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HUMAN SECURITY

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THE PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AMONG UKRAINIAN LABOUR MIGRANTS

Title:	THE PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AMONG UKRAINIAN LABOUR MIGRANTS
Abstract:	<i>The article analyzes the perception of social justice among Ukrainian labour migrants. The results from the research data gathered in 2014-2015 are presented, where two main perception discourses: “to everyone according to their merits” and “from everybody according to their obligations, for everybody according to their rights” are discussed. The findings show that the perceptions of the social justice among the Ukrainian labour migrants tend to be of the hybrid nature. They form and transform mostly through communication. Moreover, it is suggested that the processes of formation and transformation of the perceptions of the social justice should be analyzed through the concept of trust.</i>
Keywords:	Communication; social justice; trust; Ukrainian labour migrants.
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Introduction

Modern world constantly intensifies with new phenomena and processes, such as globalization, migration, communication, terrorism, new technology, atomic weapons, etc., which build up new challenges in our understanding of the social justice.

Francis Fukuyama has stated that modern social transformations, such as those caused by new informational technology, carry along also difficulties¹. Interestingly, Fukuyama believes that those

changes, while giving freedom to the individual, simultaneously take it away from her². He then states that in the future people will be able to distribute capabilities, which now are unequally distributed. Thus, human rights have to be grounded in the human nature, in the specific inner ideas and emotional reactions of the individual³.

Naturally, scientific discussions on social justice are intensified by the modern social processes, analysis of which, therefore, requires new theoretical and

¹ F. Fukuyama, *Our Posthuman Future. Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2002

² *Ibidem*

³ *Ibidem*

empirical approaches. As example, in 2013 according to the results of the survey collected by the Institute of Sociology at Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, the average grade of 1.9 was given to the question “Can or cannot the modern society where you live be regarded as just?”, where 5 points was the highest grade¹. Thus the answers can be understood as inclination of the respondents to judge the modern society as unjust. However, the specifications for different social classes as well as what the just society for respondents actually means are not provided by the aforementioned study. These questions are rather of qualitative specific and require relevant approaches.

Taking into account multiplicity of the concept of the social justice, this article concentrates on a specific group of people – Ukrainian labour migrants.

The choice of the study of the social group of Ukrainian labour migrants is determined on the basis of the following issues. The exact amount of Ukrainian labour migrants is still not completely known. According to the statistics from International Organization of Migration² and the Ptukha NAS Institute of Demography and Social Research³ during the last decade the average amount of Ukrainian labour migrants in the EU countries approximates between 1.2 to 1.5 million people (includes only the legally living migrants in those countries). On the other hand, the consulate director of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, - Andriy Sybiga, claims that by 2016 there were 5 million Ukrainian legally living in

the EU countries and the Russian Federation⁴.

According to the statistics from the International Organization of Migration the main countries of destination for Ukrainian labour migrants in 2010-2012 in the European Union are Poland (14%), Italy and Czech Republic (each 13%), Spain (5%), Hungary and Portugal (each 2%); other countries not in the European Union amount up to 51 %⁵. Most often Ukrainian labour migrants come from the Western regions of Ukraine, especially Zakarpats’ka and Chernivets’ka as well as Volyns’ka, Ivano-Frankivs’ka, Ternopils’ka and Khmelnyts’ka regions⁶.

According to the results of the “Monitoring of the Ukrainian Society” research, conveyed by the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Science, I. Pribitkova claims that by 2013 28.2%⁷ of Ukrainians older than 18 years want to leave their place of residence. Out of these 62.5%⁸ wish to emigrate abroad. Less than a half of all respondents (42.2%)⁹ do not want to leave their place of residence at all. 9.6%¹⁰ of the respondents claim the wish to leave in the following year in order to work abroad.

The initiative to emigrate among Ukrainians is well documented through other studies as well. Specifically interesting is to look at the numbers provided by the Gallup Institute that claim

¹ V. Smakota, *U poshukakh spravedlyvoho suspil'stva*, at *Ukrayins'ke suspil'stvo: monitorynh sotsial'nykh zmin*, 2015, p.157

² The official site of IOM in Ukraine (2013), *Mihratsiya v Ukrayini. Fakty ta tsyfry* // http://iom.org.ua/sites/default/files/ukr_ff_f.pdf

³ E. Libanova, O. Poznyak, *Naselennya Ukrayiny. Trudova emihratsiya v Ukrayini*, In-t demohrafiyi ta sotsial'nykh doslidzhen' im. M.V.Ptukhy NAN Ukrayiny, Kyiv, 2010

⁴ G. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1974 [1961]

⁵ The official site of IOM in Ukraine (2013), *Mihratsiya v Ukrayini. Fakty ta tsyfry* // http://iom.org.ua/sites/default/files/ukr_ff_f.pdf, p. 5-6

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ I. Pribitkova, *Transformatsiya strukturyi migratsionnyih potokov v Ukraine i ih dinamika v usloviyah mirovogo finansovogo krizisa*, "Demoskop Weekly", No. 563-564, 2013, // <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2013/0563/analit01.ph> p (referred on 19 August 2013)

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ *Ibidem*

¹⁰ *Ibidem*

that the index of the potential migration of youth was 31% in 2010-2011¹.

The International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Interconnections at Lviv National Polytechnic University studied migration intentions among the students of the city of L'viv in 2013-2014. According to their results, 81.9% of the respondents claimed the wish to emigrate abroad to work, 72% claimed the wish to study abroad, and 37% claimed the wish to emigrate abroad for the permanent residency². Most of the respondents claimed the wish to move to the countries of North America and Western Europe. However, the third place for the goal destinations took Poland, - one of the neighbouring countries of Ukraine³.

Therefore, it can be suggested that the social group of Ukrainian labour migrants has a tendency to grow and develop while changing its types. Modern Ukrainian labour migration is now starting to transform from vertical to horizontal circular migration⁴. Its specificity lies in its horizontal connections that have transnational feature, and move beyond the interactions between home and host countries. These social relations and interactions are quite wide and include friends, relatives, NGOs, employers, church, public workers and others in the country of origin, receiving country and beyond.

The main scientific and public discourses around the topics connected to the Ukrainian labour migration, such as concerning push and attract factors of migration, specifics of social adaptation of the migrants, multilevel transformative

processes that migration brings along (individual, community and social levels of "here" and "there", global level), material and non-material remittances and others, create new scientific challenges in studies of the perceptions of the social justice.

The Methodology of Studies of the Perceptions of the Social Justice among the Ukrainian Labour Migrants

The author incorporate the definition of the social justice as one of the fundamental social and individual values, which is defined through experience, knowledge, value system and individual practices, emphasizing the moral and legal adequacy prerequisite between the practical roles of the different individuals and their social standing, between their rights and obligations, input and reward, crime and punishment, people's merits and their recognition, skills and needs.

Taking into account that the concept of social justice can be characterized through multiple definitions, one of the best approaches to the studies of it is suggested to be of qualitative character according to M. Beltran⁵. Moreover, there is a need of the subject of this study to be looked at through the deep interpretative analysis. According to Yadov, qualitative methods in sociology have the capacity to explain the phenomena and give non fragmented interpretations⁶. Moreover, it is difficult to quantitatively study Ukrainian labour migrants, the data on whom is limited due to the difficulties to quantify illegal migration. Therefore, the method for data gathering is defined as semi-structured narrative interview.

The empirical stage of the research was performed in April 2014-March 2015. The interviews were conducted in Austria, Italy, Poland and Ukraine. The respondents

¹ The official site of GALLUP (2013), *Potential Net Migration Index Declines in Many Countries*, // <http://www.gallup.com/poll/166796/potential-net-migration-index-declines-countries.aspx> (referred on 17 January 2014)

² I. Klyuchkovs'ka, Y. Marusyk, O. Pyatkovs'ka, *Zvit pro rezul'taty doslidzhennya mihratsiynykh nastroyiv studentiv L'vova*, MIOK NU «L'vivs'ka politekhnik», Lviv, 2014, p. 11

³ *Ibidem*, p. 24

⁴ S. Vertovec, *Circular migration: the way forward in global policy?*, at *IMI Working papers*, University of Oxford, 2007, pp. 4 – 54 // <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp/wp-04-07.pdf>

⁵ N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 2005

⁶ V. Yadov, *Strategiya i metody kachestvennogo analiza dannyih*, "Sotsiologiya: metodologiya, metody, matematicheskoe modelirovanie", No. 1, 1991, pp. 14-31 // <http://www.twirpx.com/file/555503/> (referred on 5 August 2016)

we Ukrainian labour migrants in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and Sweden.

During the research 32 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The snowball method of sampling the informants was used, which has proved to be more than convenient for recruiting interviewees of migrant origin, who are well connected between each other.

Empirical stage of the research was finished at this point due to the approximation to the “line of saturation”¹ and thus the possibility for argumentation of the trivial reliability of the gathered data. In other words, the usage of the method at a certain stage leads to the same results².

The questionnaire included several blocks, which among other topics concerned issues of emotional feelings, life principles, values, personal definitions of justice and injustice, their own examples of the just and unjust events and ways, which in their opinion, could lead to justice.

Preliminary analysis and synthesis of the gathered data is conducted through clusterization and analytic induction.

What are the perceptions of the social justice among the Ukrainian labour migrants?

The analysis has defined several main discourses of the perceptions of the social justice. In this article two of them are discussed.

I. “To everyone according to their merits”, the discourse of investments/contributions and rewards.

This discourse can be explained through the desert theory and the theory of equity.

The classic example of the desert theory scholar is Aristotle. His reflections on distributive justice can be found in the fifth book of “Nicomachean ethics”³.

The desert theory suggests the “principle of equality”, which claims the “equal distribution for equal people”⁴. This principle thus claims the proportional distribution of valuables according to people’s personal characteristics, such as sex, age, educational level, etc.

In Aristotle’s opinion, this principle of justice aims to regulate the distributive sources between the individuals and define what is just and what is unjust according to their interactions.

Modern representatives of the desert theory are V. Sadurski, J. Feenberg and J. Sher⁵. The common characteristic of all these theories, including the theory of Aristotle, is the formulation of unified or complex principle of justice that legitimizes unequal distribution of social resources according to different individual characteristics. In general, the desert principle is defined through: “M deserves X for A”⁶. Often, merits are based on the current or past characteristics of the individual, and not on the future, expected deeds.

Discussions among scientists circulate around the issues of which individual characteristics should be defined as merits. Some researchers believe that only those characteristics that the individuals are directly responsible for, such as punctuality, should be regarded as merits⁷. Others suggest to include the

¹ The official site of Fond Democratic Initiative (2015), *Komu bil'she doviryayut' ukrayintsi: vladi, hromads'kosti, ZMI..?* // http://www.dif.org.ua/ua/publications/press-relizy/komu-bil'she-dovirjayut-ukrainci--vladi-gromadskosti_-zmi_.htm (referred on 3 August 2015)

² The official site of GALLUP (2013), *Potential Net Migration Index Declines in Many Countries*, // <http://www.gallup.com/poll/166796/potential-net-migration-index-declines-countries.aspx> (referred on 17 January 2014)

³ Aristotel, *Nikomakhova etyka*, Akvilon-Plyus, Kyiv, 2002

⁴ *Ibidem*

⁵ C. Sabbagh, *A Taxonomy of Normative and Empirically Oriented Theories of Distributive Justice*, “Social Justice Research”, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2001, pp. 237-263, p. 249

⁶ G. Sher, *Desert*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1987, p. 7

⁷ C. Sabbagh, *A Taxonomy of Normative and Empirically Oriented Theories of Distributive*

characteristics that are independent from individual, such as sex, age, physical capacities, etc.¹.

Equity theory appeared in 1960's on the basis of the multidisciplinary empirical research of the distributive justice. The equity theory (also known as the principle of justice) states the questions of how individuals or social groups define and evaluate the results of the distribution of their own investments and contributions in relation to the received rewards, punishments, or other results².

First argumentation of the equity theory was presented by sociologist J. K. Homans in his "Social behaviour: Its elementary forms"³. Using theory of social exchange, Homans explains individual behaviour as just through the universal psychological law of people's characterization in the specific social situations⁴. In the second edition of the "Social behaviour: Its elementary forms" (1974) Homans introduces "the second rule of distribution", which then got the name of the "equity principle". This rule is based on Aristotle's concept of proportional equality. The sociologist believes that individuals use this rule while evaluating and expecting the just rewards⁵.

Individual expects that the rewards:

1) Will be defined by the level of their individual investments or contributions

2) Will be in accordance to the level of the rewards received by others with the same level of investments and contributions⁶ [7].

Investment and contribution are studied by Homans as elements of the

social exchange⁷. However, he defines these concepts in different ways. Investment includes those characteristics which are independent of the individual (sex, social upbringing, seniority)⁸. Contribution is, as defined by Homans, the willing characteristic that is shaped and determined by the individual, such as the type of work the individual does⁹.

The differences in understanding the distributive justice between the individuals appear mostly in the specifics of its usage instead of the theoretical grounds. Precisely, through: 1) types of investments, contributions and rewards, which are taken into consideration during the distribution; 2) the way in which the individual investment and contribution level is evaluated and the volume of the rewards that they deserve¹⁰.

In addition to the Homans' theories of social exchange, the value theory of J. Berger could be contributive. He believes that individual evaluates justice or injustice of resource distribution through relation to the "generalized individual" instead of comparing to a definite individual¹¹. For example, Ukrainian labour migrant compares her income, standing etc., not with every separate labour migrant, but with a categorical "Ukrainian labour migrant" in a specific country of residence.

G. Jasso (1980) attempted to combine these ideas which are proposed by the theory of social exchange and status values approaches. The researcher defines universal rule through which the spectator evaluates justice or injustice of the situation. According to this rule, the evaluation of justice is variable as a

Justice, "Social Justice Research", Vol. 14, No. 3, 2001

¹ *Ibidem*

² *Ibidem*, p. 249

³ G. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1974 [1961]

⁴ C. G. McClintock, L. J. Keil, *Equity and social exchange*, in *Equity and Justice in Social Behavior*, Academic Press, New York, 1982

⁵ *Ibidem*

⁶ G. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1974 [1961]

⁷ *Ibidem*

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ C. Sabbagh, *A Taxonomy of Normative and Empirically Oriented Theories of Distributive Justice*, "Social Justice Research", Vol. 14, No. 3, 2001

¹⁰ K. Cook, *Expectations, evaluations and equity*, "American Sociological Review", No. 40, 1975

¹¹ M. Zelditch, *Structural Aspects of Distributive Justice: A Status-Value Formulation, with Berger, Anderson, and Cohen*, "Sociological Theories in Progress", Vol. II, 1972

logarithm of the real component of the resources which is justly accepted¹.

Ukrainian labour migrants while using the discourse of “from everyone according to their skills, for everyone according to their merits” understand it first of all as interrelation of the “input-output” type.

Rewards or punishments that are received constitute the results of individuals’ merits through material and non-material investments/contributions. In the discourses of the individuals on social justice investments/contributions-rewards constitute of three aspects:

1. Theocentric – interrelation “Individual-God”. This aspect includes the importance of faith, solemnity, and the usage of “the laws of God”, such as 10 Commandments, as an important merit of the individual, for which he receives a relevant reward in the Earthly life and after her death.

Typical statement:

Female_52_Italy: “*You always have to think that we are guests here, and that we should go to God, because we take nothing away, but our deeds, good or bad ... live according to the laws of God, the commandments of God, I think so myself; a human being who wants justice - will achieve it, I know we live for this [p. 7]*”².

Theocentric aspect of investments/contributions and rewards interrelations is actively present in the discourses of Ukrainian labour migrants mostly because they are often intertwined within the social connections and networks in the country of residence through the church, which has a big social and spiritual influence (due to the fact that the research was carried out among labour migrants from Western Ukraine, the main church is

Ukrainian Greek Catholic church) [p. 8]. The church not only theoretically emphasizes Christian principles and values, but also practically helps migrants in the search for jobs and housing, materially, connects them with other Ukrainian migrants, NGOs, activists and others.

2. Social – interrelations of the “Individual-other individual/social groups/social institutes / society” type. Rewards or punishments of the individual are dependent on the specifics of the investments and contributions in relations with other individuals, social groups etc., and recognition of these investments and contributions by others, the so-called social evaluation of personal merits. Usually, this aspect has a positive character of interrelations, which comes back as a reward to the individual. This aspect is connected to the theocentric aspect since the discourses of the respondents on interrelations with other people are based in the Christian ethical principles.

Typical statement:

Female_47_Belgium: “*You try to live, to help, to love, to care about life, family, care for the parents, to learn even basic things, to work and search around the world. And interestingly as you go around the world, in every country, even the language you do not know or it is at all strange people, skin color is different, and you can see ... and feel this energy of that person. Sometimes it happens you ask for a street or something else, how to go there, you something has fallen there, or you accidentally feel badly. I remember many times in the tram or trolley bus I drove once and I turn around and people are completely alien to me, people whom I do not know ... So, you do good and it is also displayed on your appearance, you always seem to look young, it's true ... I thought about it, I am just drawn to help people everywhere (laughs). That is, it seems tiring, you come home ... but then after some time passes, and you receive calls from the person who actually, you think, you cannot reach them, and hear them say*

¹ C. Sabbagh, *A Taxonomy of Normative and Empirically Oriented Theories of Distributive Justice*, “Social Justice Research”, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2001

² Interview recorded with Lubov Dutka in the village Lysovychi, Lviv region, Ukraine, 14/07/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

"Thank you!". This is very cool when you see and gather your fruit [p. 4-5]"¹.

Male_24_Germany: "I'm in Germany at the beginning of August, I had a job I liked ... that I had such wages, which is paid to the Germans and is normal, that I was valued in the same money as a German would be, although I am a foreigner. In comparison with the work that I had earlier, those times much lower paid work, paid much less. I said it incorrectly. I had the job as Germans and the previous work I had were such that Germans don't work at, because it is little paid. Then in August I had the job that the Germans had, I was at the same level with them, work was available. This was true in spite of my national origin, I got that job... with much more favorable wage [p. 4]"².

3. Personal – interrelations of the "Individual-Individual" type. This aspect includes self-understanding and evaluation own efforts, contributions and investments into something/for someone, which is proportional to the received rewards or punishments.

Typical statement:

Female_32_Austria: "Work, by the way the former work I did, regarding unfairness of it, well, it's been a lot of cases. When, for example, where I try everything I do - some part of my love to invest ... well, all the work I have always tried to fulfill well, with love, to do everything that depends on me. Well, when I see the head, it is possible, his opinion is different, maybe he has his own but when it's my job, my something and she rejects it (laughs) rejects because it seems that I can do it better and there is some flaws in this work, asks again to spend a lot of time to process everything again and in some days we can return to the original version ... so

yes, it took away a lot of nerves, health (laughs) and it was not fair as for me [p. 4-5]"³.

All the three aspects (theocentric, social and personal) of the investments/contributions and rewards contribute to each other, and do not exist in a separate "clean" way when evaluated.

Therefore, the discourse "for everyone according to their merits" further depicts the argument of the theory of social exchange for the Ukrainian labour migrants in their definitions of the social justice. Moreover, upon receiving the rewards the investments and contributions that are dependent (knowledge, determination, social skills) as well as those independent (country of origin) are evaluated. However, the further analysis and interpretation of the "efforts", contributions and rewards that are mentioned in the discourses is necessary. These concepts make use of the individual meaning, which is based on the values, knowledge and experiences of the individual.

II. "From everybody according to their obligations, for everybody according to their rights" – the discourse of rights and obligations. This discourse is oriented to the social justice on the systemic level instead of the individual one. Main ideas on achieving justice in the social system were suggested by J. Rolz, who is one of the "classics" in the studies of theory of justice. His theory is oriented towards the social structure, and suggests structuration of the main institutes – political, economic, juridical, and social.

J. Rolz's theory of justice as honesty is based on two principles⁴:

1) Every person has to have equal rights according to the bigger scheme of equal basic freedoms, compatible to the similar freedoms schemes for others.

¹ Interview recorded with Lesia Ihnatyuk, Lviv, Ukraine, 11/06/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

² Interview recorded with Nazar Adamchuk, Lviv, Ukraine, 09/19/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

³ Interview recorded with Iryna Fedoryshyn, Vienna, Austria, 09/21/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

⁴ Dz. Rolz, *Teoriya spravedlyvosti*, Osnovy, Kyiv, 2001, p. 102

2) Social and economic inequalities have to be structured so as: a) they would logically mean benefits for all, and b) access to positions would be open to all.

The stability of the concept of justice can be achieved through recognition of its realization of the social system which brings along the relevant feeling of justice¹.

Ukrainian labour migrants are concerned not only with the content and possibilities of rights but also their compliance and usage or the practical side.

Typical statements:

Male_52_Spain: *"What must be, must be, what a person needs is provided by law, the person have it... According to the law. The person has the right to work, the right to education, the right to medical attendance, so [p. 6]"².*

Female_28_Italy: *"Judging by what happens in Italy, Ukrainians have very little rights, always someone is trying to somehow put them into their place, to which they want to put us ... That you see just the difference between them and yourself. Although you are the same full, full-fledged person ... First they will take (auth. for work) because you have really very great abilities, and still you do not get equal rights with the Italians. You, for example, do not get a full contract, but a project that has no other additional payments, only a bare wage [p. 6]"³.*

Interestingly, when evaluating own rights and obligations Ukrainian labour migrants describe their feelings regarding their usage.

Typical statement:

Male_52_Spain: *"You know, I was shocked. I think why it so that it happened*

the way I thought it would. And all day I had fun. You know the feeling I got was pure satisfaction, I got supplement of energy! [p. 6]"⁴.

Philosopher R.Rorty believes that the feelings of people should be regarded when discussing their rights. Moreover, he suggests rejecting the definition of the human rights on the basis of their merits⁵. In other words, the quite objective system of rights and obligations should become flexible according to individual specifics. Furthermore, the studies of the social justice may shed a light on the places where this flexibility is needed.

Therefore, the perceptions of social justice among Ukrainian labour migrants are based on the two main discourses: "for everyone according to their merits" and "from everybody according to their obligations, for everybody according to their rights".

Both of these discourses are based on the values, knowledge, experience and practices of the individuals. Therefore, the important argument in the grounding of social justice should be not only macro-environment and system, but also its definitions on the individual level.

How are the perceptions of social justice formed among Ukrainian labour migrants?

As stated before, there are two dimensions through which the perceptions on social justice are formed: micro and macro. The micro dimension is defined through individual values, knowledge, experiences and practices. The macro dimension is an existing social order, cultural, religious specifics in the society, etc. According to B.Barry the micro dimension of justice is concentrated on individual and her interaction with others, "justice is the virtue of people". The macro

¹ *Ibidem*

² Interview recorded with Dmytro Sydor, Stry, Ukraine, 07/12/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

³ Interview recorded with Maryana Kril', Rome, Italy, 05/10/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

⁴ Interview recorded with Dmytro Sydor, Stry, Ukraine, 07/12/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

⁵ R. Rorty, *Human Rights, Rationality and Sentimentality in On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures*, Basic Books, New York, 1993

dimension of justice concentrates on the social system, and is “a virtue of institutions”¹. These two dimensions are not contradictory, but are segregated in the existing perceptions of the social justice.

According to this research individuals are prone to evaluate and describe their perceptions of social justice or injustice in relation to others. This process of comparison is happening through communication and interaction.

Through communication and interaction individuals obtain their aims, values, norms, expectations, experience. During the communication individuals present and define their already existing perceptions of social justice and create the new understanding of the social justice.

As this research has shown, the definition of the existing perceptions of social justice and creation of the new understanding/-s is possible only through trust. Evaluation and argumentation of justice or injustice depends on trust towards others (subjects or objects that are evaluated).

Typical statement on the role of trust when evaluating social justice:

Female_32_Austria: *“People are different, and so for someone faith has shaped their character... some different levels of trust to people”*².

Male_24_Germany: *“Injustice, first of all, is when you simply are not trusted, then maybe social issues”*³

The process of analysis of the empirical material has proved the existence

of two types of trust that are highlighted by E. Giddens⁴:

- *The trust to people (personified) is based on personal obligations. According to Giddens, this trust is basic and is formed in the process of interactions with the closest people through socialization. Basic trust is presented through structures of the lifeworld in everyday interactions. Personified trust is defined through collaboration, mutual responsibility, confidence in the honesty of the other*

- *The trust towards abstract systems, which is based on impersonal obligations. The abstract systems are understood as symbolic signs (money as exchange tool) and expert systems, which organize political, economic, social, cultural and other environments. This type of trust provides the feeling of reliability of the everyday relations.*

The results of the current research suggest the existence of the “syndrome of distrust”⁵, the concept suggested by P. Sztompka⁶, towards the abstract systems in the country of origin – Ukraine, including those governmental structures of the different level and profile. Therefore, Ukrainian labour migrants share the same “syndrome” with Ukrainians in Ukraine. Those latter have the lowest trust towards courts and prosecutors – 51.4% of respondents do not trust them at all, banks – 45.5%, Ukrainian Government – 45.1%, Verkhovna Rada (parliament) – 44.4%, the President of Ukraine – 33.3%⁷. In the same time, Ukrainian labour migrants trust abstract systems in the country of residence.

⁴ E. Giddens, *Posledstviya sovremennosti*, Praksis, Moskva, 2011

⁵ N. Freik, *Kontseptsiya doveriya v issledovaniyah P. Shtompki*, ”Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya”, No. 11, 2006, pp. 10-18 // http://ecsocman.hse.ru/data/467/785/1219/002_Freik.pdf (referred on 25 May 2007)

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ The official site of Fond Democratic Initiative (2015), *Komu bil'she doviryayut' ukrayintsi: vladi, hromads'kosti, ZMI..?* // http://www.dif.org.ua/ua/publications/press-relizy/komu-bilshe-dovirjayut-ukrainci--vladi-gromadskosti_-zmi_.htm (referred on 3 August 2015)

¹ C. Sabbagh, *A Taxonomy of Normative and Empirically Oriented Theories of Distributive Justice*, ”Social Justice Research”, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2001, p. 239

² Interview recorded with Iryna Fedoryshyn, Vienna, Austria, 09/21/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

³ Interview recorded with Nazar Adamchuk, Lviv, Ukraine, 09/19/2014 (interview preserved in the author's archive).

Furthermore, Ukrainian labour migrants are prone to trust their closest social circle, the primary social groups: family, friends, representatives of their religious group, etc. They trust these social groups without territorial preferences and specifics, - both in the country of residence and in the country of origin. An important factor here is the specific functioning and support among them.

One of the most important findings of the current research is that Ukrainian labour migrants are prone to evaluate justice and injustice in relation to their level of trust towards others. The evaluation of being a just event received those examples, suggested by the respondents, which happened through the interaction with social groups that have well-grounded personal relationships with the respondent, and thus are of a personified type of trust.

In addition, Ukrainian labour migrants regard as just different systems (political, social, economic, educational, etc.) in the country of residence which they also trust and compare to the same ones in Ukraine, which, however, lost their trust capital and are unjust in the respondents' opinions.

Conclusions

Modern migration processes are often a challenge for scientists in their studies of the social justice. The phenomenon of Ukrainian labour migration, especially its fourth wave which started in the mid-90's, fluctuates constantly and has a tendency to grow.

The studies of the perceptions of the social justice among Ukrainian labour migrants allows adding new aspects in the understanding of the motives for migration, specifics of adaptation and transformation of the representatives of this social group.

In this article the following conclusions on the specifics of the perceptions of the social justice among the Ukrainian labour migrant are drawn:

1. The perceptions of the social justice are defined through two main discourses:

- "For everyone according to their merits", the discourse of investments/contributions and rewards. When evaluating investments/contributions and rewards individual contributions and investments for which the person is responsible for and those that are given at birth or difficult to change should be accounted for, in the respondents' opinions. During the analysis of the data three aspects of the investments/contributions-rewards were found: theocentric, social and personified.

- "From everybody according to their obligations, for everybody according to their rights", the discourse of rights and obligations. This discourse is oriented to the social justice of the social institutions and systems. However, Ukrainian labour migrants are interested in the usage and compliance to obligations in the everyday life. Thus this quite an objective system of the rights and obligations should become flexible on the individual level.

2. The perceptions of social justice among Ukrainian labour migrants are of a hybrid type. These perceptions are partly of macro justice level (formulated in impersonal terms; emphasis is on the social order; "justice as a virtue of institutions"). And partly of micro justice level (formulated in individual terms; emphasis is on interrelations between individuals, personal attributes; "justice is a virtue of people").

3. Communication is a key process in the formation of the perceptions of the social justice. During communication individuals present and define their existing perceptions of the social justice and modify or create new understandings of the social justice.

4. The evaluation and argumentation of justice of injustice depends on the trust towards others (objects or subjects that are evaluated). Those examples given by the respondents as if just happened through interaction with other people and social groups, where the personal relations were

established and which have the personified trust. Moreover, just, in Ukrainian labour migrants' opinions, are the different types of systems (political, social, economic, educational etc.) of a country of residence, in contrast to the same ones in the country of origin, that are evaluated as unjust and lost their trust capital.

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