

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

Olga Oleinikova

How to cite

Oleinikova O. (2015), Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Migrants, [Italian Sociological Review, 5 (3), 323-348]
Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.13136/isr.v5i3.112>

[DOI: 10.13136/isr.v5i3.112]

1. Author information

Olga Oleinikova – Department of Sociology and Social Policy,
University of Sydney, Sydney, (Australia)

2. Contact authors' email addresses

oleinikova@gmail.com

3. Article accepted for publication

November 2015

Additional information about

Italian Sociological Review

can be found at:

[About ISR - Editorial Board - Manuscript submission](#)

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Migrants

Olga Oleinikova*

Corresponding author:
Olga Oleinikova
E-mail: ooleinikova@gmail.com

Abstract

Significant scale and innovative character, diversity and unexpectedness of life collisions depict the current nature of transnational labor migration from post-Soviet Eastern Europe to the 'developed' West. The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the life strategy and its realization via international migration in the first decade of the 21st century, based primarily on study of Ukrainian labor migration to Italy and Poland. More specifically, the emphasis is on the migrants' life strategies employed in shaping their individual life paths in the recipient countries, while concurrently dealing with the current uncertainties of societal post-Soviet transformations within their homeland. The paper discusses the bifurcation of post-independent Ukrainian migrants into two opposing life strategies: (1) dynamic, risk-taking and future-oriented 'achievement strategies' and (2) conservative, risk-minimizing and survival-oriented 'survival strategies'. The discourse analysis of transcribed interviews with 37 respondents revealed that the majority of the migrants interviewed implement achievement strategies rather than survival, though most framed 'achievement' in terms of the accomplishment of individual goals. This article takes stock of what is known about labor migrants' life strategies that are determined and framed by the level of ancestral homeland development.

Keywords: Transnational Migration, Italy, The Life Strategy Perspective.

* Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia.

Introduction: Transnational Migrants and The Life Strategy Perspective

International migration is a dynamic and fast-growing phenomenon that becomes an increasingly important part of the policy agendas of developed countries. The international migration system is now more integrated and has become more transnational in nature than ever before. Transnational migration and the sociocultural dynamics of the sending and receiving countries cannot be understood and explained without giving attention to the representations, expectations and life strategies of different social actors involved in globalization processes. This involves the classic tension between structure and agency, which can be solved by adopting the life strategy perspective to migrants' transnational lives.

With the intention of presenting empirical evidence on how individuals with the help of migration cope with post-Soviet societal changes that facilitate or impede individual life strategies, this paper utilizes an integrated life strategy theoretical perspective exploring agency of transnational Ukrainian labour migrants. Central to this study is the definition of life strategy suggested by Reznik (1995), who defined life strategy as a dynamic, self-adjusted system of socio-cultural presentations of individuals about their own lives, which orient the behavior during the protracted period of life determined by the socio-cultural conditions and environment. Within the life strategy perspective, international migration is understood as a tool for implementing the long-term life plans of the individual who chooses to go abroad as a means of its realization.

The concept of life strategy as an integral part of broader development processes was constantly ignored by mainstream transition and migration scholarship (exceptions include, Geisen, 2013; Volodko, 2007; Mrozowicki, 2011) and this paper makes an attempt to fill that gap. As such, the research that informs this paper is based on the conceptual explanation of the life strategies of migrants through the prism of the conceptual life strategy research framework. Because life strategy is the preeminent indicator of the success or failure of current democratization and neoliberal processes (Reznik and Smirnov, 2002) in post-independence Ukraine and an indicator of ongoing migration processes in Western Europe, the life strategies of individuals are worthy of deeper investigation. This paper is not about migration per se, but it sits within the migration context. The data analysis approaches migration only as it is associated with post-Soviet transition in Ukraine and the life strategies of those who left the country as a part of that transition. The category of "migrants" is a category used to describe the group of actors whose life strategies are examined. Hence, the main focus of the article is on the under researched role of the citizens of Ukraine as agents,

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

specifically the individual strategies they deploy to confront the consequences of structural transition in their home country. As Giesen (2013: 1) argued, a life strategy approach helps researchers “gain new insights on migrants as social actors”. Further it is argued that the proliferation of a particular type of life strategy can determine the developmental trajectory of the whole society. It opens up the debate about the relationship and mutual interdependence between life strategies of individuals and societal transformations. Along with retrospective elements the category of life strategy includes also perspective life planning with a strong focus on the performance of plans, values, aims and results of the action on both sides of the border – within the sending as well as the host country. The life strategies of labor migrants, as transnational agents of social change, are constructed based on social actors' representations of life, goals and aspirations. These representations are based on an understanding of migrants' own needs and available resources to achieve them, which may be personal, group, structural and institutional. This does not necessarily mean life strategies are rationalized and articulated by social actors in all its consistency and completeness.

Subsequently, the study of life strategies of migrants becomes extraordinarily important in finding out the strategic moments of social practice of transnational migrants on the recent post-Soviet stage, namely: correlation of strategies of achievement and survival. This article explores the bifurcation of post-independence Ukrainians into two opposing life strategies: (1) dynamic, risk-taking and future-oriented “achievement strategies” and (2) conservative, risk-minimizing and survival-oriented “survival strategies”. The main purpose of this paper is to present the most relevant life strategy realization models, where migration plays a crucial role as a tool of life strategy implementation.

The paper is organized as follows. First, I introduce the conceptual research model of life strategies of migrants. Second, I discuss the methodology and the choice of the case studies. Third, in the section “Immigrants' life strategy models: Ukrainians in Italy and Poland” I bring to the forefront the bifurcation patterns of survival and achievement life strategies through the analysis of four structural elements of life strategy as needs, values, aims and decision-making. Finally, the following sections “Sub-Models of Achievement Life Strategies” and “Sub-Models of Survival Life Strategies” suggest the most relevant survival and achievement realization scenarios for Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland.

The Conceptual Research Model

The conceptual research model, being a strategic model that is used in the formulation of theoretical concepts and methodological constructs of substantive research (Dictionary of Sociology, 2010), was created in order to illustrate and explain the main concepts that build up the notion of life strategy of migrants, inform the methodological framework of this study and guide the logic of data analysis. This model was developed based on combination of the existing research about the most typical social life practices and the role of agency in the post-Soviet societal transformations (Golovakha and Panina (2006), Zaslavskaya and Yadov (2008), Zaslavskaya (1999), Naumova (1995), Kutsenko (2004), Babenko and Kutsenko (2004)) and modification of typologies of life strategies suggested by Eastern European (Ukraine and Russia) scholars (Naumova (1995), Babenko (2004), Zlobina & Tikhonovich (2001), Belyaeva (2001), Resnik (1995)). The concept of life strategy in Western traditions was initially articulated within the studies of life trajectory and social change. The history of life strategy studies can be traced back to the research activities of the Chicago school of sociology in the early 20th century. Inspired by a study of Thomas and Znaniecki (1958), these researchers began to use life records to study social change and the life trajectories of individuals (Elder, 1985: 24). The debate on the use of the term 'life strategy' in Western sociological thought from the late 1980s to the early 1990s falls into four general areas. The first area is the idea that the concept of life strategy originated in a military context for the purpose of strategic thinking, including implications to hierarchy and military imperialism (Shaw, 1990). Its use spread into a variety of social settings and led to the "civilianisation of military language" (Shaw, 1990, cited in Edward and Ribbens 1991) and emergence of the idea that strategies are usually related to conscious behaviour and rationally chosen, long-term planned goals (Crow, 1989: 2). The debate on the military origins of the concept of life strategy has influenced further studies of life strategies, and promoted the adoption of strategic analysis in the discipline of sociology. The second debate focused on the interdependence of humans, with special attention given to the role of the family as the primary arena for synchronising an individual's life; that is, seeing life strategies in relation to family member's lives and within a set of social constraints (Morgan, 1989). Morgan's use of the term "life strategy" in the analysis of families and households derives from historical studies by Anderson (1980) about the history of the Western family. He also draws on Bourdieu's (1976) work on marriage strategies aimed at reproducing and safeguarding patrimonies, Levine's (1977) theories about "fertility strategies" and Hareven's (1982) discussions of family working strategies. The third

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

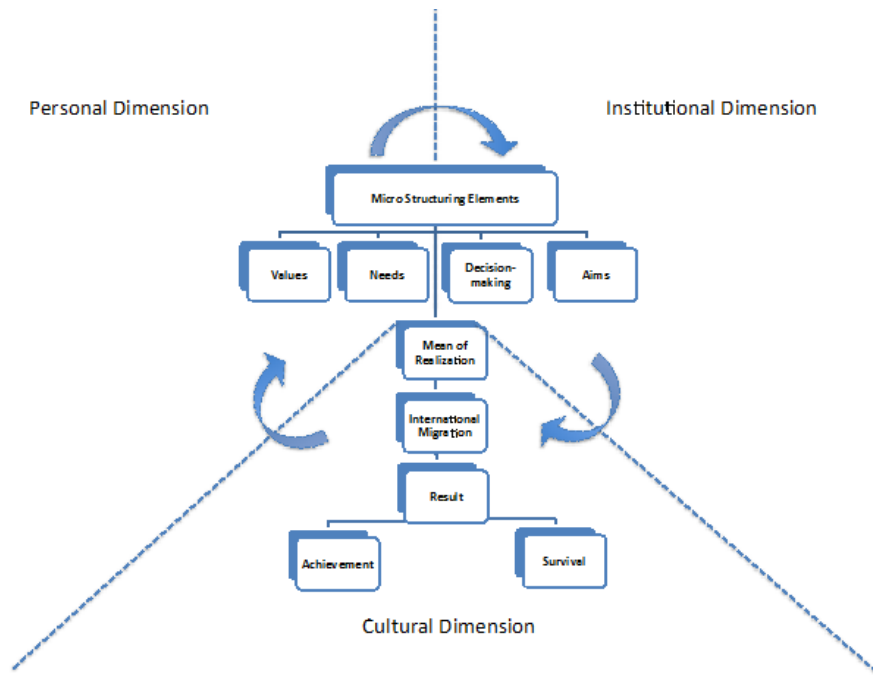
debate that took place in the Western tradition that is important in this study is defining and understanding life strategies in relation to culture (Swidler, 1986). This alternative approach defines life strategy as a “tool kit of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems” (Swidler, 1986: 273). The last area, and debate, that engaged the concept of life strategy was scholarship that analysed the role of the emotional or unconscious level in addition to the rational, conscious level of life strategy formation. Several scholars who indirectly recognise the unconscious (emotional) component in life strategies — namely, Anderson (1980), Crow (1989) and Watson (1990) — describe the unconscious elements of life strategy in the sense of ‘subconscious strategies’. Certainly, there is a type of life strategies that is purely based on instrumental rationality, however it is not the focus of this paper.

Life strategy appears, on the one hand, as subjective concept, containing unique and inimitable, situationally emerging and suprasituational personal sense of needs, aims and values, on the other - as objective, including structural constraints, standards, and norms learned in the process of socialization. If the objective factors that shape life strategy are localized in structural and institutional dimensions, then subjective structuring elements permeate the personal dimension of life strategy formation (See Figure 1.). Hence, the conceptual research model of life strategy illustrates consistent system of integration of life strategy dimensions, structuring elements and means and results of life strategy implementation.

Social environment plays an important role in the life strategy formation influencing the choice of aims and the outcomes and is thus the starting point for this theoretical model. Life strategy involves not just the conscious and systematic attitude of individuals to their lives, but also its sequential change in accordance with the real social environment. By social environment in this model I mean socio-cultural conditions of post-Soviet societal transition in Ukraine, which Ukrainians found themselves in before migration, and transnational environment, revealed in social institutions and structures, that closed or opened migration opportunities for social actors.

Social environment as an arena for life strategy formation and implementation informs the content of life strategy and has three dimensions: personal, cultural and institutional. Figure 1. illustrates personal dimension (as a systemic feature of individual), cultural dimension (as systemic feature of activities) and institutional dimension (as social organization of system of social relations and structures). Therefore, each of these dimensions brings certain qualities to the life strategy content.

Figure 1. The Conceptual Research Model.



In the life strategy scholarship there is no shared and justified opinion on the key structuring elements that build up life strategy. Abulkhanova - Slavskaya (2001) and Legostaeva (2012) argued that life strategy includes three components: (1) value component (as an expression of immaterial-material values), (2) the purpose of life (as a way to retain and implement the achieved position in life), (3) the meaning of life (as a generalized reflection of the needs) (Abulkhanova – Slavskaya, 2001). According to Golovakha (1988) “value orientations, life goals and plans form the core of life strategy” (Golovakha, 1988: 267). With intention to discover achievement and survival life strategy sub-models typical for Ukrainian labor migrants, the understanding of the structuring elements of life strategy is expanded and refined.

From the standpoint of subjective personal resources necessary for the implementation of different life strategy sub-models I am referring to four

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

micro structuring elements of life strategy: aims, values, needs and decision-making (see Figure 1) The content of these four micro structuring factors is analyzed and revealed in the next sections of this article and is proved to differentiate across two models (types) of life strategies – survival and achievement.

Life strategies vary by types. Modern scholars exploring the life strategies of people from the post-Soviet East Europe are actively using (in modified and supplemented ways) the classification developed by Reznik and Reznik (1996). The most conspicuous life strategy typologies cultivated in the post-Soviet East European academy— those developed by Zaslavskaya (1999), Zlobina and Tykhonovych (2001) and Babenko (2004) — applied Reznik and Reznik's ideas to the context of post-Soviet actors' responses to the transition.

The life strategy typology applied in the conceptual research model consists of two types of life strategies, which appear as the opposites of one another. I argue that in this study Ukrainian migrants' life strategies are not productively explained by the tripartite typology that Reznik and Reznik propose¹, nor the four types of life strategies that Zaslavskaya identifies in her studies of Russian society². Instead, the dichotomy of life strategy types used in this study was informed by the developments of the Ukrainian scholars Zlobina and Tykhonovych (2001). In the late 1990s, they built a categorical

¹ Reznik and Reznik (1996) suggest that there are three main types that unite the range of life strategies available to individuals: (1) the welfare strategy, (2) success strategy and (3) self-realisation strategy. According to these scholars, the 'welfare strategy' is one of the most common types of life strategy, and is characterised by the following features: receptive ("acquisition") activity and reference-group (correlative) consumption, prevalence of the attitude for acquiring (rather than creating) welfare, the desire for material comfort and maximum life security, the dominance of the image of a stable and peaceful life. The 'success strategy' is seen as a fairly common and appealing type of life strategy, characterised by such features as achievement-driven activity and active life position, transformational activities and a focus on high performance, the ability to live and work in conditions of uncertainty and risk, originality and diversity in the selection and implementation of cultural lifestyles, a steady focus on external recognition and approval by others. The 'self-realisation strategy' is the third type of life strategy. Reznik and Reznik (1996: 78-84) and later Smirnov (2002: 35-36) describe it as characterised by a conscious and practical setting of the individual to creative change and transformation of his/her own life, for the purpose of self-improvement and self-development.

² Building on her theory of post-Soviet transition, Zaslavskaya (2001) defines four classes of life strategies: (1) achievement, (2) adaptation, (3) regression and (4) destruction. In adaptation strategies, the author addresses the notion of survival, which underlies the 'survival life strategy' type employed in this study. The survival life strategy type in this study appears as "a commitment to social survival, maintaining the same or at least a minimum acceptable social status. Such commitment is an important function to increase the adaptability of an individual to the difficult conditions of a changing world" (Zaslavskaya 2001: 15). Zaslavskaya's typology adds a structural dimension to the typology of Reznik and Reznik, who focus to a greater extent on individual and personal features of life strategy types.

dichotomy of life strategies, proposing a survival strategy as the opposite to the strategy of life creation and construction. They argue that these types of life strategies are based on the level of adaptation to post-Soviet transition: from voluntary, “successful and positive” adaptation to “forced” adaptation to social change (2001: 85-86). I draw on their theoretical developments to define the survival and achievement life strategy types used in the presented study.

Babenko (2004), a Ukrainian sociologist who studies social practices, life strategies and the mechanisms of post-communist societal transformations, supports the ideas of Reznik and Reznik (1995) and Zlobina and Tykhonovych (2001). She proposes that the level of adaptation to transition is the strongest indicator of the real social situation and direction of social development of a society in transition. Babenko has distinguished four life strategy types: (1) achievement strategy, (2) adaptation strategy, (3) exclusion strategy and (4) survival strategy. Babenko’s division is based on the following criteria, which determine the strategy content: (1) the way social status is reproduced (advanced, simple and truncated) and, therefore, the decline or increase of life chances and opportunities; (2) the degree and quality of adaptation to changing conditions of social reality (successful, uncertain (unstable), failed (inability or refusal to adapt)); (3) the degree to which new opportunities are taken up in conditions of rapid change within post-Soviet transformation processes (Babenko, 2004). Such typology frames are the elements that fill these strategies with content and inform results.

Babenko’s typology, as well as Zlobina and Tykhonovych’s, was developed as an explanatory model relevant for those Ukrainians who stayed in Ukraine and experienced the post-Soviet transition period. Given this study investigates Ukrainians who utilised international migration to enact their life strategies, the exclusion and adaptation strategies are not applicable to the investigation of migrants’ life strategies. Ukrainian migrants did exclude themselves from socio-economic life in Ukraine, to the extent that they were marginalized and forced to adapt to changes and chose to leave Ukraine.

In the presented study I use a two-fold typology of life strategy, which consists of two types of life strategies. The content of these two types of life strategies is informed in a modified way by all of the mentioned above life strategy typologies. However, the core of this life strategy typology mainly draws on developments of Reznik and Reznik (1995) and Babenko (2004). In the paper the results of migration are viewed through the prism of achievement or survival.

As shown in Figure 1. achievement or survival in this particular research is taken for results that determine either (1) survival life strategy model or (2) achievement life strategy model. Such modified two-fold typology of life strategies provides a space for an exploration of micro structuring factors of

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

life strategy (values, aims, needs and decision-making), as well as the choice of international migration as a tool for implementing survival or achievement. The result of life strategy realization presented in Figure 1. corresponds to certain tools and resources representative for two sets of life strategies. These different forms of life experiences, corresponding to the two main models of life strategies: achievement strategies and survival strategies are presented and analyzed in this research as behavioral models.

Achievement life strategy in the context of international migration is approached as a behavioral model directed at achievement, self-realization, use of new possibilities (extensive goals) and extended recreation of social and economic status (Babenko, 2004). Survival life strategy is a behavioral 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).

Subsequently, according to this conceptual research model to understand life strategy, it means to see with the "eyes" of the individual the modern (Ukrainian, Polish and Italian) societies, to penetrate together with individual in the "mystery" of the various worlds (systemic and individual, objective and subjective), each of which has a personal, cultural and institutional dimensions. In other words the core of life strategy is formed by micro structuring elements. Depending on different combination of micro structuring elements individuals receive different results while implementing life strategy, corresponding to two life strategy models. The question is what are these combinations that inform achievement and survival life strategies found among Ukrainian labor migrants? What does it mean to survive and to achieve for Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland? And what sub-models of achievement and survival life strategy models are typical for Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland?

Methodology

The data for this paper is drawn from qualitative research conducted in Italy and Poland during 2009-2010. The empirical basis of this study is formed by 37 semi-structured interviews with Ukrainian labor migrants: 17 with those who worked in Poland and 20 with those who worked in Italy. Participants were recruited through active snowballing sampling. Secondary data, participants' observation in combination with semi-structured interviews were considered and applied in unity in this study. This combination provided effective means of investigation of sociomental, subjective and individual systems that differ by its interactive, unstable, complex and dynamic nature. A combination of transcription and field notes of participants' nonverbal

behavior has been cited as being central to the reliability, validity, and veracity of qualitative data collection (Seale & Silverman, 1997; Wengraf, 2001).

Most of the migrants (25 out of 37) had university degrees and prior to the emigration had skilled jobs. Before migration 7 interviewees worked as school teachers, 6 - as saleswomen, 4 - as nurses in hospitals, 1 - as interpreter, 2 - as storekeeper at factory, 3 - as entrepreneurs (building their own small businesses), 11 - were unemployed, and 3 - graduated from university and were in active search for their first job. Ukrainians in Poland are mainly engaged in the secondary labor market (construction, services, agriculture) as unskilled workers, while in Italy, almost all interviewed participants - in domestic services (cleaning accommodation and taking care of the sick, elderly and children).

The economic transformations affecting Ukraine after 1991 reshaped their life trajectories and forced participants to search employment abroad. 12 participants had secondary college education. All respondents originally came from the Western region of Ukraine, mainly from Lviv (12), Ternopil (9), Ivano-Frankivsk (7), Chernivtsi (5), Khmelnytsky (2), Rivne (1) and Volyn (1). 30 of respondents were females. Such gender sampling reflects the gender composition of migration from Ukraine to Italy and Poland, when number of women is almost three times higher than the number of men among Ukrainian migrant workers in Poland and Italy (Kys, 2010). Two at the time of the survey were students of Polish universities, combining study with work (cleaning houses). Regarding marital status, 12 participants were married and most had children, 8 - divorced. 17 participants at the time of the interview were single.

The Italian and Polish case studies were chosen because they represent contrasting cases of a developed European Union country and a post-communist "new European Union country" that is still developing economically. Relations, exchanges and transnational mobility between Ukraine and these two countries are high and seem destined to increase. Flows of labor migration from Ukraine are mainly carried out to the nearest countries or more distant countries, but with a more attractive economic situation. The main destinations 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%) (Kys, 2010).

Among all the EU countries Italy has emerged as an important new migration destination. An absolute quantitative increase is evident if we look at the Ukrainian population in Italy between 2001 and 2009. Over this period the number of Ukrainians in Italy increased from 12,000 to 200,000, which made them the fifth-largest foreign community in Italy (Kys, 2010: 167). An international comparative study in 2005-2007 identified Italy as the most

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

attractive place for labor migration: 24.4% of Ukrainians chose Italy, 17.8% chose Russia and 17.2% preferred the USA (Zhakevych, 2008: 92). As a result, Ukrainian migrants in Italy have become the focus of several recent studies around family, gender, remittances and labour mobility by Vianello (2013a, 2013b, 2014), Ambrosini (2012), Banfi & Boccagni (2011), Marchetti & Venturini (2013). Poland is one of the most popular destinations for Ukrainians amongst the Central-European EU expansion countries. Ukrainians form the biggest group of immigrants in Poland, comprising 19% of all foreigners in the country (Fihel, 2004: 42). Since 2005 Ukrainians have occupied the first position based on the number of permits issued for a stay in the country.

Migrants' Life Strategy Models: Ukrainians in Italy and Poland

This section focuses on the analysis of structuring elements that build up life strategies of migrants: (1) needs, (2) values, (3) aims and (4) decision-making on implementation of life strategies of Ukrainian labour migrants in Poland and Italy. Particularly, analysis of the interview materials highlights the bifurcation patterns of life strategies of survival and achievement through the analysis of different combinations of needs, values, aims and decision-making.

1. Needs

Labor migrants' needs, the satisfaction of which induces potential Ukrainian workers to travel abroad, is the first building element of life strategy. Needs, which are many and varied, are defined based on the simplified version of the Maslow's hierarchical model of necessities. Among the most common and, therefore, essential needs which guide life strategies of Ukrainian labour migrants are the needs for upgrade of socio-economic status back in Ukraine and self-realization, while the needs for satisfaction of basic necessities that fall into three first levels of the pyramid - physiological needs, needs in safety and love/belonging come secondary. Physiological needs in food and housing are not determinative ones for Ukrainians, but in some stories are articulated as needs that were on agenda for some period of time before migration, especially in the first years of Ukrainian independence in the early 90s. For example, one interviewee stated:

In Ukraine we have left large debt for house rent that reached one thousand dollars.[...] The only way out was migration. For the reason that we have received this apartment from the railway service, the state could just simply take our flat for such a huge debt. (A.(female), 45 y.o., Poland).

Such stories are found among Ukrainian migrants in Poland. These cases illustrate the lack of opportunity for satisfaction of basic needs necessary for survival in homeland, while among Ukrainian workers in Italy such situations do not occur. A possible reason for this is the higher expense of labor migration to Italy compared to migration to Poland. Migration to Italy requires considerable financial costs for visas, travel, and mediation in finding a job. The travel and visa expenses to Poland are significantly smaller.

Interview data shows that most migrants traveled abroad for employment to meet a desire for socio-economic upgrade and “prestige”: they achieve greater social status at home (in Ukraine) through their incomes from work in another (richer) country. This desire for “prestige” is manifested in the wish to own better apartment or house, to buy an expensive car and give better educations to children in Ukraine. These goods are valued primarily for their ability to raise the social status of the individual or family rather than for their value in meeting basic survival needs. A typical case:

The living conditions at the time of departure were acceptable. I had a good job, my husband also worked. When leaving abroad I thought about the welfare of my children, I wanted to give them proper education, which they deserve. (N.(female), 45 y.o., Italy).

This story voices the importance of the education for Ukrainian migrants. N. together with husband were not able to earn enough money to pay for their child’s prestigious law degree. Another case represents the orientation to meet the need for public recognition in Ukraine by purchasing an expensive apartment – an indicator of prestige in Ukrainian society:

I went to Italy to earn money for apartment. All my friends own their flats and I lived together with my parents before coming to Italy. Having apartment will make me feel that I have achieved something in this life (S. (female), 29 y.o., Italy).

This case demonstrates that possibility of the upgrade of socio-economic status in the sending country plays for migrants an important motivational role for their employment abroad. The need for socio-economic upgrade and for social recognition penetrates the stories of migrants who value material welfare and demonstrate a strong desire to gain meaningful (desired or perceived as prestigious) for the individual set of material goods. The satisfaction of the need ‘to climb’ to the desired (counted on public recognition and that provides a strong financial position) ‘top’ level of life with the help of labour migration. comparing to existential needs, dominated stories of labor migrants who went to Italy and Poland for achievement. Only

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

the minority of migrants demonstrated survival strategies with aspiration to purely material or psychological comfort and possession of various life benefits.

2. Values

The second structuring element of life strategy model is values. Values are described as general evaluative standards that serve to influence individual's behaviour so as to reach a desired end state (Rokeach, 1979). Values are another indicator for the identification of two models of life strategies. The values of interviewed migrants are represented by (1) set of liberal values, (2) value of having prospects and opportunities for self-realization and favorable environment for initiative, (3) family and family well-being.

Interview data has shown that the basis of the life strategies of the interviewed labor migrants is liberal values. In terms of the general criteria for value typology involved in the formation of valuable content of life strategy models, it worth highlighting such widely mentioned by participants values as freedom, initiative, independence and authority. Interviewees noted that they could build their lives only in a state of freedom. Freedom is the most important value for them. Such people shared that they prefer the status of the free spirit and achievements to the comforts of stable life. All participants appreciate the basic values such as morality, creativity and independence.

Another value that is clearly expressed in the interviews is the value of having prospects and opportunities for self-realization and favorable environment for initiative. Participants namely emphasized the entrepreneurial initiative, life chance equality for different social groups, freedom of expression. One participant remembers the entrepreneurship oppression that made her leave Ukraine for work in Italy:

Ukraine has never been a country where every citizen could somehow push his initiative or show himself. Initiatives that were in the Ukraine, I didn't like. In Ternopil I had my own business and it failed. I could not reach agreement with a stronger and more influential businessman. Due to the conflict, my business was taken away and I was not able to do anything. (M.(female), 42 y.o., Poland).

The main value for each respondent working in Poland and Italy, without exception, is a family and family well-being. The welfare of the family for Ukrainian labor migrants means something that is manifested as the reason for departure for work. This situation is typical for Ukrainian labor migrants who solve the financial problems of the whole family. They do not complain

about this state of affairs, as they claim they are willing to do anything for their families. Ukrainian migrants declare that to have a family and children, and to educate them, is *'by far the largest fortune'* (L. (female), 47 y.o., Poland).

The above-cited materials suggest evidence that Ukrainian labour migrants are a socially and economically active part of the population, which due to the absence of available tools and resources in their homeland are not able to implement their activity in Ukraine. Values in the context of survival strategies are argued to be represented by the set of tangible assets, which include the desire to attain and get meaningful for the individual (desired or prestigious) set of material goods (Reznik, 1996). The number of respondents among whom values representing the survival strategy model dominate is small. Among Ukrainians with the experience of migration in Poland and Italy the liberal values dominate, including the value of the prospects and opportunities for self-realization, favourable environment for developing their own initiative, entrepreneurship and freedom of expression. These values are typical for migrants who came to Italy and Poland for achievement, as opposed to survival strategy model.

3. Aims

The third structuring element of life strategy is aims. The analysis of aims, which the participants implemented with the help of labor migration, is based on two indicators that help to distinguish and describe the sub-models of survival and achievement life strategy models: 1) motivations behind migration and 2) scope of aims (Reznik, 1995).

Looking into the motivations provided by the cohort of labour migrants in Italy and Poland 27 participants said that they migrated for reasons of an economic nature. 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. The majority of the interviewees noted financial hardship as the main reason for migration. The pursuit of aims designated to regain social and economic status and to escape poverty are common among Ukrainian labor migrants. Stemming from the economic difficulties in the country at the time of migration, participants emphasized the following more specific rationales behind their migration: 1) unemployment; 2) low wages and arrears; 3) lack of occupational work; 4) the oppression of entrepreneurship activity.

Despite the economic benefits of labor migration 10 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

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

the world, to gain life experience and (2) studying and improving professional qualifications parallel with employment. 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. Cultural and educational factors do not serve the primary cause of migration in both countries, but their importance can significantly increase during long-term migration. Thus, solely economic motivation in many cases comes out to be not the main reason for migration, but rather labor migration appears to be an instrument for achieving a dream of stability and economic freedom.

Through participants' migration stories it was also possible to capture the scope of aims that shaped the achievement life strategy model typical for Ukrainian labor migrants in Italy and Poland. The determinative feature of aims that guide labor migrations of Ukrainians in 2009-2010 is targeting extensive goals with a transformative focus and the drive to achieve what is strongly desired in life. Migrants utilize the maximum available and possible resources to achieve their aims. Typical experience among participants is to come to Italy and Poland "by chance", following the opportunity, which unexpectedly opened through friends or relatives. Taking up the first available option to target aims either to upgrade social and economic status or to escape poverty and start new life is the typical feature of labor migrations from Ukraine. For participants migration was the maximum possible and available option to target their individual aims.

To sum up, the broad goals, having a transformative orientation and leading to succeeding in life, oriented on social recognition, determines the popularity of the achievement life strategy among the interviewed Ukrainian labour migrants in Italy and Poland.

4. Migration Decision-Making

Commonly, in migration literature, "migration choice depends on the wealth difference between the country of origin and the host country" (Vergalli, 2006), because mainly "people migrate in order to increase their welfare" (Khawaja, 2002). Even if it does not entirely explain migrant behaviour, economic theories of migration seem to stress the role of economic factor in migration decision-making. Nevertheless, migration choice appears to be not simply a rational choice of worthy economic conditions and welfare increase. Migration decision-making is more than a straightforward action aiming for expected economic result: it is a process, which is strongly linked to rationality/reflexivity of the choice and factors related to family, successful migration stories of friends and earlier biographical circumstances.

Interview data showed that along with ethnic ties with relatives in Italy and Poland, the communication and social networks played an important role in making the decision to migrate. Migration scholarship stresses the importance of community networks in the migrant's choice of destination (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1997; Winters, et al. 2001; Bauer, et al. 2002; Coniglio, 2003). The reliance on social networks that were established long before migration was founded through participants' earlier travels, family visits, and especially former labour migration experiences in EU countries. Information about Italy and Poland in many cases was received through community networks. The information about wages was transmitted during personal visits to Ukraine of countrymen who had migrated to Italy and Poland in the mid to late 1990s, and were engaged in construction or ancillary work in the industrial sector. The life in Italy and Poland was characterised as positive and advanced. Furthermore, social contacts gained through previous visits to Italy and Poland by participants helped, for example A. ((female), 30 y.o., Italy) to "get emotionally connected to the country" and perceive it "as more accessible and best place to make money".

In this study three types of rationality/reflexivity are associated with the choice to migrate: (1) rational (artificial, generated), (2) irrational (natural, arising spontaneously) and (3) mixed type natural-artificial (Reznik, 1995). Applying this typology to the way the migration decision was made by the cohort of the interviewed 2009-2010 labour migrants, it is discovered that the majority of interviewed Ukrainians made their decision to migrate rationally. The interview data analysed in the further sections suggests that a standardised assumption—as embedded in rational choice theory that all strategies are founded on purely instrumental rationality and are deprived of emotions and spontaneous decision-making without cost-benefit analysis (Crow, 1989)—appears to be rather limiting. Certainly, the narratives of migrants implementing the achievement and survival strategies demonstrated that there are participants whose decisions are driven by non-instrumental values, which leave room for self-realisation and a naturally-generated trajectory of individual actions. However, even in their decisions there are strong elements of rationality and reflexivity.

The majority of current labor migrants were planning their move long in advance before the actual travel abroad for work. They analyzed their situation at the time of departure from Ukraine and the 'dividends' that they would get from employment abroad on the basis of information received from acquaintances, friends and relatives who had had positive experience of migrating previously. Some Ukrainians, even while still in Ukraine, already had a job in the destination country through their relatives or friends:

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

When I arrived in Italy, my mother had found a job for me. (A. (female), 30 y.o., Italy).

The majority chose labor migration rationally (artificially), but not irrationally (spontaneously, naturally). Therefore, Ukrainian potential labor migrants are clearly aware of what they have to achieve, how much money they will make and the time of their stay abroad, which will be sufficient to realize the aims set in Ukraine.

Sub-Models of Achievement Life Strategies

Following the foregoing analysis of values, needs, aims and decision-making in the context of migration to Poland and Italy, highly relevant explanatory life strategy sub-models can be explicitly identified and described. The interview materials revealed two main pathways Ukrainians chose to follow by migrating - achievement life strategies and survival life strategies. The data showed that the set of achievement life strategies is more prominent for migrants in Italy and Poland. The achievement strategies found in the stories of migrants can be divided into three sub-models aiming to achieve (1) individual goals; (2) citizenship in the country of immigration and (2) social recognition and prestige.

1. Life Strategy to Achieve Individual Goals

The basis of this strategy is determined by the nature of the aims that Ukrainian migrants have, distributed among collective (family) and individual goals. Achieving individual aims involves acting as 'implementer' of personal goals and needs. Achieving collective goals encompasses the implementation of the goals of the entire household. The study demonstrated that there is a cohort of Ukrainian labor migrants that leave Ukraine with the purpose of employment in Italy and Poland implementing individual goals, particularly goals that are personally important such as paying their personal debts, investing in property, in their own education in Italy or Poland, earning money to start new business in Ukraine.

Individual goals are often accompanied by family goals. Family goals are negotiated by participants having the contextual and secondary nature, not the determinative one. Under conditions of declining real incomes, typical during the early stages of social and market transition in Ukraine, some households decide to invest in migration by sending family members abroad to earn money in hopes of adding to sources of household income sources through remittances (or other benefits) (Okólski, 2004; Stark, 1991). The main family

goals named by interviewees were education of children; debts cover (not only individual ones, but debts incurred by the needs of the whole family) and carrying for sick parents.

Labor 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. 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. These migrants are firmly focused on returning to Ukraine, but are in most cases postponing this moment while remaining 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 that appear to be a significant source of revenue needed to maintain or recreate the wider status and a new standard of living after planned return to Ukraine.

Behaviors, consumption, and migrants' lifestyle in the country of immigration are measured in the direction of maximizing income. However, migrants do not create normal socially active lives for themselves in Poland and Italy. Typically, migrants who realize this achievement life strategy sub-model are women aged between 40 and 60. 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. Strategies to achieve individual goals through labor migration to Poland and Italy are represented by 19 respondents out of the 37 interviewed.

2. Life Strategy Aimed at Citizenship in the Country of Immigration

For labor migrants who implement this achievement life strategy sub-model, it inherently involves the investment of strength and capabilities in individual performance in the recipient society. The life strategy aimed at citizenship in the country of immigration provide 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 lives in Italy and Poland, learning the 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, and rarely their husbands and wives. Therefore, in the case of women migrants, in such a way women are effectively reproducing a matrilineal family model.

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

Typically, Ukrainian labor migrants who followed the strategy to achieve citizenship in the country of immigration are represented by single mothers with young children. In most cases due to destroyed personal and social identities in Ukraine by unemployment and unhappy marriages, these migrants choose to invest their money and life forces in their future abroad. This achievement life strategy sub-model is demonstrated by 7 respondents out of 37 interviewed.

3. Life Strategy to Achieve Social Recognition and Prestige

Analysis of the needs and values of Ukrainian migrants working in Poland and Italy showed that there is a group of participants that went abroad to meet the needs of prestige. Particularly, their main intentions were guided by achieving social recognition and prestige at home in Ukraine with the help of financial 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, to buy a car, to own an apartment or to invest in real estate. Several respondents reveal that the attempts to raise the family social status manifest the need to provide education to their children.

The life strategy model for achieving social recognition and prestige is a short-term migration project presupposing 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 - like cars, new apartments (sometimes second, third), and costs related to running their own business. The phenomenon of labor migration has informed consumer culture in Ukraine, so that migrants, seeking to bring the living conditions of their own and their families in accordance with the international standards of comfort, are unconsciously involved in the race after the Western lifestyle reflected in their buying repertoire. All interviewees who implemented this achievement strategy sub-model mentioned downsides of labor migration: loss of skills, health problems, and inability to participate in the education of their children and grandchildren who remained in Ukraine. This strategic sub-model of achievement includes elements of the first and the second achievement life strategy sub-models. The life strategy to achieve social recognition and prestige are demonstrated by 4 respondents out of 37 interviewed.

Sub-Models of Survival Life Strategies

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

1. Life Strategy of Repayment of Debts

The main precondition for this survival life strategy sub-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 see labor migration as the only solution.

This survival life strategy sub-model involves a short-term migration project presupposing 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 sometimes 6-7 years or even more is not enough. Analysis of in-depth interviews suggests that in due course of making 'bets' by investing in the earnings project 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.

Values of Ukrainian migrants' who represent this survival life strategy sub-model are inextricably linked to the set of material values. They include a desire to gain a meaningful (desired or perceived as prestigious) 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 labor. The survival life strategy of repayment of debts are demonstrated by 5 respondents from 37 interviewed.

2. Life Strategy of Basic Physical Survival

The motive that drives the minority of migrants to work in Italy and Poland is the satisfaction of basic physiological needs: nutrition, housing, and availability of health care services. Limited recreation at the level of physical survival is inherent for this sub-model. This strategy is typical for Ukrainians who have lost their jobs in Ukraine and who have remained unemployed for a long time, who suffered or could not recover from an illness, or 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

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

migration but intend to return home after a short-term work abroad. Usually Ukrainian migrants who choose labor migration as a way to ensure physical survival are single women with children. Women in this case are the breadwinners of the family - they are the main source of income.

Aiming at the realization of collective (family) goals the physical survival life strategy sub-model suggests that the behavior, consumption and lifestyle of labor migrants in Italy and Poland are measured in the direction of maximizing income and minimizing their own expenses in the country of employment. Migrants do not aim for social inclusion in the host society, because their life abroad is preconditioned on the performance of 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 other Ukrainian migrants, avoiding integration and complete social inclusion. 2 respondents from 37 interviewed represent the life strategy of basic physical survival.

Conclusion

From the analysis presented above the following general conclusion can be made. The post-Soviet institutional dynamics affecting emigration patterns are so deep and widespread that it fundamentally changes the ways individuals earn their livings, raise their families and plan their futures. The interview materials with Ukrainians in Italy and Poland revealed the bifurcation of Ukrainians into two opposing achievement and survival life strategy models that in turn are divided into sub-models. The achievement life strategy sub-models aims to realize (1) individual goals, (2) citizenship in the country of immigration and (3) social recognition and prestige. In contrast, the survival strategy is developed, explained and validated via two main sub-models: (1) the strategy of repayment of debts and (2) the strategy of basic physical survival. The data shows that for Ukrainians in Italy and Poland achievement life strategy models are more prominent than survival.

The bifurcation of pathways reveals contradictions among the socio-economic background of migrant workers, the availability of resources and the economic situation in the sending region of the country. Comparing migrants who went abroad for achievement with those who went abroad for survival, it worth mentioning the following critical differences: 1) the "achievement strategy migrants" are more cosmopolitan, have more freedom, and have greater advantages in the society compared to "survival strategy migrants"; 2) 'achievement migrants' can be defined as transnational agents, as they have more agency and power to influence institutional dynamics within the homeland as well as in the recipient society, while 'survival migrants' are

focused specifically on how to maintain the same social and economic status, or at least not to let it decline, not even thinking how to improve it. This leads to self-restraint and a decline of life chances. They represent a marginal group of both the sending and receiving societies, remaining excluded from the power of agency and passively influencing the current institutional dynamics.

The main qualitative finding that the majority of the interviewed migrants from Ukraine in Italy and Poland implement achievement life strategy models implies that life in Ukraine was qualitatively improving prior to 2010 and people were no longer forced to go abroad for employment in order to survive in the truest sense of the word.

Furthermore, the dominance of achievement life strategies among the migrants interviewed is seen to reflect the peculiarities of societal processes in contemporary Ukrainian society. The incidence of a particular life strategy model is determined by the level of socio-economic and cultural development of Ukrainian 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, and the influence of traditions, ideals and beliefs. This analysis supports the optimistic hypothesis that by 2010 contemporary Ukrainian society was shifting away from the so-called marginal, transitional conditions. In this situation, it was typical that social actors found themselves in circumstances of uncertainty and transition. In such crisis societies, survival life strategies are prevalent (Reznik, 1995). They admit such conditions as the low level of production and service sectors, deeper economic crisis, lack of democratic traditions, and authoritarian forms of government. This research suggests that prior to 2010 a significant portion of Ukrainians working in Italy and Poland implemented achievement strategies with the help of migration, so it can be assumed that Ukrainian society is coming out of the phase when for Ukrainians survival needs came first. Scholarship suggests that achievement life strategies are typical for individualistic societies characterized by free markets and pluralism. In such societies various forms of activity and personal initiative are strongly encouraged (Reznik and Smirnov, 2002).

Since 2014, the 'Euromaidan Protests' and war in East Ukraine has slightly changed the dynamics of Ukrainian migration into Italy and Poland. Along with this would come changes to the life strategies of migrants. Thus, the conclusions provided above may not precisely account for the experiences of arrivals since 2014. Further, taking into account the scope of the study and the number of respondents, the data should not be regarded as exhaustive or definitive. Migration situations are mobile and dynamic, and further research is needed on post-independence Ukrainian migrants and their life strategies in Italy and Poland.

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

Bibliographical references

- Abulkhanova-Slavskaya K.A. (2001), *Strategies of Life*, Moscow, Mysl. [In Russian]
- Ambrosini M. (2012), *Surviving underground: Irregular migrants, Italian families, invisible welfare*, *International Journal of Social Welfare*, vol. 21, n. 4, 361-371.
- Anderson M. (1980), *Approaches to the history of the Western family 1500-1914*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.
- Babenko, S. (2004), 'Social Mechanism of post-Soviet Transformation: Agency-Centered and Structural Approach', in Kutsenko, O. and Babenko, S. (eds), *Post-communist Transformations: Vectors, Directions, Content*, Yzd.Tsentr Kharkov Nat.Univ.V.N. Karazyna, 251-274. [In Russian].
- Banfi L., Boccagni P. (2011), *Transnational family life and female migration in Italy: One or multiple patterns?*, *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*, 287-301.
- Bauer T., Zimmermann K. F. (1997), *Network migration of ethnic Germans*, *International Migration Review*, vol. 1, n. 1, 143-149.
- Bauer T. G., Epstein, Gang I. N. (2002), *Herd effects or migration networks? The location choice of Mexican immigrants in the U.S.*, *IZA Discussion Paper*, n. 551
- Belyaeva L.A. (2001), *Strategies of Survival, Adaptation, Prosperity*, *Sociological Studies*, 6. [In Russian].
- Bourdieu, P. (1976), 'Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction'. In Forster, E. and Ranum, P.M. (Eds.), *Family and society*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Coniglio N. D. (2003), *Migropolis: Migration networks and formation of ethnic clusters in cities*, SNF Working Paper, 46/03.
- Crow G. (1989), *The use of the concept of "strategy" in recent sociological literature*, *Sociology*, n. 23, 1-24.
- Elder, G. H., O'Rand, A. M. (1995), 'Adult Lives in a Changing Society', in Cook, K. S., Fine, G.A. and House, J. S. (eds), *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 452-475.
- Fihel A. (2004), *Charakterystyka imigrantow w Polsce w swietle danych urzedowych, Miedzy jednocia a wieloscia.Integracja odmiennych grup I kategorii imigrantow w Polsce*, 33-51. [In Polish]. Accessed on 13 February 2011:
http://mplm.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=5&Itemid=16
- Geisen T. (2013), *The complexity of migration: life-strategies of migrant*

- family members and families, Themis conference 2013, International Migration Institute. Retrieved from: <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/events/themis-2013/presentations/geisen.pdf>
- Gilbert N., Mulkay M. (1984), *Opening Pandora's Box: A sociological analysis of scientists' discourse*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Golovakha E. I. (1988), *Life perspective and professional self-determination of youth*, Kyiv, Naukova Dumka. [In Russian].
- Golovakha E.I., Panina, N. (2006), *Main Milestones and Trends in Transformation of Ukrainian Society: from the "perebydova" to the "Orange Revolution*, *Sociology: Theory , Methods, Marketing*, 3, 32-51. [In Russian].
- Hareven T.K. (1982), *Family time and industrial time*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Khwaja Y. (2002), *Should I Stay or Should I Go? Migration Under Uncertainty: A Real Option Approach*, Economics and Finance Discussion Papers No. 02-10, London: Economics and Finance Section, School of Social Sciences, Brunel University.
- Kutsenko O.D. (2004), *Post-communists Transformation: Vectors, Directions, Content*, V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University Publisher. [In Russian].
- Kutsenko O.D., Babenko S.S. (2004), *Changing Diversity: Vectors, Dimensions and Content of Post- Communist Transformation*, Kharkiv, V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University Publisher. [In Russian].
- Kys R. (2010), *Labour migration as a tool of internationalization. A compilation of materials based on multilayered research on labour migration and labour markets (Spain, Italy, Moldova, Ukraine, Russian Federation)*, Lviv, Drukarski Kunshty. [In Ukrainian].
- Legostaeva N.I. (2011), *Life Strategies of Modern Russian Youth, Modernization of Russia: the responsibility of youth: Conference Proceedings*, Yekaterinburg, October 13 – 15, 452 - 456. [In Russian].
- Levine D. (1977), *Family formation in an age of nascent capitalism*, New York, Academic Press.
- Lipset S.M., Seong K., Torres J.C. (1993), *A Comparative Analysis of the Social Requisites of Democracy*, *International Journal of Science*, vol. 45, n. 2, 155–176.
- Marchetti S., Venturini A. (2013), *Mothers and Grandmothers on the Move: Labour Mobility and the Household Strategies of Moldovan and Ukrainian Women in Italy*, *International Migration*, Forthcoming.
- Mrozowicki A. (2011), *Coping with social change: Life strategies of workers in Poland's new capitalism*. Leuven, Leuven University Press.
- Morgan D.H.J. (1989), *Strategies and sociologists: a comment on Crow*, *Sociology*, vol. 23, n. 1, 25-29.

Olga Oleinikova

Migrants' Life Strategies and Opportunity Structures: Focus on post-Independence Ukrainian Labour Market

- Naumova N. (1995), Life strategy of the individual in the transitional society, *Sociological Journal*, 1, 34-45. [In Russian].
- Okolski, M. (2004), 'The effects of political and economic transition on international migration in Central and Eastern Europe', in Massey, D.S. and Taylor, J.E. (eds.), *International Migration. Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*, Oxford University Press, 35-58.
- Reznik U.M., Smirnov E.A. (2002), *Life Strategies of Individual (Experience of Complex Analysis)*, Moscow. [In Russian].
- Reznik T.E. (1995), Individual Life Strategies, *Socis: Sociological Research*, 12, 100-105. [In Russian].
- Reznik T.E., Reznik U.M. (1996), Individual life orientation: analysis and advice, *Socis: Sociological Research*, 110-119. [In Russian].
- Rokeach, M. (1979), 'From individual to institutional values: With special reference to the values of science', in Rokeach, M. (eds), *Understanding human values*, New York, Free Press, 47-70.
- Seale C., Silverman D. (1997), Ensuring rigour in qualitative research, *European Journal of Public Health*, vol. 7, n. 4, 379 – 384.
- Scott J., Marshall G. (2010), *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York.
- Shaw M. (1990), Strategy and social process: Military context and sociological analysis, *Sociology*, vol. 24 n. 3, 465-470.
- Smirnov E.A. (2002), Life Strategies of Civil Servants, *Civil Service*, 4, 33–39.
- Stark O. (1991), *The Migration of Labor*, Cambridge, Basil Blackwell.
- Swidler A. (1986), Culture in action: Symbols and strategies, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, n. 2, 273-286.
- Talja S. (1999), Analyzing qualitative interview data: the discourse analytic method, *Library and Information Science Research*, 21, 459-477.
- Thomas W. I., Znaniecki F. (1958). *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America Volumes I and II*, New York, Dover Publications, 1958 [1918-1920].
- Vergalli S. (2006), Entry and Exit Strategies in Migration Dynamics, *Nota di Lavoro*, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei.
- Vianello F. A. (2013, a), A transnational double presence: Circular migrations between Ukraine and Italy, *Circular migration between Europe and its neighbourhood: Choice or necessity*, 187-211.
- Vianello F. A. (2013, b), Ukrainian migrant women's social remittances: Contents and effects on families left behind, *Migration Letters*, vol. 10, n. 1, 91-100.
- Vianello F. A. (2014), Ukrainian Migrant Workers in Italy: Coping with and Reacting to Downward Mobility, *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 1, 85-98.

- Volodko V. (2007), The choice of migration country and life trajectories of Ukrainian labour migrants (Regional aspect), *The Herald of Odessa National University*, Issue "Sociology. Politology", 679 – 686.
- Watson W. (1990), Strategy, rationality and inference: The possibility of symbolic performances, *Sociology*, vol. 24, n. 3, 485-498.
- Wengraf T. (2001), *Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured methods*, London, Sage Publications.
- Wetherell M. (1998), Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue, *Discourse and Society*, 9, 387-412.
- Winters P., De Janvry A., Sadoulet E. (2001), Family and community networks in Mexico-U.S. Migration, *The Journal of Human Resources*, vol. 36, n. 1, 159-184.
- Zaslavkaya, I.T. (1999), 'Transformation Process in Russia: Socio-Structural Aspect', in Zaslavkaya, I.T. & Kalugina, Z.I. (eds), *Social Trajectory of the Reforming Russia: Research of Novosibirsk School of Economics and Sociology*, Novosibirsk, Siberian enterprise RAS (8). [In Russian]
- Zaslavskaya T.I. (2001), Socio-structural aspect of the transformation of Russian society, *Sociological Researches*, 8, 3-16. [In Russian].
- Zaslavskaya T.I., Yadov V.A. (2008), Report on the opening of III Russian Sociological Congress, October 21, 2008, available at <<http://www.polit.ru/article/2008/10/29/soctransformations/>>, accessed 30 November 2011. [In Russian]
- Zhakevych V.D. (2008), Migration attitudes in Former Soviet Republics, *Sociological study*, 10, 88-96. [In Russian].
- Zlobina O., Tikhonovich V. (2001), *Societal Crisis and Life Strategies of Individual*, Kyiv, Stylos. [In Russian].