation, normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society, T.I. Zaslavskaja, N.V. Panina*

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In the framework of the present-day sociological discourse it is thought possible to make a comparative analysis of the conceptions of social transformations, which were created within different paradigms. In the opinion of the Russian sociologist A.B. Gofman, “the plurality of paradigms, their simultaneous existence and struggle” are characteristic of the history of sociology. “Scientific association is divided into trends, tendencies, and schools whose followers are adhered to different paradigms. But even under such conditions it is united by common scientific ideas which permit us to treat it as a proper association” [Gofman, 2008: p. 16].

Sociologists of the USSR occupied a special place in the world sociological association. They were formally united by the ideology prevailing at that time but they actually sought to overstep its limits, using ideologically neutral methodology of empirical investigations. The community of approaches developed by T.I. Zaslavskaja and N.V. Panina to the study of a society and processes of its post-Soviet transformation lies in this fact first and foremost.

It should be noted that in the first years of formation of independent states built on the ruins of the USSR the post-Soviet sociologists were in a better position than their western colleagues-transitologists, and their theoretical viewpoints were free from the pressure of authorities whose conceptions, recognised in the world sociological association, were based on studying social realities being far from post-Soviet reality. Even in the years of “perestroika” T.I. Zaslavskaja, as a head of VTsIOM (All-Russian Centre for the Study of Public Opinion) and N.V. Panina, as a leading researcher of its Central Ukrainian Department, had the database of numerous empirical researches in various aspects of social transformations; they could develop their own conceptions with allowance for unique experience of institutional, structural and socio-psychological changes which occurred in the late 80<sup>s</sup> – early 90<sup>s</sup>. These two circumstances (theoretical independence and empirical equipment) in the case of T.I. Zaslavskaja and N.V. Panina were supplemented by personal qualities of the researchers – the consistency in realisation of the chosen trends in conceptualisation of the studied social phenomena. As a result, the comprehensive conceptions of post-Soviet social transformations were developed, which, in spite of different theoretical grounds, intersect and supplement each other in many respects.

The authors of the analysed conceptions have determined frames for sociological paradigms could be created within. T.I. Zaslavskaja has developed the activital-structural conception of societal transformation of Russian society [Zaslavskaja, 2002]. N.V. Panina noted that “using as a basis fundamental principles of structural-functional sociology (T. Parsons, R. Merton et al.), on the one hand, and our long-term study of relations between social status (its formation, achievement, changes) and their (people) socio-psychological states, on the other hand, we have elaborated a conceptual model of the value-normative regulation of social behaviour of people and peculiarities of determination of their psychological state in the stable and unstable societies” [Panina, 2001: p. 6].

A comparative analysis of such different, at first sight, sociological approaches to the study of transformation processes occurring in post-Soviet Ukraine and Russia should be started from revealing of common and special features in historical preconditions of their emergence and development.

Scientific biographies of T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina are marked with the fact that they did not start their activities as professional sociologists. T.I. Zaslavskaia started her scientific career as a specialist in studying economic problems of the agrarian sector; her works in elaboration of the economic theory of development of the Soviet society were generally recognised. She was the ancestor of economic sociology in the USSR which served during “perestroika” as a starting point for development of the conception of societal transformation of the post-Soviet Russian society; it may be considered as a general model of post-communist transformation process in all countries of the former socialist camp. Early scientific works of N.V. Panina dealt with the problem of adaptation of elderly people to the status of a pensioner. The analysis of personal and socio-psychological factors of adaptation took an important place in these works. Due to this approach, N.V. Panina could reveal the mechanism of social adaptation with allowance for both general social and group impact on a person (social expectations), as well as psychological peculiarities of people going through a complicated period of the absolute change of their status and a scope of performed roles. When studying this complicated phenomenon, she used the methods of psychological training for the groups of elderly people; this experience was used in public opinion surveys whose results preceded crystallisation of the major principles of normative-personal conception based on the study of the causes and nature of adaptive behaviour of Ukrainian population in the period of post-Soviet social changes. Both researchers have introduced into sociology special approaches characteristic of closely related social sciences.

The fact that both conceptions were born when their authors studied the stable Soviet society served as common preconditions of their (conceptions) development; this fact allowed later to make a comparative analysis of state of the society at various stages of its transformation. The time frames when the authors worked on the analysed conceptions also coincide.

T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina were initiators of monitoring surveys in Russia and Ukraine. Owing to T.I. Zaslavskaia’s organisational talent and personal authority, VTsIOM was created as early as 1988; she headed a group of scientists which have developed procedure and methodology of monitoring surveys in Russia. N.V. Panina has developed herself procedure and methodology of Ukrainian monitoring, she headed the pilot research on the base of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine in 1992. Monitoring surveys served not only as an empirical source for studied conceptions of the transformation of post-Soviet societies but also as a reliable basis for their approval and verification.

Problems in development of sociology, role of sociologists in the transformation of Russian and Ukrainian societies, sociological culture were the centre of attention for T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina [Zagorodniuk, 2011; Zaslavskaia, 1996]. They believed that the criterion of sociological culture is not only care and consideration for sociological classics but a search for opportunity of its development with regard to certain conditions of the vital activity of Russian and Ukrainian societies, their socio-cultural and socio-structural changes. T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina have made a great contribution to the institutionalisation of sociological science in Russia and Ukraine: T.I. Zaslavskaia was the Vice President

and then President of the Soviet Sociological Association (1972-1986, 1986-1991); N.V. Panina was the Head of the Professional Ethics Commission of Sociological Association of Ukraine (SAU). She has elaborated the *Code of Professional Ethics for Sociologist* in force approved by the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of SAU in 2004 [Code, 2008; Panina, 2004].

T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina had no divergence in defining the processes observed in Russia and Ukraine: there occurred the post-Soviet transformation of the society. When defining the process of social changes in the countries of the former socialist camp, both of them used the term “post-communist”. The difference between two interpretations of this term is that N.V. Panina implied some geographical space, while T.I. Zaslavskaia gave it a political colouring, indicating that the power of communist parties was common for these countries.

There are different classifications of theories in sociological science depending on methodological principles of studying social reality. In the opinion of Zh.T. Toshchenko, “structure of sociological knowledge may be considered, firstly, as theoretical and empirical sociology, secondly, as fundamental and applied one, thirdly, following the object-subject principle” [Toshchenko, 2007: p. 11], that is as macro- and micro-sociology. Comparison of the normative-personal conception of transformation of Ukrainian society developed by N.V. Panina and activital-structural conception of societal transformation of Russian society elaborated by T.I. Zaslavskaia with taking into account the above features allows making the following conclusions.

It is known that there are socio-centric and anthropocentric (humanitarian) approaches to the study of social phenomena in sociology. Normative-personal conception of N.V. Panina serves as an example of the anthropocentric approach: its starting point is an individual, a sum total of individuals, as well as ways and degree of the success of their adaptation to the transformation process under conditions of total anomie. The change of social reality in the given conception is considered as a result of intelligent social actions of individuals determined by their socio-psychological and personal qualities. Activital-structural conception of T.I. Zaslavskaia is also anthropocentric: the corresponding actors act at macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of the transformation process. Their actions have different effect on the course of changes being simultaneously their cause and effect. A human (actor, individual) is considered both as a resource of social development and as a bearer of human potential whose development in the conception of T.I. Zaslavskaia is the impulse of social changes. The distribution of actors at the inter-crossing levels “should be understood as an attempt to combine general societal, institutional and properly sociological or even socio-psychological approaches” [Zdravomyslov, 2001: p. 98]. But one can also find in the conception of T.I. Zaslavskaia the features of socio-centric approach: in the transformation process “functioning of social mechanisms is regulated, on the one hand, by corresponding social institutions (formal and informal rules of the game); on the other hand, by social status and cultural peculiarities of the actors: managerial bodies, organisations, groups, individuals (interests and potentialities of players)” [Zaslavskaia, 2002: p. 8].

T.I. Zaslavskaia has proposed in her conception an original scheme for comprehension of post-communist transformations; she has elaborated the basic no-

tions of the conception, such as “social transformation”, “social mechanism of a society’s transformation”, “socio-transformational structure of a society”, “transformation activity”, “innovative-reformative potential of a society”. The societal transformation of society, according to the conception of T.I. Zaslavskaia, is realised through the changes in the system of basic social institutions, social structure and human potential. These three components are interconnected by complex social mechanisms: change of one component brings inevitable change of two others, and, since the subject of macro-sociology is the analysis of the society as a whole, of social systems, social structures and institutions, of the mass social processes, it is evident that the conception of societal transformation of the society suggested by T.I. Zaslavskaia belongs to the category of macro-conceptions. At the same time, macro-conceptualisation of development of separate components of the transformation process confirmed the basic importance of the increase of human potential for the positive development of social changes in Russian society.

Micro-sociology studies the behaviour of individuals, motivation of their individual actions and interactions in groups, organisations, in the whole society, as well as socio-psychological reactions to social changes and interpersonal relationships. Hence, normative-personal conception of the post-Soviet transformation of Ukrainian society suggested by N.V. Panina belongs to micro-sociological conceptions and theories. But that in no way minimises its importance since the subject field of micro-sociology is the “real, live consciousness and behaviour, being ‘the richest’ (as to their display) social processes. They actually reflect at empirical level the state of public consciousness and public activity as a whole in all its diversity, discrepancy, fortuity and necessity. Just they act as a sensitive indicator of the state, course of development and functioning of social processes. That is why their investigation is an important instrument of making scientifically substantiated decisions in all spheres of public life — from economic to intellectual and spiritual” [Toshchenko, 2011]. At present one can observe the rapprochement between macro- and micro-sociology that raises sociological knowledge to a qualitatively new level. “Micro-level, level of social interaction of common citizens becomes the arena of great history. Each of the interaction participants can exert influence on the interaction course and thus change the direction of social process. Under these conditions sociology turns from the science studying the society’s macro-structures into the field of studying the mechanism of composition of the social process in the tangle of innumerable lines of interaction of concrete individuals” [Kravchenko, 1997: p. 29].

It is difficult to overestimate the role and importance of empirical investigations in the development of conceptions of societal transformation by T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina. The main ideas of these conceptions arose on the basis of analysis of the data of empirical research. It may be concluded that both activital-structural conception of the societal transformation of Russian society by T.I. Zaslavskaia and normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society by N.V. Panina belong simultaneously to theoretical and empirical levels of sociological knowledge.

Conception of societal transformation of Russian society suggested by T.I. Zaslavskaia according to P. Sztompka’s classification may be considered as

the explanatory one. When elaborating such a theory, researchers-empiricists do not confine themselves anymore to the search for facts and collecting data but propose the *models of generalisation* in their fields formed by accumulation of the data obtained through research. Theories of deviance, collective behaviour, social movements, ethnicity, mass media, social capital, post-materialist values, etc. may serve as examples of such models [Sztompka, 2005: p. 67]. At the same time, conception by N.V. Panina may be related to analytical ones which, by the definition of P. Sztompka, combine theory and empiricism by producing of hypotheses and generalisation of notions; typologise, classify, play an auxiliary, instrumental part [Sztompka, 2005: p. 69].

It should be noted that societal conceptions, which also include the conception of societal transformation of Russian society by T.I. Zaslavskaia, differ from other ones by one substantial feature: it does not seem possible that all basic principles and notions can be operationalised. Only certain components of T.I. Zaslavskaia's conception can be operationalised; for example, changes of human potential which represent one of the three vectors of the transformation process. However, normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society suggested by N.V. Panina has been almost completely operationalised; practically each theoretical conclusion is represented by the corresponding indicator.

Inevitability, duration and depth of anomie determined by forestalling degradation of the old social institutions as compared with formation of new ones were defined by T.I. Zaslavskaia as one of the main distinguishing features of the transformation process [Zaslavskaia, 2002: p. 445–446]. N.V. Panina thought that anomie was caused, first of all, by destruction of value-normative system of the society which is the basis for social integration. It is “crystallisation of new value-normative system of the society based on the features of individual consciousness of its members, individual value preferences and value orientations” [Panina, 2001: p. 7], which leads to the change in the behaviour of people determined by appearance of new social statuses and roles and promotes in that way the formation of new social institutions. Thus, the general direction of the transformation process is determined by value preferences of different strata and groups of population. In their turn, value orientations are largely determined by general socio-psychological state and social well-being of the participants of transformation process.

Human potential is the basic notion in the conception of societal transformation of Russian society by T.I. Zaslavskaia. This notion “concentrates attention not on the achieved level of a society's development, but primarily on its peculiar inner dynamism, ability to self-development” [Zaslavskaia, 2005: p. 14]. T.I. Zaslavskaia focuses her attention on the fact that human potential reflects the level of civilisational development of the society, its social quality. N.V. Panina does not operate with this notion in her normative-personal conception. However, according to Panina under conditions of total anomie all the components of human potential are either closely related or depend directly on the level of social well-being and life satisfaction, on the susceptibility to anomic demoralisation and cynicism, on paternalistic or internal attitudes.

T.I. Zaslavskaia distinguishes four components of human potential: socio-demographic, socio-economic, socio-cultural and activital. In the conception of

N.V. Panina socio-demographic indicators determine socio-psychological and psychic states, as well as value-normative attitudes of Ukrainian citizens. According to the data of long-term monitoring survey conducted by the Institute of Sociology, the younger and more educated people living in cities are less liable to anomic demoralisation, anxiety, cynicism and demonstrate internal attitudes [Zagorodniuk, 2011]. They are ready to extra work in order to provide solvent satisfaction of their requirements. Civil rights and liberties are of great value to them and they are ready to raise the level of their political and economic knowledge for the sake of this value. Such personal qualities determine the causes of growth of socio-economic, socio-cultural and activital components of human potential: resources of human potential are ensured by the sum total of socio-psychological qualities and psychic state of its bearers.

T.I. Zaslavskaia studied social behaviour of the actors of macro-, meso-, and micro-level of transformation process, their behavioural strategies, and distinguished such strategies as achievement, adaptation, regressive and destructive ones. She classified the above strategies by the objectives, motifs and ways of their realisation but did not lay stress on socio-psychological or value-normative components. A principle of the “through” study (without differentiation into layers and levels) of social behaviour of individuals (groups) depending on the successful / unsuccessful adaptation to social changes, on personal qualities and acceptance / non-acceptance of a new system of norms and rules is assumed as a basis of the conception suggested by N.V. Panina. Individuals have to adapt to the changes in “rules of the game” on all steps of the social ladder. Strategies of social behaviour of individuals and groups depend on the type of personality formed as a result of adaptation: on normative / non-normative character of the reaction to anomie, on the level of anxiety, national isolationism, life satisfaction and social well-being as a whole. T.I. Zaslavskaia confirms the rightness of this thesis. According to the results of empirical investigation of successful economic actors she makes a conclusion that the “individual adaptations of economic actors to formal and informal rules of the game approved by authorities” are of crucial importance [Zaslavskaia, 2012: p. 23].

From the viewpoint of normative-personal conception the achievement strategies are formed within the framework of normative reactions to anomie (“the rise of individual status, motivated striving for welfare growth, for professional advancement, political career, improvement of quality and mode of life, increase of social prestige” [Zaslavskaia, 2000: p. 16]). The latter is clearly demonstrated on the example of T.I. Zaslavskaia’s studying of successful economic actors at the meso-level of transformation process in Russia. It should be noted that high level of social cynicism in combination with incompleteness and imperfectness of legal norms and orientation to asocial values with given personal activity and achievement strategies leads to the expansion of illegal practices, to the development of “shadow” economy in particular.

When estimating the adaptive strategies distinguished by T.I. Zaslavskaia (“striving for social survival, preservation of the former or at least minimum acceptable social status” [Zaslavskaia, 2000: p. 16]) from the viewpoint of normative-personal conception of N.V. Panina, one can conclude that they are also de-

terminated by normative reaction to anomie. The increase or decrease in efficiency of social practices depends upon what personal qualities will dominate.

Destructive strategies of behaviour “are of aggressive nature. They are directed against others and sometimes against themselves” [Zaslavskaia, 2000: p. 16]. Of interest is that the description of these strategies is given by T.I. Zaslavskaia herself in correspondence with the conceptual apparatus of normative-personal conception of N.V. Panina: “Such behaviour is mostly motivated by the thirst for profit which is not bounded by moral norms, as well as by xenophobias reviving in hard times” [Zaslavskaia, 2000: p. 16]. Non-normative reactions to anomie, state of deep anomic demoralisation are directly described too. The extreme degree of anomic demoralisation and critical decrease of the level of social well-being lead to emergence and development of regressive strategies of behaviour, which in turn results in social exclusion, loss of social relationship, sharp decrease in social status and identity.

The analysed conceptions possess a significant prognostic potential. Taking into consideration the results of studying mass consciousness in Ukrainian society within the framework of normative-personal conception, N.V. Panina has arrived to the conclusion about the existence of two types of reactions to long-term anomie — normative and non-normative ones, which determine the character and causes of social behaviour of individuals (or groups). On the basis of this conclusion theoretical suppositions were made that Ukraine and Russia “have three ways to get out of the mass anomic demoralisation. The first way is traditionalism, return to the archaic system of values as the integrating basis of social life. The second way is authoritarianism as an attempt to solve a society’s problems owing to the tough centralisation. The third one is the movement along the democratic way, declared by Russia and Ukraine, based on the successive construction of political pluralism, creation of the legal state and freedom of economic development” [Golovakha, 2008: p. 7]. Proceeding from this analysis and allowing for the data of sociological researches conducted in Russia and Ukraine, N.V. Panina predicted as early as the 1990<sup>s</sup> a higher probability of traditionalist scenario for Ukraine and authoritarian one for Russia. Some years later these scenarios were realised in the mass support of Victor Yushchenko and Vladimir Putin as politicians, which personified just these trends in political development of Ukrainian and Russian societies.

Movement of both states along the democratic way proved to be problematic because of poor development of the civil society; in this connection, political pluralism is severely limited here, and further development of the free market economy is restrained by extensive flourishing of illegal practices and corruption. While “the managed democracy” has been formed in Russia with “odd combination of autocracy and democracy, political liberties and their restriction, formal availability and practical absence of opposition to the ruling regime” [Golovakha, 2008: p. 7], the “clan-oligarchic” democracy with available capable opposition has been formed in Ukraine; this democracy is characterised by the restriction of civil and political liberties, selective functioning of legal norms.

Analysis of social well-being, socio-psychological and psychic state of the Ukrainian population during all years of independence testifies that change of generations of the bearers of social norms and values, increase in their personal



activity have led to formation of the internal type of personality whose behaviour is of socially active character [Zagorodniuk, 2011]. N.V. Panina predicted its emergence even in the 1990<sup>s</sup> proceeding from the analysis of the structure of values, social well-being and moral-psychological state of youth under conditions of total anomie [Panina, 2001; Panina, 2008]. The analysis of results of the research carried out by T.I. Zaslavskaia among representatives of economic actors of the present-day Russian transformation process permitted to make a conclusion that those were personal qualities typical of successful businessmen and managers.

Agreeing with I. Roxborough that modernisation should be understood today as an increase in ability to transformation [Roxborough, 1988], T.I. Zaslavskaia defined the essence of transformation processes as “the increase of a society’s ability to social transformations”, and the major direction of modernisation – “as the increase of a society’s competitiveness in the globalising and unexpectedly changing world” [Zaslavskaia, 2008: p. 12]. Estimation of the level and dynamics of competitiveness in transforming societies gives an idea of successfulness or unsuccessfulness of their development; some fixed “sections” allow revealing tendencies of this development and predicting its further direction. Stating that there is no reliable methodology of such estimation in sociological science yet, T.I. Zaslavskaia has proposed to estimate the level of competitiveness, stability and dynamism of the present-day transforming societies on the basis of advancement along three axes characterising the societal space of transformation processes in Russian society. For this purpose she has concretised the notion of axes of three-dimensional societal space. In 2008, as a result of detailed research of the human potential in Russian society, T.I. Zaslavskaia concluded that present-day transformation processes occur in three-dimensional societal space with the following axes:

- 1) not just the level of development of human potential of the studied societies but “*the level of human potential* of societies as macro-subjects and macro-actors of self-development and transformation”;
- 2) not the generalised quality of social group structure, but “*legitimacy and dynamism of the social group structure* which allow societies to realise successfully their human potential”;
- 3) not the generalised efficiency of institutional system, but “*efficiency of institutional systems* which is displayed in the ability of political, legal, economic, social and other institutions to direct energy of individuals, organisations and groups into creative and socially constructive channel” [Zaslavskaia, 2008: p. 13].

Therewith the conclusion was made that to achieve the successful dynamics the advancement should follow simultaneously the path of three vectors: high level of the only one or two above characteristics does not provide the successful transformation development of a society, its competitiveness.

The extent of the effect of the proposed interrelated characteristics of the societal transformation space on the successfulness of transformation process and increase of competitiveness level of the society is different. Purposeful transformation of the basic institutions affects to a lesser degree the society’s competitiveness than a half-spontaneous change of its social group structure. In the opinion of T.I. Zaslavskaia, the most powerful effect on the successfulness of transfor-

mation process is provided by poorly managed change of the level of human potential of the society.

T.I. Zaslavskaja has elaborated an analytical scheme concerning social mechanism of transformation in post-communist societies. The study of the structure and principles of its functioning permitted her to conclude that “some kind of ‘tangle’ of intertwined processes of the change of mass social practices underlies the changes of societal characteristics of the society” [Zaslavskaja, 2008: p. 17]. Thus, study of the character of change of mass social practices in the transforming society gives an opportunity to predict the trend of transformation of social institutions, change of the social group structure and decrease or increase of the level of human potential.

T.I. Zaslavskaja thought that the major factor of the change of everyday social practices “was rather activity of the middle, basic and lower strata constituting the main part of the society than activity of its elite and upper stratum” [Zaslavskaja, 2008: p. 18]. The study of successful economic actors of the transformation process in Russia has visually demonstrated that formation of new economic institutions was both the effect and the cause of their activity. The conclusions were made about the direct influence of social qualities and resources, which are in possession of subjects of transformation activity, on the ways of their activities and behaviour.

The analysis of the transformation process in Russia during 2005–2012, stated by T.I. Zaslavskaja in numerous reports and interviews, was made on the basis of her own conception of the societal transformation of Russian society. As early as 2001 she suggested the possibility of three scenarios for Russia’s further development: “1) authoritarian-coercive scenario supposing a sharp strengthening of the state, increase of the role of the pro-government force structures (state security bodies and military men), toughening of control over the market sector of economy, expansion of repressive practices and narrowing of democratic ones; 2) conservative-etatist scenario which presumes formal preservation of market relations and democratic procedures under considerable strengthening of control functions of bureaucracy in economy and other spheres of public life; 3) half-criminal oligarchic scenario which means reproduction (in new forms) of quasi-democratic and quasi-market regime formed in the reign of B. Yel’tsin, dragging out the Time of Troubles” [Zaslavskaja, 2001: p. 9].

History of the further development of Russian society has confirmed the rightness of her predictions. As she mentioned at the interview for Ukrainian news agency UNIAN, “...I guess the oligarchic system of rather a ‘poor mould’ has been strengthened during the period of reign of Putin” [Zaslavskaja, 2008]. A rigid vertical of power has been established, the country has become governable but not by democratic principles, as evidenced by the presidential elections in Russia. “Total corruption” accompanied with spreading of the “army of bureaucrats” is observed everywhere and at all levels.

Investigations of T.I. Zaslavskaja have shown that “Russia is a combination of oligarchic form of the society with constructed system of corruption” [Zaslavskaja, 2008]. They are discrediting the opposition and doing away with it, while the sprouts of isolationism and xenophobia are receiving countenance. These processes occur against a background of ever-growing income gap between

rich and poor. According to the data of T.I. Zaslavskaja with allowance for shadow economy the coefficient of income inequality reaches 30–40. Later she noted that current institutional development of Russian society and economy does not favour modernisations and innovations. In the opinion of T.I. Zaslavskaja Russian culture still bears “the imprint of centuries-old slavery of the most part of population: it was firstly tsarist and then Soviet ‘serfdom’ ” [Zaslavskaja, 2012]. The values characteristic of developed democratic countries have not been completely formed, as evidenced by cross-national comparative surveys where Russia takes part. All that hampers development of Russian economy which, in the opinion of T.I. Zaslavskaja, is the basic social institution: “Modernisation of economy is impossible without modernisation of the society” [Zaslavskaja, 2012]. Besides, she thinks that state authoritarianism and omnipresent corruption, which make “the talks about legal state senseless”, are the most serious obstacles on the way of transformation development. In the opinion of T.I. Zaslavskaja, “the real fight against corruption does not take place and it is still probably a long way from that, since all power pyramid is corrupted. And that means that ‘social lifts’ will not start working soon” [Zaslavskaja, 2012].

As noted above, tendency towards integration of macro- and micro-sociological approaches to the study of society is observed in the contemporary sociological science. T.I. Zaslavskaja has developed the conception of societal level by focusing on the comprehensive investigation of qualities, including personal that are peculiar to the actors of transformation process, as well as on the study of human potential of Russian society.

N.V. Panina began to study institutional and structural changes of Ukrainian society in the context of normative-personal conception of its transformation. It is known that two opposite processes occur in any society which undergoes cardinal social changes; these are: institutionalisation of new social institutions and de-institutionalisation of the old ones. N.V. Panina thought that institutionalisation should be defined as “the process of formation of new social institutions in three aspects:

- 1) process of formation and adoption of new social rules (laws, normative structures, traditions and rites) by society;
- 2) creation of organisational structures responsible for articulation and order of observing the given rules, which constitute social infrastructure of institutionalised behaviour;
- 3) formation of attitude of mass subjects towards social rules and organisational structures, which reflects people’s consent with the given institutional order” [Golovakha, 2001: p. 6].

Proceeding from this definition, de-institutionalisation is a process of destruction of institutional formations, which displays in the change of social rules and obvious (or latent) disapproval of institutional requirements to social behaviour.

The above processes are most often accompanied with social chaos, destabilisation of social life, and total social disintegration. In the opinion of N.V. Panina, the uniqueness of Ukrainian transformation process consists not only in the absence of social outburst, but also in the fact that “the social mechanism typical of states and societies which undergo crisis has not even triggered: deterioration of socio-economic situation and social well-being of population has not resulted in

the increase of manifestations of social intolerance and discrimination of people by ethnicity” [Golovakha, 2001: p. 9]. The empirical studies have shown that institutional space of the Ukrainian society is extremely discrepant and inexplicable from the viewpoint of previous hypotheses: on the one hand, most members of the society trust neither old nor new institutions, feel a sense of anomic demoralisation; on the other hand, they keep social self-control, tolerance and faith in the chance of the society’s development in the context of “general civilisational process”.

A hypothesis has been formulated that “only double institutionalisation provides a rather original ‘institutional hyper value’ of Ukrainian society, based on people’s consent to live in such institutional space, where both old and new institutions exist, and their contradictory coexistence provides availability of all attributes of institutionality necessary for social integration and stability” [Golovakha, 2001: p. 16–17]. The hypothesis in question has been illustrated by numerous examples from social practice, which confirm that citizens of Ukraine, being subjected to double institutional load, find necessary attributes of legality and legitimacy. It has also been verified by empirical investigations which have confirmed that duality of institutional rules is reflected in predominating psycho-ambivalent attitudes of people towards institutional principles of social life. Such attitudes are caused by the state of mass anomic demoralisation. The phenomenon of mass ambivalence of Ukrainian society was studied by N.V. Panina jointly with Ye. I. Golovakha when analysing peculiarities of political consciousness of the Ukrainian population.

On the other hand, specific post-Soviet institutionalisation caused the corresponding changes of social structure. By analogy, this phenomenon may be called “double structuralisation”. The most active individuals accept new institutional rules, incorporate into the new social structure and thus achieve a higher status level using all accessible legal and illegal ways. Representatives of mass strata, which do not possess internal personal qualities, try to adapt to new conditions preserving their previous status positions. Thus, “the majority of society agrees to accept such social situation when old and new social institutions coexist, providing legality and legitimacy of the existing social order by their contradictory influence” [Golovakha, 2001: p. 21].

N.V. Panina emphasised that double institutionalisation is a temporary phenomenon which impedes development of the process of democratic transformation of Ukrainian society. She outlined the basic trends for further study of the prospects of transition of Ukrainian society to internally non-contradictory institutional system. N.V. Panina saw such a prospect in development of the so-called non-institutional policy which should be based on the ever-increasing activity of the amateur social movements and organisations. This activity has to result in the development of non-institutional space and formation of social capital in future. New forms of the democratic legal, political, economic and intellectual culture must appear.

N.V. Panina began to realise a plan of the study of transformation changes in Ukrainian society, which were of societal character, from the analysis of political institutions: vectors of political development of the democratic electoral system,

formation of Ukrainian political elite by electoral choice, study of the actors and agents of the electoral process [Panina, 2002].

The work on creation of the general conception of transformation of Ukrainian society has not been completed by N.V. Panina. But her main ideas can serve as an impulse for further scientific search of Ukrainian sociologists intending to create the general theory of social changes in societies under transformation.

### ***Conclusions***

Comparative analysis of the conceptions of transformation of post-Soviet societies developed by T.I. Zaslavskaia and N.V. Panina allows to draw the following conclusions:

When studying transformation processes in Russian society, T.I. Zaslavskaia created a macro-conception of development of its societal space formed by the vectors of institutional changes, development of social group structure and human potential. Micro-conceptualisation of development of separate components of the transformation process has confirmed the basic importance of the increase of human potential for positive development of social changes of Russian society. Normative-personal conception of transformation of Ukrainian society by N.V. Panina, according to generally accepted classification, may be defined as the conception of micro-level. N.V. Panina has outlined the prospects of its development through the study of transformation changes in the institutional structure of Ukrainian society and in its stratification, that means creation of the corresponding macro-conception.

Both conceptions are examples of the increment in theoretical knowledge, approved and verified by empirical investigations.

The fact that the state of anomie is characteristic of both societies undergoing a process of transformation has been substantiated in both conceptions. In the conception of T.I. Zaslavskaia the anomie is generated by structural changes, while in the conception of N.V. Panina it is caused by disintegration of the old and formation of new value-normative system in transforming societies.

Normative-personal conception by N.V. Panina may be considered as an explanation of social behaviour of the actors of transformation process and level of development of human potential of the transforming society (which in turn are the central ideas in the conception of societal transformation by T.I. Zaslavskaia) on the basis of socio-psychological, psychic and personal qualities of its (human potential) bearers. These qualities are defined through the study of social well-being, life satisfaction, level of anxiety, degree of anomic demoralisation, indices of national isolationism and cynicism.

Normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society suggested by N.V. Panina and structural-activital conception of the societal transformation of Russian society proposed by T.I. Zaslavskaia possess a considerable prognostic potential.

The elaboration of normative-personal conception of transformation of Ukrainian society by N.V. Panina is a significant contribution to the theory of transformation process. This conception permits to estimate, compare and predict development of transformation processes both in a society researched separately

and in different societies. It allows revealing the causes of change of the human potential of the studied societies, can serve as a sufficient basis for development of complex government programs directed at increasing human potential.

Both N.V. Panina's normative-personal conception of the transformation of Ukrainian society and T.I. Zaslavskaiia's structural-activital conception of the societal transformation of Russian society complement the scientific ideas of post-Soviet transformation and outline the ways for creation of the fundamental theory of social changes in the transforming post-Soviet societies.

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