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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION ON THE TEMPORARILY OCCUPIED TERRITORY OF DONBASS

The article analyzes the characteristics of social stratification processes in certain regions of the East of Ukraine, resulting from the armed conflict in the framework of the antiterrorist operation in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The author illuminates the background of economic, political, cultural, demographic and ideological nature as a result of which there was social differentiation in the part of Ukrainian society, which remained on the temporarily occupied territories. Thus, social stratification of the population of the occupied territories is still quite a complex structure, which determines the type of non-traditional models of social stratification while maintaining the classic types of social groups, the components of which are burdened with ethical, cultural and demographic factors.

Key words: crisis, stratification, differentiation, temporarily occupied territories, social stratification.

A characteristic feature of the social systems of modern society are dynamic changes occurring in them, which is as the main mechanism of deviation from the traditional forms of social action, due to the emergence of different levels of crisis. In terms of system analysis of the crisis is the foundation for the transition of social systems from one state to another and may well be the reason for the revision of the existing social stratification. Under conditions of prolonged political crisis in Donbass, which is aggravated by military conflict in Ukrainian society there are new forms of social stratification that radically differ from previously existing complex structure of social filters, detection and analysis representing scientific interest. Thus, the study of the processes of differentiation in the Ukrainian society today is an actual problem.

According to the founders of the theory of structural functionalism K. Davis and W. Moore, social stratification is considered in the context of the distribution of individuals on the basis of the importance of their professional work and contribution to the development of society¹. The Marxist school of sociology of social stratification key factors considered economic relations and the distribution of the means of production². According to the theory of G. Homans, inadequate exchange of labor factor is in the lack of equality in society. Going beyond the purely economic prerequisites analysis of social stratification M. Weber singled social prestige and access to the authorities as prerequisites to social inequalities³.

Taking P. Sorokin's concept in which were analyzed three types of differentiation of society (economic, political and professional)⁴, we analyzed some new elements in the social structure of temporarily occupied areas of Donbass. In addition, to determine the signs of social stratification in this region under conditions of a number of crises, here was involved the theory of differentiation of T. Parsons, according to which were defined qualitative, role and status characteristics of newly stratifications.

The article is to determine the characteristics of social stratification in the temporarily occupied territory of Donbass.

Considering the crisis as a condition created by the accumulation of social problems in the determining the disparity of social institutions, which naturally creates an unpredictable situation in society is beginning to change the components of the social structure. Special importance crises have for the development of future generations, as contributing to the development of new social practices, which previously were not inherent for society, resulting in distortion of the processes of social stratification. Therefore, during the crisis it should be understood not only the processes of disintegration of social systems arising in consequence of the

¹ Davis, K., Moore, W.E. (1945). Some Principles of Stratification. *American Sociological Review*, 10, 242-249.

² Маркс, К., Энгельс, Ф. (1969). Происхождения семьи частной собственности и государства. Сочинения. 2-е изд. Москва: Политиздат, Т. 23, 470.

³ Вебер, М. (1990). *О некоторых категориях понимающей социологии: Макс Вебер Избранные произведения*. Москва: Книга, 245.

⁴ Сорокин, П.А. (1992). *Человек. Цивилизация. Общество*. Москва: Политиздат, 295-424.

coincidence of adverse factors or institutional imperfections, but general tendencies that are inherent in social structure and due to the uneven development of the external and internal environment, social institutions and individual parts. The consequence of a crisis is to change the usual (traditional) living conditions that cause significant abnormalities in organizing social institutions. Within the systemic crises that have arisen as a result of political and military conflict in the Donbass, it is necessary to distinguish the poverty that was provoked by the economic crisis, armed conflict and social exclusion of a certain part of society that is forced as a result of uneven movement of human masses within the state.

Carrying anti-terrorist operation in eastern Ukraine led to the emergence of new forms of social stratification. As a result of the mass migration of the population from areas of armed conflict, thousands of citizens have lost their jobs, property and livelihood. The duration of military operations has created a situation in which a certain category of people cannot return home and had to seek shelter in the territory controlled by Ukrainian authorities. The armed conflict has become a prerequisite of a new phenomenon for the Ukrainian society – «sudden poverty». Moreover, families of internally displaced persons have lost literally everything because they were forced to change the residence and became unsecured category of citizens who do not have their own homes, livelihoods and lost social capital. Therefore, the crisis caused by the conduct of anti-terrorist operations actualized existing problems associated with differentiation processes occurring in the Ukrainian society.

According to Herbert Spencer, in addition to the classic preconditions stratification in a society that is in crisis, there are «additional vectors» which are based on demographic and socio-cultural characteristics that lead away from dichotomous stratification model¹. In addition, according to the «reputational theory» of William Warner, a leading role in the process of social stratification is played by public opinion, which causes the formation of a social field where the bundle is.

The overall context of social sentiment of temporarily occupied areas of Donbas identifies the following factors of social differentiation:

Firstly, it is the panic of the local population for their lives, which constantly threatened by warfare and a presence in densely populated areas significant number of armed persons. In the temporarily occupied territory there is virtually no people who would somehow did not feel the impact of shelling artillery or small arms. It shouldn't be ignored the presence of presumption of guilt in the breakaway republic. As a consequence of that all, civilians considered guilty in the case of any misunderstandings or conflicts with members of terrorist armed groups, ranging from car accidents and ending clarifying domestic relations. Therefore, because of the appearance of people with weapon in the military form in a public place, civilians are trying not to attract attention. In such a tense situation, a significant number of temporary residents of the occupied territories simply tired of permanent fear.

Secondly, it is not understanding the essence of what is happening or distorted picture of reality. Today with confidence it can be said that Ukraine definitely lost information warfare and the occupied territories and the line of demarcation. Since May 2014 information space of Donbass is completely controlled by Russian media, which do not hesitate in choosing the technology of impact on the minds of ordinary citizens and they fully use its analytical capacity.

Thirdly, it is social stress caused by shortage of quality food and medicines, which was arose due to the economic blockade on temporarily occupied areas of Donbass, that affects only the civilian population, which is forced to survive, either through humanitarian assistance provided by humanitarian headquarters «Dopomoga» from Charity Fund «Development of Ukraine», or by relatives pensioners who had to renew their pensions in Ukraine and simultaneously receive financial assistance from the occupation authorities. Neither the terrorist army, nor the leadership of so-called «DNR» and «LNR» economic isolation was not affected because it has high level of funding so they can afford all the expensive medicines and visits to restaurants.

The next it is a social exclusion, which has a special place in the process of social differentiation. Most people that remained in Donbass, which is controlled by terrorists, assess their state as a «forgotten» or «abandoned». De jure, they continue to be citizens of Ukraine, de facto – completely deprived of all rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, and therefore are in a position that completely disenfranchised people whose interests the government does not protect, officially recognizing this fact. On May 21st (2015) Parliament adopted a declaration on the avoidance of certain obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, which stated: «Because of the inability of Ukraine to ensure respect for human rights in full accordance the

¹ Кош, И.С. (1979). *История буржуазной социологии XIX – начала XX века*. Москва: Наука, 40-52.

Convention on the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the International Covenant on civil and political rights and the European social Charter in the territory of ATO because of an objective need to take measures to repel the armed aggression of Russia and Ukraine must make a temporary retreat from (some) obligations»¹.

Thus, the temporarily occupied territory of Donbass emerged sociocultural environment, which is influenced by the economic crisis, the information vacuum, food blockade, the fighting, the presence of a significant number of armed persons, legal confusion, lack of any support from the state. All of this together has become a serious basis for the formation of a special composition worldview of the inhabitants of the region, very rough analysis of which reveals the following categories of people who remained in the occupied territories because of certain circumstances that do not depend on them and formally can be distributed by following categories:

1. Those, who do not have the physical capabilities to go and their families – «citizens with social encumbrances». To this category belong the disabled, whose movement is associated with substantial financial costs and the need of medical support whose relatives have such opportunities because of many years of struggle with the disease. They actually become as hostages of the situation, because the state is not officially organized the evacuation of people with disabilities, the only export that was made it is a PR campaign of Natalya Korolevska on the eve of presidential elections in 2014, those people were not only without social benefits, but without the necessary medicines and medical care – in fact, on the brink of survival because there is a position of absolute neglect, which forms the negative attitude to the terrorists and to the Ukrainian government. It should be noted that on the 1st January, 2014 only in Donetsk region, there were 105.967 disabled persons including 51 thousand people who received disability at the workplace. Monthly pension payments were allocated 192.3 million UAH².

2. Institutional fixed citizens, who are limited in the will of their move by government – orphans, disabled children held in orphanages, disabled and elderly people living in hospices, prisoners that serve sentences, patients of psychiatric clinics. Their fate is more than sad, being dependent on the state; they were not evacuated from the occupied territories. A decision on the need to move to the places on the territory controlled by official authorities was accepted only a year after the beginning of the ATO. Now Gerashchenko is trying to negotiate with terrorists for export from the occupied territories only some prisoners without advertising on what basis these citizens are elected. The living conditions of this category of citizens, including human rights and freedoms, even today no one cares. The existence of boarding schools for orphans and disabled children in the occupied territories are forgotten at all: 5 thousand persons who were held in the first and 3 thousand people who lived in the second³ were simply disappeared from the official Ukrainian statistics. Patients of hospices and psychiatric hospitals were dissolved by the terrorists after the capture of institutions who were involved in their maintenance. Of course, that this category of people could not survive in the military aggression, but, however, some of them were able to adapt.

Approximately one-third (18 thousand were registered in the penitentiary service, plus an unknown number of people were in pretrial detention) of former prisoners could find themselves in illegal armed formations «DNR» and «FSC». A small number of orphaned children were drawn by terrorists to the intelligence activity or to the correcting shelling. And the first and the second, of course, support the occupation authorities, which gave them «a start in life».

3. Employees of state agencies that have not left their wards and organized struggle for their survival. For formal management structures, which were subordinated, they became enemies because of the involvement with illegal terrorist organizations. In Donetsk and Lugansk regions in the residential institutions were employed 52 thousand people and in the prison service the number of employees reached 76 thousand⁴.

¹ *Постанова про Заяву Верховної Ради України «Про відступ України від окремих зобов'язань, визначених Міжнародним пактом про громадянські і політичні права та Конвенцією про захист прав людини і основоположних свобод» 2015* (Верховна Рада України). <<http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/462-19>> (2016, September, 28).

² *Захворюваність населення. Головне управління статистики у Донецькій області.* <<http://www.donetskstat.gov.ua/statinform1/health3.php>> (2016, October, 12).

³ *Соціальний захист населення. Головне управління статистики у Донецькій області.* <http://www.donetskstat.gov.ua/statinform1/soc_zah2.php> (2016, October, 12).

⁴ *Обласні територіальні відділення Державної пенітенціарної служби України. Управління державної пенітенціарної служби України в Донецькій області.* <<http://www.kvs.gov.ua/peniten/control/don/uk/index>> (2016, November, 25).

Thus, identification of categories of citizens which are abandoned to their fate because of inadequate policies of government were forced to remain in the occupied territory of Donbass and integrate into the newly established social systems, existing terrorist organizations or seek help from charities who have started work in the area of ATO in 2015th. Considering the situation from the standpoint of social-scientific concept of adequate control developed by V. Burega should be noted the lack of communication in vertical administrative hierarchy that led to a complete misunderstanding by officials of relevant ministries situation on the ground, resulting in a delay in the adoption of appropriate decisions¹.

In addition, groups of citizens who remained in the occupied territory in the circumstances that they are not depend on, there is another group, whose self-chosen accommodation in pseudo republic is not because of ideological preferences, but in order to save their business, economic achievements and social capital. Their environment is as heterogeneous and can be conditionally divided into the following categories:

1. Typically, this group consists of citizens who own real estate, most of which, in addition was received from the state in Soviet times apartments, or self-built house and there is nothing left. They are well aware that they cannot start a new life «from scratch» and arrange it comfortably. Most of them are people of retirement age, who used to live in constant crisis, raised on a totalitarian ideology and in fact, able to perceive the formation of self-proclaimed republics, aided by Russian propaganda, creating the illusion of returning the traditions of Soviet times.

The total number of pensioners in Donetsk and Luhansk regions is accounted for more than 2 million people, 1.4 million and 0.7 million people respectively, who totaled more than 30 % of the population in these areas. In May 2016th on the not controlled Ukrainian territory left 1.2 million people, 662 thousand of them was re-registered for a pension, but how many actually moved is not known.

2. Entrepreneurs who self-organized their business at the time of the occupation began to get serious income from it and to have well-established production with its own technical equipment, which was impossible to remove since the early days of ATO. The brunt of the taxes laid down on their shoulders and they had to re-register in Ukraine and pay levies established by terrorist organizations. Such enterprise or preserve their economy, or hardly withstand financial pressure and blockade of industrial conditions and their owners are strongly negatively treated as official Kyiv as occupation authorities. At the beginning of 2014th Donetsk region ranked second place only after Kyiv by the number of small businesses, which was 26 170, which employed 159.7 thousand people. In the Luhansk region there were 10 732 small enterprises which were employing 61 thousand people.

3. Those who were able to significantly improve their financial well-being on time and use to their advantage the existing situation. Small percentage of the total business (3-5 %) (usually at the beginning of 2014th) was in its formative stages and they defined on time realities of the occupation, were able to reorient and adjust to wartime conditions, using them for personal enrichment.

4. Representatives of intellectual work, perhaps is the most difficult category as it split into two camps with diametrically opposing views. A half consciously went to Ukraine, either alone or together with removed educational institutions and began to fight for active information rights and freedoms of persons, public opinion of residents of Donbass and more. The other half who has never concealed their pro-Russian sentiments is actively cultivated in their students and creating a stance of certain anti-nature, gladly accepting the occupation, understanding it as an opportunity for self-realization and self-affirmation during the construction of the new educational system. Public policy of Ukraine backed their position which didn't took off degrees or titles even of the most fanatical supporters of the «New Russia». Only a year after of the ATO, in July 2015th the Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine reported that 12 people have been deprived of academic titles, but their list has not been officially made public. However, illegal formation of «DNR» and «LNR» created their Higher Attestation Commission and now they own degrees which are awarded after the «protection» of their own candidates and doctors. In addition, special attention should flow Russian scientific literature and advocacy on humanitarian convoys, which has significant ideological load. The relevant situation is recorded in secondary schools which for the first time for many years received humanitarian aid from complete sets of textbooks that complies curriculum and programs of Russian Federation. In addition, educators have the opportunity to receive from the self-proclaimed «DNR» and «LNR» wages, but not on a regular basis and with delays, but it guarantees a certain financial stability (about 1800-2200 UAH per month).

A special category of citizens of the occupied territories are «ideological» persons who have always been interested in destabilizing the region and promoting separatism. So-called supporters of the «Russian

¹ Бурег, В.В. (2005). *Социально-адекватное управление: концептуализация модели*. Донецьк: ДонГУУ, 112.

world» suddenly got their «piece» of power who are former members of the «Russian Club» who came out from a few pro-Russian NGOs. There is a small number of the total population of self-proclaimed «DNR» and «LNR», but they are happy to create a sensational picture for mass media. Moreover, their services are properly funded what resulted significant improving of the financial health of this category and it allowed the group to move to higher levels of social hierarchy¹.

In addition, the temporarily occupied territories remained representatives of regional elite – the category of persons who equally well with any authorities. Actually, if you carefully analyze the current composition of the so-called government «DNR» and «LNR» it is the people who feel fine with the Ukrainian authorities and happily settled with occupation authorities. All social benefits they have – acquired in Ukraine, but now they continue to multiply. With great confidence we can say that if the release of the occupied territories of Donbass specified category of citizens will surely continue its activities. For example, employees of local governments of the occupied territories are officially registered as civil servants and they had never been disbanded and Ukraine count them pension seniority and they are considered to be as working people. Moreover, their stamp is not canceled and therefore decisions are legitimate in the Ukrainian legal field. Ukrainian presidential decrees on the reorganization of local government relating solely settlements collision zone. Thus, representatives of regional elites have remained favorable in social situations, but their real sentiments cannot figure since the foundation of motivational components are exclusively personal gain.

Thus, social stratification of the occupied territories has a very complex structure, and motivate its members to a challenging social actions and have a dual nature, which causes the formation of non-traditional (pyramid) model stratification of society in the classical allocation of social stratification from the lowest to the highest (elite), the components of which depends not only on economic and political factors and burdened with ethical, cultural and demographic factors.

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