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PATTERNS OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN UKRAINE

ПАТТЕРНИ СПОЖИВЧОЇ ПОВЕДІНКИ В УКРАЇНІ

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The article is devoted to topical issues of consumer behavior in Ukraine. First of all it is noted that Soviet consumption habits are still affecting Ukrainian patterns of consumer behavior. Even younger population, who have never experienced Soviet system, are affected by its consumptive patterns to some extent. After USSR collapse, Ukraine started to adopt consumer behavior patterns from the civilized world, first of all the consumerism. In the same time, another global consumption trend – creative consumerism – is being actively adopted by Ukrainians, partly because such forms of such behaviour were inherited from Soviet society. Such a global pattern of consumer behavior as ethical consumption has also spread through Ukraine in forms of green, eco, responsible, conscious consumptions or even anticonsumerism. Finally, contemporary technologies along with the COVID-19 crisis impact patterns of consumer behavior in Ukraine, first of all through the increasing role of online technologies in consumer decision making, in purchasing and post-purchasing processes.

Keywords: consumer, consumer behavior, patterns of consumer behavior, consumerism, ethical consumption.

Стаття присвячена актуальним питанням поведінки споживачів в Україні. Мета цієї статті – проаналізувати патерни поведінки споживачів в Україні та їх історичне коріння. Поставлена мета покликана допомогти краще зрозуміти чинники, що стимулюють споживчу поведінку українців, спрогнозувати її майбутні зміни та розробити механізми та інструменти управління поведінкою споживачів для українських компаній. Перш за все, слід зазначити, що більшість сучасних українських споживачів народилися і виростили за часів Радянського Союзу, тому радянські моделі споживання все ще впливають на українські патерни поведінки споживачів. Незважаючи на те, що радянська економіка дефіциту вже давно не актуальна для України, вона свого часу сформувала суспільство дефіциту, і навіть через 30 років після розпаду СРСР імперативи цього суспільства суттєво впливають на споживчу поведінку українців. Навіть більш молодому поколінню, яке ніколи не стикалося з радянською системою, в якійсь мірі властиво наслідувати радянські патерни споживання. Після розпаду СРСР Україна почала переймати патерни поведінки споживачів з цивілізованого світу, перш за все конс'юмеризм. Проте процеси витіснення радянських моделей споживання конс'юмеризмом гальмувалися через низку причин: низьку купівельну спроможність українців, стримування гедонізму, який є основним рушієм конс'юмеризму, християнськими традиціями та культурою, притаманними українцям. Водночас інша глобальна тенденція споживання – креативний конс'юмеризм – активно впроваджується українцями, частково тому, що форми такої поведінки дісталися нам у спадок від радянського суспільства. Креативний конс'юмеризм може виражатися в таких формах, як, наприклад, індивідуальний пошив одягу, будівництво та реконструкція власного житла, садівництво, аматорська фото- та відеозйомка, кулінарна творчість тощо, що є дуже поширеними в Україні. В Україні знайшов поширення і такий глобальний патерн поведінки споживачів, як етичне споживання, що набуває форми зеленого, екологічного, відповідального, свідомого споживання або навіть антиконс'юмеризма. Але водночас існують деякі бар'єри на шляху широкого розповсюдження етичного споживання в Україні, такі як радянські моделі споживання, низький рівень освітньо-культурної діяльності з боку уряду, відсутність законодавчого стимулювання етичного споживання, все ще низький рівень екологічної культури українців. Нарешті, сучасні технології разом з кризою, обумовленою пандемією COVID-19, впливають на моделі поведінки споживачів в Україні, перш за все за рахунок зростання ролі онлайн-технологій в прийнятті рішень споживачами.

Ключові слова: споживач, поведінка споживача, патерни поведінки споживачів, конс'юмеризм, етичне споживання.

Статья посвящена актуальным вопросам потребительского поведения в Украине. Прежде всего следует отметить, что советские потребительские привычки все еще влияют на паттерны поведения потребителей в Украине. Даже более молодое население, которое никогда не сталкивалось с советской системой, в какой-то степени затронуто присущими ей моделями потребления. После распада СССР Украина начала перенимать паттерны поведения потребителей из цивилизованного мира, прежде всего консьюмеризм. Кроме того, украинцы активно перенимают еще одну глобальную тенденцию потребления – креативный консьюмеризм, отчасти потому, что отдельные формы такого поведения унаследованы от советского общества. В Украине нашел распространение и такой глобальный паттерн поведения потребителей, как этическое потребление, принимающее формы зеленого, экологического, ответственного, сознательного потребления или даже антиконсьюмеризма. Наконец, современные технологии вместе с кризисом, обусловленным пандемией COVID-19, влияют на модели поведения потребителей в Украине, прежде всего за счет возрастающей роли онлайн-технологий в принятии решений потребителями.

Ключевые слова: потребитель, поведение потребителей, паттерны потребительского поведения, консьюмеризм, этическое потребление.

Problem statement. Each mode of social reproduction includes a mode of consumption as an attribute adequate to it. Social reproduction, on the one hand, gives rise to a culture corresponding to it, and on the other hand, under its influence, depends on it. Participants in social reproduction form an ideology that substantiates the legitimacy of their interests and interprets the social order from the standpoint of these interests. The essence of this process is that it is not enough to produce a consumer product; it is necessary to simultaneously or even in advance generate a desire to consume it in accordance with cultural forms adequate to a given method of social reproduction.

In addition, a certain type of personality corresponds to each method of social reproduction. Ideally, a person ideally fitting the system turns into its function, and in this case, into an ideal consumer who supports it with his/her activity. Of course, the ideal type of consumer (within the logic of Max Weber's concept) is only an analytical tool constructed as an extrapolation of the logic of the mode of reproduction.

In a real system, real people oppose such a perspective of becoming one-dimensional consumers, ensuring the interests of the dominant groups that control social reproduction. A person is multidimensional by nature and goes beyond the logic of the most complex social system that expects him to merge with function. In addition, a person is selfish and resists attempts to turn him into a cog in the system. A person, at the same time, is altruistic, but this altruism only partially coincides with the logic of the system of social reproduction. Individual is ready to sacrifice some personal interests on behalf of this system, but to some extent, on sake of his relatives, friends, communities, etc. Thus, the discrepancy between the multidimensional individual and the one-dimensional functional role imposed on him by the method of social reproduction is a complex of objective contradictions that inevi-

tably give rise to practices of resistance and an adequate culture of consumption. This makes it important to describe and analyze patterns of consumer behavior relevant to some community in order to find the optimal way to align requirements of social system with needs and wishes of people belonging to it.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Consumer behavior in Ukraine has been studied by such scholars as N. Bogomaz, I. Deinega, O. Dorokhov, S. Illiashenko, L. Kapinus, I. Lylyk, N. Lysytsa, O. Pushkar, O. Shafalyuk, O. Yevtushevskaya, O. Zozulyov and others. Most of contemporary researches of consumer behavior in Ukraine are devoted to the use of digital technologies and their impact on consumer behavior [1; 2], to applying mathematical methods in order to explain and predict consumer behavior [3; 4], to impact of COVID-19 on behavior of consumers [5; 6], to psychological and neuropsychological aspects of customer behavior [2; 7; 8], or to specifics of customer behavior in separate sectors [8; 9].

Emphasizing the unresolved parts of the general problem. But the base of all the mentioned researches is understanding of the general patterns inherent to Ukrainian consumers. Moreover, patterns of consumer behavior are evolving, requiring continuous study of this subject.

From another point of view, consumer behavior pattern of Ukrainians are unique due to unique culture code, historical specifics etc., so they cannot be studied just in line with the global patterns and trends.

Purpose statement. Purpose of this study is to analyze patterns of consumer behavior in Ukraine and their historical roots. This will help to better understand factors driving consumer behavior of Ukrainians, to forecast its future changes and to develop mechanisms and instruments for Ukrainian companies to manage consumer behavior.

The main research material. Research of the demographical structure of Ukrainians [10] that major consumers of nowadays Ukrainian consumers have born and grown up in times of Soviet Union, it is essential that their consumer habits have been formed during Soviet reality. The phenomenon of duality of structures also manifested itself in a society of the Soviet type, where real consumption styles reflected individual strategies for using available resources and manoeuvring in the labyrinths of social constraints. People stubbornly did not want to turn into ideal performers of their assigned roles and tried to outwit the system by laying their own trajectories inside it [11].

The economy of scarcity naturally gave rise to a society of scarcity. The Soviet way of life as a structure had several key mechanisms for shaping the way of consumption [12]. Firstly, in the USSR, the means of production were produced in a larger volume than consumer goods. This structural bias implied a constant risk of a shortage of consumer goods, even when considered purely quantitatively. Second, the shortage of consumer goods inevitably gave rise to a lack of material incentives for labour activity, which had to be compensated for with the help of the ideological education of a new (communist) personality [11; 12].

From these features of the state mode of reproduction followed an adequate model of the ideal ("new") person. The real person of Soviet society was, of course, far from the ideal model that ensured the effective functioning of the state mode of production of the communist type. He did not succumb to the reduction of his multidimensional personality to the function of a "builder of a new society". The main deviations from the normative model can be reduced to the following areas of consumer resistance.

However, this resistance of individuals to structural coercion in the sphere of consumption very rarely takes the form of organized collective action. More often than not, these are tactics and practices of weakening structural coercion and its use in their own interests. Michel de Certeau [13] calls it "the art of the weak." Individuals "poach" using "specific circumstances" in "power oversight". They plot trajectories that do not fit into the logic of the space imposed on them.

As a result, the coercive structures turn into practices of the mass of individuals. Individuals, in turn, move towards their own personal goals using structural opportunities. Aware of their limitations and regulations, people are trying to outsmart them and adapt to their individual abilities and desires.

The shortage of consumer goods stimulated the Soviet version of consumerism, which was regulated by the principle "take it while it is given, this product may not be available tomorrow" [11; 12]. The desire to make stocks logically followed from the interweaving of the egoistic nature of a person who was not ready to constantly sacrifice himself to a "bright future" with the logic of consumption in conditions of a permanent shortage of consumer goods. As a result, there are the paradoxes of hoarding in the context of scarcity. Official propaganda mercilessly denounced this phenomenon, which was defined as "consumerism", "philistinism" and "relic of the past", but it was not possible to change the situation. This meant a spontaneous redistribution, which undermined the already shaky basis of "scientific planning" of production and consumption.

In the same time, in Western countries the culture of consumerism was dominating [14]. The culture of consumerism is generated by different mechanisms. First, it is the logic of the development of the needs of the individual. Growth in prosperity triggers a chain reaction of increased needs. At the same time, natural needs tend to grow into artificial ones, the satisfaction of which is no longer dictated by the logic of human reproduction as a living being. Artificial needs are objectively necessary conditions for social survival in a certain artificial environment.

Secondly, the economy of overproduction creates a culture of overconsumption, without which it is impossible. In such an economy, it is necessary to produce not only things, but also the desire to acquire them. Business achieves this goal by using advertising technologies, seducing the consumer with patterns replicated by popular culture, aestheticizing consumption, turning the purchase of goods into a game of chance, a vanity competition, drawing it into the games of sales, accumulative coupons, etc. [15].

Third, the culture of overconsumption is based on a financial culture of waste that replaces philistine frugality. This culture is reproduced with the help of a system of mass consumer lending and electronic payments, which greatly facilitate overcoming the mental barriers that arise on the way to parting with money.

Classical consumerism is a product of an early stage in the development of a consumer society. The conveyor production system gave rise to a system of mass consumption culture. It is characterized by a race for status in quantitative terms: the desire to have what others have, while in the same or more quantity. During the formation of the American consumer society, the

essence of this form of consumerism was formulated by the motto “to be no worse than others”. The same type of consumerism began to spread rapidly in post-Soviet Ukraine. Thus, after the collapse of USSR, Ukraine has become open to the civilized world, and consumerism started to replace Soviet patterns.

But there was an important barrier for spreading consumerism in Ukraine: low purchasing power. Thus, being excited with available goods and services, Ukrainian consumers couldn't afford themselves to completely follow their needs [16].

Until recently, consumption was viewed by social researchers as a hedonistic activity or the pursuit of pleasure for the sake of joy. In Ukraine, this importance of consumption has become relevant relatively recently, in the post-socialist period. Consumer hedonism is associated with the first decade of the 2000s, called “fat zeros”, when new infrastructure (shopping centers, credit cards, etc.) and increased income created conditions and opportunities for hedonistic consumption.

Despite the fact that not all groups in Ukrainian society have received full access to such opportunities, changes have affected a noticeable part of it. At the same time, already at the end of the first decade of the 2000s, a critical discourse regarding hedonistic, as well as demonstrative and wasteful consumption began to sound more and more clearly. Part of the criticism was aided by the economic crisis of 2008–2009, when restraint in consumption became more urgent than conspicuous consumption or glamor.

According to the research of Tkalych, Tyshchenko and Mysiv [17], during the last decade hedonism of Ukrainians has grown significantly. But Christian traditions and culture inherent to Ukrainians are engraved in the mentality, which primarily reduces hedonism. So hedonism in Ukrainian society is still not significant. The desire to get pleasure, the search for thrills today is still not in trend.

Thus, even getting greater purchasing power, Ukrainian society didn't adopt the pattern of classical consumerism completely. In Ukraine, the same as in other parts of the World, there has arisen the resistance to classical consumerism. The reasons of such resistance are as follows. On the one hand, the consumer society is based on a system of social inequality. Because of this, a significant part of its citizens are economically unable to follow the normative models. They are excluded from the category of full citizens of the consumer society and are forced to repro-

duce the “outdated” practices of philistine thrift and prudence. On the other hand, the consumer society gives rise to many humanitarian problems. Their awareness pushes to the emergence of anti-consumerism as an ideology and culture and to the formation of consumer practices that contradict the principles of classical consumerism, which stratifies into styles that often undermine its very foundations [11; 14].

Consumerism initially took the form of materialism. But Ukrainians, who traditionally consider spiritual values important, adopt consumerism to a limited extent.

Contemporary global trend is turning from classical to creative consumerism. The essence of creative consumerism is that an individual, like an ordinary consumer, can spend more and more money on the purchase of goods and services, but they are not final consumption items for him, they are only raw materials for creating a creative product [18].

Creative consumerism has many forms: individual tailoring, construction and reconstruction of own home and summer cottages, gardening, amateur photography and video, culinary creativity etc. Although forms of such behaviour also took place in Soviet society and was inherited by Ukrainians, their economic meaning was radically different from creative consumerism. From an economic point of view, this is the same consumerism, i.e. a culture of overconsumption that supports the economy of overproduction, but from a humanitarian point of view, this is an activity aimed at developing the personality through consumption.

The upcoming global environmental crisis and understanding the destructive role of consumerism in this context makes humanity to change its consumer behavior. Thus, more and more people are drawn into various forms of green consumerism [19].

Green consumerism is developing in two main directions. First, it is concern for the preservation of the environment. This type of green consumer strives to buy products that minimize their environmental impact. He buys more expensive environmentally friendly cars, invests in new energy-saving technologies (for example, installs solar panels on the roof of his house), is engaged in waste sorting, etc.

Secondly, it is taking care of own health by minimizing the impact on it of new harmful products, invented with the aim of drawing people into overuse. A typical example is refusing fast food. An important form of this version of green consumerism is following a variety of diets, which,

according to their developers and proponents, are most adequate for a person's natural needs.

Like other forms of consumer culture, green consumerism is also infiltrating the lives of Ukrainians. However, a number of obstacles lie in its path, reflecting the general characteristics of the country. First, such consumerism is inherent in a well-fed society, and this is characteristic only of a minority of Ukrainians. Secondly, green production is possible only with a high degree of trust in brands, which is not yet available in Ukraine, where few people believe in labels and certificates. Third, the values of health and a healthy environment in the country have not yet taken a priority position.

Understanding upcoming social and economic problems, Ukrainian consumers adopt global practices, such as green, eco, responsible, conscious consumptions or even anticonsumerism. In a general sense, these types can be called ethical consumption, which implies a purposeful, conscious purchase of goods and services produced in accordance with ethical principles, namely, with minimal harm to humans and the environment.

Ethical consumption involves the consumption of organic products; fair trade products; products, in the manufacture of which no animal tests are applied (products-not-tested on animals); clothing that does not involve child labour or create slave-like working conditions (non-sweatshop brands). Ethical consumption also means avoiding "unnecessary" purchases. A special place among consumer activism is occupied by the purchase of goods from local producers. Forms of ethical consumption: implies that the consumer finds an opportunity to express his opinion and influence the public situation [20; 21].

In the same time, there are some barriers in adopting ethical consumption in Ukraine: Soviet patterns of consumption, low level of educational activity from the government, lack of legislative stimulation to ethical consumption, still low level of environmental culture of Ukrainians [20].

The challenge caused by COVID-19 pandemic, strongly impacted consumer behavior of Ukrainians [5; 6]. But as we see, most of such changes are disappearing after cancellation of pandemic-related restrictions. The only trend that becomes and emerging pattern of consumer behavior in Ukraine is increasing role of online space in decision making, in purchasing and post-purchasing processes, as well as extended use of delivery services.

Conclusions. To conclude, Soviet heritage still impacts consumer behavior of Ukrainians. But despite this impact, Ukrainian consumers gradually adopt consumption patterns of the Western society: green, eco, responsible, conscious consumption. Moreover, young generations are much less impacted by the Soviet consumption patterns than more aged population.

The mode of production and normative culture exert a coercive effect, forming a way of life of which consumption is an integral part. Individuals, for various reasons, resist structural coercion, forming resistance tactics. Thus, the economy of a consumer society gives rise to consumerism as an adequate culture of overconsumption, imposes an appropriate type of consumer's personality, easily amenable to manipulation by business.

These conclusions help us to better understand the fundamentals of consumer behavior of Ukrainians. Further researches have to be aimed on forecasting changes in customer behavior patterns in Ukraine and development of mechanisms and instruments to manage it.

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