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DIVERSIFIED SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETY AS A DETERMINANT OF ETHNOPOLITICAL MANAGEMENT IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

THE INTRODUCTION

In the process of effective ethnopollitical governance in Eastern European countries¹, understood as the whole process of planning, management, as well as monitoring of detailed state policy, which is carried out by public authorities, the key role is played by its determinants (ethnodemographic, ethnocultural, ethnopollitical). As indicated by the analysis of the literature on the subject, this issue is a space requiring increased research interest, which is dictated by a number of factors, including the current migration movements affecting the socioeconomic situation in the subregion from, among others, Ukraine to European Union countries (Castle et al. 2014, Panek, Stawicki 2018: 135), the war in Donbass, which has been ongoing since 2014, as well as separatist movements and ethnic tensions, which in effect affect the socioeconomic development of individual states (Karolak-Michalska 2020). Analysis of the available literature also leads to the conclusion that, firstly, although there has been an intensification of research on ethnopollitics in Eastern European countries in recent years, these issues still require in-depth research on planning, controlling and monitoring

¹ Eastern Europe most often includes countries whose territory is wholly or largely within the Eastern European Lowland. The region's borders include the Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia), Eastern Slavic countries (Russian Federation, Ukraine, Republic of Belarus) and Republic of Moldova. The studied countries (Republic of Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine) also form part of the area referred to as Central and Eastern Europe – a space identified on the basis of geopolitics and international relations, which in the broadest conceptual sense includes: 1) countries of the Visegrad group (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary); 2) Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia); 3) Republic of Belarus, Ukraine, Republic of Moldova); 4) countries resulting from the break-up of former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo); 5) other Balkan countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Romania) (Baluk 2016: 12-13, Lach 2014: 35). According to the UN classification (United Nations Statistics Division), the area of Eastern European countries is composed of: Republic of Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Republic of Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary (*Standard country...* 2019).

ethnopolitics at national, regional and local levels, as well as exploring implementation regulations to ensure the coherence and effectiveness of ethnopolitics implementation. Secondly, the study of ethnopolitics, its determinants in the post-Soviet states, is being carried out by many Eastern researchers, including Ukrainian and Russian researchers in particular, but also Western researchers. Their research concerns various contexts, including the concept of a nation, and also inter-ethnic relations. The conclusions of their research have been published in the form of monographs, collective studies and articles. Among the valuable Russian publications are studies and articles, among others: Valerij Tiškov (Tiškov 2013), Ęmil Pain (Pain 2007). The works of Oleg Nemenskij (Nemenskij 2008) are also a valuable source of knowledge. The most significant Western authors exploring aspects of ethnopolitics include Marlene Laruelle (Laruelle 2008), Sebastien Peyrouse (Peyrouse 2008), Edwin Poppe and Louk Hagendoorn (Poppe, Hagendoorn 2003), Moya Flynn (Flynn 2007). In the Polish scientific literature, however, works of particular value in the field of ethnopolitics are particularly valuable: Walenty Baluk, Henryk Chałupczak, Radosław Zenderowski (Baluk, Chałupczak, Zenderowski 2015), Edward Mironowicz (Mironowicz 2015)². The analysis of the existing literature on the subject also leads to the conclusion that a narrative is needed which, on the one hand, would allow for a broader view of ethnopolitics (main conditions, relations and processes, resources involved in these processes), on the other hand, the way it is implemented (planning, organising, supervising), and finally, thirdly, would allow for a look at the correlations between ethnopolitical management and state security. This text aims to at least partially fill this research gap focused on the specific ethnodemographic conditionality of ethnopolitical governance, which is the diverse socioeconomic structure of the multi-ethnic societies of the studied subregion (Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine). This conditionality is particularly important in multi-ethnic countries. It is also important from the point of view of the economic development of the Eastern European countries and their perception in terms of potential investment destinations.

It should be added that the problems of the socio-cultural integration of minority groups in European countries have, in recent years, provoked a discussion on the future of the idea and practice of multiculturalism, in which, among other things, the effects of research into the social capital of culturally diverse societies are recalled, as well as the participation of individual ethnic groups in economic sectors. Cultural diversity can be the basis for the formation of social inequalities, including those related to access to the labour market, conditioning the level and/or quality of various forms of capital (Abłazewicz-Górnicka 2012: 10). “The multiplicity of processes of rivalry between the generalised dominant group and individual minorities, as well as rivalries within individual minorities, result in the emergence of a sustained ethno-cultural stratification. It means that individual cultural communities and their institutions do not occupy a similar rank in the socio-cultural space of the city, but constitute a hi-

² It is understandable that the aim is not to list all the authors, but only to identify those who are particularly relevant to the research issues of this article.

erarchical arrangement, defined by the diverse range of access to socially desirable goods, such as economic goods, power and prestige. Depending on their place in an ethno-cultural stratification system, people may be (or are) to a greater or lesser extent subject to institutionalised discrimination. (Sadowski 2006: 138). In such a shaped social-political and cultural reality, it is all the more justified to broaden the knowledge about the socioeconomic structure of societies in Eastern European countries in the context of ethnopolitical governance.

The aim of this article is to identify and analyse the diverse socioeconomic structure in Eastern European countries and its impact on ethnopolitical governance. The thematic scope of the research concerns the territorial-temporal space such as independent Belarus, Republic of Moldova and Ukraine. The author of the research on this issue poses 2 main research questions: 1) what are the main conditions for the presence and participation of minorities in the socioeconomic structure in Eastern European countries? 2) how does the diverse socioeconomic structure in multi-ethnic societies translate into ethnopolitical governance?

The realization of the above mentioned goal is based on the implementation of the catalogue of research methods, including in detail: 1) system analysis, whereby the reality under analysis is interpreted not as a loose set of isolated elements, but as an internally integrated and correct “space”; 2) a comparative method, which enables the identification of common and different elements in countries undergoing transformation processes in terms of political, legal, economic and social system changes; 3) a historical method; 4) a behavioural method, which enables the analysis of social phenomena by observing the behaviour of both individuals and human communities; 5) an ethnodemographic method, which analyses basic demographic indicators of ethnic communities. The article is a theoretical and cognitive approach to the studied issues enriched by research and own observations, which took place, among others, during trips abroad in 2017-2019³. Using the method of critical anal-

³ The aim of the study was to develop author’s research on ethnopolitics in the countries of the Eastern European subregion into the context of the influence of ethnopolitical conditions on the subregion’s security (the research area was Belarus, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine). The research, having an interdisciplinary character, is part of the current of ethnopolitical analyses, security and international relations. In Poland, the activity of researchers who present ethnopolitics in an interdisciplinary perspective, including in the context of security, is niche, and the group of experts in this field is small and thus forms a rather “modest circle” of researchers. As part of their own research, they collected 566 questionnaires completed by 386 Ukrainians, 102 Belarusians and 78 Moldovans. The group of respondents was diverse not only in terms of nationality, but also gender, age and education (not all respondents indicated their age or education). The first group of respondents were of Ukrainian nationality (386 persons) – 136 women and 230 men (20 persons did not indicate their gender in the questionnaires). In the group of 152 people admitted to higher education, 112 secondary. The respondents were between 20 and 60 years old, including 187 people who indicated that they were between 20 and 30 years old, 66 people between 31 and 40 years old, 21 people between 41 and 50 years old, 18 people between 51 and 60 years old. There were no other indications in the questionnaires of respondents of Ukrainian nationality. The second group of respondents of Belarusian nationality consisted of 102 people, including 76 men and 26 women, in the group of 44 people admitted to higher education, 38 to secondary education. Belarusian respondents

ysis of the literature, first of all, the conditions of the diverse socioeconomic structure in the countries of Eastern Europe were addressed, then an attempt was made to present the share of national and ethnic minorities in the socioeconomic structure of the studied countries.

THE CONDITIONS FOR A DIVERSE SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Presence of national and ethnic minorities in the socioeconomic structure⁴ of Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine are conditioned by a number of factors, among which two main groups can be distinguished. The first of these are objective factors, among them: a) the adaptation of the ethos to climatic and natural conditions under which traditional ways of living and management are created (agriculture, industry, etc.); b) processes and phenomena that are independent of the will and awareness of individuals and communities (industrialisation, urbanisation, globalisation, etc.); c) the unequal historical development of individual ethnic groups due to their involvement in development processes. The second group is made up of subjective factors, among them the efforts of the ethnic groups themselves to create and regulate the social reality (differences in the level of representation in the authorities, in the level of education, in the scope of linguistic competence, etc.). (Wierzbicki 2014: 310). In the above context, it should be added that the presence of various national and ethnic minorities in the states of the subregion is linked to the history and national policy of the Soviet Union, including in a special way the dominant participation of the Russian people in certain sectors and branches of the Soviet economy. In this way, the work division began to take shape, with Russian and Russian-speaking people predominating in industry (engineers, technicians, skilled workers) and local peo-

belonged to the following age groups: between 20-30 years old – 52 people, between 31-40 years old – 18 people, between 41-50 years old – 9 people, between 51-60 years old – 2 people. Other indications in the questionnaires of respondents of Belarusian nationality – similarly to those of respondents of Ukrainian nationality – were not noted. In turn, the third group of respondents – Moldovan nationalities (78 persons), including 67 men and 11 women, in this group 34 persons admitted to higher education, 28 to secondary education. The Moldovan respondents belonged to the following age brackets: between 20-30 years of age – 42 people, between 31-40 years of age – 18 people, between 41-50 years of age – 9 people, between 51-60 years of age – 3 people. There were no other indications in the questionnaires. The surveys were conducted on their own, e.g. during trips abroad, and in the vast majority of cases in an academic centre, i.e. the Social Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (conducted in the academic year 2018/2019).

⁴ Socioeconomic society is the connection of individuals and groups with culture and lifestyle development under the influence of the labour market and the economy, the level of which influences the wealth of individuals, i.e. the quality of life, satisfaction and the possibility of developing their own cultural patterns (rituals). According to W. Morawski, “cultural differences have their roots in systems of social action, in various social structures. They also shape business systems”. (Morawski 2011: 338). An entity that is a member of social life also takes part in the process of market production, assuming the role of an employee who performs specific tasks in cooperation with other associates, aiming to achieve a common goal, the effects of which are to bring the company income (Piotrowski 2014: 124).

ple in agriculture. As A. Wierzbicki points out, “the socio-cultural conditions of the ethnic labour division are the result of the traditional way of managing individual ethnic groups or are the result of socioeconomic transformations (collectivisation, industrialisation, servicisation). They can also include religious and linguistic factors” (Wierzbicki 2014: 321).

When considering the religious criteria in the structure of the subregion’s states, the dominant majority are nationalities whose culture has been shaped by Christianity. In turn, a division can be observed within the language criterion: 1) titular nationalities (Belarusians; Moldavians; Ukrainians), speaking their motherlanguage; 2) Russians and Russian-speaking nationalities. An important criterion for the diversification of the population of the subregion’s countries is also the time of settlement and the classification into: 1) nationalities living in the states of the subregion since ancient times (e.g. Ukrainians in Ukraine, Belarusians in Belarus); 2) nationalities voluntarily settling in the states of the subregion in different historical periods (e.g. Russians remaining in the former trade union republics after 1991); 3) nationalities deported to the states of the subregion, most often as a result of World War II and the policy of the USSR (e.g. Russian, Polish population).

Available analyses and own research indicate that in the years 1991-2019, both in Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, a titular nation forms the basis of its national structure, without giving way to any of the national and ethnic minorities (according to national censuses carried out in the countries under study, titular nations constituted respectively: 1) Belarus – in 1999, Belarusians constituted 81.23%, in 2009 – 83.4%; 2) Republic of Moldova – in 2004, Moldavians constituted 79.1%, in 2014 – 75.1%; 3) Ukraine – in 2001, Ukrainians constituted 77.8%). In the context of the subregion, particular attention is drawn to the demographic position of the Russian minority, which according to data for 2019 accounts for 8.3% of the Belarusian population, 4.1% of the Republic of Moldova (excluding Transnistria, where Russians account for about 30% of the local ethnic structure) and 17.3% of the Ukrainian structure (*Nacional’nyj sostavnaseleniâ 2009, Nacional’nyj sostavnaseleniâ Ukrainy 2001, Recensamant 2014, Nacional’nyjstatičeskij komitet... 2019*). It should be added that in the case of ethnic diversity, intra-group capital plays an important role, which can bring specific benefits to members of minority communities. It is an important source of social support, and in the situation of migration it also plays a key role during the first years of adaptation to the new social and cultural system (Abłażewicz-Górnicka 2012: 11). A classic example is the beneficial use of ethnic networks by immigrants, which allows them to survive in the new social environment despite poor language skills, or lack of professional qualifications and education certificates.

When considering the participation of particular ethnic groups in the socio-economic structure of Eastern European countries, reference should also be made to ethno-social stratification arrangements⁵, in this vertical model. High status social po-

⁵ In the multi-ethnic societies of the subregion’s states, ethnicity is in practice becoming a factor in shaping social stratification. Thus the resulting “(...) ethno-social stratification determines a social struc-

sitions are only available to representatives of the ethnic group “X”, which is linked to its political, socioeconomic and cultural domination. Representatives of the ethnic group “Y” have access to only some of the social positions of medium status, which puts them in a subordinate and dominated position by the ethnic group “X”. It is mostly about ethnocratic societies, constructing their system of values around ethnocentrism, where there is an established division between “we” and “they”. In the case of the horizontal model, on the other hand, (most characterised by a pluralistic, democratic society), it is characterised by equal access to all social positions for representatives of different social and ethnic groups. Representatives of both the ethnic group “X” and the ethnic group “Y” have equal access to the most desirable social positions of high and medium status. In such a society there are no barriers to social and professional advancement (Wierzbicki 2014: 311-312). In the states of the subregion, in practice, ethno-social stratification is of a hybrid nature, on the one hand, each ethnic group has access to social positions in politics and economy. On the other hand, members of individual ethnic groups are over-represented and under-represented in positions of high and low status, respectively⁶.

ture in which the criterion for access to certain goods (income, property, power, knowledge) and social position is to a large extent the ethnicity of the individual (community). Like any stratification, it has its hierarchy, i.e. the upper classes are in a more privileged position compared to the lower classes, thus becoming the elite of society”. (Wierzbicki 2014: 310). It should be added that social stratification as an aspect of social systems is analysed in the literature from many perspectives. The basic question of social structure theory concerns the principles of ordering social positions and the people who occupy them. In the understanding of sociologists, it is otherwise called a “social stratification”. It is connected with the analysis of social phenomena occurring in selected layers of society. We know from history four basic systems of stratification of human societies: slavery, caste system, state system and class system (Olechnicki, Załęcki 1997). In turn, occupational stratification is manifested in changes in the world of occupations (evolution of occupations), as well as in the structure of employment in particular sectors of the economy (Nowacki, Korabiowska-Nowacka, Baraniak 1999: 242). The best known model of stratification, which functions in the social consciousness, is stratification according to the sphere of economy, i.e. according to professions performed. The models proposed by the International Labour Organisation (three- and five-sector economy) are used for this purpose. A socially important model of stratification is their classification according to the level of social prestige of this profession, i.e. the social respect shown to individual professions and jobs. Prestige is a subjective criterion of stratification based on emotional and evaluative bases, which are related to objective factors of stratification: level of education; occupation; earned income; level of wealth; volume of consumption; nature of life (Furmanek 2016: 12).

⁶ For example, in the years 1991-2019, the executive structures of individual states are dominated by titular nations, which is mainly due to the ethnodemographic structure of Belarusian society, Moldovan and Ukrainian. None of the countries’ legislation treats nationality as an obstacle to holding the office of president or member of the Council of Ministers. A candidate for the post of Head of State is required to have knowledge of the state language, which may constitute a restriction on minorities’ access to this office. Between 1991 and 2019, the office of President in each country was held by a representative of a titular nationality. The posts of prime ministers and deputy prime ministers were also represented mainly by members of titular nationality. In the case of the Republic of Belarus and the Republic of Moldova, it was only Belarusians and Moldovans who held these positions; in Ukraine, there are cases of Russians holding office (Prime Ministers: Witold Fokin in 1990-1992; Nykola Azarov in 2005, from March 2010 to 28 January 2014). (*Composition...* 2019). The Russians have also held other positions in the executive. The leaders of other minorities also held ministerial positions in the Ukrainian Government – for exam-

PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES
IN THE SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

A research difficulty in the countries of Eastern Europe is to obtain detailed data on the participation of representatives of a given national or ethnic minority in a particular segment of the economy. The results of the analyses and own research lead to the conclusion that the Russian minority occupies a special place in the socioeconomic structure of individual Eastern European countries – apart from the numerously dominant titular nations. This is expressed in: a) the demographic position of the Russian population – the second ethnic community immediately after the titular nationality (Belarus, Ukraine); b) significant presence among white-collar workers and in the industrial and business sector (Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine); c) high level of urbanisation – Russians are mainly concentrated in cities (Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine); d) “demographic disparity” between Russians and other minorities (Belarus, Ukraine). A long-term own study has already shown that between 1991 and 2019 the size of the Russian population in Eastern European countries⁷, provide a special starting position’ (for example, in 1989, the Russians represented 38.6% of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR in the field of white-collar work; 12.6% of the citizens working in the economy; 5.5% of the cultural workers; 6.1% in the service sector; 4.16% in agriculture (Itogi... 2018, Sovoskul’ 2001: 45), by adapting to the new political and economic realities in the post-Soviet space. At the same time forming the conviction that minority is an ‘extraordinary, imperial’ (‘unusual minority’, ‘imperial minority’), but also allows the Russians to remain a permanent component of the subregion’s demographic structure, which affects their presence in the various economic sectors (agriculture, industry, services)..

According to own research conducted in 2017-2019, Belarusian respondents among the minorities with the strongest economic position also pointed to the Russian minority (82%), similarly to Moldovan (31%) and Ukrainian (87%), placing it mainly in the industrial and service sectors (by sector respectively: in Belarus 52% and 36%; in the Republic of Moldova 42% and 37%; in Ukraine 60% and 28%)⁸. Karolak-Michalska 2017-2019).

ple, Georgian, D. V. Žvaniâ became Minister for Emergency and Civil Protection from the Chernobyl disaster in 2005 (*Composition...* 2019). Analysing the participation of other minorities in the executive structures in the states of the subregion, it can be seen that they were marginal in the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine, while in the Republic of Moldova, the Romanian and Bulgarian minorities were represented in the executive structures.

⁷ According to the 2009 population census, the number of Russians in Belarus is 785,084 (8.3%), in Ukraine, according to the 2001 census 8,334,100 (17.3%), in the Republic of Moldova, according to the 2014 census 111,726 (4.1%) (*Nacional'nyj sostav naseleniâ 2009, Nacional'nyj sostav Ukrainy 2001, Recensamant 2014*).

⁸ Own study based on own surveys conducted in 2017-2019.

Table 1
Perception of national and ethnic minorities in the economic sectors of Eastern European countries in 2017-2019

Which of the national/ethnic minorities in your country have, in your opinion – the strongest economic position? In which sectors does he work? (%)																	
BELARUS																	
	Belaru- sian	Bulga- rian	Ga- gauska	Greek	Geor- gian	Lithu- anian	Latvian	Molda- vian	Polish	Roma	Russian	Roma- nian	German	Tatar	Ukra- inian	Hunga- rian	Jewish
The stron- gest position	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	9	-	82	-	-	-	1	-	2
In which sector?																	
agricultural	-	-	-	-	-	33	33	-	45	-	12	-	-	-	100	-	-
industrial	-	-	-	-	-	33	33	-	45	-	52	-	-	-	-	-	50
service	-	-	-	-	-	34	34	-	10	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	50
THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA																	
The stron- gest position	-	15	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	26	-	-	6	-	2
In which sector?																	
agricultural	-	50	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	35	-	-	40	-	100
industrial	-	25	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	30	-	-	40	-	-
service	-	25	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	35	-	-	20	-	-
UKRAINE																	
The stron- gest position	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	87	1	-	2	-	1	3
In which sector?																	
agricultural	50	-	-	-	-	25	25	25	50	-	12	50	-	-	37,5	-	18
industrial	25	-	-	-	-	25	25	25	12,5	-	60	25	-	-	12,5	-	55
service	25	-	-	-	-	50	50	50	37,5	-	28	25	-	-	50	-	27

mining	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	21	-	12	-	-	-
construction	10	-	-	-	16	13	18	15	-	-	23	17	35	-	25	26
trade	14	-	-	-	20	23	22	21	-	-	22	15	28	-	31	36
banking services	9	-	-	-	8	5	6	10	-	-	8	15	12	-	11	20
insurance	7	-	-	-	6	5	5	4	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	8
IT industry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
consultation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
science	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
medicine	5	-	-	-	3	3	4	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
legal services	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Own study based on own surveys conducted in 2017-2019.

In comparative terms, against the background of the countries of the subregion, it is the representatives of the Russian minority who hold important positions in the social, economic, political and cultural structure of the Belarusian, Moldovan and Ukrainian societies. They are military, university lecturers, engineers and qualified construction workers. They are also active in the business sectors of these countries. The presence of the Russian minority in the various branches of the economy of Eastern European countries – often as a result of Soviet times – also enables them to ‘continue’ the economic and political influence of Russia in already independent states.

In addition to pointing to the Russian minority as the one with the strongest economic position in their view, respondents also identified other groups in the context in question: Belarusian respondents also pointed to the Polish minority (9%), identifying it mainly in the agricultural sector (45%), industry (45%), and services (10%); Moldavians pointed to the Bulgarian minority (15%), concentrated mainly in the agricultural sector (50%), Gagauzes (20%) – also operating in the agricultural sector (44%) and industrial sector (44%), Romanian minority (26%), embedded mainly in the agricultural sector (35%), industrial 30%, service sector 35%, as well as Ukrainian (6%), whose representatives are mainly identified as working in the agricultural sector (40%) (30% for the industrial sector and 20% for the service sector). In turn, Ukrainians also pointed to the Jewish minority (3%), which they identified mainly with the industrial sector (55%) and the service sector (27%), as well as the Tatar minority (2%) and the Polish minority (2%), also mostly in the service sector. Research shows that none of the minorities are as strongly embedded in the industrial and service sectors as the Russian minority, which is a direct result of the demographic potential of the Russians in the subregion (over 9 million live together in Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine).

The collected data lead to the conclusion that there are definitely agrarian groups present in the ethnic division of labour, which mostly focus on agricultural work (in the case of Belarus, for example, there are Ukrainians; in the Republic of Moldova, Bulgarians and Gagauzi; in Ukraine, Belarusians, Poles and Romanians), but this does not mean that they are not active in other sectors. At the same time, we can identify nationalities such as the Russians, for example, who are least active in agriculture. In the industrial sector, alongside the Russians, the most active are: in Belarus, among others, Lithuanians and Latvians, Poles; in the Republic of Moldova, among others, Ukrainians, Gagauzi; in Ukraine, among others, Jews. On the other hand, if we separate individual sectors of the labour market in the services sector, we can also see its ethnic diversity: in Belarus, apart from Russians, Lithuanians and Latvians stand out from other minorities in the banking and insurance sector, as well as Jews imprisoned mainly in trade; in the Republic of Moldova, we can point to Romanians (trade, banking services) and Ukrainians (banking services; insurance); in Ukraine, among others: Lithuanians, Latvians, Tatars, Jews mainly active in trade. It should be added that in each of the countries of the subregion, the professional activity undertaken by individual minorities is dynamic and changeable, and is also connected – as our own

observations indicate – with generational exchange, as well as the degree of mobility of society characteristic for each of the countries of the subregion.

The participation of national and ethnic minorities in particular sectors is also linked to market mechanisms. What is particularly important is that the market not only promotes the intensification and activation of inter-ethnic contacts, but also creates competition and often encourages inter-ethnic conflicts. In the countries of the subregion, mainly the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, the development of small and medium-sized entrepreneurship is being observed, which often does not favour inter-ethnic integration. Our own observations show that companies are often established by families, which choose their employees from among representatives of a particular (usually ‘their’) nationality. Examples of this are the business activities set up by Crimean Tatars, which are quite firmly established in the tourist sector of the Crimea (until the time of the Crimean annexation in 2014), or companies of the Hungarian minority in Zakarpattia (Ukraine). Our own observations also lead us to the conclusion that it is quite common for representatives of a particular nationality to help them develop their professional or academic careers, which is evident, among others, among the Jewish or Russian minorities in Ukraine, and also among the Gagauzes in the Republic of Moldova. According to a study carried out by U. Abłażewicz-Górnicka, participation in ethnic communities allows access to certain material and symbolic goods closed to outsiders. It can impose preferences for ‘co-ethnics’ in economic transactions, job search and access to information. Examples of economic cooperation based on ethnic networks include economic enclaves and occupational niches. The first term refers to the spatial concentration of companies managed (owned) by members of a particular ethnic group, which offer products and services to people from the same ethnic group. Economic enclaves are formed in the immediate vicinity of ethnic communities and usually do not last longer than several generations. Within them, appropriate training and employment can be provided, or even limited, to people of common origin, while at the same time inhibiting the influx of people from outside (Abłażewicz-Górnicka 2012: 11-12, Portes 1995: 27-28).

It should be noted that in the countries of the subregion (mainly Ukraine), as a result of political and socioeconomic changes, patronage and customer networks have appeared, which also affect the presence of individual ethnoses in a given sector or industry on the market. Members of these networks can be: family, close relatives and affinity, people connected with a common past e.g. at work, university, people connected with economic interests. These relationships are of a nature that goes beyond ethnicity, and they are linked by political loyalty to the patron and socioeconomic dependence on him. Belonging to interest groups, which are staffed by public and private companies, is independent of nationality or clan. The most important thing is that the members of the group have common goals and are guided by a community of political and economic interests. In the states of the subregion, for example, the Russians are members of oligarchic clans, an example of which is N. Azarov, who is associated with the Donetsk clan in Ukraine. In Ukrainian political life, patrons (e.g. oligarchs, heads of industrial and financial groups) are guardians of clients (e.g.

members of the political elite) who are given access to economic goods, work at a certain level of expectations and ambitions. In return, clients guarantee political support for their patrons (Žotkin 2004: 95-108).

Analysing the presence of individual ethnoses in the socioeconomic structure of the subregion's states, one can see a certain correlation between their legal status (first of all, an indigenous nation; secondly, nationalities that have their own nation states in their historical homelands, e.g. Belarus, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Hungarians, etc.; thirdly, nationalities that do not have their own nation states outside the subregion's borders, e.g. the Roma) and the reaction to their economic position in the state of settlement. Nationals who have their own nation-states can choose between living in Belarus, the Republic of Moldova or Ukraine, or returning to their home country (usually with a specific return policy for compatriots from abroad) if they are not satisfied with their socioeconomic situation. This phenomenon is reflected in migration flows. It is worth adding at this point, following Piotrowski, that "the functions of lifestyle choices should serve to meet the needs of the most often higher order, i.e. they are motivating for education, professional career – but based on moral values, increasing cultural capital, generally to organise one's own reality in a manner consistent with culture and one's own internalised vision, but in a creative way, because the expression of the implementation of the chosen lifestyle patterns by an individual satisfies his or her personality and shapes social identity, i.e. the nature and quality of the social roles played, and this gives a sense of belonging and finding one's place in social reality. Unfortunately, the axio-normative system (i.e. culturally conditioned norms and values of a given society, manifested through the observance of certain patterns of behaviour – customs, observance of the law and behaviour in accordance with the socially accepted moral system) of individuals, shaped by a global free market economy, acts on society in the opposite way than it should, in the name of the great family that people should be". (Piotrowski 2014: 133).

The research also requires a reference to the degree of difficulty in the economic situation of national and ethnic minorities in the states of the subregion. As already indicated, this situation depends on a range of factors, including those of an objective nature: the choice of the way of life and management of a given minority (agriculture, industry, etc.); the catalogue of socioeconomic and political processes and phenomena occurring in a given country (industrialisation, urbanisation, market mechanisms and their development, the legal system facilitating or impeding economic activity, globalisation, membership of international organisations, mainly those of an economic nature, etc.). The group of subjective factors includes mainly the efforts of the ethnic groups themselves in creating and regulating social reality (differences in the level of representation in the authorities, in the level of education, the range of linguistic competence, etc.). Observing the difficult economic situation of the countries (as signalled by Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova are among the poorest countries in Europe, while the Belarusian economy also has a deteriorating financial condition and dependence on the Russian economy), it is clear that the condition of their economies has a negative impact on the quality of economic life of national and ethnic minorities.

This situation is dynamic, but it does not necessarily affect all members of a given minority equally.

The diverse economic situation of minorities in a given country, as well as disparities in access to certain sectors of the economy, are conducive to tensions between ethnoses⁹, and these, as shown by own observations, often gain a practical dimension (Wierzbicki 2015). For example, in companies established in Ukraine by representatives of the Russian minority, especially those involved in trade with the Russian market, Russians are the first to be employed. Similar practices could be observed in the tourist sector in the Crimea, both by local Russians and Tatars. On the one hand, there is a kind of hermetic nature of the industry associated with the local concentration of a given minority, while on the other hand, a kind of loyalty to ‘theirs’ generates inter-ethnic tensions against the economic background. The overlapping of cultural and economic divisions, typical of many communities, may lead to competition for public goods, and also give rise to fear of losing the position and resources of the majority group. J. Mucha draws attention to the changing expectations of members of minority groups. “Ethnic groups must be treated as interest groups. Of course, they have always been interest groups, but due to the nature of the interests they have demanded so far, they have generally not been treated as such. While in the past they generally only demanded tolerance for their religious, linguistic or moral identity, now they also clearly demand equal economic and political rights”. (Mucha 2005: 32).

The changes in the ethnic structure of independent Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine between 1991 and 2019 are characterised by great dynamism. The migration of national and ethnic minorities, especially those holding managerial positions in industry and administration, has weakened the qualified staff in the countries of the subregion and their intellectual and economic potential. On the other hand, those who have left the former trade union republics have, in a way, made jobs for the titular population redundant. Our own research leads us to the conclusion that in multi-ethnic states, the participation of national and ethnic minorities in the socioeconomic structure is inevitable. It is crucial that its extent should not generate conflicts and threaten the unity of the nation, standing in opposition to the formation of a civic community. This poses a challenge to the authorities of the subregion’s countries, which (in particular, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine) should bear in mind that a diverse ethno-social structure can foster a sense of marginal treatment of non-titular ethnoses and also hinder social integration by introducing inter-ethnic competition.

⁹ There are two opposing hypotheses in the literature on the subject concerning the relationship between the degree of cultural diversity and the nature and scope of intergroup contacts. The first one, referred to as the ‘contact hypothesis’, indicates that the increase in diversity, resulting in more frequent contact with members of other cultural groups, should positively influence the formation of social tolerance and solidarity in the inter-ethnic dimension, while reducing ethnocentric attitudes. The opposite process shows the ‘conflict theory’, according to which ethno-cultural diversity can lead to an increase in intra-group solidarity and, at the same time, distrust in inter-group relations. Thus, the increase in diversity is seen as an obstacle to building social capital (Abłażewicz-Górnicka 2012: 15, Putnam 2007: 141-142).

CONCLUSION

The high level of socio-cultural diversity of multicultural communities is a challenge for shaping social capital in individual Eastern European countries. The greater the qualitative and quantitative diversity of the structure, the stronger its correlation with state security – potentially in more ethnically diverse countries, internal security (e.g. the emergence of separatist movements, attempts to change the status of certain non-titular nations) and external security (e.g. the intervention of the home state of a given minority) are more likely to be threatened. This relationship is based on feedback – the security of the state, both internal and external, also affects the ethnic diversity of the countries concerned, which is revealed, among others, in migration movements or the return of individual ethnoses to their historical homelands. The ethnic structure of the states of the subregion should also be taken into account by the state authorities in the practice of ethnopolitical management. A thoughtful and taking into account a number of factors, including the ethnic structure of society, the process of planning, organising and monitoring ethnopolitics in a given country also helps to ensure its security. In turn, the omission of the ethnodemographic conditionality, which is the diverse ethnic structure of society (the lack of precise analyses containing not only figures, but also specifying the nature of clusters, as well as the participation of individual minorities in sectors of the economy), favours minimising the effectiveness of the process of ethnopolitical management. The inclusion of the analysed conditionality in the strategies of ethnopolitics being built gives the authorities of the states an opportunity to build a society which functions efficiently and peacefully in a complex multi-ethnic situation. At the same time, it should be remembered that ethnodemographic determinants of ethnopolitical management, including the socioeconomic diversity of a multi-ethnic society, exerting both positive (e.g. cooperation in multi-ethnic teams) and negative (e.g. ethnic conflicts; discrimination in access to specific sectors of the economy on the basis of ethnic origin) their power of influence is directed by multidimensional factors, including minorities, the titular nation, the state, state security, and finally the security of the entire subregion. What is particularly important is that the sense of importance of the influence of ethnodemographic determinants on the management of ethnopolitics will be associated with subjectivity (especially of minorities and the titular nation), often hindering a comprehensive and neutral construction of strategies for the management of state ethnopolitics by entities established for this purpose.

In conclusion, the possible ‘omission’ by the state authorities of Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine of the determinants of ethnopolitical governance, which is a diverse socioeconomic structure in multi-ethnic societies, affects, on the one hand, the ineffectiveness of ethnopolitics and, on the other hand, encourages the emergence of ethnic tensions and conflicts, thus threatening the security of individual states in the local, regional and overall dimension and, consequently, of the entire sub-region. The diverse socioeconomic structure of multi-ethnic societies ‘forces’

state authorities to introduce ethnopolitical solutions that will foster the integration of multi-ethnic societies and counteract social exclusion and discrimination against national and ethnic minorities in the economic sector.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to analyze the diverse socioeconomic structure in the Eastern European countries and its impact on ethnopolitical management. The thematic-ethical scope of the research concerns the territorial-temporal space comprising an independent Belarus, Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

The author investigates this issue by seeking to answer two main research questions: 1) What are the main conditions for the presence and participation of minorities in the socioeconomic structure of Eastern European countries? 2) How does the diverse socioeconomic structure in multi-ethnic societies translate into ethnopolitical governance?

The realization of the above objective is based on the application of a catalogue of research methods, including mainly the following: system analysis, a comparative method, the historical method; the behavioural method, the ethnodemographic method. In the concluding remarks the author states that the possible "omission" by the governments in the subregion of the determinants of ethnopolitical management, i.e. the diverse socioeconomic structure of multi-ethnic societies, is conducive to the ineffectiveness of ethnopolitics and facilitates the emergence of ethnic tensions and conflicts, thus threatening the security of individual states and, consequently, the subregion as a whole.



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