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## **Initial factors contributing to occupational mobility of Ukraine's youth**

### *Abstract*

*The paper deals with initial factors responsible for occupational mobility of Ukraine's youth under free market conditions. The emphasis is put on the specificity of various institutional strategies and mechanisms for forming social and career orientations of young Ukrainians. Particular attention is also paid to possible impacts on moral and psychological atmosphere prevailing in the society, where young people are being trained to perform their jobs. Distinctive features of labour market in Ukraine, which are discussed in the given paper, result from political and economic changes occurring in the country. The following issues are also analysed: a) traditional occupations, forms and elements of organising labour in Ukraine; b) influence of films on the system of value orientations of young Ukrainians, including career choices made by them. Finally, the author identifies what values serve as reference points for Ukrainian school-leavers and what motivates them to choose their occupation.*

**Keywords:** *strategies for education and occupational guidance, labour market, promotion of occupations, social, career and value orientations of youth.*

### **Introduction**

The time we are all living in is characterised by diverse changes associated with the processes of globalisation, growing competition, rapid development of new technologies, increase in migration flows, etc. Undoubtedly, this requires thorough and systematic academic research (including sociological) aimed at diagnosing, predicting and preventing risks consequent upon today's comprehensive changes. For example, it is known that the technological revolution entails a

certain decrease in demand for human resources and with the emergence of new professions a significant amount of existing professional knowledge and skills becomes outdated. Changes like these affect not only the character of jobs that people perform but also their employment prospects. The importance of information technology involving the use of computers, mobile phones, the Internet, satellite and cable television, etc. is rapidly growing nowadays. So, it stands to reason that the labour market is looking for a new type of employee that is expected to be agile, competent, creative, mobile and flexible in terms of work. Hence, the requirements set for occupational guidance, occupational training and occupational mobility of youth are considerably changing.

It is the labour market that represents the mechanism of labour distribution and redistribution between different areas of economy. Labour market imbalances are caused by mismatch between labour supply and demand in different sectors of the national economy. It is known that the rise in unemployment leads to a significant growth in self-employment (or the so-called non-standard employment). This form of employment somewhat mitigates the problem of unemployment (in fact, it has been observed in Ukraine for the last 10 years), but does not solve it completely. Development of industry, modernisation of transport infrastructure, government support for agricultural sector, encouragement of innovations and inventions in all areas of the national economy — this is what Ukraine needs today in order to achieve economic growth and improve competitiveness in the global market. This requires quite a lot of highly skilled engineers and technical workers. Considering that today's Ukrainian youth is mostly focused on self-realisation, all the agents of socialisation such as family, school, church, the mass media, as well as national traditions, must be working effectively [Ruchka, 2013].

An essential component of a person's self-realisation is *career* which is both the driving force and the result of occupational mobility. Distinctive features of occupational mobility of Ukraine's youth are determined not only intentionally, i. e. by education and training, but also by some indirect factors of socialisation, which often act spontaneously. For example, films or TV series where certain jobs are represented as attractive and prestigious will certainly influence a person's career choice. According to surveys conducted by Ukrainian sociologists, almost all young people watch TV every day. Over two-thirds of them prefer feature films and TV series. Being captivated by colours, sounds, signs, symbols, dialogues between film characters, etc., a person eventually plunges into a fictional world and starts regarding it as a part of his/her own social life.

There are a great number of simple principles, recommendations and instructions teaching people to choose the right path and make the right occupational choice as well. These are, in particular, proverbs and sayings that draw on the accumulated human experience. Being a component of the cultural mindset, they represent the inner essence of a nation — collective wisdom, values and senses [Ruchka, 2001: p. 429]. Proverbs and sayings tell about diverse aspects of human life, such as labour, occupations, work behaviour, etc. These examples of folk wisdom can regulate labour relations using principles and recommendations contained in them [Ruchka, 2001: p. 425]. Proverbs and sayings also reflect moral and psychological atmosphere existing in the society.

As noted above, *the mass media* have a powerful influence on human behaviour — mainly because they are both professional, bureaucratic institutions and

specific enterprises which function in a highly competitive market. John Naisbitt in his famous work “Megatrends” wrote that cable television is similar to a multiple-choice society or to a supermarket as well. It purchases programmes and services from many sources and then launches them on its channels [Naisbitt, 2003: p. 343]. So, TV products noticeably influence both social and professional life of their consumers, especially young people who are more susceptible to television messages (both audibly and visually). Young adults include the values offered by the mass media on their own list of values, transforming them in three dimensions: cognitive, emotional and behavioural. Then a “chain reaction” occurs. A social stereotype depersonalises and formalises communication, which leads to the economy of thought. Identification with something (or someone) already known determines a typical emotional reaction and generates a typical (often automatic) behavioural pattern. Therefore, a person uncritically accepts ready-made samples instead of consciously shaping and adopting the world view and system of cultural values. It is the way today's media represent and promote various norms, values and lifestyles. However, people can decide whether or not they will take these norms and values as reference points for their lives.

Achieving balance in business and economy (therefore, in the labour market) is crucial to Ukraine's further socio-economic growth. Over the past three years, demand for workers has fallen off due to the annexation of the Crimea and armed conflict in Donbas. A considerable number of jobs have remained in the areas currently not being controlled by the government. Migrants from the Crimea and the areas of Donbas which are not under the government's control have been applying for jobs in all regions of Ukraine. The number of job openings has decreased while the number of applicants has fairly increased.

We can infer what the job market will look like in the near future by analysing some figures on student enrolment: in autumn 2015, when the admission campaign had finished, there were half as many enrollees in engineering at some Ukrainian universities compared to quotas assigned by the Ministry of Education. In the aggregate, 6315 (of 8674 required) undergraduate students were enrolled in 20 engineering majors that year; in other words, only 72.8% of quotas were filled. As far as students' career choice is concerned, only 50% of students chose their major because they were interested in it; 29% took into account employment and earnings prospects, or regarded their occupation as prestigious; 16% followed the advice of their parents, relatives or friends, or made their career choice because the university course that they had chosen was government-funded (so, they would not have to pay for university)<sup>1</sup>. In the latter group, 8% of students were guided by parents' advice, 6% wanted to move to another city and 32% — just get a university degree<sup>2</sup>. These are the data of a social survey conducted by a market research company “GfK Ukraine”. So, quite a few students

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<sup>1</sup> *Mykoliuk O.* Krashchy student toi, shcho pratsiuie (The Best Student is the One Who Works) / Oksana Mykoliuk // Den' (The Day). — № 106–107. — 17 June 2016.

<sup>2</sup> *Onishchenko O.* Kak vybiraiut professiu budushchiie studenty? Rezul'taty sotsiologicheskogo oprosa okazalis' interesnymi (How Do University Applicants Choose Their Occupation? The Result of a Social Survey Turned Out to Be Interesting) / Oksana Onishchenko // Zerkalo Nedeli (The Mirror Weekly). — № 22 (268). — 17–23 June 2016.

chose their major without feeling an interest — it means that the labour market will experience a shortage of engineers and technical workers in a few years. On the other hand, the current labour market situation will deteriorate further as long as the quotas remain unfilled.

### *A Brief Review of Previous Research Studies*

It is a well-known fact that occupational structure in any country is unstable. It is formed and modified due to various factors, such as overall structure of the economy (the share of different economy sectors in GDP), development of technology and bureaucracy (distribution of technical skills and administrative responsibilities), labour market (which determines pay and working conditions for different jobs) and, finally, occupational status and prestige linked with lifestyle and social values [Simonchuk, 2009: p. 65]. All the researchers recognise that the system of values prevailing in the society is a key element of culture. Ukrainian society has been experiencing abrupt changes in the system of values while such changes are usually gradual and occur along with social, economic, technological (including digital) processes, etc. Digital technologies are accepted differently by different generations. In today's Ukrainian society, there are at least five living generations: pre-war, "baby boomers" (born between 1945 and 1965), Generation X (born between 1965 and 1985), Generation Y (born between 1985 and 2000) and Generation Z (born after 2000). Digital technologies are most used by Gen Y at present; so, they are likely to be more susceptible to media influence. On the other hand, representatives of this generation set great store by self-realisation; it means that they should be able to deal critically with reality, including that which is constructed by the media [Ruchka, 2014].

Using content analysis, a Ukrainian social researcher Natalia Kostenko concluded that *television as a social institution* has an ever-growing influence on personality development. A variety of images and feelings offered to the audience is similar to the marketplace, where certain emotional responses to different products are expected. Television induces a *feeling of sociality* inherent in an individual, using signs, symbols, colours, sounds and verbal messages [Kostenko, 2003: p. 23]. According to a research study carried out by another Ukrainian sociologist Liudmyla Skokova, 70% of young people prefer watching feature films. 94% of respondents said that they watched TV on weekdays; 32% of them watched television for over 2 hours, 23% — about 3 hours and 22% — for more than 4 hours. At weekends, the share of respondents who watch TV for over 4 hours goes up to 58% [Skokova, 2008: p. 186].

Another factor that contributes to occupational mobility is *unemployment*. According to the data of an annual monitoring conducted by the Institute of Sociology of Ukraine's Academy of Sciences, 72.7% of Ukrainians are afraid of losing their jobs. They outnumber those who fear that salaries/pensions will not be paid on time (61.1%) and are second only to those who are afraid of the rise in prices (81.1%). Compared to 2006, the fear of rising prices has remained almost at the same level, while the number of Ukrainians who are afraid of not being paid on time and being unemployed has increased by 5.3% and nearly 8%, respectively (see Table 1).

**Table 1**

**The answers given by respondents to the question:  
“What do you think people fear most?”, %**

<i>Social threats</i>	<i>Year</i>	
	<i>2006</i>	<i>2016</i>
Prices will continue to rise	80.8	81.1
Unemployment	64.9	72.7
Non-payment of salaries/pensions	55.8	61.1

Therefore, people quite often choose their career paths considering employment and earnings prospects — they want to get a guaranteed job and reasonable salary. However, some people are ready to take risk and start their own business.

The phenomena of occupational prestige, social, educational and professional mobility are thoroughly studied and analysed by Ukrainian sociologists. For example, Svitlana Oksamytna regards social mobility as an indicator of the society's openness or closeness. Open societies have high mobility levels since the privileges rarely pass down from generation to generation, while close societies are characterised by low levels of social mobility as the social positions have been maintained over generations. Another effect produced by various institutional actors, state institutions in particular, is their direct or indirect influence on the strength of connection between a person's social origin (what family they come from) and their current social status (which social class/stratum they belong to) [Oksamytna, 2011: pp. 19–20]. Therefore, the levels of absolute and relative social mobility have been changing over time. A person can occupy a certain social position either by following their parents' education and career path or moving up/down the family's social ladder. In general, Ukrainian society is open; however, the political and financial elite are continuously attempting to form close structures within it. Thus, a society that has chosen a democratic path of development is now facing non-democratic trends. The elite groups have a noticeable influence on all the state institutions, including those functioning in the area of education and employment.

Researchers note that the introduction of external standardised testing (EST) in 2004 was aimed at providing equal access to higher education regardless of a person's socio-economic circumstances. However, socio-economic differentiation poses challenges to university applicants anyway. It affects testing results in particular: 11th graders in big cities usually score higher marks than those living in villages. Hence, the following issues come to the fore: what hinders village school students' chances of successfully passing the graduation test and how decisive is the role of economic and cultural capital in families and educational institutions [Riabchuk, Muliavka, 2015: p. 120]. The above-described situation does not favour implementing the equal opportunities policy that should support young people when they choose university or their first job. At present, life strategies developed by young adults are not invariable: they undergo continuous transformations as long as reality changes. Furthermore, the economic hierarchy of a city, town, village or the whole country is topped by financial elite totally controlling most local social institutions and governments, which aggravates the problem even further.

### *Distinctive Features of the Labour Market in Ukraine*

At present, Ukrainian labour market is overloaded with demand for vacancies. As noted above, demand for employees has decreased due to the annexation of the Crimea and anti-terror operation in Donbas. In the past decade, Ukraine had experienced a dramatic (almost twofold) drop in demand for workers in 2008, against a background of the global economic crisis, and in 2009, when it fell by over 25% compared to 2008. Moreover, one-fourth of jobs were lost in 2014 in comparison with the employment situation in 2013 (see Table 2)<sup>1</sup>. In the latter case, it is reasonable to assume that those jobs have remained in the areas not being under the government's control – occupied Crimea and the ATO zone. The employment situation has become even more complicated due to the fact that migrants from these areas are applying for a job in other regions of Ukraine, where they currently reside. Therefore, the number of jobs has been reduced while the number of applicants has grown.

When the labour market is not able to provide all job seekers with jobs, self-employment and private entrepreneurship can be an alternative to unemployment. According to a Ukrainian sociologist Olena Simonchuk, who has been studying occupational mobility of persons with a university degree, there are four constituents of the occupational shift mechanism: a) a situation which problematises a person's occupational identity; b) the person's motivation for changing their occupation; c) decision about an occupational shift and real steps towards changing the occupation; d) the person's adaptation and construction of a new identity [Simonchuk, 1999: p. 37].

All of the above-mentioned elements are available in today's reality. Most of the respondents participating in a series of in-depth interviews said that their occupational transformation and change of career identity had lasted from one to three years and had gone through multiple stages. They sought to identify themselves to one or another occupational group by transitioning from one company to another many times or doing multiple jobs at the same time. It was a process of trial and error. Only a small number of the respondents had been able to make a "one-step" transition to the *private sector* [Simonchuk, 1999: p. 142]. So, there are possible remedies for unemployment in periods of transformation and instability: a) people can reconcile themselves to the current position if they lack motivation to act; b) they can do more than one job at a time or choose to be a private entrepreneur/self-employed. There is also one important thing to consider: the more a person is familiar with what is happening in the labour market, the quicker they will realise their intentions and opportunities.

Figure 1 shows the overall dynamics of job openings in the labour market for the years 2006–2015, according to the data published by the State Statistical Service of Ukraine. As it can be seen, demand for workers went down each year from 2006 onwards. In total, it decreased sevenfold over that period – from 170.5 thousand people in 2006 to 25.9 thousand people in 2015. Furthermore, there was

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<sup>1</sup> Employers' demand for workers by economic activity. Statistical data // State Statistical Service of Ukraine (In Ukrainian). [Electronic resource]. – Access mode : <http://ukrstat.gov.ua>.

Demand for labour by economic activity in the years 2006–2015; thousands of workers

Table 2

Year	Sections of ISIC/NACE 2010												
	A	B, C, D, E	F	G, H, I	J	K	L	M, N	O	P	Q	R	S, T, U
	All types of economic activity taken together												
	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	Industry: mining and quarrying; manufacturing; electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade; transporting and storage; accommodation and food service activities <sup>a</sup>	Information and communication <sup>b</sup>	Financial and insurance activities <sup>a</sup>	Real estate activities	Professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities <sup>b</sup>	Public administration and defence; compulsory social security <sup>a</sup>	Education	Human health and social work activities	Arts, sports, entertainment and recreation <sup>b</sup>	Other service activities <sup>a</sup>
2006	170.5	8.1	55.8	17.0	37.9	3.7	15.5		14.2	4.1	8.5		5.7
2007	169.7	7.3	57.4	16.7	37.3	3.6	13.2		16.8	4.0	9.0		4.4
2008	91.1	4.0	23.5	6.0	18.0	3.4	8.5		13.3	3.2	8.4		2.8
2009	65.8	2.2	14.7	3.2	13.2	3.6	7.6		11.2	1.5	6.2		2.4
2010	63.9	2.7	17.2	3.8	14.3	1.5	5.9		8.4	1.6	6.3		2.2
2011	59.3	2.9	16.6	3.5	13.2	0.9	4.8		7.7	2.1	5.9		1.7
2012	48.6	2.5	13.8	2.2	10.4	0.6	3.5		7.6	1.9	4.7		1.4
2013	47.5	2.3	11.5	2.5	11.6	0.7	0.7	2.9	7.2	2.1	4.5	0.4	0.6
2014 <sup>c</sup>	35.3	1.6	9.0	1.3	9.2	0.4	0.6	2.2	4.9	1.5	3.2	0.4	0.4
2015 <sup>d</sup>	25.9	1.2	6.5	1.0	7.7	0.3	0.4	1.7	2.7	1.4	2.1	0.3	0.4

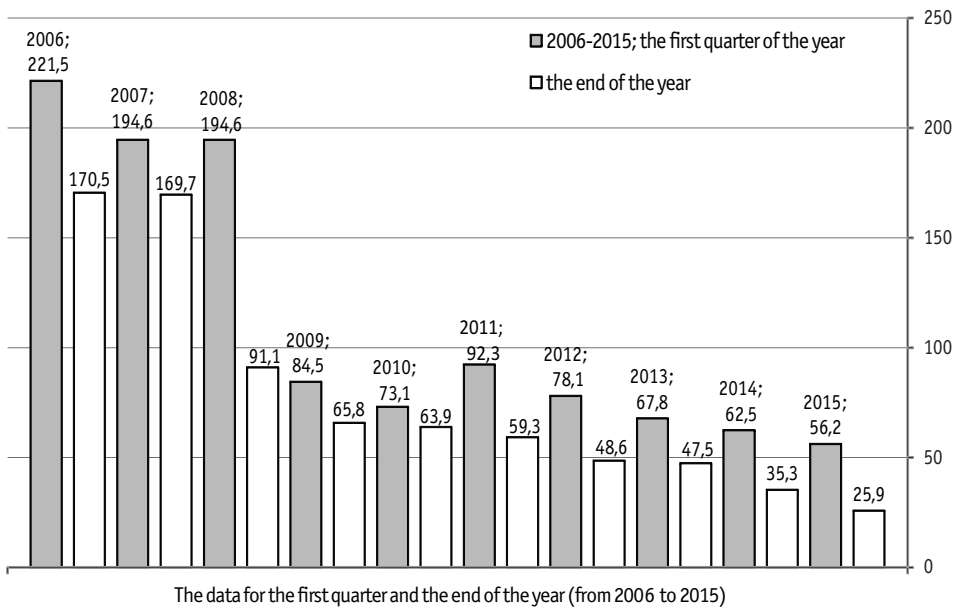
<sup>a</sup> In the reports of the State Statistical Service of Ukraine "Employers' demand for workers by economic activity" according to NACE (Rev. 2) terminology, sections *G, H, I, K, L, O* and *S* were designated as: "Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods"; "Hotels and restaurants"; "Transport, storage and communications"; "Real estate, renting and business activities"; "Public administration"; "Other community, social and personal service activities" and "Other economic activities", respectively, from 2006 to 2012.

<sup>b</sup> In the above-mentioned report, sections *J* ("Information and communication"), *M, N* ("Professional, scientific and technical activities") and *R* ("Arts, sports, entertainment and recreation") have been available since 2013.

<sup>c</sup> Excluding the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol. The data of Slov'yansk (Donetsk oblast) municipal employment agency for June 2014 are not available either.

<sup>d</sup> Except for the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and a part of the ATO zone.

an almost *twofold* fall in labour demand during the economic crisis of 2008 – from 169.7 thousand people in 2007 to 91.1 thousand people in 2008.



The data for the first quarter and the end of the year (from 2006 to 2015)  
 Figure 1. Demand for labour in Ukraine in the years 2006–2015 (the first quarter and end-year data).

There are considerable fluctuations in demand for workers over the course of a year: it has always been lower at the end of each year (right columns of the graph) than in the first quarter (left columns) – since employers tend to fill vacancies at the beginning of the year. For example, demand for employees had fallen approximately by one-fourth by the end of 2006 (compared to the first quarter) and nearly halved by the end of 2008 and 2011–2013.

As of 1 May 2016, there were 434,700 registered unemployed persons (according to the data given by the State Employment Service of Ukraine). There were on average 11 applicants per job. Legislators, managers and administrators were the least in-demand jobs while skilled technical workers were in short supply. But what Ukraine really needs now is a revival and development of its own industry. Experts warn us about the coming industrial revolution known as *Industry 4.0*. The mobile Internet and the Internet of things (*IoT*), automated routine mental labour, cloud computing and sustainable solutions to the energy problem, which are central to *Industry 4.0*, will have the biggest impact on the global economy [Kalyta, 2016]. Emergence of new technologies at the intersection of physics, biology and IT will destroy traditional industries along with low-skilled jobs.

### ***Traditional Employment and Work Ethos***

We can find out what Ukrainians’ working life used to be like by analysing their traditional employment retrospectively. As noted earlier, there are a great



number of principles and guidelines for helping people choose the right path — in particular, make the right occupational choice. These are proverbs and sayings that draw on the accumulated human experience [Ruchka, 2001: p. 429]; so, they can provide a detailed picture of all aspects of human life, including employment.

Sociological analysis of Ukrainian proverbs about labour<sup>1</sup> not only highlights Ukrainians' attitudes to work and underlying principles of work organisation, which existed in those days, but also gives a wide knowledge of traditional occupations (see Table 3). The author has divided the proverbs into two groups, calling them "*Traditional occupations*" and "*Forms and elements of work organisation*". Interestingly, the first group contained thrice as many proverbs (509) as the second one (169).

About 50 different occupations including housekeeping are mentioned in the analysed proverbs. Being a unique element of Ukrainian national culture, working life encompassed a wide range of occupations even more than 100 years ago. Ukrainians have always had a respectful attitude towards work and, therefore, have been regarded as a hard-working nation. Willingness to work hard is believed to be an attribute of the national mindset [Yachna, 2016: pp. 142–143]. Each occupation both *shares common values with other ones and has its own specific values*. *Occupational values* are determined by the status and role of any occupation both in an individual's life and in the society.

As an outstanding sociologist Pitirim Sorokin noted, human behaviour at work is determined by a ricochet effect that acts and deeds performed by a person have on the entire physical and neuro-cerebral structure of human being [Sorokin, 1994: p. 333]. The scholar underscored that the person's occupation has a deforming impact on their behaviour, living standard, daily life and social *Habitus* — figuratively speaking, all of them are "stamped" by the job that the person does. Taking the phenomenon of occupational deformation addressed by P. Sorokin, the author has classified the proverbs of the first group ("Traditional occupations") according to jobs mentioned in them. Traditional occupations, in their turn, were designated in accordance with occupational titles or related words/phrases.

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<sup>1</sup> Prysliv'ya ta prykazky (Proverbs and Sayings). [Electronic resource]. — Access mode : <http://traditions.org.ua/usna-narodna-tvorchist/pryslivia-ta-prykazky/14-pryslivia-ta-prykazky-pro-pratsiu>.

Prysliv'ya ta prykazky pro pratsiu (Proverbs and Sayings About Labour). [Electronic resource]. — Access mode : <http://prikazka.pp.ua/pages/pro-pracy.html>.

Ukrains'ki narodni prysliv'ya ta prykazky pro pratsiu, hospodarstvo (Ukrainian Folk Proverbs and Sayings About Labour and Housekeeping). [Electronic resource]. — Access mode : [https://uk.wikiquote.org/wiki/Українські\\_народні\\_прислів'я\\_та\\_приказки:\\_праця,\\_господарство](https://uk.wikiquote.org/wiki/Українські_народні_прислів'я_та_приказки:_праця,_господарство).

Ukrains'ki prysliv'ya i prykazky (Ukrainian Proverbs and Sayings) / Comp. by T.M. Panasenko. — Kharkiv : Distributing Centre for Libraries, 2012.

Ukrains'ki prysliv'ya, prykazky ta porivniannia z literaturnykh pam'yatok (Ukrainian Proverbs, Sayings and Comparisons From Literary Sources) / National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. M.T. Ryl's'kyi Art History, Folklore Studies and Ethnology Institute; M.M. Paziak (comp.); Yo.Yu. Fedas (ed.). — Kyiv : Naukova Dumka (Academic Thought), 2001.

Table 3

**Ukrainians' traditional occupations, forms and elements of work organisation mentioned in folk proverbs, %**

<i>Traditional occupations</i>	
Homemaker	23
Market gardener, cook	6
Stableman/coachman, tiller	5
Shopkeeper	4
Blacksmith, groom/ostler, hunter, fisherman, shoemaker, seamstress	3
Reaper, miller, thresherman, baker, spinner, gardener, priest, sower	2
House builder, shepherd, milkmaid, logger, hangman, lawn mowing worker, musician, weaver, beekeeper, herdsman, poultry farmer, pig breeder, haymaker, sculptor, carpenter, painter	1
Chemist, flayer, serviceman, potter, tanner, barber, scribe, tavern keeper	0.4
Cooper, village chief, ploughman, nursemaid, dancer, bootmaker, goldsmith	0.2
<i>Forms and elements of work organisation</i>	
Wage labour	29
Craftsmanship	16
Unwillingness to work	12
Working for a landlord	11
Supervising	10
The value of labour	9
Intellectual labour	4
Work completion. Joint/communal working	3
Self-employment	2
Occupational prestige	1

For example, the proverb “Ot tobi *kovalykha* lykho, shcho v *kuzni* tykho” (“The blacksmith’s wife gets worried when no sound is heard from the forge”)<sup>1</sup> is about *blacksmithing*. “Kovalykha” means the blacksmith’s wife, and “kuznia” (forge) is his workplace.

The proverb “Na *viter* nadiiat’sia — bez *melyva* buty” (“He who relies on the *wind* is likely to have unground *grain*”) refers to *corn milling*. “Melyvo” (the grain ground for flour) is the product of the miller’s labour. The expression “rely on the wind” dates back to the time when windmills began to be replaced by water or steam-powered mills, which were no longer dependent on weather and therefore more efficient.

The occupation of a *coachman* is mentioned in the proverb “Dobre tomu v *dorozi*, khto sydyt’ na *vozi*” (“He who sits in the *carriage* feels good *while traveling*”). In olden times, horse-drawn carriages were the most common means of

<sup>1</sup> This and subsequent proverbs have not been literally translated into English. Only the meaning has been conveyed.

ground transportation. The coachman sat in the front seat driving the horses. The proverb also explains that it is more convenient to go somewhere by vehicle than on foot, especially when travelling long distances.

The proverb "Nam (*kramariam*) yak ne bozhyt'sia, tak i ne rozzhyt'sia" ("We, *shopkeepers*, cannot *get rich* unless we swear to God") reveals some secrets of successful *shopkeeping*. The occupation of "kramar" (shopkeeper) corresponds to the job of a sales assistant today. Shopkeepers had to swear to God ("bozhyt'sia") in order to convince a customer that their goods would meet all his/her needs. It was an effective way to do well in sales and get rich.

The second group of proverbs covers some forms and elements of work organisation, which were widely used in those days. As it can be seen from Table 3, the proverbs that describe "the value of labour" (9%), "supervising" (10%), "working for a landlord" (11%) and "unwillingness to work" (12%) do not significantly differ in number. They may correlate with each other: for example, someone could be motivated to work conscientiously by realising the importance of what they were doing. Besides, there are many proverbs ridiculing those who worked (e. g., for a landlord) without due enthusiasm. Landowners and manufacturers were probably competent and effective managers; that is why our cultural heritage contains proverbs about norms and rules of work organisation. Skilful workers were highly appreciated – "craftsmanship" accounts for one-sixth of the proverbs in this group. One-third of the proverbs belong to "wage labour", which apparently was the predominant form of work organisation at that time. It is mentioned almost 15 times as often as "self-employment". As far as traditional occupations (the first group) are concerned, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, hunters, fishermen, shoemakers and shopkeepers are mentioned more frequently than ploughmen, coopers, bootmakers, goldsmiths, flayers, potters and tanners.

Over 100 years ago, the labour market in Ukraine was characterised by traditional occupations and employment forms which were common at that time; on the other hand, it reflected the overall moral and psychological atmosphere along with *ethical* values prevailing in the society.

### ***The Representation of Occupational Values of Youth in Feature Films/TV Series***

As noted previously, the mass media substantially contributes to the formation of occupational values. The most commonly used mass media in Ukraine are the Internet, telephone and TV. Therefore, studying the influence of television on young people's occupational choice is of crucial importance.

To confirm a hypothesis about the influence of TV programmes on the formation of young people's value system, the author has analysed a number of feature films and TV series broadcast on television a short time before the university admissions campaign. In total, 15 television channels were chosen: "1+1", "Inter", "Novy kanal" ("The New Channel"), ICTV, "STB", "Ukraina" ("Ukraine"), "Pershyi natsional'nyi" ("The First National Channel"), "K1", "Enter-film", "NLO-TV", "NTN", "TET", "Tonis" "2+2" and "RTR-Planeta" ("RTR-Planet"). All of them are included in all TV packages (except for the Russian TV channel "RTR-Planeta", which stopped broadcasting in Ukraine in 2014). The author watched only some of the feature films and TV series aired on these channels dur-

ing one week – at the end of the school year, because it was impossible to view all of them in real time. The plots of other films were found on the Internet. All of the film texts were analysed within one month. Thus, the research study consisted of the following steps [Yachna, 2014: pp. 214–215]:

- looking through the TV listings published in newspapers (“TV Guide”, etc.);
- watching some feature films and TV series in real time;
- searching the plots of other films/series on the Internet and analysing the film texts;
- recording and processing the data in Microsoft Excel;
- summarising and interpreting the data in Microsoft Word.

In total, 219 feature films and 102 TV series were aired over that period<sup>1</sup>. They covered 843 jobs grouped into 15 employment areas (see Table 4). 23 (3.6%) of them coincided with young people’s career goals, according to a survey of high school students conducted by the author at the same time [Yachna, 2014: p. 218]. The survey also showed that 3.03% of 10th and 11th graders were inspired by film characters regarding their career decisions: they picked the option “a film character’s occupation” as the main criterion for their career choice [Yachna, 2014: p. 217].

**Table 4**

**Representation of employment areas in feature films/TV series, %**

<i>Employment areas</i>	<i>Represented in feature films/TV series over a one-week period</i>
Law enforcement, human rights protection, justice	31.9
Science, engineering, education, information technology	18.9
Mass media, film, music, art, literature, showbiz	15.6
Armed forces	12.9
Business, finance, commerce, catering	10.9
Medicine and health care	7.7
Shadow economy	4.4
State authorities, public services	4.3
Religious institutions	4.0
Criminal activities	4.0
Agriculture, livestock farming, plant breeding	3.7
Transportation	3.0
Housekeeping	3.0
Manufacturing industry	2.8
Sports	2.6

<sup>1</sup> In the given period, some feature films were aired from one to five times, TV series – from one to 14 times. In total, they were aired on television 720 times. The characters’ occupations were not mentioned in 25 feature films (aired 39 times) and 12 TV series (aired 32 times). Thus, the characters’ jobs were shown on TV 649 times.

So, what occupations stood out on TV then? The author calculated that about *one third* (31.9%) of feature films/series broadcast on television during one week represented jobs in “*law enforcement, human rights protection and justice*”. Together with “*armed forces*” (12.9%), they *made up just under a half* (44.8%) of all the films shown on TV over a one-week period [Yachna, 2014: pp. 219–220].

Though innovative technologies, nanoscience in particular, are being rapidly developed all over the world, only 18.9% of feature films and TV series depicted “*science, engineering, education and information technology*”. “*Sports*” included only boxing, and it was least represented in films in the given period. Instead, “*law enforcement, human rights protection and justice*” appeared 11.5 times as often as “*manufacturing industry*” and 10.3 times as often as “*transportation*” (see Table 4 and Figure 2).

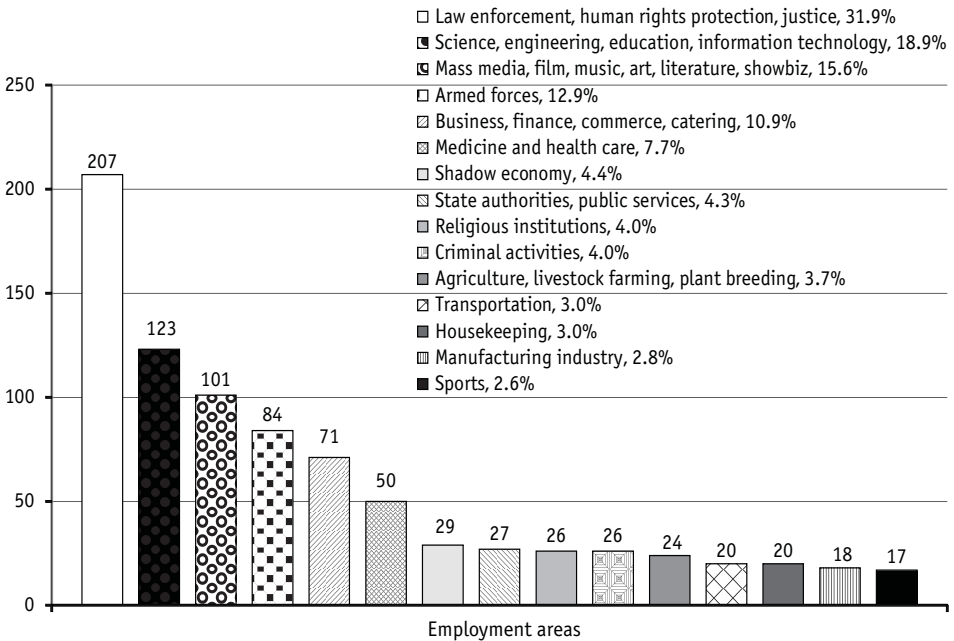


Figure 2. Percentage of employment areas represented in feature films/TV series.

Almost one sixth (15.6%) of feature films/series aired on television over that period represented “*mass media, film, music, art, literature, showbiz*”, one-thirteenth – “*medicine and health care*”. “*Shadow economy*” was mentioned in approximately one in 20 feature films. The share of films/TV series where the primary characters were priests (or other religious functionaries) was 4.0%. The percentage of films where the main characters were engaged in “*criminal activity*” was the same [Yachna, 2014: pp. 219–221].

It is reasonable to assume that young people are likely to prioritise the values represented in an attractive way on TV. Thus, television films and series spontaneously promote and advertise occupations which are not needed in the labour market now; however, occupations which are crucial to Ukraine's socio-economic growth remain under-represented.

### ***Value Orientations and Career Choice Motivations of University Applicants***

People's prevailing value orientations reflect their existential experiences. Ronald Inglehart notes that if people grow up with severely limited resources, this nourishes survival values that restrict self-expression. Growing up with abundant resources, by contrast, leads them to place stronger emphasis on self-expression values [Inglehart, 2011: p. 63]. Likewise, young people's career choices are mostly determined by whether they put emphasis on survival or self-expression values. A person's occupational choice is often influenced by the following factors: feeling interested in a job they are going to do in the future, seeing it as an opportunity to apply their skills and abilities, willingness to continue family tradition, reputation of a university they want to study, parents' advice, etc.

To find out which life values young people prioritise when choosing a career path, the author interviewed 17 technical college applicants. The survey was conducted in May 2015. The data analysis has shown that self-realisation plays a major role in young people's career choices — the overwhelming majority of respondents talked about that. The other values determining respondents' occupational choice are listed below. The numbers in brackets refer to ranks (a value's relative position to the other values in the list): the higher the number is, the lower is the rank. Self-realisation (1) has been ranked as the most significant.

- Self-realisation (1)
- Prestige (2)
- Regular salary (3)
- Guaranteed job (3)
- Willingness to run their own business (4)
- Family tradition (5)
- Getting a university degree (just "for diploma") (5)
- Recognition, glory (6)
- Self-employment (6)

There are also gender-related differences in the ranking lists. The male respondents rely on instrumental values such as regular salary, guaranteed job, while the female respondents consider self-realisation and prestige (terminal values) to be more important [Yachna, 2016: p. 270].

Young people are more likely to make the right occupational choice if they are familiar with the current labour market situation and key aspects of their future occupation, weigh up their aspirations along with skills and abilities, take into account not only what jobs are the most popular right now but also the fact that job trends are changeable. Considering all these points, they can somehow avoid ending up in the unemployment line and, as a result, not having regular income (or even enough money to live on).

Everyone, at least once in their lifetime, faces a career choice. To make the right decision, a person should rely not only on their own system of values. Taking into consideration what jobs in their country are the most in-demand is also important. In November 2016, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine compiled and approved a list of priority occupations for the year 2017. The list has 19 occupa-

tions and contains some jobs which are considered traditional for Ukrainians, such as dough maker, painter, winegrower and beekeeper (see Table 3). Thus, they make up one fifth of all jobs on the list. However, the same list drawn up the previous year consisted of 22 occupations including complex system design, fetal surgery and nanomedicine. Comparing the two priority occupation lists (for 2016 and 2017), we can notice that the former looks more “future-oriented” while the latter seems to lean on traditions.

So, has Ukrainian government decided to pay homage to our traditions? Why are jobs in the energy sector, IT, etc. not designated as priority occupations – despite the fact that today they are essential to the national economy? What effect will these decisions have on Ukraine's economic development? Time will tell.

### ***Concluding Remarks***

The author has identified the five main points that can be conducive to occupational mobility:

1. Since 2006 (the date when the author started analysing the relevant data for Ukraine), there has been considerable seasonality in demand for workers. It is nearly two times higher at the beginning of the year compared to the end.

2. The overall demand for labour in Ukraine (all types of economic activity taken together, according to NACE Rev. 2) decreased approximately sevenfold from 2006 to 2015. The most dramatic drop in demand was observed in the following sections: *L* (“Real estate activities”, nearly 40-fold), *K* (“Financial and insurance activities”, 18.5-fold) and *F* (“Construction”, 17-fold). Demand for workers fell almost twice even in each of the two newly introduced sections: *M* (“Professional, scientific and technical activities”) and *N* (“Administrative and support service activities”).

3. The priority occupation list for 2017 contains Ukrainians' traditional occupations such as gardener (winegrower), artist (painter), baker (dough maker) and beekeeper (apiarist). However, neither IT jobs nor occupations in many other industries decisive for Ukraine's economic growth have been included on this list.

4. Occupational values of youth are indirectly represented in the mass media, particularly on TV (feature films and series).

5. There are gender differences in value orientations of technical college applicants. Young women are predominantly guided in their career choices by terminal values while young men adhere to instrumental ones.

Hence, the initial factors contributing to occupational mobility are as follows:

- fluctuations in demand for employees over a one-year period (the beginning vs. the end of the year);
- almost sevenfold fall in demand for labour within one decade (for all types of economic activity);
- the priority occupation list for 2017 includes Ukrainians' traditional occupations, but does not include jobs which are of key importance for Ukraine's economic growth;

- feature films are believed to contribute to the formation of occupational values of young Ukrainians;
- young men (who are technical college applicants) seek benefits from their occupation and tend to maintain their family tradition, whereas young women mainly choose their occupation “for the occupation itself” and expect to gain recognition in society.

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