

нання формальних посадових обов'язків, "арбітр" отри- мує частину зібраної суб'єктом ренти.

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СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ КАПИТАЛ И РЕНТО ОРИЕНТИРОВАННЫЕ СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ СЕТИ В УСЛОВИЯХ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО МОНОПОЛИЗМА

Автор рассматривает перспективы и пути адаптации теории социального капитала к условиям современного украинского общества. Особенности украинского общества, влияющие на процесс генерации социального капитала, раскрываются с использованием понятий "государственный монополизм", "рента", "рентоориентированные социальные сети".

Ключевые слова: социальный капитал, государственный монополизм, рента, рентоориентированные социальные сети

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RENT-ORIENTED SOCIAL NETWORK UNDER CONDITION OF STATE MONOPOLISM

Author analyses the difficulties and possible ways of the of social capital theory adaptation to the conditions of the contemporary Ukrainian society. The peculiar features of Ukrainian society are analyzed using the concepts of "state monopolism", "rent", "rent-oriented social networks".

Key words: social capital, state monopolism, rent, rent-oriented social networks

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LIFE-COURSE STRATEGIES AND LABOR MIGRATION: UKRAINIANS IN ITALY AND POLAND

Current labor migration from post-Soviet Ukraine to the European Union' countries is characterized by significant scale and intensity, innovative character, diversity and unexpectedness of life collisions. Among all the EU countries, Italy and Poland emerge as a new migration space for labor migrants from post-Soviet Ukraine. The purpose of this paper is to examine post-Soviet Ukrainian labor emigrants to Italy and Poland and to reveal their strategies of adaptation their individual life paths to the new environment. It is identified and discussed the relationship between life course strategies and their realization via international labor migration during the last decade of the 20th century. The research paper proposes highly relevant life strategy models of Ukrainians based on the study of intentions, means and results of life strategy implementation as well as of values, target orientations and the rationality of life strategy choice by migrants. The study is based on the qualitative research conducted during 2009-2011, using the method of discourse analysis of transcripts and "thick descriptions" of in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland. The following strategy models were analyzed: a strategy of achievement and a survival strategy. The empirically based analysis gave evidence concerning an ambivalent life strategy models widespread among the Ukrainian labor migrants, which can be defined as either a strategy of achievement or survival strategy.

Key words: labor migration, life-course perspective, strategy of achievement, survival life strategy, post-Soviet social transformations

Introduction

Life-course is likely one of the most popular sociological concepts today, being a notion enlightening a dynamic

process, consisting of many overlapping trajectories over an individual's course of life [Kunz, 2005]. But what happens when the life-course perspective is applied to the

context of migration? What is the role of migration as a transition that produces lasting shifts in the life course trajectory of an individual? And how the historical change, socio-economic institutions shape the life-course? In this paper I aim to address these questions through the identification and exploration of the relationship between life course strategy and its realization via international labor migration by a case study of Ukrainian labour migrants in Italy and Poland.

Firstly, I present a theoretical approach to migration from the life-course perspective. Secondly, I introduce methodological framework and conceptual research model utilized for this study. Thirdly, I describe Ukrainian labor migration to Poland and Italy. Finally, through analysis of in-depth interviews I suggest explanatory models of relevant life strategies Ukrainians employ in shaping their individual life paths in new environments that are both diverse and rapidly changing.

Migration through Life-Course Lens

Life-course perspective as a theoretical model has emerged over the last 50 years. Typically, life-course research problems tend to fall into three general areas: 1) interdependence of humans with special attention to the family as the primary arena for synchronizing person's life with family member's lives across time; 2) the way culture, social and economic institutions shape the pattern of the individual lives; 3) timing of lives not just in terms of chronological age, but also in terms of biological, psychological, social and spiritual age. Within this particular study the life course perspective calls attention to how historical change, social location, and culture affect the individual experience and influences the decision to migrate, specifically pushes person to make a lasting shift in the life course trajectory with the help of migration. Migration is approached as a turning point in individual biography, as a relatively abrupt change that produce serious long-lasting effects. These effects "involved in transition are discrete and bounded; when they happen, an old phase of life ends and a new phase begins" [Hutchison, 2007: 15]. Migration to a new country whether voluntary or involuntary, certainly makes a lifelong change on the environment in which the person lives; it may also open or close opportunities and cause a change in self-concept, beliefs, or expectations. It affects major life-course trajectories, including a long period of an individual's pre-migration stage as well as the continual stage of integration within the recipient society. There is no doubt that migration appears to be a significant and often disruptive transition in life of a person that voluntary or being forced decided to migrate.

More specifically, the questions I am trying to answer in this paper are (1) why people choose not to adapt to changing environments in their original society but migrate, revealing the opposite strategy to adaptation scenario, and (2) how do individuals accommodate to social transformations reflected in the life strategies they apply. The process of finding ways of social adaptation of the individual to the constantly changing social conditions demands from social scientists the practical orientation of their research and developments in the area of life course studies. In domestic – Russian and Ukrainian – works on the applied sociology¹ the analysis of the social conditions and factors has not yet been adjusted to determine their impact on the individual life course shaping. Moreover, much less attention is paid to the study of the impact of individual goal-setting on the social change. On the other hand, the practical work on the rationalization of individual life orientations and the conditions for their implementation, as well as a competent "interference" in the functioning of

the personal strategies based on the understanding of the relationship between social and mental, individual and collective in the people's life has now showed an excessive demand from a number of social policy subjects. The main reasons for the current trend are: (1) the growth of contradictions between the changing socio-economic behavior of the individual and his/her previous attitudes and orientations on a relatively stable and prosperous life; (2) strengthening of "existential vacuum" [Reznik, 1996: 111], a spiritual crisis in the "post-perestroika" Ukrainian period, (3) the decline in motivation of Ukrainians to productive labour, in particular, changes in the value orientations of workers in some occupational groups [Naumova, 1995].

While linking the insights of micro-level research on migrants' life strategies with the macro-level analyses of emigration from post-soviet Ukraine as a determinative factor of individual life shaping and bringing the concept of life course to the broader social context where social institutions play important role in the actor's life modeling, let me draw on societal transformations in Ukraine as a point for exploration.

The transformation processes within Ukrainian society: the transition from authoritarianism towards democratic government, market reforms and national revival – have significantly influenced the behavior of Ukrainians, especially – their attempt, on one hand, to adapt and tolerate the changing conditions, while on the other – to try to use changes in their favor. Therefore, the intensity of migration behavior can be understood by the absence of available means and the inability to achieve set goals within the opportunity space of the home country. Migration as mentioned above appears to be a tool for coping and responding to these new challenges that comes together with long-drawn political instability and economic insecurity.

Socio-economic transformations are argued by economic theories of migration to alter the decision-making environment for individuals and enhances the role of collective household strategies in adapting to structural change, notably through migration [Jazwinska and Okólski, 1996]. Market reforms implemented in Ukraine since 1991 has brought along with freedom of choice and a rise in independent decision-making by individuals greater risk and more responsibility in decision-making, forming deep differentiation in wage levels and career prospects.

Within the context of a rapidly changing and unstable economic and political environment, these circumstances have led to a polarization of people into two opposing strategies, one dynamic, risk-taking and future-oriented "achievement strategies", and thus open to mobility, and the other conservative, risk-minimizing and survival-oriented that is less conducive to change of any sort "survival strategies". The latter strategy was initially adopted in response to the shocks of transition by a majority of households and individuals in Ukraine, yielding a decline in population mobility. Migrants were recruited primarily from those adopting the former strategy, people who were relatively young, predominantly urban, and if unemployed often voluntarily so by their own choice [Okólski, 2004].

The most common denominators of motivations behind migration undertaken in response to structural change might be: the accumulation of capital in order to achieve a stable adaptation to the conditions of a market economy [Schmidt-Hauer, 1993]. Under conditions of declining real incomes typical during the early stages of social and market transition, some households decide to invest in migration, sending family members abroad to earn money in hopes of diversifying sources of household income sources through remittances (or other benefits) to decrease

the risks inherent in the transition [Okólski, 2004; Stark 1991]. For many, migration may simply be defensive strategy against social degradation [Jazwinska and Okólski, 1996; Okólski, 2004].

Considering both life-course approach and migration theories, labour migration might be interpreted as follows. Labour migration appears to be a tool for implementing the long-term life plans of individuals who choose to go abroad for work as a mean to achieve set goals. Life-course strategy in this context is a life plan aimed at achieving goals, based on available resources and means, when consequences and results from labour migration are clearly deliberated and expected by potential migrant. Such practices can carry a personal, group, structural or institutional nature. Therefore, life-course strategies are not bound in this case to a particular individual, but are adequate to the strategic social practices of some blend of social actors and/or social group. Concepts of the actor and of human agency, which have always been prominent in life course studies, with respect to individual differences clearly matter, particularly as individuals interact with an ever changing migration and social environment to produce behavioral outcomes [Elder, 1994; O'Rand 1996]. The importance of human agency in making choices [Hutchison, 2005] and the use of personal power to achieve one's goals are also important elements of life-course formation.

Subsequently, life strategy is a person's choice which is determined by a number of circumstances. External factors (economic, political, social instability) as well as internal (family adversity) affect the formation of life strategy, including ways of its realization. In this case, migration is a rational choice (rational action) in the projection of the individual on his/her own future. In turn, labour migration as a mass phenomenon might imply long-term social transformations within recipient communities and perhaps disruption and dysfunction within the home communities [Babenko, 2002]. A relevant illustration to the negative structural effects labour emigration cause in Ukrainian society is the so-called phenomenon of "incomplete migration" [Okolski, 1997: 55], which seems to be highly relevant for migrants from Ukraine (but also some other countries) who formally remain employed in their home countries but who are not producing, not being paid, or only earning a fraction of what they are entitled to, owing to the economic slump and the decline in factory production in Ukraine. For such people, migration is often a matter of survival.

Consequently, the relationship is circular: at the societal level [Babenko, 2004] social structures shape practices and understandings of agents, while agents and practices also reflect and transform the structure. The example of Ukrainian labour migration shows that individuals' choices are constrained by the structural and cultural arrangements of the post-soviet period. Institutions have the potential to structure and form the life-course, and also – as supporters, providers and preservers of norms – they are backing individual decision-making and self-interpretation [Heinz and Krüger, 2001]. Life-course perspective gives attention to the impact of historical and social change on human behavior, which seems particularly important in rapidly changing Ukrainian society.

Research Methodology

The data for this paper are drawn from qualitative research conducted during 2009-2011. In the study the method of secondary data analysis of transcripts and "thick descriptions" [Geertz, 1973] of in-depth interviews was used. Empirical basis of this study is formed by 15 transcripts of in-depth interviews with Ukrainian migrants working in Italy obtained from "Caritas Ukraine", conducted in 2008-2010 within a comprehensive study of labor

migration and labor markets within the project "Brain-Net Working" (Spain, Italy, Moldova Ukraine, Russia), as well as 12 transcripts of interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants in Poland from private research archive of Dr. Victoria Volodko. Overall, research includes 27 interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants: 12 with work experience in Poland and 15 with work experience in Italy.

19 out of 27 interviewed migrants had a high level of education and prior to the emigration they had skilled jobs, but economic transformations, affecting the Ukraine after 1991, re-shaped their life trajectory. All respondents originally came from the Western region of Ukraine, mainly from Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Khmelnytsky, Rivne and Volyn.

Discourse analysis tactics was employed in the suggested research. Discourse analysis as used in much qualitative research today aims at allowing the researcher to view the "problem" from a higher stance and to gain a comprehensive view of the "problem" and individuals in relation to that "problem" [Talja, 1999]. The basic analytic unit is the interpretative repertoire [Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 1998]. Interpretative approach to the obtained data anticipate interviews not interpreted as stories having a clear and distinguishable message and meaning; instead, all the accounts produced by the participants were taken into consideration and analyzed in order to identify significant patterns of consistency and variation in them. In the analysis I move from purely interpretative approach of migrants' experiences to a pragmatic characterization of the factors that build up life-course strategy models.

In order to solve the problems of life strategy realization and to develop life strategy models a broad analysis of empirical data is required, and can be achieved at the moment only in the most general terms by the attempt to identify the most typical for Ukrainian migrants life practices. I believe that as the latter can be considered different ways of life experiences, corresponding to the two main types of life strategies – strategies of achievement and strategies of survival that can be presented in the form of behavioral models. Therefore, for the purpose of this study modified typology of life strategies was developed based on the analysis of intentions, means and results of life strategy implementation as well as giving room for an exploration of values, target orientations and the rationality of life strategy choice by migrant. Hence, in the context of labor migration as an instrument of life strategy implementation the following life strategy models will be applied to mine study consisting of two types of life strategies: (1) strategy of achievement and (2) survival strategy (see fig. 1). In my view, the model of life strategy realization represents a typical (for this group of people) project or construct of life and behavior, which corresponds to certain tools and resources.

Life-course strategy is approached in this study as a research concept defined as a dynamic, self-adjusted system that determines rational behavior of an individual during the long-term period. Elements of life-course strategy are: goals, means of realization and results (in this research: either (1) strategy of survival or (2) strategy of achievement). Strategy of achievement in the context of labour migration is identified as behavior model directed at achievement, self-realization, use of new possibilities, extended recreation of social and economic status (Babenko, 2004). The main pre-condition of the achievement strategy is the motivational activity ("achievement") counted on public confession (based on interview materials). While strategy of survival is viewed as a behavior model directed at the limited recreation at the

level of physical survival, decline of social and economic status, self-restraint, and decline of life chances [Reznik, 1995]. Receptive ("consumer's") social behavior is a basis of strategy of survival. Within the strategy of survival individuals set themselves the most accessible targets and

thus provide own or collective (e.g. family) survival [Reznik, 1995]. Labour migration as a mode of life strategy realization is interpreted as a tool to implement the long-term life plan of individual who chooses as a mean of its implementation traveling abroad for employment.

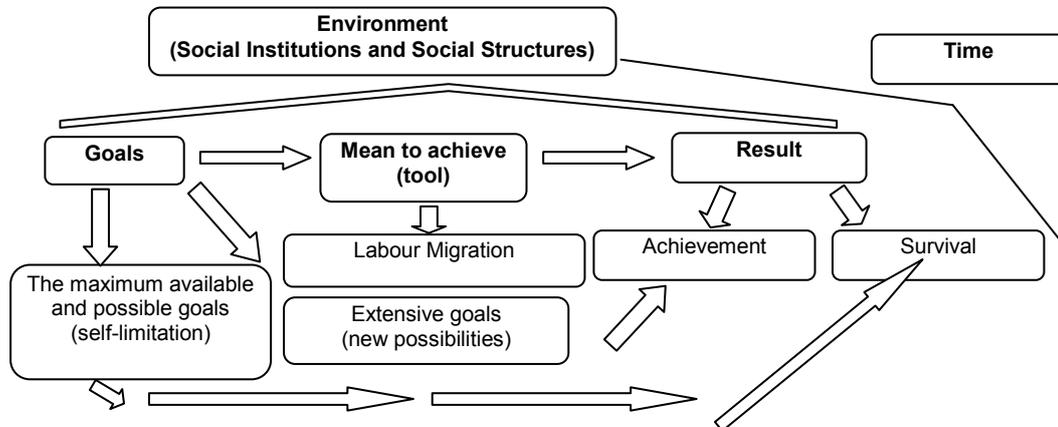


Fig. 1. Model of life strategy, where migration appears to be a tool for strategy implementation

Conceptual research model generated particularly for the specific aims of the study on life strategies included analytical chart revealing categorization of working concepts that guided the research in terms of the two main concepts of "migration" and "life-course strategy". Two dimensions of migration concept were operationalized: formal and informal. The following research categories pertain to the formal dimensions of migration: intentions for migration, legal status, method of realization, amount of migrants, duration, character of employment abroad, level of professional qualification and labour activity in accepting society. In conveying the informal dimension I relate organization of the everyday life of a migrant.

Within the operationalization of the life-course strategy concept the following indicators come forward: life-sense orientations (are based on the simplified hierarchical model of necessities of Maslow), value orientations (typology of values by Harsky), target orientations and the degree of rationality of choice and realization of life-course strategy (according to T. Reznik and U.Reznik). According to Reznik (1996) the process of life strategy formation is not easy and straightforward; it includes three interrelated and successive phases: 1) selection of strategy based on personal identification, 2) building (construction) and 3) presentation (self-representation). The first two steps can be combined into a single process, the strategic choice of the individual. For example, the choice of a life strategy is being implemented gradually, starting from the stage of perception and completing with goal-setting phase. The choice of life strategy and its design is implemented on the basis of the reflexive position: personal understanding of the rational and irrational reasons behind his/her life, its driving sources and causes. The process of changing life strategies is certainly a very complicated and painful practice, and not everyone is able to abandon from old life prospects in favor of the unknown path of a new self-determination. However, the individual is pushed to such changes not only by the external circumstances, such as the reduction of income or loss of job, but the ever-growing dissatisfaction with life, a state of psychological discomfort associated with the loss of ideals.

Case Study: Ukrainian Migration to Italy and Poland and Migrants' Life Strategy Models

International labour migration of Ukrainians today is the most socially significant and widespread form of migration flow in Ukraine, aggravating demography, labour markets,

economic and social development, individual welfare, poverty and social stratification. Psychological and cultural risks also come to bear [Levchenko, 2010: 16].

According to the Ukrainian National Academy of Science in 2050 the population of Ukraine will decline from the current 46 million to 36 million (Institute of Demography and Social Studies of NAS of Ukraine, 2010); while the United Nations presents an even more pessimistic figure: 26 million [Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2010]. Ukrainian labour migration plays a pivotal role in this population decline. National survey results reveal the number of citizens who have traveled abroad for employment at least once from January 2005 to June 2008 reached 1.5 million or 5.1% of the working age population [State Statistic Committee of Ukraine, 2009: 25]. Various estimations further show between 4 to 7 million Ukrainians are migrant workers [Golovaha 2008: 63], respectively 19.5% to 34.1% of the economically active population [Malynovska 2011: 6]. Consequently, as much as one third (!) of active population of working age participates in labour migration.

The Italian and Polish case studies were chosen because relations, exchanges and transnational mobility between Ukraine and these European Union countries seem destined to increase. In fact, Ukraine is becoming increasingly strategic in the European context, being a potential EU member. Flows of labor migration from Ukraine are quite precise in geographical directions: mainly carried out to the nearest countries or more distant countries, but with a more attractive economic situation. The main destination for Ukrainian workers among the European Union countries (48.5%) are Italy (13.4%), Czech Republic (12.8%), Poland (7.4%), Spain (3.9%) and Portugal (3.0%) [Kis, 2010].

Therefore, among all the EU countries Italy has emerged as a new migration space, because the number of Ukrainian migrant workers in this country is higher compared to other EU member states. Absolute quantitative increase is evident if we look at the Ukrainian population in Italy between 2001 and 2009, the number of Ukrainians in Italy increased from 12 to 200 thousand, which made them the fifth-largest foreign community in Italy [Kis, 2010: 167]. This trend is confirmed by the rating of the most attractive for work countries from the view of Ukrainians. An international comparative study in 2005-2007 identified Italy as the most attractive place for labor

migration: 24.4% of Ukrainians chose Italy, 17.8% – Russia and 17.2% preferred USA [Zhakevych, 2008: 92].

Poland is one of the most popular destinations for Ukrainians amongst the Central-European direction. Critically, the Polish case is essential for this study as Ukrainians form the biggest group of immigrants in Poland comprised 19% of all foreigners in Poland [Fihel, 2004: 42] and since 2005 occupy the first position by the number of permits issued for a stay in the country.

The content analysis of the transcribed interviews showed the group of 27 respondents (12 worked in Poland; 15 worked in Italy) emphasized the following as the main motivation for migration from Ukraine to Italy and Poland: 1) the low level of income; 2) retrenchment due to social and economic shocks; 3) the absence of social protection (lack of state support); and 4) shifts in social values and social prestige.

Despite the economic benefits of labor migration 11 of interviewees migrated to Italy and Poland for non-economic factors. They were personal, cultural or educational reasons: 1) the intention to change personal life, to see the world, to gain life experience; 2) studying and improving professional qualifications. The main motivator in most cases was the wish for self-realization in a safe environment with economic, social and political stability; which is perceived to be unrealizable or absent in Ukraine. Thus, solely economic motivation in many cases comes out to be not the main reason for migration, but rather labour migration appears to be an instrument for achieving a dream of stability and economic freedom.

Subsequently, migratory decision was influenced by different factors: buying power reduction; unemployment; increase of consumption rhythms; the desire for travel and to see new places; and last but not least running after the Western well-being myth. These reasons moreover often hide a more complex and maybe implicit characteristic of migration: rejection and rebellion against social norms and work conditions prevalent in the Ukraine.

Migrants' Life Strategy Models

The experiences gained from 27 interviews gave this study insights into daily life and into the socio-cultural problems Ukrainian migrants face in recipient societies, particularly barriers in realizing the migrants' pathways in terms of social inclusion, cultural differentiation, shifts of national and cultural identities; into official migration policies of Italy and Poland; and into the socio-economic contradictions within the Ukrainian society as a migration push factor.

The interview materials with Ukrainians revealed life strategy models which can be defined as either a strategy of achievement or survival strategy. The majority of the interviewed migrants implement strategy of achievement; however this result cannot be applied to all Ukrainian migrants employed abroad. Achievement strategy aims to realize (1) collective goals, (2) citizenship in the country of immigration and (3) social recognition and prestige.

Life Strategies of Achievement:

1) Life strategy to achieve collective (family) goals. The basis of this strategy is determined by the nature of the target orientations that Ukrainian migrants have, including distribution to collective and individual goals. The study demonstrated that Ukrainian labor migrants leave Ukraine with the purpose of employment in Italy and Poland implementing collective goals, more precisely, the aims of the whole family. The main family goals were: education of children; debts cover (not individual ones, but debts incurred by the needs of the whole family), carrying for sick parents. Individual (personal) goals are the minor or nonexistent for labor migrants from Ukraine.

Labour migration within this model is considered as a tool for the implementation of a short-term migration project to be completed with an indispensable return home to his/her family, whose interests forced the potential migrant to go abroad. Migrants are leaving Ukraine in the hope that they will gather enough capital in the short time – one or two years. However, research showed that their experience often lasts for years, holding Ukrainians abroad in the transition state for a longer period: they are firmly focused on returning to Ukraine, but are in most cases postponing this moment, being in a marginal position in Italian and Polish societies. The main reason that detains migrants in Poland and Italy is the opportunity to earn more money as migrants' incomes are becoming an integral part of family income in Ukraine. Ukrainian migrants remittances appear to be a significant source of revenue needed to maintain or recreate the wider family status and a new standard of living, benefiting those remaining in Ukraine.

Behaviors, consumption, migrants' lifestyle in a country of immigration are measured in the direction of maximizing profits. However, it is also seen that the migrants do not create normal life for themselves in Poland and Italy. Migrants do not invest their energy in social inclusion in the host society, because their life abroad is preconditioned strictly by performing Ukrainian family related interests. Family ties are the source of emotional support during the period of migrants' work abroad. While creating social ties they communicate predominantly within the community of Ukrainian migrants, avoiding integration and complete social inclusion. Typical migrants who realize this life strategy model aimed at achievement collective (family) goals are women aged 40 to 60 who have small or adult children back in Ukraine who are economically dependent. The age of migrants reduces their work prospects in Ukraine. Therefore, they prefer to complete their economically active life in Italy and Poland to earn enough money to guarantee them a secure and decent lifestyle on returning to Ukraine. Strategy to achieve collective (family) goals through labour migration to Poland and Italy is represented by 8 respondents out of the 27 interviewed.

2) Life strategy aimed at citizenship in the country of immigration. For labor migrants who implement this life strategy model of achievement, it is inherent investing more energy in individual performance compared to a strategy to achieve collective goals. Life strategy aimed at citizenship in the country of immigration provides for the realization of individual and personal interests of Ukrainians with work experience in Italy and Poland. Ukrainian migrants avoid family and social restrictions within the recipient society. They create their own new life in Italy and Poland, learning Polish and Italian languages, expanding their network of social contacts and finding jobs that imply an existence of free time for themselves. In addition, they often take their children to Italy and Poland, rarely their husbands and wives. Therefore, in the case of women-migrants, in such a way females are reproducing matrilineal family model.

Typically Ukrainian labour migrants choosing a strategy to achieve citizenship in the country of immigration are represented by single women with young children. In most cases due to destroyed personal and social identities in Ukraine, these migrants choose to invest their money and life forces in their future abroad. Strategy to achieve citizenship in the country of immigration, specifically in Poland and Italy is demonstrated by 7 respondents out of 27 interviewed.

3) Life strategy to achieve social recognition and prestige. Analysis of life-sense and value orientations of Ukrainian migrants working in Poland and Italy showed that the majority of interviewees are going abroad to meet the

needs of prestige. Particularly, main intentions are guided by achieving social recognition and prestige at home in Ukraine with the help of resources from foreign employment. Needs for prestige include the following desires: to give their children a "proper" education (to get access to jobs identified as being prestigious) in Ukraine, buy a car, own apartment or to invest in real-estate. All the respondents reveal that the attempts to raise the family social status manifest the need to provide education to their children.

The life strategy model to achieve social recognition and prestige is a short-term migration project preempting return back to Ukraine. This strategy implements both collective (family) goals, for example children's education; and individual goals, for example spending money on material things – indicators of prestige in Ukrainian society – cars, new apartment (sometimes second, third), and costs related with running their own business. This strategic model of achievement includes elements of the first and second achievement life strategy models. Strategy to achieve social recognition and prestige is demonstrated by 5 respondents out of 27 interviewed.

Life Strategies of Survival

In contrast, survival strategy model was developed, explained and validated via two sub-models: (1) strategy of repayment of debts and (2) strategy of basic physical survival.

1) Life strategy of survival – strategy of repayment of debts. The main precondition for this survival strategy model is the existence of debt that a potential migrant is unable to return making money in Ukraine. Because of different circumstances many Ukrainians find themselves having debts and the solution to such situation is seen by them only through labor migration.

Such relevant survival strategy involves short-term migration project preempting a return home to pay debts. Migrants leave Ukraine in the hope that they will collect a sufficient amount of money in a short time – one or two years, but remain on earnings sometimes 6-7 years or even more. Analysis of in-depth interviews suggests that in due course of making "bets" by investing in the project called "earnings" and expecting instant dividends, migrants are not able to earn the planned amount of money. As a substitute, there is a need to "work off" the money borrowed for the trip in order not to stay in the "cons". For these reasons, the time of their return is indefinitely delayed.

Ukrainians' value orientations that are inextricably linked to the life-sense orientations within the described strategic model are represented by a set of material values. They include a desire to gain meaningful (desired or perceived as prestigious) for the individual set of material goods. The value of money is imperative.

This life strategy model is chosen to meet both: 1) collective (family) goals – for example, paying the rent arrears, where dwells the rest of the family and 2) individual goals – for example, covering fees for the migrant individual education in the country of labour. Survival strategy of repayment of debts is demonstrated by 3 respondents from 27 interviewed.

2) Life strategy of basic physical survival. The main motive that drives migrants to work in Italy and Poland is satisfaction of basic physiological needs: nutrition, housing, availability of health care services. Limited recreation at the level of physical survival is inherent for this model. This strategy is typical for Ukrainians who have lost their jobs in Ukraine and who have remained unemployed for a long time; who suffer or could not recover from an illness: did not have enough money to pay for health care services such as medical tests, specific examinations, needless to mention the availability of drugs to cure disease; those who

did not have enough money to feed their children. Despite the harsh conditions of life in Ukraine, these migrants do not plan to stay permanently in the country of migration but intend to return home after a short-term work abroad. Usually Ukrainian migrants who choose labor migration as a way to ensure the physical survival are lonely women with children, remaining in Ukraine receiving financial assistance. Women in this case are the breadwinners of the family – they are the main source of income.

Similar to the achievement life strategy model aimed at realization of collective (family) goals the given survival model suggests that behavior, consumption and lifestyle of labor migrants in Italy and Poland are measured in the direction of maximizing profits and minimizing their own expenses in the country of employment. 2 respondents from 27 interviewed represent such life strategy of basic physical survival.

From the analysis presented above the following general conclusion can be made. A highly relevant life strategy as revealed by the majority of Ukrainian migrants is the strategy of achievement. The dominance of strategies of achievement among interviewed migrants is determined by the peculiarities of social processes in contemporary Ukrainian society. Incidence of life strategy model is determined by the level of socio-economic and cultural development of the society, the mode of production, the level and quality of life, the existence of the legal regulation of social life, the degree of participation in government, the influence of traditions, ideals and beliefs [Reznik, 1995].

Outlined analysis enables us to put forward an optimistic hypothesis that the contemporary Ukrainian society is shifting away from the so-called marginal, transitional conditions. In this situation it was typical that the social actors found themselves in circumstances of uncertainty, transitions. In such crisis societies are prevalent life strategies of survival [Reznik, 1995]. They admit such conditions as the low level of production and service sectors, deeper economic crisis, lack of democratic traditions, authoritarian forms of government. This research suggests that the significant portion of Ukrainians working in Italy and Poland implement strategies of achievement with the help of migration, so we can assume that Ukrainian society is coming out of that phase, when for Ukrainians survival needs were on the first place. Scholarship literature suggests that the achievement strategies are typical for societies of individualism, free market and pluralism. In such societies various forms of activity and personal initiative are strongly encouraged [Reznik, 1995].

Consequently, in an attempt to understand how post-Soviet social transformations in Ukraine influence migration behavior, I examined a case of labour migration to Italy and Poland to explore the variations in life strategies in order to discover the most relevant life strategy where migration plays a crucial role as a tool of its realization. It is important to note that the case study is not representative of all Ukrainian labour migrants, or necessarily of the Ukrainian workers in Italy and Poland. This research needs to be expanded and the developed explanatory life strategy models should be validated on a bigger amount of data.

Conclusion

This research paper proposes that insights of micro-level research on migrants' life-course strategies in combination with the macro-level analyses of labour migration from post-soviet Ukraine as a determinative factor of individual life shaping gives a deeper understanding of the latent processes that triggers current wave of mass emigration from Ukraine. Within life course perspective that examines the interaction between

structural constrains, institutions and subjective decision making of actors, the life course strategy is approached as a sequence of stages and transitions within the life plans that are culturally and institutionally framed. Migration in the context of social changes plays the main role in restructuring and further constructing of the life-course. Therefore, in the process of individual life strategy shaping and construction a complete update of all its internal structural elements and relationships to external social constrains takes place. The paper suggests that the conditions for the choice of a particular life strategy model within particular social context can be roughly expressed by the structural and individual relationships, which can be fixed empirically at the individual and group level.

The presented study puts forward the idea that the relationship between social structures and social agents is circular: at the societal level social structures shape practices and understandings of agents, while agents and practices also reflect and transform the structure. The example of Ukrainian labour migration shows that individuals' choices are constrained by the structural and cultural arrangements of the post-soviet period. Institutions have the potential to structure and form the life-course, and also – as supporters, providers and preservers of norms – they are backing individual decision-making and self-interpretation. Consequently, life-course perspective gives attention to the impact of historical and social change on human behavior, which seems particularly important in rapidly changing Ukrainian society.

Through the devised approach to the theoretical study of lives of migrants from the life-course perspective, I have made an attempt to introduce methodological framework and conceptual research models, illustrating in very generalized way the post-Soviet Ukrainian labor emigration to Italy and Poland with the emphasize on life strategies Ukrainians employ by working abroad. The interview materials with Ukrainians revealed such life strategy models which can be defined as either a strategy of achievement or survival strategy. Achievement strategy aims to realize (1) collective goals, (2) citizenship in the country of immigration and (3) social recognition and prestige. In contrast, survival strategy model is developed, explained and validated via two most spread sub-models: (1) strategy of repayment of debts and (2) strategy of basic physical survival.

The main qualitative findings suggest that the majority of the interviewed migrants from Ukraine implement strategies of achievement comparing to those who come to Italy and Poland for survival, specifically for the purpose of debt return or basic physical survival. If to approach social transformations within post-Soviet Ukraine as the main determinants of labor emigration, such results suggest an optimistic trend that life in Ukraine is slightly improving and people are not forced to go abroad for employment in order to survive in the truest sense of the word. The research findings suggest that Ukrainian society is coming out of that phase of so-called marginal, transitional conditions when social actors found themselves in circumstances of uncertainty, transitions, and when survival needs are on the first place. However, to support or neglect such findings this research needs to be expanded and the developed explanatory life strategy models should be validated on a bigger amount of data for more reliable results.

Footnotes

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СТРАТЕГІЇ ЖИТТЄВОГО ШЛЯХУ І ТРУДОВА МІГРАЦІЯ: УКРАЇНЦІ В ІТАЛІЇ ТА ПОЛЬЩІ

Сучасна трудова міграція з пострадянської України до країн Європейського Союзу характеризується значним масштабом та інтенсивністю, інноваційністю, різноманітністю та несподіваними життєвими колізіями. Серед усіх країн ЄС Італія та Польща стали новим міграційним простором для трудових мігрантів з пострадянської України. Метою даної роботи є вивчення пострадянських українських трудових мігрантів до Італії та Польщі, зокрема адаптації їх індивідуальних життєвих стратегій до нового середовища. У фокусі уваги є відносини між життєвими стратегіями та їх реалізацією через міжнародну трудову міграцію в останнє десятиліття 20-го століття. У роботі розглядаються моделі актуальних життєвих стратегій українців, які засновані на вивченні намірів, засобів і результатів реалізації життєвих стратегій, а також цінностей, цільових орієнтацій та раціональності вибору життєвої стратегії мігрантів. Стаття ґрунтується на результатах якісного дослідження, проведеного у 2009-2011 роках, з використанням методів дискурс-аналізу транскриптів і "цільними описами" глибоких інтерв'ю з українськими трудовими мігрантами в Італії та Польщі. Наступні моделі стратегії були проаналізовані: стратегія досягнення і стратегія виживання. На основі аналізу емпіричних даних був виявлений двоїстий характер життєвих стратегій, широко поширених серед українських трудових мігрантів, що може бути визначено або як стратегія досягнення або стратегія виживання.

Ключові слова: трудова міграція, життєва перспектива, стратегії досягнення, стратегії виживання, пост-радянські соціальні трансформації

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СТРАТЕГИИ ЖИЗНЕННОГО ПУТИ И ТРУДОВАЯ МИГРАЦИЯ УКРАИНСКОГО В ИТАЛИИ И ПОЛЬШЕ

Современная трудовая миграция из постсоветской Украины в страны Европейского Союза характеризуется значительным масштабом и интенсивностью, инновационностью, разнообразием и неожиданными жизненными коллизиями. Среди всех стран ЕС Италия и Польша стали новым миграционным пространством для трудовых мигрантов из постсоветской Украины. Целью данной работы является изучение постсоветских украинских трудовых мигрантов в Италию и Польшу, в частности их адаптации индивидуальных жизненных стратегий к новой среде. В фокусе внимания отношения между жизненными стратегиями и их реализацией с помощью международной трудовой миграции в последнее десятилетие 20-го века. В работе рассматриваются модели актуальных жизненных стратегий украинцев, которые основаны на изучении намерений, средств и результатов реализации жизненных стратегий, а также ценностей, целевых ориентации и рациональности выбора жизненной стратегии мигрантов. Статья основана на результатах качественного исследования, проведенного в 2009-2011 годах, с использованием методов дискурс-анализа транскриптов и "плотными описаниями" глубинных интервью с украинскими трудовыми мигрантами в Италии и Польше. Следующие модели стратегии были проанализированы: стратегия достижения и стратегия выживания. На основе анализа эмпирических данных был обнаружен двойственный характер жизненных стратегий, широко распространенных среди украинских трудовых мигрантов, которая может быть определена либо как стратегия достижения или стратегия выживания.

Ключевые слова: трудовая миграция, жизненная перспектива, стратегии достижения, стратегии выживания, пост-советские социальные трансформации

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СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНІ МІЛЬО В КЛАСОВІЙ СТРУКТУРІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА¹

В статті аналізується концепція соціокультурних середовищ (мільо). Розглянуті основні теоретичні засади концепції, що викладені в роботах Міхаеля Фестера та Штефана Граділа. В ході даного огляду уточнено понятійний конструкт "соціокультурні середовища" ("мільо"). В статті також викладені результати дослідження, в ході якого була здійснена спроба застосувати концепцію соціокультурних середовищ до аналізу українського суспільства. Метою дослідження було визначити характер зв'язку між класовою (вертикальною) та ціннісною (горизонтальною) структурою українського суспільства, на підставі чого виявити прояви соціокультурних середовищ в суспільстві з подальшою інтерпретацією утворених мільо.

Ключові слова: соціокультурні середовища, мільо, соціальна структура, класова структура, ціннісні групи, Європейське соціальне дослідження

Сучасні теоретико – методологічні підходи до вивчення соціальної структури суспільства, як аналітичне виявлення його будови через класифікацію, типологізацію та ієрархізацію, все більше орієнтуються на синтез пізнавальних можливостей різних способів соціологічного пізнання. Це дає можливість забезпечити системність аналізу та виявити складні прояви феномену. В річищі цієї та на тлі "нової культуральної соціології" [Александр, 2007] отримує розвиток концепція соціокультурних мільо (середовищ), яка отримала обґрунтування в роботах німецьких дослідників Штефана Граділа та Міхаеля Фестера [Gradiil, 2001; Фестер, 2008; Lange-Vester, 2006]

та протягом 2000-х років застосовується в соціологічних та маркетингових дослідженнях соціокультурних відмінностей та стилів життя в суспільствах.

Між тим, до сьогодні пояснювальний потенціал концепції й методологія її застосування в емпіричних дослідженнях залишаються недостатньо визначеними; існують суттєві суперечності в інтерпретаціях співвідношення пізнавальних підходів класового аналізу та аналізу соціальних мільо, а також концептів соціального класу та соціокультурного мільо або ціннісного класу. Концепція потребує подальшої валідизації. Її застосування в суспільствах, які відрізняються високою нестабільністю та структурними змінами не гарантує того, що вона зможе виявити і пояснити взаємну динаміку культурних орієнтацій та розподілу статусів. Наукова література містить суттєві прогалини стосовно методології емпіричного дослідження мільо.

¹ Роботу виконано в межах бакалаврського проекту по кафедрі соціальних структур та соціальних відносин факультету соціології Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка; науковий керівник – професор Куценко О.Д., консультант – доцент Горбачик А.П.