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Дипломна робота на тему:

**Агентність VS індиферентність в сучасному російському
суспільстві**



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A graduate work on the topic:

Agency VS indifference in the contemporary Russian society



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Анотація

Дипломна робота викладена на 41 сторінці, без списку літератури та додатків. Вона містить вступ, 3 розділи, висновок, 10 графіків, 7 таблиць, 30 джерел в переліку посилань та 1 додаток з повним текстом опитника. Об'єктом розгляду за критерієм носія проблеми є сучасне російське суспільство, а за критерієм проблеми - сприйняття агентності. Предмет дослідження – фактори, що корелюють зі сприйняттям агентності. Метою роботи є виявлення основних факторів, що корелюють з сприйняттям агентності в сучасному російському суспільстві. Завдання дослідження складаються з проведення огляду літератури на тему агентності в соціології, адаптація результатів до російського контексту, та проведення емпіричного дослідження, аби 1) зрозуміти рівень сприйняття власної агентності серед росіян; 2) визначити, які соціально-демографічні змінні впливають на агентність; і 3) визначити чи є зв'язок між агентністю та підтримкою війни серед росіян. У першому розділі проведено огляд основної теоретичної бази на тему агентності, проаналізовано способи емпіричного вимірювання агентності та важливі результати в цій темі, окреслено контекст сучасного російського суспільства і, фінально, описано концептуалізацію подальшого дослідження разом з гіпотезами. У другому розділі запропоновано методологічну рамку роботи для дослідження. У третьому розділі представлені головні результати статистичного аналізу зібраних даних та проаналізовано, чи підтвердилися запропоновані гіпотези. За результатами роботи зроблено висновки про стан агентності та фактори впливу на агентність в російському суспільстві, а також представлена критика та лімітації проведеного дослідження. Ключові слова: агентність, сприйняття агентності, сучасне російське суспільство, підтримка війни.

Introduction

Topic Importance

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia, marked by its illegal and brutal nature, has left the global community bewildered. What added to the complexity of the situation was the seeming absence of widespread resistance over its government actions within Russian society. On the contrary, there appears to be a prevailing sentiment of support for the war among Russians according to the independent Russian polling agencies (Russian Field, 2023; Levada Center, 2023). Speaking against the authoritarian machine would imply having a strong anti-war position and a belief that one could change something with their voice. Both of these are corresponding to the feeling of agency.

Some of the unpublished focus groups (Open Minds Institute, 2023) reveal that quite often, Russians would use phrases such as "we're just small people," "we don't have a say in anything," and "we probably lack a comprehensive understanding of the situation", when discussing the ongoing war. They are portraying themselves as non-agents in what is happening. Indeed, this is exactly what the Russian propaganda machine was working on for decades - persuading that world is too complex for Russians to understand and that they should leave it all to the paternalistic, authoritarian government. Through a deliberate and systematic campaign, the government, it seems, has succeeded in diminishing individuals' inclination to challenge their government's actions.

What is left there to wonder - is this lack of agency prevailing among Russians in all domains of their life? Or is the political domain an exception? And is it a factor influencing their declared support for the war? Since the war is not over and in the long term the trends in Russians' public opinion might play a role in shaping the events, it remains crucial for social sciences to investigate the underlying components of the contemporary Russian society.

Research goal

To identify the main factors correlating with the perception of agency in contemporary Russian society.

Research tasks

1. Research theoretical base on the study of the perception of agency.
2. Adapt available findings to the Russian context.
3. Conduct empirical research to
 - a) Understand what the level of agency perception in various aspects of life among Russians is.
 - b) Investigate what socio-demographic variables influence agency.
 - c) Investigate whether the feeling of agency correlates with Russians' support for the war and government.

The research object

The object of our research by the criterion of holders of the problem is contemporary Russian society.

The object of our research by the criterion of problem situation is the perception of agency.

The research subject

The subject of our research is the factors correlating with the perception of agency.

Research parts

The theoretical-methodological base for the research draws vastly on the paper "Agency as a sociological variable" (Hitlin & Long, 2009) and previous findings on the peculiarities of the contemporary Russian society conducted by independent Russian polling agencies.

The empirical base consists of the survey results from data collected specifically for the purpose of this research on May 17th, 2023. Russian respondents were recruited online, and the final sample consisted of 952 people.

The hypotheses included a statement that 1) Russians feel more agency in their personal life, than the political one; that 2) age, 3) material well-being, and 4) occupation type are factors influencing the perception of agency; and that agency positively correlates with 5) support for the war and 6) support for the government.

Work structure

Overall, this graduate work consists of an introduction, theoretical, methodological, and empirical chapters, a conclusion, a reference list, which holds 21 scientific articles and 9 sources, and 1 appendix with the survey questionnaire. The whole work is 41 pages, without references and appendices.

Chapter 1. Theoretical framework

1.1. Agency in Sociology

This chapter delves into the concept of agency, exploring its multiple interpretations and arriving at a definition that is most relevant to our research. Then, previous empirical studies on the topic are presented. Afterward, the context of contemporary Russian society in regard to the agency is discussed. Eventually, drawing on the theoretical part of this chapter, a research conceptualization is conducted.

1.1.1. Theoretical interpretation of agency

The agency is a vividly discussed concept in philosophy and social sciences, including political science, economics, sociology, and social psychology.

In the philosophical perspective explored in the essays of Bratman (2007), he refers to agency as an individual's capacity to act intentionally and make decisions that affect the world around them. He does, however, mention that it must be an inherently social phenomenon that is still shaped by relationships between people.

In sociology, the concept of agency is most often mentioned in the traditional dichotomy of “**agency VS structure**,” where the underlying question lies in whether individuals are independent actors or whether societal structures influence their behavior (Parsons et al., 1951; Giddens, 1984). In such a debate, the agency is usually referred to as the capacity of individuals or groups to act independently and make their own choices within a social structure. Or, put differently, the ability of individuals to make decisions and take actions that have an impact on their lives and the lives of others rather than simply being passive recipients of social forces or circumstances. Structure, on the other hand, refers to the larger social and cultural forces that shape and constrain individual action. While structure sets the conditions

and parameters within which an agency operates, the agency is important because it allows individuals to resist or challenge social norms and conventions and to exert some control over their own lives. In 1951, The Department of Social Relations of Harvard University collaborators published a book "Toward a General Theory of Action," edited by Talcott Parsons, where they argued that human action is not simply the result of individual motives or preferences but is shaped by a variety of social and cultural factors.

Nevertheless, we might argue that in the second half of the 20th century, the above-described debate was partially resolved through various sociological works. One of the most important ones is "The Constitution of Society" by Anthony Giddens (1984). In his book, he argues that social structures are both the product of human action and the medium through which action takes place. He proposes a theory of structuration, which posits that social structures are both the outcome of past human activity and the context in which future action takes place. According to Giddens, social structures are not external constraints on individual action but rather are internalized and reproduced through individual action. Giddens believes that, essentially, it is through the interplay of agency and structure that social change occurs.

Looking at more recent sociological works delving into the agency concept, it is important to mention Emirbayer & Mishe's "What is Agency?" (1998). In their article, the agency is described as "a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past but also oriented toward the future and toward the present" (p.963). Past habits and experiences form the action, but those actions are still thought of in the context of how they will impact the future. Regarding the agency VS structure debate, authors rather agree with Giddens, believing agency is both enabled and constrained by social structures.

Another important piece that provides a bit more straightforward definition is "Understanding Agency" by Berry Barnes (2002), where he describes agency as the ability of people to act with purpose and make decisions according to their own

beliefs and desires. He also draws on the concept of collective agency, meaning the ability of groups to act with a common purpose.

However, all the definitions described above are still too theoretical and do not translate into empirical research where we could measure agency.

Therefore, we need to introduce an alternative interpretation of agency, which we will refer to as "perceived agency." Simply put, it's the perception of whether one can act independently and make own choices. This distinction is best described in Hitlin & Long's "Agency as a sociological variable" (p.138, 2009): "a person's objective opportunities to exert control over their life VS their subjective belief about their ability to exert control." They provide a definition of the agency being a construct that is influenced by individuals, situations, and the life course and go on to explain that self-beliefs of personal agency are integrated into a socialized notion of self, which reflects an individual's subjective comprehension of their position within social structures and situated activities.

This subjective belief is, in fact, our point of interest for this research, though slightly conceptually different from the philosophical perception of agency. In psychological journals, it is described as a personal experience of feeling in control over one's own behavior and, as a result, influencing what happens in the world around them (Haggard & Tsakiris, 2009).

And yet, though more work on the perceived agency was conducted through a psychological perspective, agency as a perceived concept should still be an object of sociological research due to its crucial role in social life and interactions, as argued by the aforementioned Hitlin & Long (2009).

Thus, concluding all of the said above, we will use the following definition for the course of this work:

*Agency - a **belief** of an individual that he/she can act freely and independently and hold control over the course of his/her life.*

1.1.2. Empirical research of agency

Now that we have defined what agency is, let's delve into whether and how it has been studied from a sociological perspective and what the key findings are in a broad international context.

A long but, of course, a not exhaustive list of subjective measures of the agency was created by the already mentioned Hitlin and Long (2009) in their "Agency as a sociological variable." All of the variables they mentioned depict a personal perception of having (or lacking) human agency.

Self-efficacy

They start by outlining probably the most popular concept (283M findings on Google) used to study perceived agency - self-efficacy. Gecas (1989, p. 292) explains it as a concept that "refers to people's assessments of their effectiveness, competence, and causal agency." So it's a bit more detailed context than the general agency; it is quite often related to some specific domains or tasks. For example, from the psychological perspective, the self-efficacy variable is used in the studies of alcohol or smoking addiction. In such a specific domain, the question would be posed in a manner of "How well can you X?", where X is anything from doing homework to earning money.

Nevertheless, there was also an attempt to create a general self-efficacy scale by Sherer et al. (1982). Examples of their final index questions are:

1. *If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it.*
2. *When I make plans, I am certain I can make them work.*
3. *I do not seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in my life.*
4. ...

As for the most prominent findings - according to McDougall (1995), self-efficacy tends to decrease in domains such as relationships, health, and cognitive capacity as people age.

Self-efficacy theory also suggests the perception of one's ability to accomplish certain tasks is a determinant of whether one will undertake them (Hitlin & Long, 2009).

Locus of control

A locus of control refers to a measurement that reflects an individual's perspective on the causes of events in their life. An internal locus of control indicates the belief that one has the ability to influence and control what happens, whereas an external locus of control suggests that events are primarily determined by external factors beyond one's control (Rotter 1966). Possessing a stronger internal locus of control aligns with different expressions of agency.

At first glance, it reflects the agency VS structure debate with its differentiation on internal and external locus of control. Yet, as we can witness by the examples below, locus of control does not seem to be a good fit, as it studies more the perception of whether the world & society respond to individual merits, rather than the perception of own agency.

Example questions:

- a) *Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.*
- b) *People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.*

Mastery

The Personal Mastery Scale developed by Pearlin (1978) refers to the extent that individuals view their life chances as being under their own control rather than being predetermined or the extent a respondent feels in control rather than at the mercy of predetermined fates (Pearlin and Schooler 1978). It sounds similar to the

locus of control, but the fundamental difference lies in the component questions: mastery measures worldviews on agency VS structures, while mastery has a focus on personal agency VS structure. It thus makes the mastery scale a relevant variable for our further research.

Example questions:

How strongly do you agree? (1-5)

1. *I have little control over the things that happen to me.*
2. *Sometimes, I feel that I'm being pushed around in life.*
3. ...

Personal control

The sense of personal control in an individual refers to their belief in their ability to actively and effectively manage, regulate, influence, and guide their own lives. Conversely, a lack of sense of control entails perceiving that one's actions do not significantly impact the outcomes they experience (Mirowsky & Ross, 1998).

Example questions:

How strongly do you agree? (1-5)

1. *I am responsible for my own success.*
2. *There's no sense in planning a lot - if something good is going to happen, it will.*
3. ...

The perception of personal control is an acquired and broad expectation (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003) that is strengthened through the cumulative feedback obtained from life experiences. Education, in particular, plays a crucial role in predicting this perception of control (Mirowsky & Ross, 2007).

Another attempt to gather subjective quantitative studies of the agency was conducted by Alkire (2005). She offers an important point: the agency is often different in various contexts. As, for example, one particular woman might feel high agency as a mother or wife, but sense less control over her job or local politics due to her lack of education.

Among the ways of measuring agency, she mentions Schwartz's values theory, but it's not too relevant for our case since those selected questions deal with valuing agency, not the feeling of having agency. All other variables Alkire discusses repeat Hitlin's list presented above, except WVS.

WVS

The World Values Survey (WVS) is a global research project that seeks to understand changes in people's values, beliefs, and behaviors over time. It was founded in 1981 by Swedish political scientist Ronald Inglehart and has since become one of the most comprehensive and widely used surveys of social attitudes in the world.

In their happiness and well-being part of the questionnaire, they have a question: "Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "no choice at all," and 10 means "a great deal of choice" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out." Though studied as a part of well-being index, this question can actually make a separate topic of the agency. Furthermore, we can work with it and add subdomains. For example, ask about "control over your job" instead of a broad "life."

At first glance, all of the measures discussed above seem very similar in their concepts and design, differing only in details. However, as for our research, we're interested exactly in the feeling of having agency. Self-efficacy deals more with beliefs in own abilities or self-confidence, not an agency. Locus of control studies

general worldviews on agency and personal control scale shifts toward the questions of responsibility. The most relevant scale seems to be Pearlin's mastery scale and the WVS question from the well-being section. In our research, we will use both, but divide WVS into small sub-domains.

Key Findings

Now, as we've covered how the agency is studied, we will briefly look over what the key findings are.

First of all, every variable from those discussed fades with age, meaning the older people are, the less they feel like they can control their own lives and the more they think there are external forces that lead them.

In Klassen's study conducted in 2004, it was observed that efficacy scales tended to be comparatively lower in collectivist cultures when compared to individualist cultures. Despite these differences, collectivist cultures demonstrated high levels of performance while maintaining more realistic beliefs regarding their efficacy. This finding suggests that cultural factors, particularly in Western regions, contribute to a higher sense of efficacy compared to regions in Asia and Eastern Europe. However, regardless of cultural variations, all studies consistently indicated that levels of efficacy significantly predicted performance outcomes. In other words, individuals who possessed a greater sense of agency tended to achieve better accomplishments in various domains.

Luszczynska and colleagues led another multicultural evaluation of self-efficacy (2005). Most importantly, they proved that efficacy could be applicable across various contexts while checking for the internal validity of the measure. Moreover, their research revealed a robust and positive correlation between the subjective experience of agency and both quality of life and overall life satisfaction. On the flip side, individuals with lower levels of efficacy were found to be more vulnerable to psychological distress, including symptoms of depression, anxiety, and other forms of psychological suffering.

In addition to the aforementioned research, the concept of self-efficacy has also been explored from a political standpoint. Madsen (1987) delved into how individuals engaged in petitioning perceive their own power and influence within the political realm. Notably, Madsen found that individuals who experienced success with their petitions tended to exhibit higher levels of perceived agency. This observation underscores the importance of real-life feedback and tangible rewards in shaping and strengthening one's sense of agency.

In summary, the concept of agency is valued and perceived differently across various cultural contexts, particularly exhibiting relatively less significance in collectivistic societies. The notion of agency intertwines closely with performance outcomes, life satisfaction, and even psychological well-being, including its association with symptoms of depression and related conditions. Furthermore, the sense of agency tends to diminish as individuals age, suggesting that it may undergo changes and fluctuations over the course of one's lifespan. And, importantly, people may feel different levels of agency in different domains.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we reviewed the debate on agency in sociology, discussed different interpretations of agency, and provided a definition of perceived agency to be used in further research. Various ways to measure agency in sociology, such as self-efficacy, mastery, locus of control, personal control, and values, were discussed, and the most relevant variables were identified. Finally, key findings from previous empirical research on agency were presented, including correlations with age, culture, psychological features, and successes in life.

1.2. Context of contemporary Russian society

Now, as we have discussed what agency is and what are the strategies for studying it, let's look into the population of our interest.

Since the launch of the so-called "Special Military Operation" in Ukraine, all of the polling agencies, both independent and state-owned, international and Russian, reported that a majority of the population supports this invasion (Levada Center 2023; ФОМ Media, 2023). And though there might be discussions on the peculiarities of sociological data in authoritarian regimes, experts agree that the number is most probably representative of the situation (Kizlova & Norris, 2022). Yet, while 20% say they don't support the war, and a real number might even be bigger, we do not witness any grand collective or individual-level resistance.

So what do we know about Russians and their perception of having control over what is happening in their lives and the world?

There have been no direct studies on the subject of our interest. However, trends of what is happening might be highlighted.

Volkov (2020) reviewed the life strategies of Russians and claimed that they tend to prioritize long-term planning and aim for the "creation of the future." However, his methods are not clear and the conclusion seems rather vague.

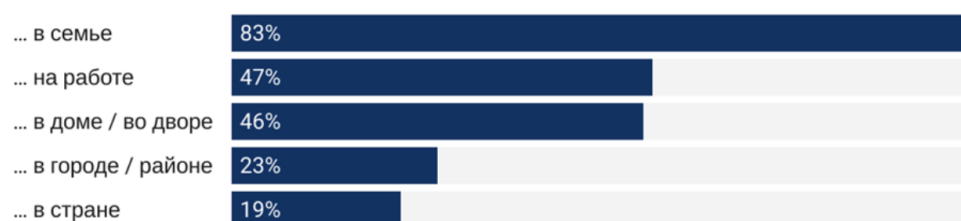
An attempt was made to understand Russians' social behavior patterns through their perception of how society should look. After analyzing various polling data and studies, Lubsky et al. (2016) concluded that roughly 60% of Russians follow statist-liberal behavioral patterns. These patterns are characterized by a "will for a strong hand", but a belief that not all businesses should be nationalized and entrepreneurship benefits society. This suggests that they favor economic agency, but not necessarily political agency.

The most relevant study for our goal, to understand what hypothesis to form is a quarterly study by Levada (2023) on the feeling of responsibility and feeling of control over various situations among Russians. Their general conclusion is that Russians mostly feel like they can influence what is happening in their family (83% in the last survey), and far less - what is happening in the country (19%). Consequently, they feel more responsible for their family, and home and less for the city and country affairs.

Chart 1.1

Как Вы считаете, в какой мере Вы можете повлиять на то, что происходит...

в %% ответивших "в полной мере" и "в значительной мере"



Source: Levada survey results, 2023

Weirdly, compared to October 2021, the self-assessment of influence on the situation in the country and in the city/district has increased, though it is still at 23%.

Yet, coming to the details, there are some peculiarities.

First of all, younger respondents aged 18-24 and 25-39 see the greatest opportunity to influence the course of processes in different categories. This is in line with our previous discussion on how agency fades with age.

Additionally, the wealthiest respondents also feel more control over life than others, which is rather unsurprising as they do exercise more freedom with their finances.

Eventually, among the “feeling high control” group are those, who believe things are going in the right direction. This might suggest that war supporters have a higher feeling of agency.

According to Gulevich and Sarieva (2020), a significant factor affecting political agency in Russia is the belief in a just world. This belief is crucial because those who subscribe to it are more likely to feel empowered and use their agency to effect change. Conversely, those who do not believe in a just world may feel powerless and be less likely to take action.

In fact, the general political agency was consistently declining in Russia since 2000, while its peak was in the 1990s. Political protests, from signing petitions to street actions, became less and less frequent. During this period, several laws were passed that reduced citizens' ability to influence the socio-political situation in the country.

In conclusion, Russians tend to desire a strong leader, exhibit paternalistic tendencies, and often feel powerless to influence events at the national level, which has been a trend over the last 20 years. However, they feel more control over what happens in their families, homes, and to some extent, in their jobs.

1.3. Research conceptualization

As we have seen in the literature, the psychological perspective of agency and its perception has received much attention. Specifically, correlations between agency and life satisfaction or its impact on performance were studied. However, there have been less sociological investigations into general trends of agency, particularly regarding whether individuals feel agency.

When it comes to Russian society - there were no deep studies on the matter at all. As it is important these days, we are going to investigate.

The object of our research by the criterion of holders of the problem is contemporary Russian society.

The object of our research by the criterion of problem situation is the perception of agency.

The agency is, as we have finalized through the literature review, a “belief of an individual that he/she can act freely and independently and hold control over the course of his/her life.”

In general, we will divide our broad research topic, “Agency in contemporary Russian society,” into three research tasks:

- Understand what the level of agency perception in various aspects of life among Russians is;
- Investigate what socio-demographic variables influence agency;
- Investigate whether the feeling of agency correlates with Russians’ support for the war and government.

Thus, the feeling of the agency will be studied both as 1) a dependent variable in pair with independent socio-demographic variables and 2) an independent variable in the context of its correlation with war or government attitudes.

Hypotheses

Though the first research question is rather exploratory, we can still form hypotheses around it.

As we have seen in Levada polls, Russians answer to a greater extent that they feel influence over their family (83%) and work (47%) more than over their neighborhood or country. This suggests that they can behave like agents of potential influence in personal areas of their life rather than social or political life. Additionally, living in an autocracy predictably intensifies feelings of lack of control over broad national issues.

Hypothesis #1: Russians feel more agency in their personal life (family, household, neighbors, job) than in political ones (government's decisions, country's development).

To answer the second research question on socio-demographic predictors, we distinguish three hypotheses based on the conclusions from the previous chapters.

In Hitlin & Young's (2009) overview of agency as a sociological variable, they state it always declines with age. Hence the older the person - the lower level of agency feeling. The same trend was spotted by Levada research - younger respondents feel the biggest influence over the course of the events.

Hypothesis #2: Younger Russians feel more agency than older ones.

Levada's polling suggests that those who are financially well-off and can afford to buy more goods tend to feel more responsible and influential in various parts of their lives compared to those who are less financially secure. This could be due to the perception of their own successes as personal achievements. It is possible that being able to purchase expensive items or having a higher standard of living may lead to a sense of accomplishment and control over one's life. This feeling of control and accomplishment, in turn, could translate to a higher sense of responsibility and influence in other aspects of their lives.

Hypothesis #3: The richer the person is - the higher the feeling of agency he/she feels.

Research on behavioral patterns of Russians discussed in the previous chapter (Lubsky et al., 2016) suggests they believe entrepreneurship is good and might value economic agency. Combining this idea with our hypothesis that rich people feel more agency, we can also explain the phenomena through occupation type. If a person is self-employed or an entrepreneur, instead of working for a state or private sector, he or she can potentially enjoy a greater sense of agency due to freedom in decisions.

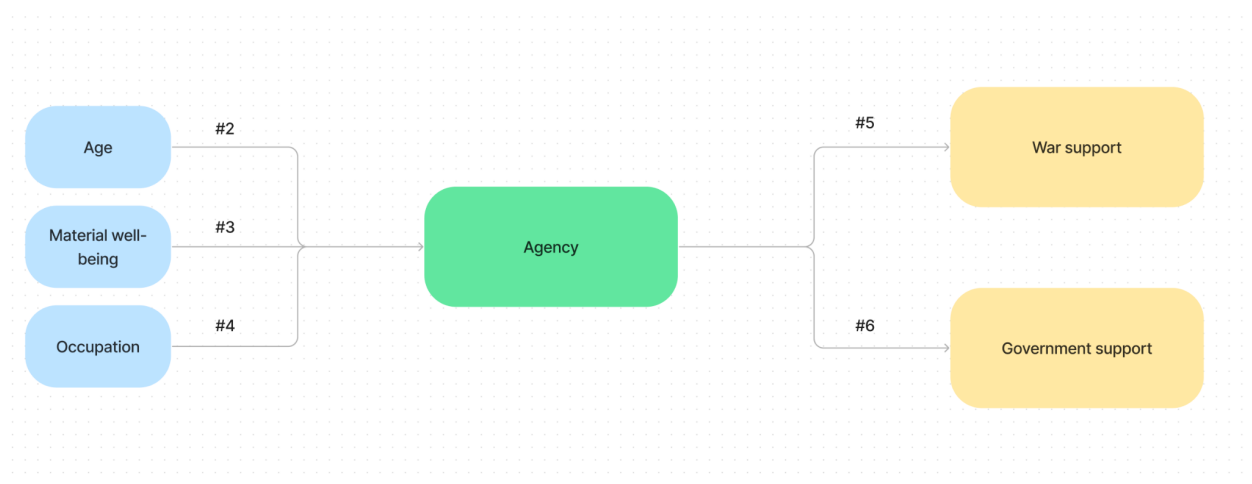
Hypothesis #4: Occupation type is a factor influencing the feeling of agency

My initial intuition was that Russians who say they support the war feel a lack of agency in their lives, probably initiated by propaganda, which focuses on atomizing society and portraying individuals as powerless. However, this assumption was challenged by theoretical research. According to Levada, those who believe that Russia is moving in the right direction feel more influence over various aspects of their personal and country life. This finding aligns with the empirical research on political agency, which suggests that those whose views were eventually listened to felt greater agency. (Madsen, 1987) It is possible that even though those Russians who supported the war didn't explicitly show their views to the government, they might have felt like their thoughts were heard and therefore felt a greater sense of agency.

Hypothesis #5: There's a positive correlation between the feeling of agency and war support among Russians.

Hypothesis #6: There's a positive correlation between the feeling of agency and the government's support among Russians.

Chart 1.2



Research Hypotheses

Chapter 2. Research methodology

This chapter focuses on laying a methodological framework for our research. We start with the operationalization of all the variables used in the future questionnaire and provide their measurement formulation. Then - data collection and methods of data analysis are discussed.

2.1. Operationalization

We defined agency as a belief that one possesses agency. To properly measure the general phenomena, we have analyzed the pros and cons of various options and concluded that the Pearlin Mastery Scale is the most relevant scale, as it deals exactly with the belief of own agency rather self-confidence or philosophical views on the agency. It consists of 7 questions portrayed as sentences on a feeling of agency. Respondents have to use a 5-item Likert scale varying from “fully disagree” to “fully agree.”

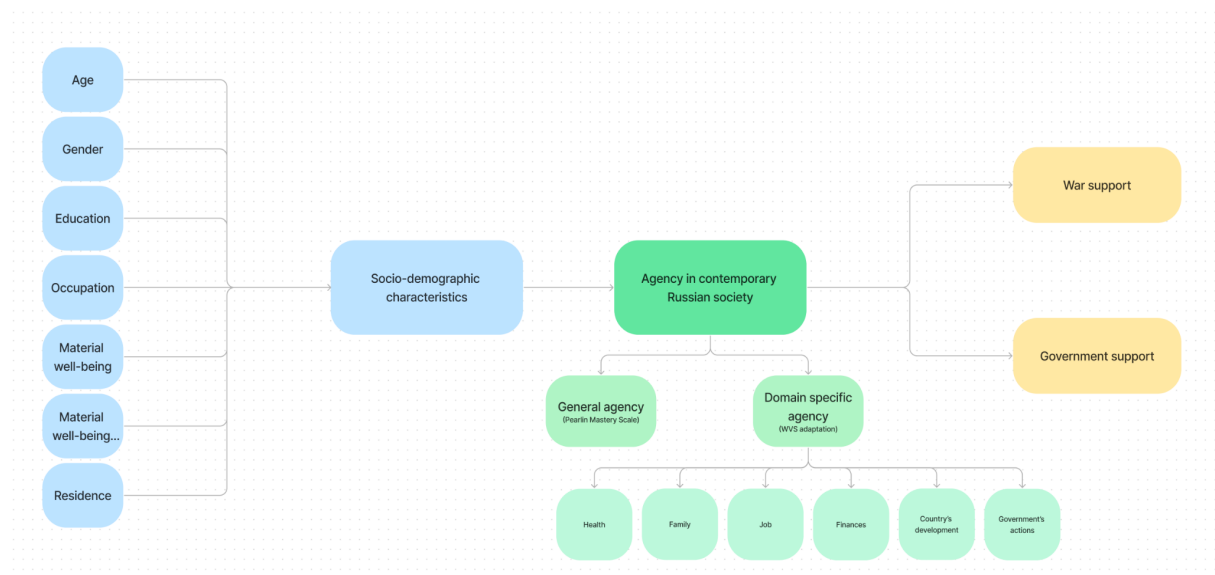
The next step for us would be to measure the feeling of agency across various domains of life. To do that, we will use the WVS formulation of “some people feel they have completely free choice and control over various aspects of their personal and social life, while others feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens in these domains.” Domains included in the question will be health, family, work, personal finances, the country’s development, and the government’s actions. Again, a 5-item Likert scale varying from “no choice and control at all” to “full choice and control” will be applied.

The socio-demographical variables in our questionnaire will exceed those mentioned in the hypothesis, as this is an exploratory study. They will include full age, gender, occupation type, financial status, dynamics of financial status (how the financial situation of a person changed during the last couple of months), and a city/town population.

Additional variables required to test our hypotheses #5 and #6 will be the support for the war in Ukraine and the general support of the current Russian government. They will be measured the same way through the Likert scale, where one will mean “fully don’t support” and 5 - “fully support.”

Please see **Appendix 1** for the full questionnaire in the Russian language. Research operationalization is presented below.

Chart 2.1



Research operationalization scheme

2.2. Data collection

Because we’re looking into the descriptive representation of the agency in contemporary Russian society and the dependencies between our research variables, collecting questionnaire data is an obvious choice.

Since our general population is the whole of Russian society older than 18 years, the sample should be constructed accordingly.

We will gather the data online, as it is the only accessible option for the researcher. The questionnaire will be prepared at the 1KA (1ka.si) - an open source application for online surveys developed by the University of Ljubljana, due its

convenient ways of data export into .sav format. Recruiting will be happening through a website, where Russians can complete different tasks for a small financial reward. Each respondent will receive \$0.25 for completing our survey.

There are, however, serious limitations to the chosen data collection method and its representativeness.

1. People who fill out a survey on a chosen website are not random, they fulfill two conditions:
 - knowing how to use the Internet
 - looking for a side job to get additional money

Both these conditions can influence the feeling of agency.

2. Russians might be hesitant to answer politically related questions or give socially desirable answers, as proved by the London School of Economics (Schaub & Chapkovski, 2022).

Yet, though we cannot be sure that the data collected represents the real state of affairs on agency among Russians due to sampling bias, we can still acquire valuable insights into how Russians' feeling of agency is interconnected with other topics of our interest.

The total process of data collection took 17 hours until a sample of 1027 respondents was gathered. The data will be cleaned from those who finished the survey in less than 1 minute (meaning they didn't pay attention to the text of the questions) and missings.

2.3. Methods of data analysis

The statistical analysis of our questionnaire results will be conducted through SPSS and will consist of two parts.

First, descriptive statistics will be used to look at the general percentage distribution of general and domain-specific agencies (to test our hypothesis #1), as well as socio-demographic and war or government support variables. Correlation analysis will also be performed between different types of agency to see if feeling agency in one domain influences the feeling of agency in general. Based on that, we will also combine all the agency measures into one index of the agency.

Then, differences within sociodemographic variables and the general agency will be explored, as well as correlation and ANOVA tests, to understand whether the difference (if any) we see within groups is statistically significant. The special focus will be on the variables of age, financial status, and occupation to answer hypotheses #2, #3, and #4, respectively. We will also try to build a regression model, where the agency is a dependent variable, and all the sociodemographic variables will act as independent ones.

Eventually, to test hypotheses #5 and #6, we will check for a correlation between the index of agency and war and government support.

Chapter 3. Empirical findings

In this Chapter, a statistical analysis of the survey results will be performed. First, the sample will be discussed. Then descriptive statistics of the socio-demographic variables and agency variables will be presented. Then, correlation analysis and ANOVA to understand the factors influencing agency will be performed. Eventually, it will be determined which of the tested hypotheses were confirmed and which were not.

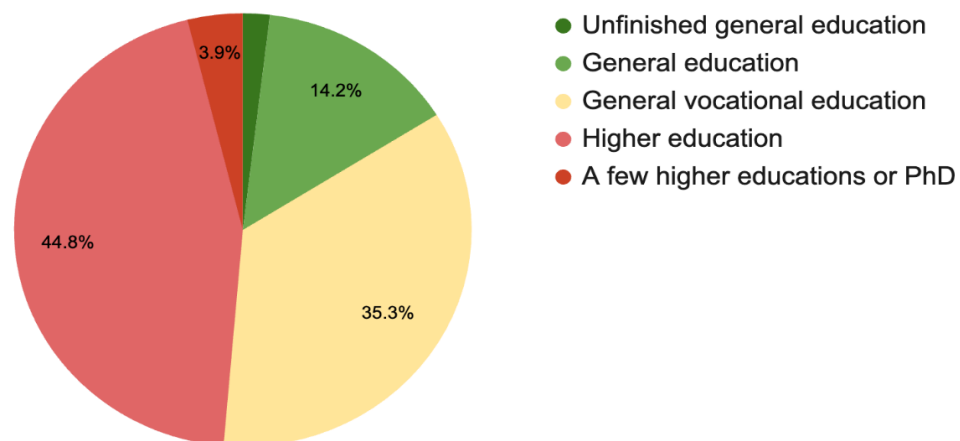
3.1. General descriptives overview

Sample

The amount of filled-out surveys was 1027, but after performing listwise deletion of the missing data, as well as survey results of those who took less than 1 minute to fill the questionnaire out, the final sample consisted of 956 respondents. The mean age is 36.74, and the standard deviation is 11.98. Respondents' sex distribution is equal, with 49.8% of females and 50.2% of males. Almost half of the respondents possess higher education (Chart 3.1).

Chart 3.1

Respondents' education distribution

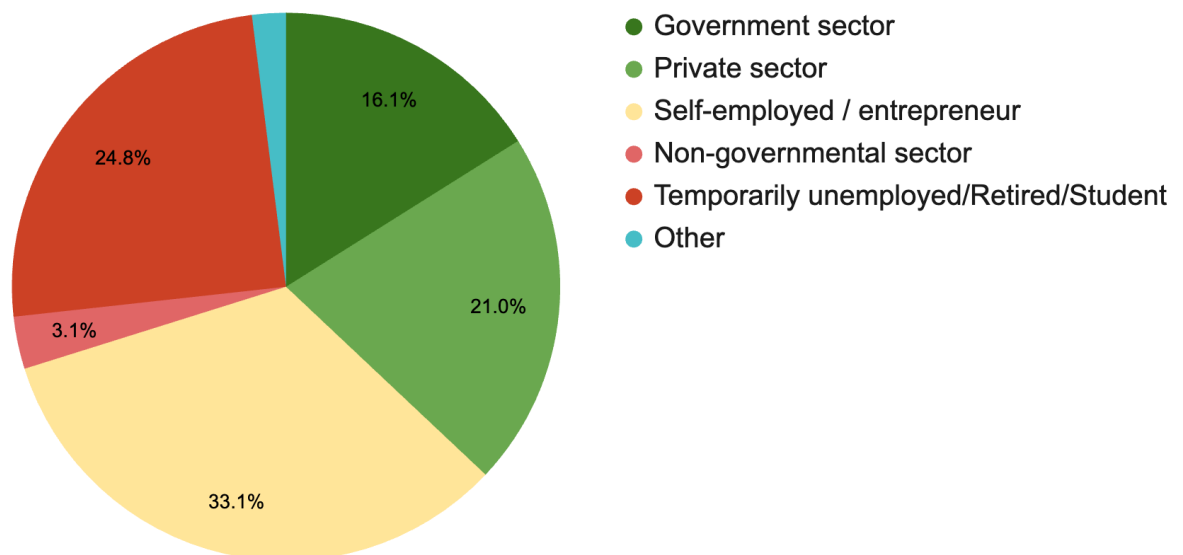


Source: collected survey data

Notably, the sample appears to deviate significantly from the demographics of the overall population in terms of the occupation of respondents (Chart 3.2). Approximately one-third of the respondents are self-employed or entrepreneurs, which is higher than what we could expect in the general population. Additionally, around a quarter of the respondents are retired, students, or temporarily not working, which further indicates a lack of representativeness. This skewed composition could be attributed to the recruitment details: respondents were gathered from a website individuals use to find small side jobs or tasks to earn money. Consequently, the sample may predominantly consist of individuals actively seeking additional income or those in transitional phases of their careers, leading to an unbalanced representation of employment statuses in the research.

Chart 3.2

Respondents' occupation distribution

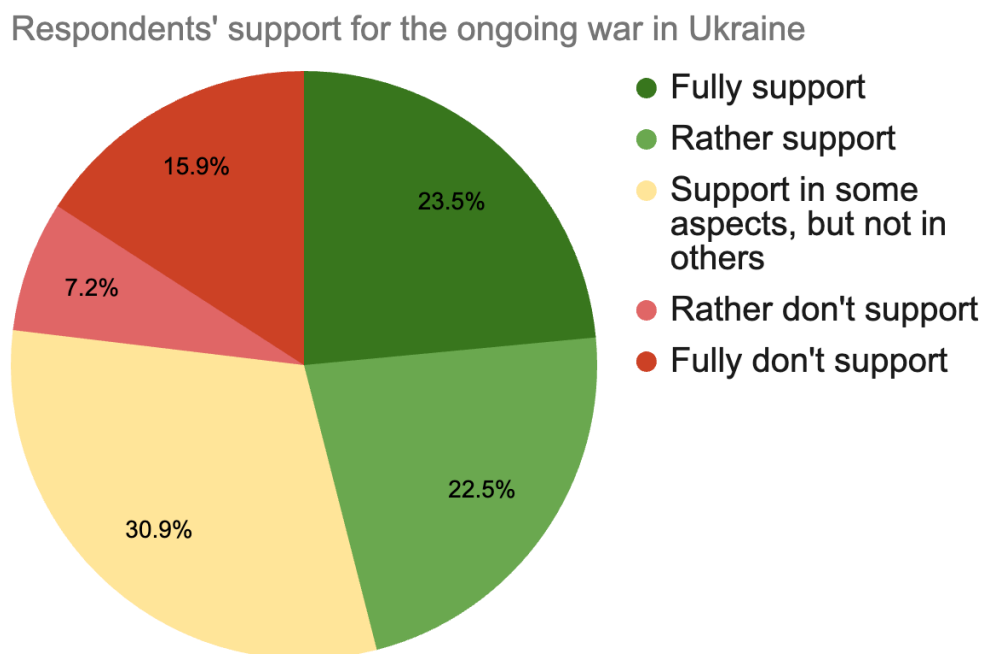


Source: collected survey data

Another interesting point discovered through our frequencies analysis is that only 46% of our respondents rather or fully support the ongoing war (“Special Military Operation”) in Ukraine (Chart 3.3), while the typical polling results of both

independent and state-owned Russian agencies report a number ranging from 60 to 75%, as we have discussed in previous chapters. This could have 2 potential explanations. One is that in an online environment, people feel more anonymous and are less prone to giving socially acceptable answers. Another option is that because our sample is younger and more confident Internet users, there are indeed fewer war supporters in it than in Russia in general. Whatever the real reason behind this deviation is, it indicates that our sample has its specificities compared to the population.

Chart 3.3



Source: collected survey data

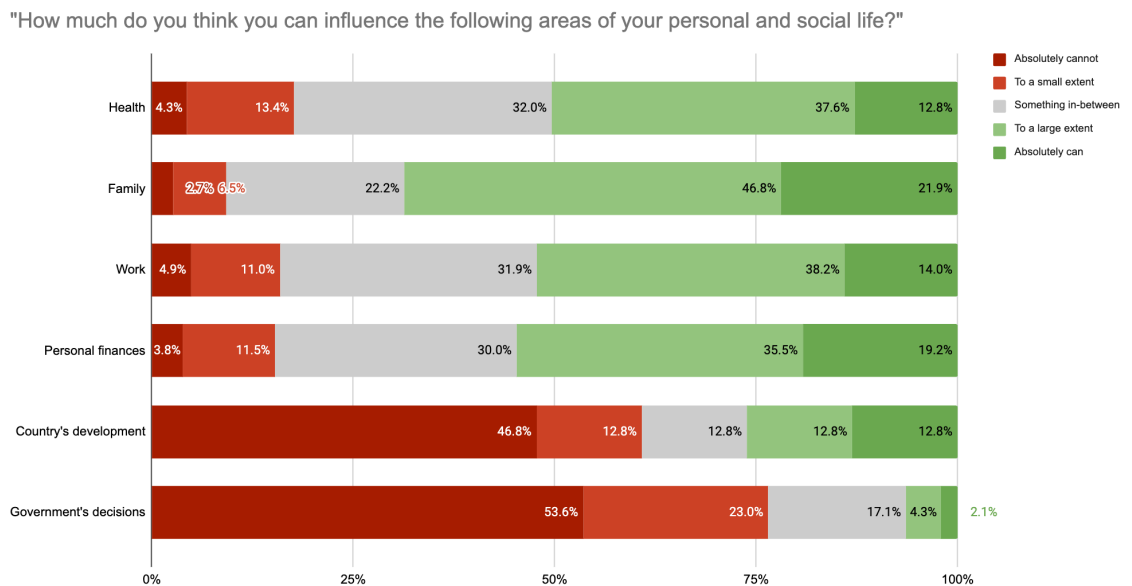
General overview of agency in contemporary Russian society

We will start our analysis by looking at the descriptive representation of the feeling of agency in Russian society. First, we have to recode the components of the Pearlin's mastery scale, as some of them were inverted. Once we have all the components on the same scale where 1 equals the low feeling of own agency, and 5 equals the high feeling of agency, we combine all the subcategories into one measure

- “mastery_total.” This new measure has a minimum value of 7 and a maximum of 35 due to 7 components. In our sample, the mean for mastery is 23.21, and the standard deviation is 5.17, which suggests Russians, in general, feel pretty good about their agency. Yet, the mastery scale solely does not provide a comprehensive picture.

We then turn to the WVS adaptation of the question of feeling agency in various domains of personal and political life. The distribution is presented below.

Chart 3.4



Source: collected survey data

We can vividly see that Russian respondents feel the most agency over personal life domains. Almost 70% of them believe they can substantially influence what is happening in their family, 58% feel like they hold control over their personal finances, and around 50% - over health and work. On the other hand, a significantly smaller portion feels agency in the political domain. Only 6.4% feel like they can influence the Russian government's decision, and a quarter feels like they can influence the general country's development.

We can thus confirm our hypothesis #1: Russians feel more agency in their personal life than in their political one.

We have then tested for correlation between agency in various domains and the general feeling of agency in life (mastery_total). Spearman's rho correlation was chosen for the analysis since all the scales are ordinal (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

		Correlations ^b							
		agency_health	agency_family	agency_work	agency_finance	agency_country	agency_government	mastery_total	
Spearman's rho	agency_health	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.435**	.403**	.420**	.205**	.117**	.267**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
agency_family		Correlation Coefficient	.435**	1.000	.368**	.414**	.144**	.061	.324**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.	<.001	<.001	<.001	.059	<.001
agency_work		Correlation Coefficient	.403**	.368**	1.000	.631**	.276**	.166**	.365**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	.	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
agency_finance		Correlation Coefficient	.420**	.414**	.631**	1.000	.272**	.157**	.400**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	.	<.001	<.001	<.001
agency_country		Correlation Coefficient	.205**	.144**	.276**	.272**	1.000	.734**	.215**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	.	<.001	<.001
agency_government		Correlation Coefficient	.117**	.061	.166**	.157**	.734**	1.000	.142**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.059	<.001	<.001	<.001	.	<.001
mastery_total		Correlation Coefficient	.267**	.324**	.365**	.400**	.215**	.142**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Source: collected survey data, agency correlations

All of the measures of the agency are positively correlated with one another at the 0.01 significance level. This means that Russians who generally feel like they hold agency in some domains of life are more likely to feel it in other aspects. However, the correlation is strong for work and finances at 0.63, moderate for other aspects of personal life (health, family) ranging around 0.3-0.4, and weak between personal life and political agency (country's development, government's decisions). Correlation between aspects of political life, on the other hand, is particularly strong (0.73). The correlation between the general feeling of agency in life (mastery_total) and different domains is moderate. For this reason, in our future analysis, we will combine the feeling of agency in personal and political aspects into two separate indexes. The personal agency will be a sum of perception of influence in health, family, work, and finance and hold a minimum value of 4 and a maximum of 20. The political agency will be a sum of perception of influence on the country's

development and government's decisions and hold a minimum value of 2 and a maximum of 10.

3.2. Socio-demographic aspects of agency

Agency VS Age

To test our **hypothesis #2** that age is a factor influencing the feeling of agency, we have again conducted a Spearman rho correlation analysis because we were comparing an ordinal and a scale variable. We can confirm that the younger person is, the more agency one tends to feel (Table 3.2). It is evident in both general feelings of agency ($\rho=-.082$, $p<0.05$), agency in personal life ($\rho=-.191$, $p<0.01$), and agency in political life ($\rho=-.096$, $p<0.01$). However, the correlation is rather small, meaning the effect of the age factor is not as important as expected.

Table 3.2

Nonparametric Correlations**Correlations^b**

		mastery_total		age		
Spearman's rho	mastery_total	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.082*		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.	.011	
	age	Correlation Coefficient	-.082*	1.000		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.	

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Nonparametric Correlations**Correlations^b**

		age		personal_agency		
Spearman's rho	age	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.191**		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.	<.001	
	personal_agency	Correlation Coefficient	-.191**	1.000		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		<.001	.	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Nonparametric Correlations**Correlations^b**

		age		political_agency		
Spearman's rho	age	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.096**		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.	.003	
	political_agency	Correlation Coefficient	-.096**	1.000		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.003	.	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Source: collected survey data, agency VS age correlations

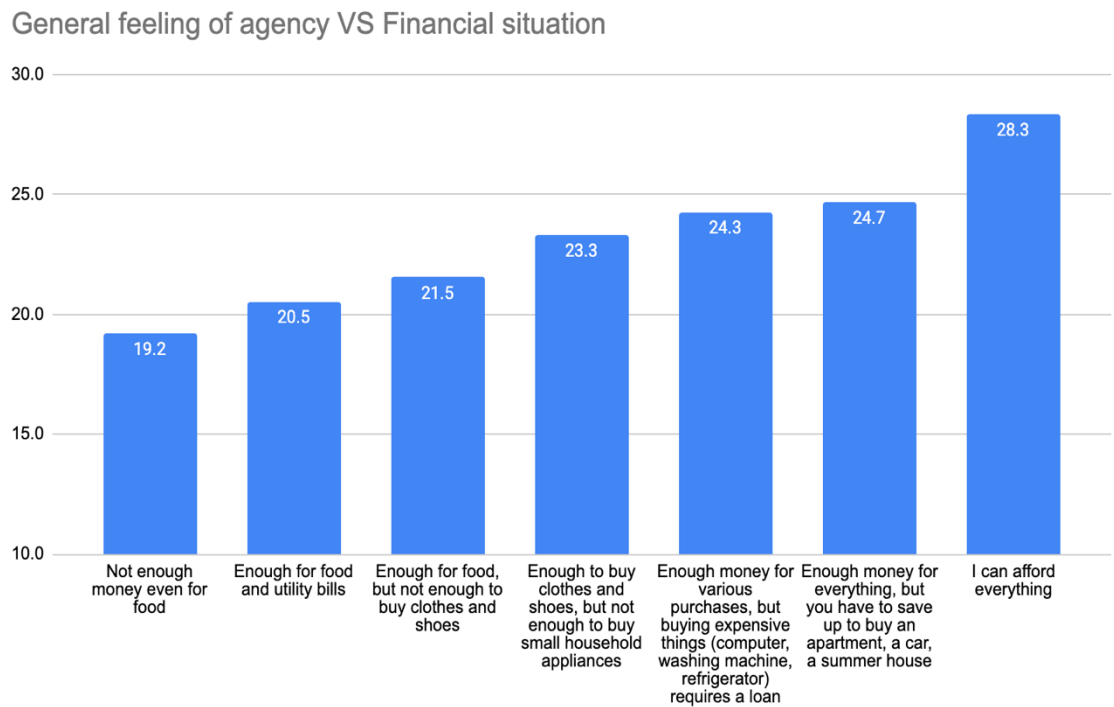
As individuals age, they may face more physical limitations and health issues that restrict their ability to engage actively in personal and political spheres, which can explain the spotted correlation. Additionally, the older generation of Russia that grew up during the Soviet regime might have more paternalistic sentiments toward life.

Agency VS Finances

To test our **hypothesis #3**, that the richer the person is - the higher the feeling of the agency he/she feels, we have analyzed the distribution of our three variables of agency among 7 groups of financial situations. Looking at the chart below, we

can clearly see that the general feeling of agency, which we measure through the mastery scale, is getting higher as personal finances increase (*scale 7-35*).

Chart 3.5



Source: collected survey data

We then conducted a One-Way ANOVA test to understand whether the differences we see are statistically significant and got a positive answer.

Table 3.3

ANOVA

mastery_total

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2720.994	6	453.499	18.860	<.001
Within Groups	22819.745	949	24.046		
Total	25540.740	955			

ANOVA Effect Sizes^a

		Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
mastery_total	Eta-squared	.107	.068	.139
	Epsilon-squared	.101	.062	.134
	Omega-squared Fixed-effect	.101	.062	.134
	Omega-squared Random-effect	.018	.011	.025

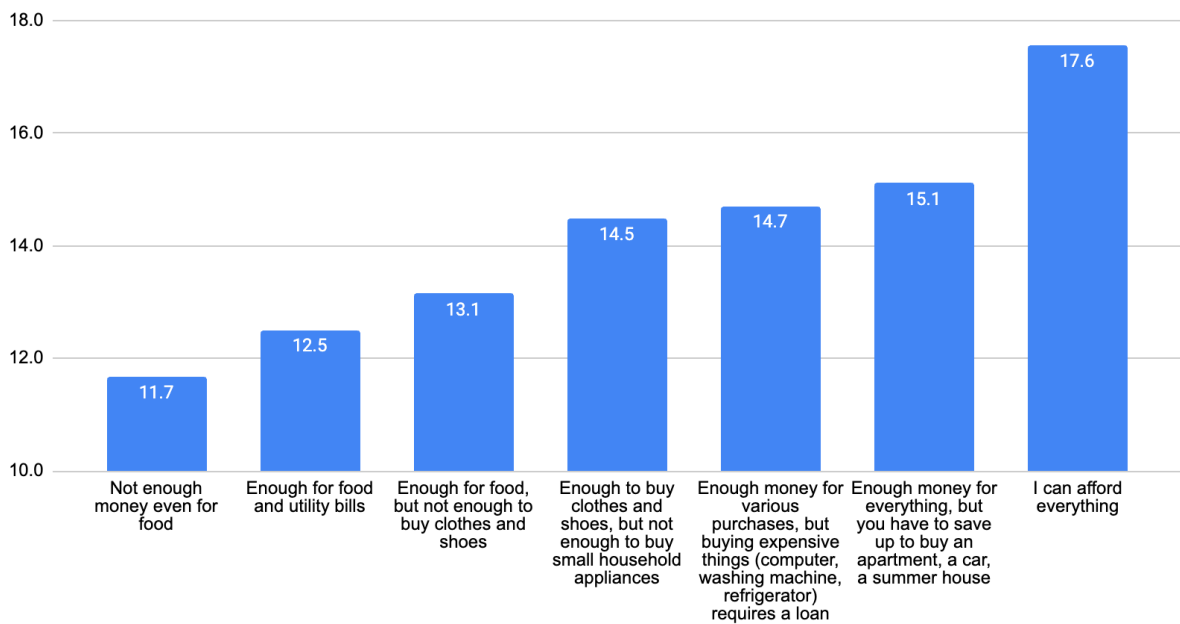
a. Eta-squared and Epsilon-squared are estimated based on the fixed-effect model.

Source: collected survey data, ANOVA results for general agency & financial situation

A similar situation, with an even more drastic increase, is found in the feeling of agency in personal domains (*scale 4-20*).

Chart 3.6

Feeling of agency in personal domains (health, family, work, finance) VS Financial situation



Source: collected survey data

We also confirm the significance of such findings by another One-Way ANOVA.

Table 3.4

ANOVA

personal_agency	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1048.450	6	174.742	20.202	<.001
Within Groups	8208.390	949	8.650		
Total	9256.840	955			

ANOVA Effect Sizes^a

personal_agency		Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
personal_agency	Eta-squared	.113	.074	.147
	Epsilon-squared	.108	.068	.141
	Omega-squared Fixed-effect	.108	.068	.141
	Omega-squared Random-effect	.020	.012	.027

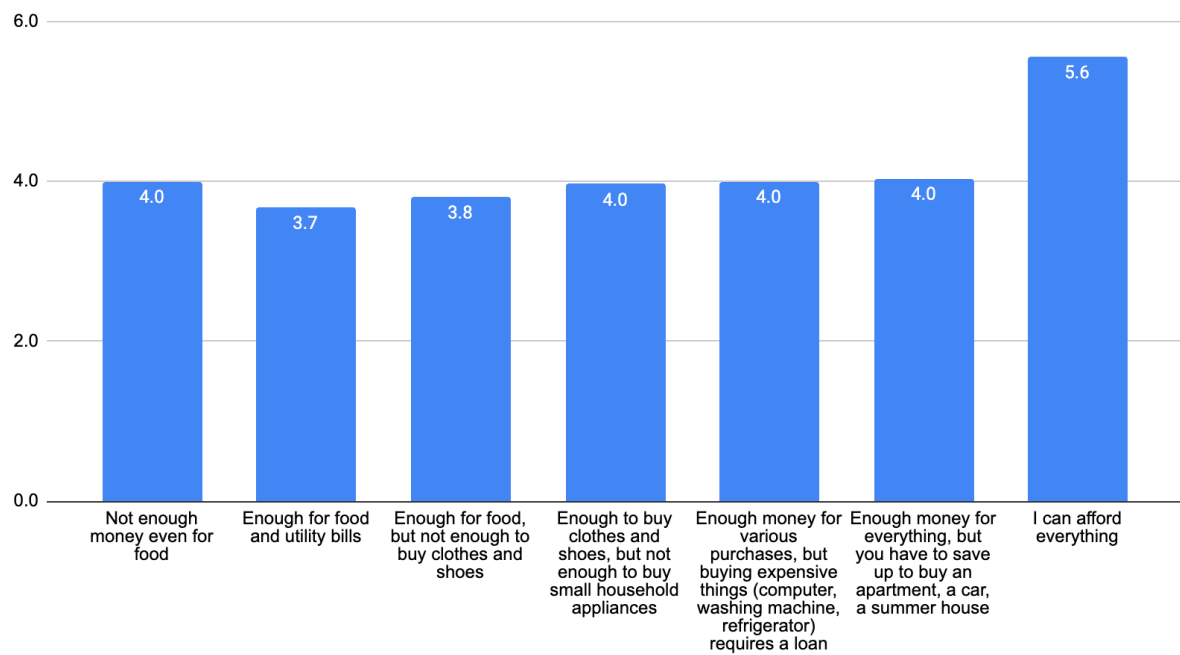
a. Eta-squared and Epsilon-squared are estimated based on the fixed-effect model.

Source: collected survey data, ANOVA results for personal agency & financial situation

When it comes to the feeling of influence on political questions, no vivid difference is documented across various financial situation groups, except for an increase for the “can afford everything” group (Chart 3.7).

Chart 3.7

Feeling of agency in political domains VS Financial situation



Source: collected survey data

These differences are, nevertheless, statistically insignificant.

Table 3.5

ANOVA

political_agency	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	35.072	6	5.845	1.619	.138
Within Groups	3425.255	949	3.609		
Total	3460.326	955			

Source: collected survey data, ANOVA results for political agency & financial situation

Concluding, we can confirm **hypothesis #3** that the richer the person is - the higher the feeling of the agency he/she feels. Wealthier Russians most probably enjoy a greater level of agency due to their greater level of access to resources and the reduced constraints that financial freedom brings. However, it only holds true for the general feeling of agency and agency in personal domains of life, but not in political ones. This indicates that in authoritarian regimes, wealth likely does not play a role in influencing the social landscape.

Agency VS Occupation

Our **hypothesis #4** stated that occupation type is a factor influencing the feeling of agency. We expected people who are entrepreneurs or self-employed to enjoy greater levels of agency because they exert more autonomy and decision-making freedom over their day-to-day activities. However, we couldn't confirm it with One-Way ANOVA for any type of agency previously discussed: for both personal, political, and general feelings of agency, the difference between various occupation groups was not statistically significant (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6

ANOVA

personal_agency

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	79.459	5	15.892	1.645	.145
Within Groups	9177.381	950	9.660		
Total	9256.840	955			

ANOVA

political_agency

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	19.193	5	3.839	1.060	.381
Within Groups	3441.133	950	3.622		
Total	3460.326	955			

ANOVA

mastery_total

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	309.547	5	61.909	2.331	.041
Within Groups	25231.193	950	26.559		
Total	25540.740	955			

Source: collected survey data, ANOVA results for different agencies & occupation types

A potential reason for getting negative results could be the intense variability within the chosen occupation types. For example, the difference between groups of people who work in the state or private sector might not be as significant as the difference between people who hold distinct hierarchical positions in both of the sectors. Another explanation could be that there are other mediating factors regarding the occupation, like job satisfaction, that could influence the feeling of agency to a greater extent. This hypothesis would require additional research.

3.3. Agency and support for the regime

Our **final two hypotheses, #5 and #6**, dealt with how agency connects to the support for the current regime and its actions. We expected the feeling of agency to be positively correlated with both support for the government and the ongoing war in Ukraine. After conducting Spearman's rho correlation, it is, first of all, important to mention that the support for the government and the war also correlate with one another at .708 at the 0.01 significance level (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7

Nonparametric Correlations

Correlations^b

			govsupport	svo	personal_agen cy
Spearman's rho	govsupport	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.708**	.194**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	<.001	<.001
	svo	Correlation Coefficient	.708**	1.000	.113**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.	<.001
	personal_agency	Correlation Coefficient	.194**	.113**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Correlations^b

			govsupport	svo	political_agenc y
Spearman's rho	govsupport	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.708**	.229**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	<.001	<.001
	svo	Correlation Coefficient	.708**	1.000	.208**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.	<.001
	political_agency	Correlation Coefficient	.229**	.208**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Correlations^b

			govsupport	svo	mastery_total
Spearman's rho	govsupport	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.708**	.257**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	<.001	<.001
	svo	Correlation Coefficient	.708**	1.000	.196**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	.	<.001
	mastery_total	Correlation Coefficient	.257**	.196**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001	<.001	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Listwise N = 956

Source: collected survey data, correlation results for agency and war & government support

We can confirm our hypotheses #5 and #6, but we can also see that such correlation is small, ranging from .1 to .25 at a 0.01 significance level. We can also notice that the correlation between war & government support and political agency and general agency are stronger than with a personal agency.

This does not go in hand with my initial intuition that it is exactly the lack of agency that makes Russians support the current regime and its atrocities. A potential explanation of the opposite is that individuals who align their beliefs with the government's agenda may perceive themselves as influencing the direction of the country. In the context of war, the government often emphasizes nationalistic and patriotic ideologies, fostering a sense of unity and collective identity. When individuals perceive their support for the government as actively contributing to the country's agenda during times of conflict, it reinforces their sense of agency and the belief that they have a role in shaping Russia's trajectory. Additionally, positive correlation results suggest that exactly those who do not support the war feel lower levels of their own agency, which could potentially explain their lack of resistance actions.

In summary, Russians tend to feel more agency in their personal life domains compared to the political domain. The majority of respondents believe they can substantially influence their family, personal finances, health, and work, while a smaller proportion feels agency in influencing government decisions or the country's development. Also, age and material well-being were confirmed to be factors influencing Russians' sense of agency. The younger and the richer one is, the more one feels like he exerts influence over his/her life. However, wealth does not translate into feeling more control in political life, meaning an authoritarian regime does not care for individuals' money. Occupation type turned out to be a non-significant factor for Russians' feeling of agency, most probably due to high variability within different sectors of work. Eventually, we found a positive correlation between agency and support for the current regime and the ongoing war

in Ukraine, although the correlations are relatively small. This challenges my own initial expectation that a lack of agency would lead to support for the regime, suggesting that individuals aligning their beliefs with the government's agenda may perceive themselves as actively shaping the country's direction, especially during times of conflict, reinforcing their sense of agency.

Conclusion

The goal of our research was to understand how Russians feel about their agency and identify the main factors that correlate with this perception, such as socio-demographic variables and their support for the war and the current regime.

In the first chapter, we have discussed the traditional sociological debate of agency VS structure. After an extensive literature overview, we provided agency definition as a “perceived” phenomenon - a belief of an individual that he/she can act freely and independently and hold control over the course of his/her life. We then looked at the most popular scales that measure agency in sociology and picked the most relevant for our research - Pearlin's mastery scale and the WVS agency perception question. After that, the most prominent findings on agency and the context of the contemporary Russian society we discussed. We discovered that Russians are characterized by a desire for paternalism in the political domain but feel quite a lot of control over domains of their personal life. Eventually, drawing on all of the theoretical discussion, we conceptualized our research by dividing it into three sub-tasks and stated six hypotheses on the topic. Namely, we discussed assumptions that Russians feel more agency in personal life than in political one; that age, material well-being, and occupation type influence the perception of agency; and that there's a positive relationship between agency feeling and war or government support among Russians.

In the second chapter, we have prepared the methodological framework for our research. We have conducted operationalization of the previously discussed variables required for our hypothesis testing. Then, we described the process of data collection in an online environment, and the limitations of such an approach were mentioned. Eventually, the plan for statistical analysis was laid out.

In the third chapter, we have analyzed the survey results and confirmed five out of six initial hypotheses. As we found out, Russians indeed feel more influence and control over the personal areas of their life, such as health, family, work, and finances. In contrast, only a few of them consider having agency in the political sphere and influencing the country's development or government's actions. Age and material well-being are among the factors influencing the perception of agency. Those who support the war and the current regime have a higher sense of agency. Conversely, war opponents tend to have lower levels of agency which could explain a lack of action from their side. This confirms our hypothesis that we based on the literature overview, however, contradicts the author's initial assumptions presented in the Introduction part of this work.

Critique / Discussion

There are several limitations of the conducted research. First of all, the sample specificity. Respondents are a) confident Internet users and b) looking for a job. As a result, in our final sample, there's a significantly bigger representation of those unemployed, students, or self-employed. Additionally, 46% of respondents answered that they support the war in Ukraine, while the general polling in Russia suggests this number varies from 60 to 75%. These factors suggest a conclusion that the sample is definitely not representative of the whole Russian population, but it is still valuable for the analysis.

Another critique of the work conducted is that the data was not exhausted to a full extent, meaning not all of the survey variables were used in the analysis. As an effect, some potential factors influencing the feeling of agency could've been missed. Thus, a second round of data analysis could help identify other predictors through, for example, conducting a linear regression for agency feeling.

Further work

In general, the research provided an exploratory view of the agency in contemporary Russian society by identifying several connections between the agency and other domains. Further research is required to gain a substantially deeper understanding of what factors can influence the feeling of agency among Russians in both personal and political aspects of their life. Recommended would be to go beyond the standard socio-demographical variables and test for topics like personal experiences, ideological views, etc. Additionally, potential mediators should be discussed.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Здравствуйте!

Мы, группа социологов из разных университетов, изучаем, как люди относятся к важным и актуальным вопросам, касающимся общества. Если Вы достигли совершеннолетия, мы просим Вас ответить на ряд вопросов. Здесь нет правильных и неправильных ответов: для нас важно Ваше личное мнение. Исследование полностью анонимно: в ходе исследования не понадобится указывать информацию, которая позволит идентифицировать Вашу личность. Потому мы просим отвечать искренне. Результаты будут использованы лишь в обобщенном виде в исследовательских целях. Заполнение опросника занимает до 10 минут. Вы можете отказаться от участия в исследовании в любой момент. Заполняя анкету, Вы соглашаетесь принять участие в исследовании.

Благодарим Вас за участие!

Для начала ответьте, пожалуйста, на несколько вопросов о Вас.

sex

Ваш пол:

- *Женский*
- *Мужской*

age

Сколько Вам полных лет?

education

Укажите Ваш уровень образования:

- *Неполное среднее*
- *Среднее*
- *Средне-специальное*
- *Высшее*
- *Несколько высших или ученая степень*

population

В каком населенном пункте Вы проживаете?

- *В городе/поселке/селе 100 тыс. и менее жителей*
- *В городе 100-250 тыс. жителей*
- *В городе 250-500 тыс. жителей*
- *В городе 500-1 млн. жителей*
- *В городе более 1 млн. жителей*

occupation

В каком секторе экономики Вы работаете?

- *Государственный сектор*
- *Частный сектор*
- *Самозанятый/Предприниматель*
- *Некоммерческий сектор*
- *Временно не работаю/Пенсионер/Студент*
- *Другое (укажите, пожалуйста)*

finances

Оцените, пожалуйста, Ваш уровень дохода:

- *Не хватает денег даже на еду*
- *Хватает на еду и оплату коммунальных услуг*
- *Хватает на еду, но не хватает на покупку одежды и обуви*
- *Хватает на одежду и обувь, но не хватает на покупку мелкой бытовой техники*
- *Хватает денег на различные покупки, но покупка дорогих вещей (компьютера, стиральной машины, холодильника) требует кредита*
- *Хватает денег на все, а на покупку квартиры, машины, дачи приходится копить*
- *Могу позволить себе все*

finance_dynamics

Изменилось ли Ваше материальное положение (уровень семейного дохода) за последние полгода?

- *Существенно ухудшилось*
- *Немного ухудшилось*
- *Никак не изменилось*
- *Немного улучшилось*
- *Существенно улучшилось*

mastery

Насколько вы согласны со следующими утверждениями?

- *Совершенно не согласен/на*
- *Скорее не согласен/на*
- *В чём-то согласен/на, в чём-то нет*
- *Скорее согласен/на*
- *Полностью согласен*

1. Я никак не могу решить некоторые проблемы, которые у меня есть.
2. Иногда я чувствую, что меня толкают туда-сюда по жизни.
3. Я мало контролирую происходящее со мной.
4. Я могу сделать все, что захочу.
5. Большую часть времени я чувствую себя беспомощным при решении жизненных проблем.
6. То, что произойдет со мной в будущем, во многом зависит от меня.
7. Я мало что могу сделать, чтобы изменить большинство важных вещей в своей жизни.

agency

Некоторые люди считают, что у них есть полностью свободный выбор и контроль над различными аспектами своей личной и общественной жизни, в то время как другие считают, что то, что они делают, не имеет реального влияния на то, что происходит в этих сферах. Как вы считаете, насколько вы можете повлиять на следующие сферы вашей и общественной жизни?

- Совершенно не могу
- В незначительной мере
- Нечто среднее
- В значительной мере
- В полной мере

1. Здоровье
2. Семья
3. Работа
4. Личные финансы
5. Развитие страны
6. Действия власти

svo

В какой степени вы поддерживаете специальную военную операцию на Украине?

- Совсем не поддерживаю
- Скорее не поддерживаю
- В чём-то поддерживаю, в чём-то нет
- Скорее поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю

govsupport

В какой степени вы поддерживаете нынешние власти России?

- Совсем не поддерживаю
- Скорее не поддерживаю
- В чём-то поддерживаю, в чём-то нет
- Скорее поддерживаю
- Полностью поддерживаю