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DEPRESSION AS PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF MATERIAL STATUS INCONSISTENCY: THE CASE OF POLAND AND UKRAINE

The article is focused on the psychological outcomes of material status inconsistency. The influence of three dimensions of material well-being, household incomes, household durables in possession and the size of housing, on depression is tested on two comparable national representative samples of urban adults in Poland (1992) and Ukraine (1993). Some types of material deprivation, which are described as material status inconsistency, were discovered to be conducive to depression scores that at least are as high as among those who experience multidimensional deprivation.

I. Theoretical Introduction

Voluminous sociological writings explore the question whether poor macro-economic conditions and low individual records contribute to negative mood among population. Generally poor income is proved to be a stable correlate of psychological ill-being on the individual level [1] as well as on the country level that can be seen in high correlations between GDP and individual happiness [2]. However, poor individual records only partially explains poor psychological condition. The phenomenon of status inconsistency, the situation when good condition in one dimension coincides with low rates in a different aspect, say, higher educated specialist is poorly paid in relation to his colleagues-compatriots. As G. Lenski, the author of the last term, pointed out «Apparently the individual with a poorly crystallised status is a particu-

lar type of marginal man, and is subjected to certain pressures by the social order, which are not felt by individuals with a more highly crystallised status» [3].

Material status inconsistency effect on psychological functioning is another aspect of this very problem. Studies show that miscorrelation of dimensions of material status is worldwide known phenomenon [4].

However, the decomposition of the elements of material status was exceptionally deep during real socialism because of systemic distortions, payments' leveling, deficit of consumer goods and eternal housing crisis.

This material status decomposition became reinforced in the late 1980-s when chaotic purchasing of long-term durables, the outcome of suppressed inflation, left incomes' increment far behind the growth of consumption. Therefore young

post-Communist states inherited strong misbalance within aspects of material status. Polish studies show that in 1992 the signs of convergence of material status components have not appeared yet; in 1995 it was revealed but only within richest layers of population [5].

Thus, there are two potential sources for explanation of depression: poverty and material status inconsistency. Putting the question in another way we may ask who is more depressed: those who are deprived in all aspects of material well-being or only in one aspect, say, housing or monetary poverty. The apparently right answer is the first one, however, when taking the phenomenon of relative deprivation in post-Communist countries we may wish to revise this statement.

Definitions of poverty vary vastly, nevertheless, the core idea is to consider poverty as a multi-dimensional state of social or material disadvantage relative to the local community or society: low income, low education, housing standards, family situation and subjective attitudes [6]. The idea of multi-dimensional deprivation is that accumulation in one household of poor records in at least two out of three material dimensions may cause the steep worsening of psychological well-being. For instance, even if overcrowded housing is not important per se for psychological well-being, when it coincides with monetary poverty and insufficient provision with durable goods, this may produce the feeling of deep deprivation and despair.

The aim of this analysis is to compare the effect, which multidimensional deprivation and material status inconsistency exert on depression rate. Three elements of material status are selected for analysis: personal income, the size of housing per the member of household and household goods in possessions. Two countries in transformation, Poland and Ukraine are taken for analysis. Different speed and quality of economic reforms could have caused that already in 1992-1993 situation of totally or partially deprived population were quite different.

Who can be those people who suffer the most severe depression despite only partial deprivation? One of groups with decomposed material status and suffering severe depression is, probably, Ukrainian owners of large apartments with small incomes and non-sufficient set of household durables. Their low spirit may be explained by relative deprivation of particular strength that some segments of population endure during the change of political and economic course of the country. Thus, Russian studies of social profile of groups with incongruent material status components show that appreciable housing conditions in combination with modest incomes and household property characterizes respondents, who

belonged to the former managerial staff, who lost their incomes because of pension age [7]. This group may incorporate also younger members, and as a whole is, probably, less socially mobile in seeking job and improving of living standards that might have caused specific negativistic dispositions.

In contrast, those who possess overcrowded housing but relatively high incomes and satisfying equipment with durable goods, may be socially mobile, since they might have obtained this housing recently, moving from their parents house after establishing of their own family. The already referred Russian study found that private entrepreneurs were over represented in this group of material inconsistencies: they earned appreciable incomes, which, however, still were not sufficient for purchasing a flat.

These two described *deprivation types* have certain repercussions with «hard-core poor» and «temporary poor» constructs suggested by J. Rutkowski [8]. He defined the «temporary poor» as a specific human product of the transitory shock: they differ from the rest of the society only by low incomes but not in terms of human capital or ability to participate in social life. This type of poverty, «poverty with hope», refers to those younger and better educated who are poor mainly because their incomes do not permit them to purchase the real estate. In contrast the «hard-core poor» experience first of all human capital deficit, which is most probably would prevent them from full participation in economic life.

General hypotheses of the study may be formulated as follows:

1. The influence of some types material status inconsistency on depression within the poor is supposed to be at least as strong as the effect of accumulated poverty traits in all three dimensions, or it can be even stronger due to relative deprivation.

2. In Ukraine the effect of material status inconsistency on depression among the poor is supposed to be stronger than in Poland because of lack of comprehensive progress in market reforms in Ukraine at the early 1990-s.

These hypotheses are tested on the two comparable sets of data collected in conducted in a frame of Polish-Ukrainian survey «Social Structure and Personality under Conditions of Radical Social Changes». This survey has been a part of large intersectional project «Social Structure and Personality» co-ordinated by Professor M. Kohn, John Hopkins University. The Polish survey was conducted in 1992, whereas in Ukraine the fieldwork was implemented in winter 1992-1993 by Kyiv International Institution of Sociology, research institution, created in 1990. Poles successfully inter-

viewed 78 % of their designated respondents. Ukrainian survey included 2322 interviews with 81 % of sample completion. In all, 2.291 people (1.086 men and 1.205 women) were interviewed in the Polish survey, 2.322 people (966 men and 1.356 women) in the Ukrainian survey. The obtained sample adequately mirrors demographic characteristics of the population from which it was drawn.

II. Multidimensional Deprivation and Psychological Discomfort

In order to test these hypotheses we defined deprivation as a condition of falling below some living standards: having less than 40 % of average income, lacking one from the list of substantial goods and having more than one inhabitants per room. Seven multidimensionally deprived groups were defined according to accumulation of poverty traits, including those touched by only one dimension of poverty, those touched by two and one group described by deprivation in all three areas. Two groups of those respondents with two poverty traits were merged by theoretical assumptions and labeled conditionally «temporary poor». Those with appreciable housing but low income and household property were called «hard-core poor», and those with three poverty traits «very deprived». (Please, find the description and distribution of deprivation types in Annex).

Table 1 presents the regression scores of deprivation groups on depression. As it follows from the Table 1 the «very deprived» is not the most depressed group in either country, the outcome, which corroborates our Hypothesis 1 about specific effect of material status inconsistency among poor respondents. In Ukraine the «hard-core poor» is unequivocally the most depressed group, $\beta = 0.096$, followed by the «very deprived», $\beta = 0.068$, both coefficients two-tail significant at 1 % level.

The unexpected finding is that in Poland the «temporary poor» are significantly more depressed than the other deprived ($\beta = 0.062$ two-tail significant at 1 % level), even slightly more than the «hard-core poor» ($\beta = 0.052$, two-tail significant at 5 % level). Probably, the «temporary poor» is the most depressed group in Poland since in the early 1990-s this presumably active and younger part of population already felt a pressure of new ideology of success, of job competition and unemployment, and observed they more successful peers equally well-educated unlike the counterpart group in Ukraine. On the other hand, since the situation with pensions was regulated in Poland more or less in 1993, the «hard-core poor», as presumably older and passive part of population

Table 1. Deprivation Groups and Depression, Regression Coefficients, Standardised Scores in Brackets, Poland and Ukraine

	Depression	
	Poland	Ukraine
Constant	0.467	0.314
Lack of durables	.140 (.053)**	.076 (.032)
Low incomes	.204 (.039)	.019 (.004)
Overcrowded	-.055 (-.022)	.063 (.023)
Temporary poor	.194 (.062)	.010 (.004)
Hard-core poor	.277 (.052)**	.375 (.096)
Very deprived	.130 (.032)	.294 (.068)
Age	-.000 (-.012)	.001 (.020)
Age squared	-.011 (-.012)	.011 (.011)
Education	-.041 (-.154)	-.036 (-.140)
Education squared	.038 (.047)**	.021 (.038)
Gender	-.313 (-.154)	-.207 (-.106)
R ²	6.3%	6.7%
N	2222	1890

Higher values -signify worse perceived well-being, stronger depression.

Two-tail significant coefficients less than at 0.01 level are bold typed, ** mark significance at 0.05 level, * means one tail significant, substantial changes in comparison with the previous model are typed by Italic.

endured less severe depression than their Ukrainian counterparts.

One should pay particular attention to the fact that gender and education are the strongest determinants of depression. Stronger depression scores of females is well known phenomenon found in standardized studies of non-clinical forms of depression [9]. Education's influence on depression testifies fully to «learning-generalization» hypothesis here, which states that education and highly autonomous and complicated job tasks favors the development of stress-coping skills [10]. Therefore, deprivation in any form has marginal importance as these two variables are controlled.

Further analysis clarifies the role of age, human capital and other variables that may be relevant to the explanation of this inter country difference between «hard-core» and «temporary poor» and their relation to some behavioural-attitudinal syndrome (Hypothesis 2).

III. Crowdy but Happy, Spaciously but Upset?

As it visible from the Table 2, group 6 in Ukraine, those deprived, who have low incomes and lack of some substantial durables, but acceptable housing conditions, labeled «hard-core poor», differ from any other in two dimensions at once, having lowest education and being the oldest. 74 % of this group's composition is women and average number of children on care is substantially lower than for the rest of population. This socio-demographic heterogeneity supports the adequacy of terming this group as «hard-core poor», for lack of human capital, which worsen the good perspectives for the future. It is understandable that this group endures severe relative deprivation that explains its negativistic mood.

In Poland the corresponding group 6 is tangibly younger, has smaller gap in education with sample average, and has more children than in Ukraine net of the inter country absolute difference in these indicators. In Polish group 6 there is relatively fewer females than in Ukrainian: 62.5 % of the group. By age and number of dependent children this group does not differ too much from the other groups unlike the «hard-core poor» in Ukraine, and is the closest to the non-poor by its composition. Therefore, socio-demographic portrait of this group is not entirely congruent with their counterparts in Ukraine. Nevertheless, this group is referred as the «hard-core poor» for the sake of clarity, having in mind that it may not represent the same syndrome as Ukrainian «hard-core poor».

In Polish part the group 1, those who declared the lack of at least one durable from the list of the necessary, attracts attention. This group is outstanding due to its older than average age and smaller number of dependant children, differing from the other groups exactly in a way as Ukrainian «hard-core poor» do. These two parameters made to suspect that those older Poles, who some times ago fitted the definition of «hard-core poor», now are located in deprivation group 1 after obtaining higher pensions that could have lessened their relative deprivation and nostalgia toward socialist past. If we turn to regression scores presented in Table 1 we will see a confirmation for this suggestion: depression within group 1 in Poland is somewhat higher than for the non-deprived and some deprived groups. This may be taken as a proof that some remnants of the «hard-core poor» can be found in group 1.

Table 4 shows that the «very deprived» are younger, worse educated and have more children than the average respondent in both populations under study. However, ANOVA testing does not register significant deviation from all other groups besides the outstanding number of children in Ukraine. In Ukraine the «very deprived» are in the same age category as group 5, equally educated as group 1. In Poland their difference from the other groups is somewhat more salient but still statistically insignificant.

The next two groups of interest in Ukraine are groups 4 and 5. They are created by two conditions, overcrowded housing both and either low incomes (group 5) or lack of durables (group 4). In

Table 2. Socio-Démographie Profile of Deprivation Groups

		Poland			Ukraine		
		Age	Education in years	Number of children on care	Age	Education	Number of children on care
	Non-deprived	43.2	10.7	0.62	43.6	12.5	0.57
1.	Lack of durables	48.7	8.1	0.21	48.2	10.1*	0.29
2.	Overcrowded	38.0	10.1	1.25	39.2	12.5	0.94
3.	Low incomes	40.8	8.6	1.20	45.6	10.9	0.63
4.	Lack of durables and overcrowded	39.6	7.4	0.82	37.5	11.6**	0.93*
5.	Low incomes and overcrowded	38.3	8.6	1.81	41.2*	11.6**	1.02*
6.	Low incomes and lack of durables	43.3	7.2	0.64	54.1	8.3	0.27
7.	Low incomes, lack of durables and overcrowded	36.3	6.9	1.71	41.1*	10.1*	1.06
	Total	42.2	9.4	0.84	44.0	11.3	0.62

Those group means, which significantly differ from all other groups in the column are bold typed; one or two asterisks point those pairs of groups which have indistinguishable means in the column. The results are obtained with the help of ANOVA procedure of comparison of means, method Posthoc.

Ukraine the respondents in these two groups are somewhat younger than the average, have identical level of education, which is close to the sample mean, and have statistically indistinguishable average number of children, which is higher than the sample average. These two groups have been properly defined as «temporary poor», since they differ from the «hard-core poor» in several significant aspects: they are touched by different dimension of poverty, housing poverty, they are younger and better educated, have larger number of children. It is possible that some fresh-made private entrepreneurs could be found there, as it was in the Russian case of analyzing material status inconsistency [9].

In Poland groups 4 and 5 differ from each stronger than in the case of Ukraine, in particular, in number of children. Similarly to Ukrainian «temporary poor» both groups are younger than country average, but in distinction from their Ukrainian counterparts they have lower than sample average education. Another similar feature with Ukrainian «temporary poor» is the equal share of males within Polish groups 4 and 5. Under the conditions of overrepresentation of females in general sample, 57.5 % in Ukrainian sample and 52.6 % in Polish, it can be said that the «temporary poor» with a half of men in their composition are male skewed groups. From the point of view of family structure Polish «temporary poor», an aggregate of these two groups, is rather heterogeneous: those overcrowded with low incomes have more children on care than those overcrowded who lack some substantial goods.

These differences explain in part why Polish the «temporary poor» are more depressed than other deprived groups. The point is that they encompass different syndrome than Ukrainian «temporary poor» lacking the substantial part of its definition: human capital, or education. This group is under high risk of primary unemployment or losing job or incomes because of enlargement of family.

Thus one can see that depression of the «hard-core poor» in Ukraine or «temporary poor» in Poland cannot be explained by their older age: direct effect of age on depression is neither observed in Tables, nor in reports of psychiatrists [11].

Annex

Dependent Variable: Depression

Leaning on the definition of Abramson et al. [12] I decided to call this scale «depression» since it satisfied to all three conditions of definition: lack of motivation (powerlessness), sadness (boredom) and suicidal ideation (no purpose in being alive). Depression scores were taken as saved scores of factor analysis made on the four questions with

number of factors restricted to one produced a solution with 49.7 % of explained variability in Ukraine and 45.0% in Poland (factor loadings are below). Answers to questions «How often...» were coded as 5-point scale starting from «Never»(1) to «Always» (5), while the answers to the second questions were coded from «Strongly disagree» (1) to «Strongly agree» (5) also in 5-point scale.

	Poland	Ukraine
• How often do you feel powerless to get what you particularly care about?	0.651	0.723
• Sometimes I feel useless.	0.640	0.641
• How often do you feel bored?	0.687	0.641
• How often do you feel that there is not much purpose in being alive?	0.728	0.785

Independent Variables, Deprivation Groups

Lack of Durables was defined as the reported lack of at least one of the item from the list of necessary household goods (1), while all «havers» got value 0.

Low incomes were operationalised as the lowest income quintile of the sample (value 1 for those who in the lowest 20 %, value 0 for all others. In Ukraine this threshold of low incomes, 1966 thousands of carbovanets per capita, successfully coincided with relative poverty definition, which taken as 40 % of average income. In Poland relative poverty line (559 Złoty) pass somewhat lower than the upper margin of the lowest quintile (750 Złoty).

Overcrowded encompasses those who have more than one person per room in their housing. In both samples about 30 % were found to live in overcrowded conditions (733 cases in Ukraine and 682 in Poland).

Four multidimensional deprivation groups (5-8) were defined basing on simple cross-classification of material deprivation conditions. *Very deprived* is the group that accumulates all three deprivation traits. Those respondents who satisfied to no condition of deprivation were categorized as «non-poor» and were excluded from the regression equations as a control group.

Two groups, that combined overcrowded conditions either with monetary or possessions' poverty, were merged into one group called «Temporary poor», according to premises reported in the text. The group where only monetary and durables' deprivation appear is specified as «hard-core poor».

As we can see both hypotheses are confirmed. Material status inconsistency within deprived groups exists in both countries and patterns are different in both countries. The limitation of the analysis is in the application of the terms «tempo-

rary poor» and «hard core poor» to the described patters of material status inconsistency, since we have neither temporal dimension, nor information

about life style and expectation in this analysis. Therefore, the observed phenomenon is still waiting for the concepts.

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Наталія Погоріла

ДЕПРЕСІЯ ЯК ПСИХОЛОГІЧНИЙ НАСЛІДОК СТАТУСНОЇ НЕВІДПОВІДНОСТІ: ВИПАДКИ ПОЛЬЩІ ТА УКРАЇНИ

Ця стаття дає напрямок вивченню психологічних наслідків так званої статусної невідповідності. Аналізується вплив на депресію трьох складових матеріального статусу - доходів, домашнього майна та розміру помешкання - на матеріалі двох порівняльних репрезентативних досліджень, що їх було проведено у Польщі 1992 року та Україні зимою 1992-1993 років. Виявлено, що деякі типи часткової матеріальної деривації призводять до глибшої депресії, ніж повна матеріальна депривація.