

**MODERN UKRAINIAN LABOR MIGRANTS STEREOTYPES
ABOUT THE OTHER, “OURS”, AND “THEIRS”
(according to the results of the author’s empirical research)**

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The article is devoted to the study of the images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s in the author’s sociological research. Since the topic of images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s is in demand and quite discussed in national sociology, as Ukraine is currently moving towards European integration, which means that the issue of tolerance and acceptance of the Other, in particular ethnically and nationally, will be quite acute. The purpose of the article is to determine the impact of labour migration on the peculiarities of ethnic and national stereotypes, in particular, the formation of images of the Other, one’s own and someone else’s, among labour migrants from Ukraine. The paper analyses the materials collected by the author and interviews for the presence of images and basic traits attributed to labour migrants. Using the images portrayed by the respondents, ten main pairs of key characteristics were identified (generous/greedy, patriots/non-patriots, hardworking/lazy, religious/non-religious, rich/poor, democratic/non-democratic, non-aggressive/aggressive, tolerant/intolerant, sincere/hypocritical, liberal/conservative).

Keywords: labour migration, stereotype, Other, stranger, own, ethno-social distance, interview.

According to the data of the Ukrainian Ministry of Social Policy, in 2019, there were 3.2 million migrant workers. In 2020, according to the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, there were about 3 million migrant workers. During the year, 400-500 thousand people returned to Ukraine, but mainly due to the coronavirus pandemic, when the EU countries closed to lockdown, people lost their jobs, and were forced to return home. Last year, 3,259 Ukrainians went abroad for permanent residence. Also due to the pandemic, the figure dropped. In 2021, according to the Plukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of migrant workers is 2.5-3 million. «I think because of the pandemic, some people have postponed migration

plans -- now it is just harder to find a job that will allow them to live abroad for a long time,» said Ella Libanova, director of the Institute. [1]

Therefore, we diagnose the high level of interaction of Ukrainians with representatives of different national and ethnic groups, which in one way or another influence the formation of images of the Other, Ours and Theirs \ the Alien \ the Foreign

Analysis of scholarly literature. \ Scholarly literature review. Migration processes have been studied by Western and national scholars. In particular, the influence of labor migration on the economic situation of the population is studied by M. Boyd, T. Bush, P. Di Maggio, X. Zlotnik, N. Kibria, D. Massey, M. Mills, K. Newman, A. Portes, I. Pribytkova, O. Malinovska and others; causes and motives of migration are investigated by H. Berry, O. Blinova, I. Bourhis, J. Goss, V. Bakirov, V. Yevtukh, O. Kizilov, A. Ruchka, L. Shamilov, M. Shulga, N. Yaryntsev, etc.; changes in the legal and political field are studied by V. Bannykh, O. Belyaev, V. Vasylychenko, T. Petrova, O. Yemets, V. Novik, etc.; the influence of labor migration on the idea of family roles is researched by V. Volodko and others.[2][3][4][10]

Interest in stereotypes as one of the ways of perceiving social reality was formed in the 1920s. under the influence of W. Lippman's work «Public Opinion». T. Adorno, R. Binkley, K. Brayley, J. Dollard, D. Katz, O. Kleinberg, W. Clark, W. Olbig, G. Allport, M. Gorkheimer and others .[3][5][6][7][8] made a significant contribution to the development of the research. In Ukrainian sociology, V. Arbenin, V. Krasnykh, A. Ruchka, V. Sereda, Y. Soroka, and others study stereotypes. M. Verber, V. Yadov, in particular, V. Krasnykh, Yu. consider the term stereotype through the prism of socio-cultural approach, studying the construction of images of Ours, and Theirs \ the Alien \ the Foreign in today's multicultural environment. [14][15].

Thus, taking into account the theoretical and empirical material on this topic, the purpose of this article is to determine the impact of labor migration on the characteristics of ethnic and national stereotypes, including the formation of images of the Other, Ours, and Theirs \ the Alien \ the Foreign, among labor migrants from Ukraine.

Presenting main material. \ Argument. Given the complexity of the subject matter the author's research was carried in order to study it more thoroughly.

We analyzed the interviews for the presence of migrant workers with images of residents of both the countries they visited and a representative of their own country, and the basic features attributed to them. Next, features / characteristics were ranked by frequency of occurrence. Using the images depicted by the respondents, we identified 10 pairs of key characteristics: generous - greedy, patriots - not patriots, hardworking - lazy, religious - non-religious, rich - poor, democratic - undemocratic, non-aggressive - aggressive, tolerant - intolerant, sincere - liberal - conservative. As you can see, the list of proposed features differs significantly from the classical lists used in other studies

of interethnic stereotypes (R. Gardner, D. Taylor, G. Ktsoeva), because it has a political component. However, this component turned out to be important for our respondents, labor migrants. It should be noted that all the above features correspond to the classification of stereotypes in the spheres of human life, namely:

- political features include patriotism, democracy, liberalism / conservatism;
- to economic: generosity / greed, wealth / poverty, diligence / laziness;
- to cultural: non-aggression / aggression, tolerance / intolerance, sincerity / hypocrisy;
- to religious: religiosity / non-religiosity.

All of the above spheres have their reflection in the plane of identity. For example, patriotism is an important element that is inextricably linked to nationality or ethnicity, as are religious or economic components. We find similar ideas in the works of nationalism theorists B. Anderson and E. Gellner, because these authors were among the first to draw attention to the fact that nationalism (and its derivative - national identity) arise at the intersection of political and cultural factors. There is also another area where national and political are intertwined - citizenship. It was very difficult for our respondents to separate nationality and citizenship. Therefore, when describing other national / ethnic groups by migrant workers, sometimes these two parameters actively intersected and complemented each other.

We collected 55 semi-structured interviews. All respondents we interviewed lived in the Lviv region, namely in Lviv and Mykolayiv, because according to the State Statistics Committee, these cities are among the settlements with a high level of population involvement in labor migration. (Source. State Statistics Committee. The age of the respondents ranged from 22 to 65 years. The search for respondents was carried out using the «snowball» method. The interview was conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire, which included the following blocks: demographics (date and place of birth, status, children, etc.); description of the family from which the respondent comes; questions about the settlement, region, environment from which the respondent comes; respondent's education; reasons for labor migration; reflections on staying abroad, returning and adapting; relationships with the local population in the recipient country. The use of these blocks allowed us to model the environment of migrant workers before and after the trip to work, as well as to establish the level of contacts with representatives of other national / ethnic groups, and their impact directly on the migrants themselves.

One of our tasks is to find out the changes in the perceptions of migrant workers towards certain national / ethnic groups on the basis of interviews with «workers» and to identify existing national / ethnic stereotypes. However, to begin with, we consider it necessary to briefly describe the migrant workers we interviewed, their features and specifics.

Therefore, first of all, it should be noted that according to our observations, migrants mostly live a «double» life: they regularly maintain social contacts in two or more countries, speak several languages, through active interaction they accumulate their knowledge and capital both at home and abroad. . Let's try to trace the extent to which migrants are included in the socio-cultural systems of the "Other" society, because, in our opinion, migrants are most interested in actively adapting and maintaining contacts with representatives of the "Other" ethnic / national group. It is important for us that a well-adapted migrant has a high level of interaction and maintains close contacts with representatives of the "Other" country, as well as with "their" national group. However, the experience of labor migration is quite different, so it should be noted that even in a situation of low level of adaptability, as well as separation from the donor country, our respondents form clear images of «their» and «others».

From the presented results we can conclude that the problem of «otherness», or rather - the perception of others in Ukrainian society, has a special place. And in this case, we will not outline the problem of interethnic / interethnic conflicts, but will try to outline the socio-cultural situation in Ukraine, taking into account the experience of migrant workers. After all, due to the growth of globalization trends in society, there is a great need to establish contacts and communication with representatives of «Other» cultures, namely nations / ethnic groups. But for this we need to get rid of the stereotypes that prevail in our society in order to avoid generalizations about the representatives of other ethnic / national groups. It is categorization and simplification that adjust our perception to delimitation and repulsion from foreign cultures. Let's try to find out what is the attitude to other migrant workers, to people who have directly visited another cultural environment, where they found themselves in the role of the Other? And have they become more tolerant, because they continue to tend to create negative generalized images of «Others»?

Today, the practice of studying the differences between representatives of different national groups is gaining popularity in domestic sociology. Being in guest societies, ie in a different socio-cultural environment, all migrants have some information about different national or ethnic groups. They are characterized by the accumulation of relevant knowledge about the relations between different nations and ethnic groups, as well as the ability to assess what is seen and compare with what is in Ukraine. Most of this information remains at the level of knowledge, expanding their worldview and influencing the level of contacts with representatives of other groups. However, some part conveys their experience, thereby influencing others and changing their reality.

Therefore, we will analyze the results in order to obtain images of generalized «Others», «own» and «foreign» in the minds of modern Ukrainian labor migrants in Lviv region.

The first category of traits «Generous - Greedy», the so-called economic. Most migrant workers emphasize the generosity of their employers. This is especially true of those migrants who lived in the families of their employers and had a high level of interaction with them: «for my Italian women, I have already become my own, I have lived in the family for 8 years.» Most of them received gifts from their employers for the holidays, as well as bonuses. It is also worth noting that women are more positive about the recipient country than men. We also emphasize that we meet much less positive feedback than negative ones. Here are some examples: “Personally, I quarreled with that gentleman because he didn’t want to ... Because he didn’t pay us. We planted a very hard bean, we planted such a bean plantation, and he didn’t pay us for this bean, he said: «Poco, poco, you have peony, the bean is growing»; there are those who are still hungry, and are not allowed to eat, and are mocked. And this happens ... Very greedy owners saved on us, Ukrainian women, and lined up themselves ... ”; “I worked for both Poles and Russians, so I can say that they are as greedy as Jews, they know how to count well. But, however, they did not count. « Thus, we can observe that the attitude of employers to migrant workers had a significant impact on their well-being, the emphasis was on the financial situation of workers. This led to the formation of stereotypes among migrant workers. The group becomes closed. Accordingly, the level of communication with representatives of others decreases. As we mentioned earlier, the individual experience of interaction is automatically transferred to the whole ethnic / national group, which creates a high level of distance.

We can also pay attention to the comparisons made by migrants: «Russian-Jews», «Polish-Jews». This may indicate the existence of a stereotype about such a national group as Jews, which in this context is manifested rather as a positive stereotype: «they know how to count well... But, however, did not count.» We have a question: where does the knowledge about this group and its attitude to money come from, a person who previously stated that he had no contact with them and never worked. Thus, we can assume that such an image is formed in the society where the respondent comes from, because this is not the only comment on the «economic opportunities» of this ethnic group.

«Patriots - Non-patriots». Being abroad at work, the feeling of patriotism and love for the Motherland is significantly sharpened. However, the paradox in this situation is that more responsibility is increased and transferred to the state and the government, which must take care of its citizens, and not only for themselves: . There is something that respects our workers, there is something that most (laughs) help our people ... We have to give a job in our state, and we have to be, well, with children, somewhere abroad. We wanted our country to prosper as well as other countries abroad, such as Italy or Germany ... or the Czech Republic, as well as Poland ... We are all future generations (laughs)

help our people ... We have to give a job in our state, and we have to be, well, with children, somewhere abroad. We wanted our country to prosper as well as other countries abroad, such as Italy or Germany ... or the Czech Republic, as well as Poland ... We are all future generations (laughs) and our children would live in our prosperous Ukraine”. This tendency is inherent in almost all migrant workers, because the ideas of paternalism are widespread in Ukrainian society. This practice is more related to the socialist past, where «everything was decided and taken care of by the state.» Since the majority of migrant workers belong to the middle age category, this idea is quite deeply rooted in the minds of Ukrainians. The exception is the younger generation, for whom the Motherland is associated more with home than with the state. «And what a state, good at home, mother at home, friends, I miss them, and it’s so normal,» - said only those respondents who socialized during the independence of Ukraine.

Also quite often in our interviews the phrase “well, we are Ukrainians, where else can you find such?” and heterostereotypes: «Italians only wanted a Ukrainian woman because I had a Romanian woman working for me. We are very clean and hardworking, so they said they were very dirty. And what are they? The same gypsies.» national group by humiliating others, although they themselves are in a situation of oppression of their own nationality.

«Hardworking - Lazy.» As for such traits as diligence and laziness, the relations between migrant workers and employers had a great influence. After all, this relationship has an impact on all other characteristics / traits: “The first time we came across very good gentlemen, they received us very hospitably, they were very happy with our work, because since we, as she said, there is no working people ... such working people as Ukrainians «.» These Italians are so lazy, they don’t want to do anything, even to change the elementary, there is a light bulb, they call a master... It’s just ridiculous, we even have women doing that. ” It should be emphasized that the key factor in this characteristic is the national factor. According to Mr. Stepan, only Ukrainians are the most hard-working people: They don’t really know how to do anything... Look: they came up with different professions, there are all kinds of designers, they don’t take money for it, and our people do everything, they do any job ”.

«Religious - Non-religious.» In the case of describing the religiosity of a national / ethnic group, in particular among Italians, Poles, Czechs, Spaniards and English, it should be noted that this feature is identified by migrant workers as positive and emphasize its importance in educating future generations, indicating high development. culture of these nations. “Oh, they (the British - OH) are very religious, they go to church all the time. Their children come out of the temple to say hello, very friendly. ” “We see that children have never been raised to church there... 11 o’clock is not for children, there are children... whether it wants to or not, maybe it has no desire, it goes. We don’t have

that. And where would I be, whether in Wroclaw, or in Warsaw, or in Lublin, or in, like him? In Ozharov. Wherever I am, in any corner of Poland, there is religion in the first place, I think so, that's my opinion, because I saw that children go, because it's early in school, so children go to church in the morning, and no child will pass. Although I am a stranger in them, in their field, I am a stranger, but they... no child will pass, as the «day of good» will not say to you. It was also important for migrant workers that employers did not prohibit or even support our migrant workers in their desire to attend church and follow traditions. «Well, if I wanted to pray and go to church on Sunday. There, there it was not forbidden, there on the contrary even the lady came, well here the mistress, and added: maybe someone will go to church with her. Didn't anyone forbid it there, everyone has their own free choice and distribution ».

In the case of the Russian national group, virtually all migrants who have worked in Russia report a low level of religiosity, which they believe affects the level of culture of the entire nation. «Oh, and they (Russians - OH) are communists... They planted potatoes on Easter...». for them it means more than Christmas, can you imagine?! «. And since 2013/2014, the situation has worsened due to the political component: «and what kind of brothers they take from us, they are murderers, they will never be their own it's just a neighbor with whom we were unlucky.»

So, we see a situation where our respondents believe that religiosity is directly related to the development of the level of culture: the more religious a nation or ethnic group, the higher the level of culture. In our opinion, the relationship between religion, tradition and level of culture, or rather the influence of religion on the development of the state and the church is one of the most ingrained stereotypes in Ukrainian society.

«Rich - Poor.» In analyzing the interviews we collected, one of the main emphases in describing a particular national group, respondents focused on the economic situation of employers of Ukrainian migrant workers, which automatically identified and imposed on all members of this nationality. «My grandmother (a Pole - OH) told me a lot of things: how their childhood went, how they had many cows in the village, how they were too ... how, when, as they say, they hired ... Also they went to work, they also earned money for themselves. ut 2 thousand,... their pension corresponds to their salary and their products. The products there are cheap, you can equate a lot of things that we have, and some of them there, as well as their water is expensive, and their rent is more expensive, but the corresponding salary is what they still have left, and our money. There people live and have time to rest, and have something to go to rest. My lady was there too... we told her, they were in the Crimea. They are very satisfied with Crimea, they went from Poland to the sea, they were there ... And they also have the Baltic Sea ... ». We can also note that for migrant workers, in addition to a high level of social contacts, the level of satisfaction of physiological needs is also decisive.» There, as Christmas,

Easter was given to me, to me, to my children always, so I was satisfied, and there was a lot to eat ... Sometimes so much food was thrown out, there were cakes, and my heart ached, because my children didn't even see that, and for them it is unnecessary. «

The discourse also develops around the topic of comparing the economic situation of the country and its inhabitants. "Look at England, the culture there is so high, while the country has no natural resources. And what stability they have! That people are rich. And what about us? We have so many natural resources, and we have to work for those British people." "They (the Czechs – O.Kh.) are very rich. Look, I live in Ukraine, and I haven't been to the Crimea yet, and they can afford to travel there, because their country cares about its residents."

«Democratic - Non-Democratic» and - «Liberal - Conservative». We decided to combine the category of democratic and non-democratic traits with such a cohort as liberals and conservatives, because of the connection between them. When the migrant workers we interviewed used the terms «democratic» or «undemocratic», they applied them to the country in which the migrants were, ie at the macro level: «England is a very democratic country»; In Russia, there is no smell of democracy, everything there is like a zombie, whatever Putin says, they do, even at school in his honor (the curriculum includes lessons in studying the biography of Vladimir Putin - OH), just like communists, and Poland is no longer the Democrats. ”

For personal characteristics inherent in a particular migration group at the meso level, use the terms «liberal» and «conservative»: «They (Germans - OH) are very lenient to children, all allow... liberal in education. If a child does not want to do something, then it is not necessary ”. We find similar statements in the explanation of the behavior of the British: - «The British are great conservatives and Catholics», as well as Poles, Spaniards, Greeks, Americans in various spheres of life: family, household, cultural, social and so on.

«Non-aggressive - Aggressive.» An important factor influencing the formation of the relationship between migrant workers and the locals in the receiving country is the presence or absence of aggression. It is worth noting that we are more aggressive towards those members of national or ethnic groups who differ in appearance, culture or religion. In the course of our analysis, it was found that foreign workers manifest some kind of aggression -- greater or lesser -- towards almost everyone, and especially towards the representatives of the national or ethnic group of the host country. However, there are cases of aggression against one's own national group: "Our people (Ukrainians - O.Kh.) become evil and inhuman there, sometimes they don't even want to know you. I once met some girls from Mykolayiv, and they just ran away from me."

Also, in the interview there are manifestations of aggressive attitudes towards black people in Africa, Muslims and Roma, with whom most migrant workers did not work, but when telling or describing certain groups used as a contrast: «For them (Italians - OH)

we like the barbarians who had just fled Africa. They think we don't even know what TV is «,» But we (Ukrainians - OH) are a developed nation, not some mute Arabs who know nothing but to fight «,» And who are they (Italians) - OH) such? Dirty gypsies ». Respondents in the interview also opposed themselves to the Jewish community, which manifested itself in the negative color of such comparisons: «Are we (Ukrainians - OH) sho Jews or what?».

«Tolerant - Intolerant». As with the characteristics of aggression and non-aggression, tolerance and intolerance are manifested as a reaction to behavior or acquired knowledge about a particular national or ethnic community. “When I came here from Poland, I saw that Poland has a much more developed culture. We really liked people there who were so punctual, polite ... ” “Italians. I would describe them because, despite their hypocrisy and cunning, on the one hand, they are very open to others and very tolerant. ” However, Ms. Oksana, for example, who moved to the Czech Republic with her family, believes that they are “uneducated, cruel and impudent. They love only themselves, and others for them are cattle.

«Sincere - Hypocritical.» The last category of traits that we highlighted in our work is sincerity and hypocrisy. This category is closely intertwined with the level of relationships that have developed at the micro level, which respondents extended to the whole group: “But the majority is very sympathetic to people (Poles - OH). And that I am with no one, that I would have any... annoying... me, and in the store, and on holidays greeted me. Also, for the first time in the study in this category of traits, the respondents we surveyed gender-segregate representatives of other nationalities / ethnic groups. In particular, migrant women endow other men with more positive traits, such as sincerity, caring, and commitment: «Where they are (Italian men - OH) are so sincere...»; “Men there treat our women completely differently. They are trained there. For example, my senior had 2 sons and a daughter. Those sons all live separately. They called every day: “How did you sleep, mom? Are you feeling well? Did you eat? «. Very much respect for my parents and the same, because I did in two families. Then she worked for that young family. Roberto also came from work there, he immediately, he hadn't even had dinner yet, he was already picking up the phone and calling: «How did you, mom, feel all day, what were you doing?». As for the migrant men we interviewed, they generally describe the whole group without dividing them by gender. Mr. Igor points to the hypocrisy and audacity of both Russians and Poles, calling them «cunning, hypocritical and deceitful.» We find a similar description in five other men. However, it should be noted that women, especially those who have visited Italy, consider the Italian population extremely «cunning» and «hypocritical»: «They are very cunning and hypocritical.»

Therefore, we see that the features we have identified create a generalized stereotypical image of Others. In the minds of migrant workers, this image is manifested

at the evaluative level. There is a greater friendliness to the representatives of Western Europe, in particular Italians, Poles, Portuguese and others, and a lesser one to Russians. In addition, it should be noted that migrant women workers are more positive about the local male population than the female population. They more often compare themselves with representatives of one or another local national group. In the case of men, they did not gender-divide the host country's Others, but described a national / ethnic group in general.

According to the results of the author's research, the following conclusions were obtained. At the macro level, the following pattern is observed. The level of distance from representatives of different ethnic / national groups is influenced by the level of contacts. That is, with increasing contact level, the level of distance decreases and vice versa. The lower level of distance is manifested to those ethnic / national groups to which labor migration is most often carried out. It was found that in the meso-level analysis the image of a Russian is more positive than in the micro-level analysis. It can also be argued that the level of distance is influenced by the political situation in the country.

When talking about other national groups, respondents very often put labels and characterize representatives of other national / ethnic groups with whom they did not come into direct contact. For example, Mr. Stepan, without ever contacting Moldovans, described them: "But those churks can't do anything, they just cut the grass and looked where else to go... No, we didn't do it with them, the owner told us about his previous ones workers, then we saw them at a nearby building... They were from Moldova. « It is well known that there is no such national or ethnic group as the Churki, there are Moldovans. This fragment traces the discriminatory practices of other groups. It is paradoxical that they themselves are in the position of the Other, but this fact is leveled by them and imposed on the «stranger».

Despite many years of cooperation, relations between Ukrainian migrant workers and foreign employers remain, in our opinion, at the level of latent conflict, and extremely rarely open; the latter being only possible if migrant workers were given the legal status and had a good knowledge of their rights and responsibilities, which, unfortunately, is problematic due to the very lack of knowledge and some other factors. All these circumstances contribute to the emergence of new ethnic / national stereotypes rather than undermine them. Hence, this situation exacerbates migrant workers' feeling of injustice towards them. Confrontation with other national groups and responsibility for their situation, they tend to transfer onto the entire national group.

Therefore, our micro-level analysis confirmed that the formation of stereotypes among migrant workers is significantly influenced by the level of interaction of migrant workers with representatives of other national groups. In particular, this is manifested in three dimensions of social reality: in social institutions, social practices and cultural

meanings. According to the first dimension, this influence affects such social institutions as the family (affects both one's own family and the family of the migrant worker in the case of female labor migration), education, religion, politics, state, economy, etc. In the case of the second dimension, the impact of migration is on the civic and cultural activity of migrant workers, as there is a situation of increasing social participation of migrants in everyday life and communication with different ethnic and national groups. In addition, there is a change in cultural values, because it is the experience of labor migration affects the formation of positive or negative images of the Other. However, the results of the study show that we should talk about the situation of formation of Otherness, ie a social situation in which migrants do not construct the image of the Other purposefully, but simply rely on differences in their own «self-image», which affects sociocultural tolerance, social cohesion and society taken individuals.

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**СТЕРЕОТИПИ СУЧАСНИХ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ТРУДОВИХ МІГРАНТІВ
ЩОДО «ІНШОГО», «СВОГО» ТА «ЧУЖОГО»
(за результатами авторського емпіричного дослідження)**

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Стаття присвячена вивченню образів Іншого, свого та чужого в авторському соціологічному дослідженні. Оскільки тема образів Іншого, свого та чужого є затребуваною та доволі обговорюваною у вітчизняній соціології, адже України сьогодні рухається в напрямку Євронтеграції, а це означає, що питання толерантності та прийняття Іншого, зокрема етнічно та національно стоятиме доволі гостро. Мета статті - визначення впливу трудової міграції на особливості проявів етнічних та національних стереотипів, зокрема формування образів Іншого, свого та чужого, у трудових мігрантів з України. В роботі проаналізовано матеріали, зібраних автором, інтерв'ю на предмет наявності у трудових мігрантів образів та базових рис, які їм приписувалися. З допомогою змальованих респондентами образів було виділено десять основних пар ключових характеристик (щедрі / жадібні, патріоти / не патріоти, працьовиті / ледачі, релігійні / нерелігійні, багаті / бідні, демократичні / недемократичні, неагресивні / агресивні, толерантні / нетолерантні, щирі / лицемірні, ліберальні / консервативні). На основі проведеного дослідження виведено образи узагальнених "Інших", "своїх" та "чужих" в уявленнях сучасних українських трудових мігрантів Львівщини.

Ключові слова: трудова міграція, стереотип, Інший, чужий, свій, етносоціальна дистанція, інтерв'ю.

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