

The role of religion in the formation of solidarity and social cohesion in independent Ukraine

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the analysis of the role of the religious factor in the formation of solidarity and social cohesion in Ukraine during the period of independence. The relevance of this topic is substantiated by the fact that during the years of independence Ukraine has been going through the path of socio-political transformations, which are marked by important social processes of departure from the Soviet "inheritance" and building social relations on a new democratic basis. These transformational processes take place with certain points of particular aggravation and tension - crises, during which Ukrainians demonstrate an extremely high level of social cohesion, solidarity and readiness for self-sacrifice for the protection of common values. The authors investigate social and transformational processes in Ukrainian society, trying to apply the theoretical and methodological approach and conceptualization of the concept of solidarity carried out by Emile Durkheim and describe the experience of the transition from the USSR and gaining independence of Ukraine as the process of changing the types of solidarity from "mechanical" to "organic". Considerable attention is paid to social factors that affect the social cohesion of society in general and in Ukraine in particular. The article explores the potential of religion as a social institution that unites communities of various levels. The authors, analyzing the main trends of religious life in Ukraine during Ukraine's independence, as well as the state of public trust to the church, religious leaders, as well as the level of tolerance in society, testify the significant influence of the religious factor on social cohesion and solidarity in Ukraine. The courage, sacrifice and absolute unity of Ukrainians in resisting the full-scale aggression of Russia became another vivid confirmation of the "organic" type of solidarity that has formed in Ukraine. Different political forces, state structures of different levels, military, volunteers, civil society organizations and religious organizations acted as a single solidarity organism in defense of common values of freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Ukraine, human dignity and identity. The scientific result is the substantiation of the influence of the religious factor on the formation of social cohesion through indicators of religious pluralism, the level of tolerance on religious grounds, the level of trust in religion. Indicators are derived from the methodological guidelines of E. Durkheim (in particular, his concept of different types of solidarity) and others, as well as modern approaches of international organizations engaged in research on social cohesion. The data of sociological studies of different years conducted in Ukraine, as well as the secondary analysis of sociological results, became the basis for the conclusion that religious organizations in Ukraine are active and equal subjects of civil society, which influenced and influence the formation of public attitudes and positions, and therefore social cohesion and solidarity in society.

KEYWORDS

*solidarity,
cohesion,
society,
church,
religious organizations,
trust,
Ukraine,
tolerance*

Introduction

Thirty years of independence in Ukraine have been designated by important social processes that mark the desire to move away from the Soviet legacy and the Soviet narrative and build social relations and civic identity on the basis of other values, "different" from Soviet ones.

These transformational processes take place in Ukraine with certain aggravation points – crises, during which Ukrainians demonstrate an extremely high level of social cohesion, solidarity and readiness for self-sacrifice to protect common values. Despite the fact that Ukrainian society is quite pluralistic, sometimes even polarized on

the basis of issues of political preferences, language or religion during periods of relative peace and quiet, it is worth investigating the role played by religion in Ukraine in social transformation processes, with a special emphasis on issues of solidarity and social cohesion.

The concept of solidarity became key in the concepts of French scientists Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, with a special focus on sociological and economic issues, as well as Leon Bourgeois, who developed a socioethical framework for this concept. Religious, political and moral aspects of solidarity were also developed by German thinkers, such as Heinrich Pesch, Oswald von Nell-Breuning, Gustav Gundlach. A significant contribution to the analysis of solidarity and socio-political and economic changes belongs to Max Weber, as well as Talcott Parsons, who worked within the framework of the structural-functional paradigm. The concept of social cohesion became a part of the social sciences at the end of the 20th century and was considered in connection with the concept of "social capital" by R. Putnam and F. Fukuyama. The question of the role of religious communities in the formation of social cohesion and a sense of well-being was analyzed on specific examples by Jan van der Lans, Frank Kemper, Cecile Nijsten and Margo Rooijackers (2000) who proved that religion, providing a meaningful life, forms purposefulness and a sense of security. Fouzia Tnatni in her research clearly recognizes the presence of religious pluralism, ensuring the functioning of churches and religious organizations "as necessary and fundamental elements for the building of inclusive, fair, supportive, cohesive and peaceful societies" (Tnatni, 2020: 27). Among the Ukrainian researchers who worked on the topic of social cohesion in a sociological section, it is worth mentioning O. Deineko, economic aspects were developed by S. Tyutyunnikova, O. Berveno, Yu. Polunev. It is worth pointing out several works important for our research, which reveal applied aspects of the formation of social cohesion in Europe and Ukraine: "Towards an active, fair and socially cohesive Europe: Report of high-level task force on social cohesion (Council of Europe)", "Social cohesion and capacity building in Ukrainian communities" by V. Kucherenosov and "Social cohesion in Ukraine (experience of applying the Bertelsmann Stiftung methodology to the data of the European Social Survey)" by M. Bondarenko, S. Babenko, O. Borovsky.

However, the question of the role of religion in the formation of social cohesion and solidarity in Ukraine, both at the theoretical level and with the use of empirical data, has remained outside the attention of researchers and is only beginning to be developed.

The purpose of the article is to find out the role of the religious factor in the formation of solidarity and social cohesion in Ukrainian society during the years of independence. Tasks are: **1.** To characterize the social transformation processes in Ukraine as a change in the types of solidarity (according to the typology by E. Durkheim). **2.** To analyze the state of social cohesion in Ukraine and to determine the factors affecting it. **3.** To identify the essential trends of religious life in Ukraine which influenced the formation of solidarity and social cohesion.

Research methods

The key method is the systemic analysis, as the main focus will be on the analysis of theoretical works that determine the understanding of the concept of solidarity and social cohesion. The authors have used the

method of theoretical modeling to apply the theory of different types of solidarity according to Emile Durkheim in the sphere of social transformation processes in Ukraine. Structural elements, features of manifestation and characteristics of such social phenomena as solidarity and social cohesion have been studied using methods of synthesis and analysis, structural-functional approach, as well as the method of comparison. To identify the role of the religious factor in the formation of solidarity and social cohesion, the authors have used historical-comparative and genetic methods, analyzing socio-political transformations, their origins and causal relationships, and the historical context. When writing the article, it is important to refer to the data of sociological research conducted in Ukraine in different years, so the secondary analysis of sociological results has become the basis for key theoretical and methodological generalizations and conclusions.

When conducting the research, the authors have adhered to the principles of scientific objectivity and worldview pluralism, as well as the principles of academic religious studies: objectivity, non-denominationalism, and tolerance.

The concept of solidarity is key in the views of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, his concept is presented in the well-known works "The Division of Labour in Society", 1893; "The Rules of Sociological Method", 1895; "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life", 1912. In his writings, the sociologist paid considerable attention to the question of the nature of social solidarity, its structure, social forms, and at the same time developed his explanations, connecting the concept of solidarity with the division of labor and production, that is, the economic context.

For our research, we will apply the main theoretical and methodological developments by E. Durkheim, but we will try to transfer it from the economic plane to the social and political plane. That is, we will make a heuristic attempt to explain the transformational processes that took place in Ukraine during the years of its independence through E. Durkheim's concept of different types of solidarity as a way from the mechanical solidarity imposed by the Soviet regime to the formation of organic solidarity.

Results and Discussion

We can clearly characterize the Soviet Union as a society with a mechanical type of solidarity (solidarity by similarity). According to E. Durkheim, this type of solidarity is characterized by the complete subordination of individual consciousness to the collective, the presence of morals, norms, religion or ideology common to all, weak differentiation of social structures, the functions of which are rigid. As E. Durkheim notes about the mechanical type that "solidarity reaches its maximum when the collective consciousness precisely covers our entire consciousness and coincides with it at all points. However, at this time our individuality is zero". "In societies where this solidarity is highly developed, ... the individual does not belong to himself; they are literally a thing at the disposal of society" (Durkheim, 1991: 126-127).

The totalitarian Soviet system formed such a model of relations in which people are connected to each other like "social molecules" that do not have the opportunity for "own movements". And those who showed a tendency to "own movements" were subjected to harsh repressive measures by the authorities. Mass Soviet collectivization,

the absolutization of the state apparatus and the Communist Party, suppression of any forms of expression of freedom of thought, conscience, and religion was aimed at this. The repressive system of the USSR demonstrated an unprecedented scale of persecution of “dissidents” and its history is replete with facts of deportations, exiles, imprisonments and deaths. Not for nothing, our lands were called “Bloody” at this time by the American historian Timothy Snyder (*Snyder, 2010: 1*). The history of more than 70 years of Ukraine being a part of the USSR proves that the totalitarian government, which imposed this mechanical type of solidarity thanks to ideology and propaganda, did not completely destroy the desire of Ukrainians to preserve their identity, their religiosity and their cultural identity. Despite the destroyed, burned temples, those converted into “warehouses and stables”; the fact that priests and believers of various denominations, artists and writers were arrested, deported to Siberia and shot, at the same time we talk about the existence of an underground Church network, a dissident movement, self-publishing (publishing of literature banned by the USSR censorship), as manifestations of the resistance movement of Ukrainians to this destructive and inhumane system. The experience of resistance, endurance, and indomitable spirit allowed Ukrainians to survive the fall of this regime and preserve the desire to build a new independent and democratic state, which involves the transition to a new type of solidarity – organic one.

According to Durkheim, the organic form of solidarity (or solidarity in difference) is based on unity only through the differentiation of individuals, because there is a difference between individuals, common agreement and consensus are achieved. “Organic” solidarity is based on rationality, interests and a qualitatively different division of labor. Each individual has their specific professional and social functions, which due to complexity and specificity cannot be performed by everyone, the number of structures and their functions is increasing rapidly. Structural and functional differentiation of society leads to acceleration of complementarity and mutual exchange between institutions and members of society (Durkheim, 1991). People differ from each other, have their own sphere of activity, feel their purpose and mission, have a kind of individual consciousness. The influence of society on the individual is not lost, and collective consciousness continues to exist, but it leaves open that part of individuality that it does not regulate.

Thus, the way to build an independent Ukraine is the way to overcome the post-Soviet legacy and patterns of “mechanical solidarity” and move to building a state based on democracy, protection of people’s rights, pluralism and freedom. It is clear that the transition and formation of “organic solidarity” cannot be a one-time and willful decision of some certain part of society.

Social cohesion is revealed in the works of E. Durkheim as well, although it is not so actively discussed in the domestic scientific discourse. Social cohesion appears as a characteristic of society and the result of the interaction of various social groups. However, here the researcher turns to two key aspects of the functioning of communities and society, such as homogeneity and differentiation. Appealing to the theoretical foundations of H. Spencer, E. Durkheim builds his own concept, referring to the economic justification that it is the division of labor that ensures the cohesion of society and appears as differentiation.

The opinions of the Ukrainian sociologist O. Deineko, who conducted a systematic analysis of the concept of social cohesion in Emile Durkheim’s works, are interesting and quite fruitful for our research. “In order to ensure the cohesion of heterogeneous societies, they must have something in common that unites them and gives social differentiation a procedural core and the ability for synergy. According to E. Durkheim, this common is a value-normative consensus that forms the normative order of reproduction of society. The presence of a value-normative vacuum leads society to a state of anomie, accompanied by a lack of social solidarity and social disintegration” (*Deineko, 2020: 15*).

Turning to the analysis of the Ukrainian context, it is worth pointing out that Ukraine has divisions in the sphere of social cohesion, which are recorded by UNDP Ukraine (United Nations Development Programme) studies. There are horizontal divisions between groups of political opponents or geographical regions, between vulnerable groups, such as ethnic minorities, between rural and urban populations, between young people and older people, between men and women (*Guest, Panayiotou, 2022*). Instead, there is a vertical divide between the poorer working class and the underdeveloped middle class, and between the middle class and big business and political elites.

However, the readiness to stand in solidarity in moments of state crisis is significant and indicative. The Orange Revolution in 2004-2005 became a marker phenomenon of these social transformations of Ukrainian society, as a protest against massive falsification of the elections for the position of the President of Ukraine, and became a symbol of solidarity and unity of Ukrainians around the defense of the principles of the rule of law, the protection of the importance of one’s own vote in elections and the defense of the democratic vector transformations. The next surge of solidarity of a new type was the Revolution of Dignity (or Maidan) of 2013-2014, when civil society demonstrated its disagreement with the change in Ukraine’s foreign policy vector towards Russia rather than European integration trends. It was from this that the events in 2013 began and were later connected with the defense of the right to peaceful actions, against corruption, the arbitrariness of law enforcement officers and the excessive concentration of power in the hands of ex-president Viktor Yanukovich. These events demonstrate the readiness of Ukrainians to defend the fundamental values of human dignity and freedom, consolidating their efforts in moments of crisis.

We would like to refer to several indicators of the nationwide survey conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with the sociological service of the Razumkov Center from July 29 to August 4, 2021 in all regions of Ukraine (with the exception of Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions) – “30 years of independence: What achievements and problems of growth do Ukrainians see and what they hope for in the future”. These indicators also reflect, on the one hand, the direction of the formation of a solidary and cohesive society based on an active civic position, and on the other hand, ambivalence in positions, which confirms being at this transitional stage.

According to the results of the study (Fig.1), it was determined that the absolute majority of respondents (72%) are rather proud or very proud of Ukrainian citizenship. Only 18.5% said that they are rather not proud or not

proud of this fact at all. For example, in 2004, the indicator was that 38% were proud, and in 2014 – there were 60%. In general, over the past 19 years, there has been a steady trend towards an increase in the number of those who are proud or very proud of Ukrainian citizenship. We see how much this indicator has really grown during this time. Answering the question “Do you think Ukraine is capable of overcoming existing problems and difficul-

ties?”, 19.8% believe that it is able to overcome them within the next few years, 20.6% - that it is not able to, and 48.6% believe that it is able to overcome them in a more distant perspective (*Fond «Demokratichni initsiativi»...», 2021*).

To what extent are you proud or not proud of being a citizen of Ukraine?

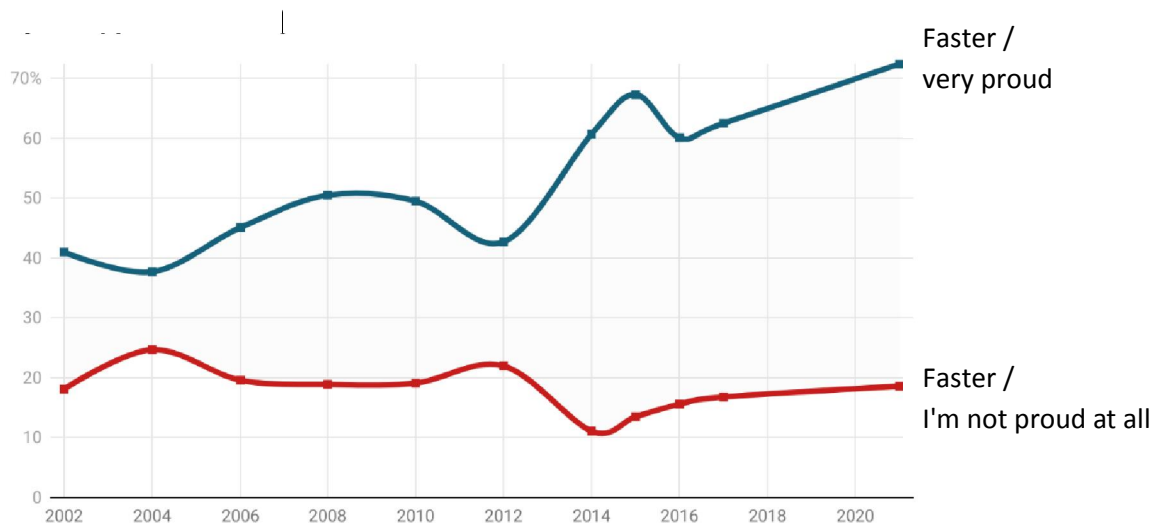


Fig.1 The dynamics of the attitude of Ukrainians regarding their citizenship

It can be argued that civil solidarity is a behavioral strategy for Ukrainian society, because it clearly establishes the design of national identity; the presence of values that have unifying potential; formation of a space of trust in social relations.

As the researchers note, religion can be one of those social institutions that provides a common value-normative base, as well as be a determining factor in the formation of trust in society. This greatly reinforces the role of religion in shaping social cohesion and solidarity, but we should not overlook the fact that religion can potentially act as a factor in polarization, conflict and social tension.

Analyzing factors from religious life that have a positive effect on social cohesion and solidarity in society, it is worth referring to the Report prepared by the Council of Europe “Report of high-level task force on social cohesion. Towards an active? Fair and socially cohesive Europe” (*Council of Europe, 2008*). The Report takes into account political, social, economic and cultural aspects in the formation of social cohesion in the European Union. It is especially emphasized that “In the context of a multicultural society, improving democratic functioning is also related to combating all forms of intolerance and discrimination” (*Council of Europe, 2008: 47*). The document also mentions that among the key factors ensuring social cohesion in society is the level of trust in public institutions, among which trust in the church (religious organizations) also plays an important role.

Thus, it is worth analyzing several important indicators related to the religious life in Ukraine in order to under-

stand the extent to which the religious factor affects the formation of social cohesion and solidarity in Ukraine:

1. To what extent the possibility of the existence of pluralism in the religious plane is ensured
2. The level of tolerance in society and the presence/absence of discrimination based on religion
3. The level of trust in religion (i.e., religious organizations) among other indicators of institutional trust in Ukraine.

Let's turn to a more detailed analysis of each of these indicators.

A feature of any democratic state is the provision of opportunities for the existence of pluralism. Norms containing effective policies and mechanisms for the realization of the right to freedom of conscience, religious freedom, etc. should be established not only at the legislative level, but it is equally important to ensure the conditions for the actual functioning of pluralism in society. Religious pluralism is a rather complex and complex social phenomenon. Researchers single out several of its key signs or manifestations. “(i) First, religious diversity refers to the variety of distinct faith traditions to be found in any region, country or continent... (ii) Second, diversity within distinct faith traditions has long been a feature of all religions. Again, boundary disputes are common between schools, currents and factions within each tradition – as well as between formal organizations representing particular expressions of the traditions. (iii) Third, individual religious believers and practitioners differ in terms of (a) the extent to which their beliefs, practices and emotions reflect different faith traditions and (b) the extent to which they

accord salience to religion at different stages of their life and in different situations” (Giordan, Pace, 2014: 22).

Sociological studies of pluralism as a social phenomenon also focus on the analysis of the relationship between pluralism and the activity of believers, that is, the direct influence of pluralism on the religious life and behavior of people (Yaremchuk, 2017: 41).

The observation of the Ukrainian sociologist S. Yaremchuk is interesting, and he provides justification based on a historical perspective: “An important aspect of the difference between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ paradigms is the influence of pluralism on religion. While the supporters of the ‘old’ paradigm considered pluralization and secularization as the consequences of modernization, which contribute to the demonopolization of religion and its departure from the public scene, the supporters of the ‘new’ paradigm believe that the more pluralism, the higher the religious mobilization of the population. The viability of religion and the practices of religious actors increasingly depend on market forces – a complex of factors (state or institutional restrictions, cultural inertia and socio-structural transformations) that regulate pluralism and influence the formation of unique ‘religious economies” (Yaremchuk, 2017: 43).

Taking into account the above and analyzing the Ukrainian context, it is worth noting that in the religious sphere, Ukraine fully provides opportunities for the existence of pluralism in society at various levels. The Constitution of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine “On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations” establish equality in the rights of religious organizations, the absence of a privileged status or position of any of the religions, and provide fairly loyal conditions for the registration of religious organizations and their functioning in Ukraine.

While researching religious life in Ukraine, the American sociologist of religion Jose Casanova noticed a rather interesting feature. In a 2021 interview for Svoboda Ra-

dio, he insisted that in the denominational (religious) dimension, “Ukraine is a unique country in Europe that does not conform to the model of one religion dominating (rarely two denominations – Catholic and Protestant), and other smaller denominations are tolerated. The situation is closer to the American situation – there are many different denominations, and none of them is dominant” (Schur, 2021). However, despite the obvious majority of Orthodox, in contrast to classical “Orthodox countries”, there are several churches in Ukraine that compete for the status of “national church”. This competition not only prevents one denomination from “reigning” in the country, but also creates favorable conditions for the existence of other smaller denominations.

Regarding the level of tolerance in Ukrainian society and the presence/absence of discrimination based on religion, it should be noted that the situation is regularly monitored by both international and Ukrainian institutions and sociological research (Institut sotsiologii, 2020). The space of tolerance is created in a mature society, ready to perceive and respect the Other as an equal, to hear and accept this position as the realization of the right to self-expression. Researchers interpret tolerance as a characteristic of the modern world based on democratic values. In the time of rapid changes caused by globalization, challenges of secularization and trends in the sphere of political, economic, and cultural life, the understanding of tolerance acquires the relevance of new dimensions.

In the religious sphere, Ukrainian society is quite tolerant, as evidenced by the sociological research of the Razumkov Center “Religion and Church in Ukrainian Society: 2000-2021 (sociological research)”. The report based on the results of the study states that during the monitoring period, Ukrainian society demonstrated a fairly high level of tolerance towards the practice of different religions (Fig 2).

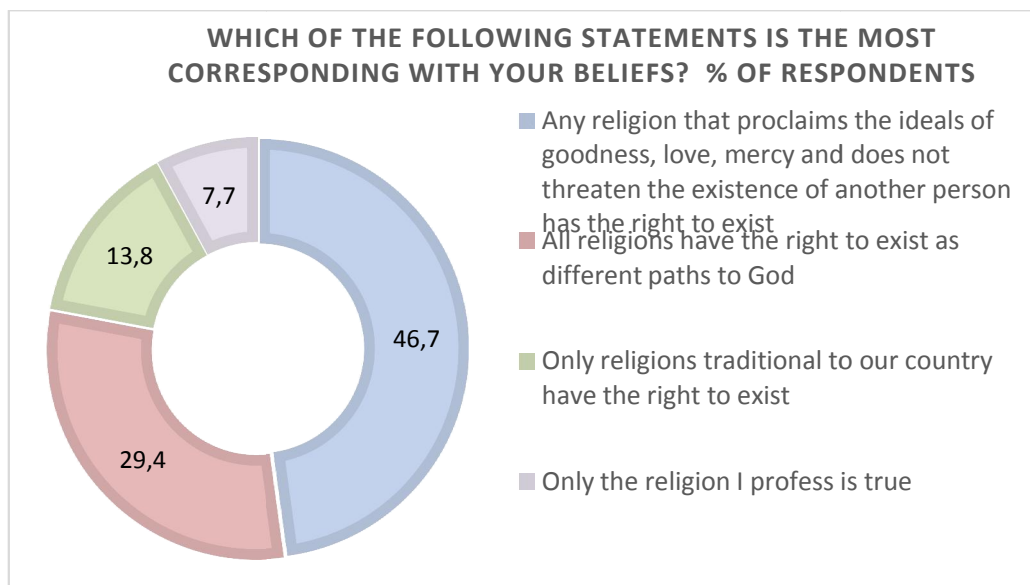


Fig.2. The level of religious tolerance in Ukraine

Source: Tsentrazumkova, 2021: 119.

76% (as in 2000), that is, the vast majority of citizens believe that “any religion that proclaims the ideals of goodness, love, mercy and does not threaten the exist-

tence of another person, has the right to exist” (47%), or “all religions have the right to exist as different paths to God” (29%); and only a little more than a fifth of those

surveyed supported the statement “only the religion I profess is true” (8%), or “only religions traditional to our country have the right to exist” (14%) (*Tsentr Razumkova, 2021*).

Regular analysis of the state of religious freedom in the world and Ukraine is conducted every year by the Office of International Religious Freedom, USA, as a result of which a detailed report is published. Accordingly, the Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine (2021) for the year confirms that the Constitution of Ukraine defines the right to freedom of religion among the basic civil rights, that the internal religious policy is aimed at promoting the creation of a tolerant society and ensuring freedom of conscience and religion. At the legislative level, the prohibition of discriminatory actions against representatives of different religions is defined. That is, the legal field provides the necessary norms for the regulation of social relations based on tolerance and non-discrimination in the religious sphere. However, in practice, isolated cases of anti-Semitism still occur (their number has decreased compared to 2020) (*Report on International Religious Freedom: Ukraine, 2021*), as well as there are significant restrictions on religious freedom in the territory of Crimea annexed by the Russian Federation, temporarily occupied territories Luhansk and Donetsk regions, and with the beginning of the war and other territories that were or are still under occupation.

Ukraine is characterized by a high level of trust in the institution of the church (that is, religion) in society. This

was especially evident after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, and sociologists are focusing their attention on this. According to the results of the sociological study “Trust in public institutions and politicians, electoral orientations of citizens of Ukraine” (2021), conducted by the Razumkov Center, the importance of religions in Ukraine is confirmed by a high level of public trust, which is commensurate with trust in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and volunteer organizations in wartime. In more detail, they most often express trust in the Armed Forces of Ukraine (68% of respondents trust them), volunteer organizations (64%) and the Church (63.5%). Research was also conducted into which of the highest hierarchs of the largest churches in Ukraine Ukrainians trust (Fig 3). Among the higher hierarchs of the Churches of Ukraine, representatives such as Metropolitan Epiphanius, head of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, have the highest level of trust (50% trust him, only 15% do not trust him). His Beatitude Sviatoslav Shevchuk, major archbishop of Kyiv-Halyč, head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, according to whom 36% of respondents trust and 12.5% do not trust, is in second place in terms of the level of trust. Another interesting situation is the situation with Metropolitan Onufriy, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate), who is trusted by 33.5% of those surveyed, 28.5% do not trust him.



Fig.3 The level of trust of Ukrainians in the heads of the largest Christian communities

Source: *Tsentr Razumkova, 2021: 63*

Conclusions

Thus, it is worth stating that unlike Russia, where the Russian Orthodox Church has a special status in the country and performs the function of ideological support of the ruling regime, religious organizations in Ukraine, especially after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, are active and equal subjects of civil society, which influ-

enced and influence the formation of social attitudes and positions, and therefore are factors that have an impact on the formation of social cohesion and solidarity in society.

Another confirmation that Ukraine continues to move towards the formation of an “organic” type of solidarity was the courage, sacrifice and absolute unity of Ukraini-

ans in resisting russia's full-scale aggression. Various political forces (both pro-government and opposition ones), state structures of various levels, military, volunteers, public organizations and religious organizations acted as a single body of solidarity in defense of freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Ukraine, human dignity and identity. The support and solidarity of the international community make it possible to resist this invasion. According to Timothy Snyder, "But Ukrainians had to pass an exam that many others did not even face, because no one should prove their right to exist, their identity in such a difficult way... Ukrainians know exactly who they are, and the right to be themselves is what they are fighting for".

From 1991, when Ukraine gained independence and until the war that began in February 2022, the religious factor played an important role in the formation of solidarity and social cohesion, which was manifested in the spread and promotion of common values, hard work on creating a space of trust in churches, building state-confessional relations on the basis of equality and partnership.

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Роль релігії в формуванні солідарності та соціальної згуртованості в незалежній Україні

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Стаття присвячена аналізу ролі релігійного чинника в формуванні солідарності та соціальної згуртованості в Україні в період незалежності. Актуальність цієї теми обґрунтовується тим, що за роки незалежності Україна проходить шлях суспільно-політичних трансформацій, які позначені важливими соціальними процесами відходу від радянського «спадку» та вибудови соціальних відносин на нових демократичних засадах. Ці трансформаційні процеси проходять з певними точками особливого загострення та напруги – кризами, під час яких українці демонструють надзвичайно високий рівень соціальної згуртованості, солідарності і готовності до самопожертви заради захисту спільних цінностей. Автори досліджують суспільно-трансформаційні процеси в українському суспільстві, намагаючись застосувати теоретико-методологічні розробки та концептуалізацію поняття солідарності, здійснену Емілем Дюркгеймом, і описують досвід переходу від СРСР та здобуття незалежності України як процес зміни типів солідарності від «механічної» до «органічної». Значна увага приділяється соціальним факторам, які

впливають на соціальну згуртованість суспільства загалом і в Україні зокрема. У статті досліджується потенціал релігії, як соціального інституту, що згуртовує спільноти різного рівня. Аналізуючи основні тенденції релігійного життя в Україні впродовж незалежності України, стан довіри суспільства до церкви, релігійних лідерів, а також рівень толерантності у суспільстві автори відзначають значний вплив релігійного чинника на суспільну згуртованість і солідарність в Україні. Ще одним яскравим підтвердженням «органічного» типу солідарності, що оформився в Україні, стали відважність, жертвовність і абсолютна згуртованість українців у спротиві повномасштабній агресії росії. Різні політичні сили, державні структури різних рівнів, військові, волонтери, громадські організації та релігійні організації виступили єдиним солідарним організмом у захисті спільних цінностей свободи, суверенітету, територіальної цілісності України, гідності людини та ідентичності. Науковим результатом стало обґрунтування впливу релігійного чинника на формування соціальної згуртованості через показники релігійного плюралізму, рівня толерантності за релігійною ознакою, рівня довіри до релігії. Показники виведені з методологічних настанов Е. Дюркгайма (зокрема, його концепції різних типів солідарності) та ін., а також сучасних підходів міжнародних організацій, які займаються дослідженнями суспільної згуртованості. Дані соціологічних досліджень різних років, проведених в Україні, а також вторинний аналіз соціологічних результатів став підґрунтям для висновку, що релігійні організації в Україні є активними і рівноправними суб'єктами громадянського суспільства, які впливали і впливають на формування суспільних настроїв і позицій, а відтак суспільної згуртованості та солідарності у суспільстві.

Ключові слова: солідарність, згуртованість, суспільство, церква, релігійні організації, довіра, Україна, толерантність.

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