

Migrants as a resource of the precariat

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to new socio-economic processes in the construction of labor relations and the formation of the workforce, as well as the socio-cultural and political consequences of these transformations. The precariat is considered as a socio-economic phenomenon, which objectively arises against the background of uncertainty and rapid changes of the modern era. The author focuses on the study of social characteristics and risks of the precariat. This particularly concerns migrants who join the ranks of a new social layer.

The relationship between social anomie and the transgressive state of migrants and other fractions of the precariat is clarified. The influence of objective global processes and the situationality of everyday life on the active integration of new forms of employment into the socio-economic space is shown. It has been proven that solidarity is an effective strategy for adapting a person to the conditions of uncertainty in the life of migrants and the risks of the precariat way of being.

Introduction

Radical changes in the economy and politics of the 21st century significantly reconstruct the social structure of society and shape the scientific discourse on new forms of inequality and social participation. New economic and social relations are replacing the old ones, this causes a revision of the theoretical base, the replacement of theories irrelevant to the modern restructuring of economic reality with relevant ones that correspond to new processes. The task of philosophy is to understand transformational trends and create a theory that will permit to take them into account and include them in their conceptual apparatus. The phenomenon of the precariat in the context of these changes is a "top" subject in the discussion of the economic and political space of Ukraine and the world. The theory of the precariat becomes a modern version of the theory about the social structure of society.

We have already noted the general trend: "An image of self-identity, closed, geographically localized national cultures, goes to the past. They are replaced by the epoch of transculturalism that actualizes such notions as "boundary", "frontier", "nomadism" (Kolinko, 2019a: 58). In today's mass and highly mobile society, the individual loses the "help" of a rooted, familiar, always understandable existence and finds himself faced with the need to make an independent choice. This demand for independence and self-sufficiency against the background of social instability and rapid economic changes can create in a person a sense of his defenselessness, uselessness, existence on the edge, transgression, and even provoke deviant actions. Such characteristics correspond to the social stratum, which in modern scientific discourse has received the name of the precariat.

The purpose of the article: To find out how the challenges of uncertainty and a mobile economy, transgressive

KEYWORDS

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trends in the social mobility of migrants influence the formation of new forms of the precariat.

Research methods

E. Durkheim's theory of social anomie, M. Weber's concept of marginal social communities, resource and actor-network theory should be considered as theoretical and methodological sources of the precariat theory. Emphasizing the relevance of resource theory, Ukrainian philosophers Vitaliy Liakh and Maryna Lukashenko claim that "a resource-oriented view of the history of mankind shows the modern improvement of the human condition, focusing on the further development of the state's human capital (plasticity, adaptability, stress resilience, creativity, cognitive and emotional abilities of individuals)" (Liakh, Lukashenko, 2020: 22).

The actor-network theory "looks for social meanings not only in the relations of people, but also in the relations of people and things, people are immersed in the world of objects, enter into interaction with them (for example, with the border space, home or work space, with information-communication technologies)" (Kolinko, 2019 b: 81). How are the relationships of people who choose the uncertainty of a precarious state formed and reformatted, with economic structures and organizations, with the social space of work and everyday life - we are looking for answers to this question with the help of social topology, actor and resource approaches. The emergence of precarious labor characteristics is associated with crisis processes in the socio-economic sphere of society, for which E. Durkheim proposed the concept of "anomy". It is literally translated as the absence of norms. Anomie is a violation of social equilibrium, the balance of relations between the society and the individual, loss of socio-cultural norms' significance for the individual. Anomie destroys social integrity



and causes a breakdown in the system of social organization of people's lives. According to the theorist, the main characteristic of a society in a state of anomie is the lack of clear regulation in social relations and behavior of individuals. Equating moral and social, Durkheim considered this explanation sufficient for the conclusion that anomie leads to the destruction of the social system's unity. Our study will consider the category "anomy" both in such a broad socio-philosophical context and as a phenomenon accompanying socio-economic challenges in modern production.

E. Durkheim created a complete socio-philosophical concept, which has an outlet in the practice of socio-economic processes and offers real measures to improve the crisis society, which is of special importance for us. It is necessary to pay attention to the French philosopher's distinction between social and personal dimensions of anomie. First, the state of anomie arises in a society with seriously weakened or absent normative standards of behavior, interpersonal relations necessary for life. Secondly, the state of anomie can also characterize an individual under the conditions of social-political or economic disorientation, being in a state of anxiety, experiencing a feeling of isolation from society. During a period of social crisis, the possibility of regulating relations between social functions is violated, the significance of socio-cultural norms for each individual person is lost. The lack of criteria for evaluating the behavior and social status of individuals determines their socially uncertain position, separates the individual from a specific social group. As the American sociologist Steven Gerardi noted, "this absence creates a weak sense of solidarity and integration, causing disorientation, aggression, confusion, and disillusionment" (Gerardi, 2020). All this pushes a person to self-destructive and wrong behavior, even to the path of crime and suicide. In the work "Suicide", E. Durkheim proves that the main reason for the increase in suicides in highly developed societies is not misfortune or material deprivation, but the loss of the meaning of life (Durkheim, 2005). The state of despair and irritable fatigue generated by anomie can turn against the subject himself or against others.

In the 1960s, P. Bourdieu analyzed precarity as an unstable labor relationship that does not provide certainty in the future, characterizing colonial workers. He came to the conclusion about the emergence of a new way of domination in the neoliberal economic environment. The appearance of the precariat as a numerous labor force corresponds to the objective processes of the neoliberal economy, globalization, and the digital revolution. Reduction of bureaucratic procedures and digitization of labor relations reduce formalization and offer a quick search for labor reserves in various business areas.

This was noted by P. Bourdieu in the description of modern labor offers in accordance with the flexible conditions of the modern economy. Bourdieu argued that the formation of the precariat is not an inevitable and natural process, but it is related to the policy of exploitation, competition on the labor market, and the cheapening of labor in certain regions. Accordingly, capital shows mobility and flows with the active or passive participation of political forces into a more favorable environment, where production is cheaper, unemployment threatens local residents, they accept low pay and the absence of a social package.

In his "risk society" model, Ulrich Beck also analyzes the birth of new forms of labor relations, which are caused by the processes of modernization of the socio-economic

organization of society. Pluralization of ways of being, forms of everyday life, forms of employment, civic participation, types of family relationships leads to a renewed vision of human activity, attitude to work and social inequality. The theoretical and methodological provisions of U. Beck's concept of new socio-economic configurations help to understand the causes and mechanisms of the precariat functioning.

Results and Discussion of the research

The reasoning and conclusions of E. Durkheim, P. Bourdieu, and U. Beck provide food for thinking about the social reality of the 21st century. Sociocultural and economic changes brought a new class to the social arena - the precariat. Having arisen as a result of new methods of rapid employment, these people, along with the opportunities to improve their material condition, are trying to raise their social status as well. The value system of this social group is different, and sometimes it can come into conflict with the value guidelines of other population groups that are used to stability, have mastered promising professions, built their stable, settled world, are confident in the certainty and steadfastness of their status.

Durkheim's philosophical concept of anomie does not explain why, under the same conditions, certain individuals retain loyalty to traditional means of arranging life and long-term relationships in the work team, while others do not. It only provides an understanding of the general natural connection between anomie and the behavior of individuals. Mobility, the variability of economic rules, the lack of clear norms in anomie, the destruction of the old hierarchy of values and the slow process of forming a new one leads to the loss of the individual's ability to adapt to socio-economic changes and, as a result, can lead to a loss of connection with his community and society. But, on the other hand, precarious forms of work offer a certain form of freedom. A person becomes more mobile, free to change his plans, adjust flexible working conditions to his life schedule.

Zygmunt Bauman in his work "Liquid Modernity" (2013) shows how the idea of sustainable, stable work is becoming a relic of the past. He describes modern types of work as "fluid", "flexible". Streamlining, increasing efficiency and speeding up the work process is reflected in the simplified procedure for rapid reduction of the contingent. This leads to the conclusion that there are no guarantees of obtaining the desired job, its long-term nature, ensuring stable earnings and strong, sustainable living conditions. Such conditions of the socio-economic state form a blurred identity not only in economic activity, but also as a cultural community.

In the situation of open interstate borders (as in the European Union), the mobility of financial flows, the erosion of regional identity, the lifestyle of the precariat meets the requirements of the times. But this does not exclude the risks of the social situation of the specified social group.

British professor of economics Guy Standing, whose name is associated with the key provisions of the modern concept of the precariat, notes that "those in the precariat have no secure occupational identity; no occupational narrative they can give to their lives. And they find they have to do a lot of work-for labor relative to labor, such as work preparation that does not count as work and that is not remunerated; they have to retrain constantly, network, apply for new jobs, and fill out forms of one sort or another. They are exploited outside the workplace as well as in it, and outside paid hours as well as in them" (Standing, 2014).

In his work "The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class" (2011), Guy Standing expresses the opinion that uncertainty in the field of employment, labor instability ceases to be something unusual and exceptional. The labor market of the modern world with its network and flow forms, globalization and the rapid growth of technologies affects changes in labor relations, forms new norms and forms of employment of people in the economic sphere. According to Standing, the stable social layer is the salary class. The precariat, in contrast to the salary system, exists in conditions of temporality and variability.

The wages of the precariat can be described in terms of uncertainty, a reduced level of income compared to a traditionally entrenched employee at an enterprise or state institution. The activities of the precariat are not fully provided with social guarantees and state support. Not only the economic, but also the political and sociocultural dimensions of the precariat are of theoretical and methodological interest. A characteristic feature of its activity is uncertainty, shaky position, and dangerous work. Instability forms a model of the temporality of existence, the priority of chance over sustainable development, constant change and uncertainty about the future. Such conditions exclude the improvement of one's professional qualities, the development of basic algorithms for the formation of skilled work and career growth.

The concept of marginality can be applied to the analysis of the precariat phenomenon, but it is necessary to clarify the contexts of understanding this concept. Marginality in Weber's classical interpretation characterizes the "transitional" social state of the subject, or carries an ideological, value burden (for example, marginal political forces - those that are still forming, do not have influence, create an oppositional space to the state). But marginality, according to Weber, is not necessarily destructive and destructive for subjects and society, it opens the possibility of renewing traditional structures, forming new active forces for social transformation.

This opinion is methodologically fruitful for our research. Perception of the precariat not from the position of potential anti-sociality, de-class state, creating danger for a stable society, but as a productive phenomenon caused by objective processes, is efficient in understanding the socio-economic transformations of the postmodern world. The precariat does not form the goal of the transition, as well as clear connections with the system, it lives in conditions of uncertainty and instability. Rootlessness in the socio-political space is its immanent and defining quality. It is difficult to limit it by economic criteria, since a representative of the precariat may have material problems and work that does not correspond to his level of knowledge, education, skills and competences, but may be successful in financial and economic activities. The precariat cannot be captured in political or ideological categories, since it includes supporters of various ideas, social movements, political ideologies, and does not create a coherent socio-political structure.

Some researchers show representatives of the precariat as victims of circumstances, poverty, and social inequality. Let's agree with the statements that the precariat does not form a professional identity, therefore, it does not create the necessary narratives for the organization of its everyday life and an entrenched way of life. Performing low-skilled work, which most often does not correspond to the level of knowledge, education, and qualifications of employees, leads to inhibitions in social stratification, and at

the personal level creates a feeling of insecurity, disappointment, and social shock.

Standing confirms in his research that precarious forms of work "produce a consciousness of relative deprivation and a combination of anxiety, anomie (despair of escape from their precarious status), alienation (having to do what they do not wish to do while being unable to do what they would like to do and are capable of doing), and anger" (Standing, 2014).

Standing is sure that the precariat is not an established social stratum, but it is at the stage of formation in the social structure of modern society. He singles out three socio-economic groups that can be attributed to this social faction. First, these are people from traditional working-class or petty-bourgeois families, Standing calls them atavists. "Those in this group lack high-level schooling and tend to feel a sense of relative deprivation by reference to a lost past. Their predecessors had employment security, pensions to anticipate, and so on. They tend to want that past" (Standing, 2011).

The researcher calls the second group nostalgic: "A second faction in the precariat consists of migrants and ethnic minorities who feel they are denied a sense of home, a viable present. <...> Mostly, they keep their heads down and put up with insecurity, concentrating on survival. But when policy changes threaten even that, they rebel in days of rage (as in Stockholm in 2013) or join some fundamentalist cause out of misplaced zeal to recover a sense of identity. They are the ultimate denizens, denied rights everywhere" (Standing, 2014).

We consider the third group, after Standing, to be the most productive fraction of the precariat. These are mostly active young workers with a modern level of education and a desire to "change the world for the better." "This group experiences relative deprivation by being denied a future, an attractive way of building a life of dignity and fulfillment. But they do not listen to neo-fascists; they look to recover a "future" and aspire to create a "good society" based on progressive values of equality, freedom and ecological sustainability" (Standing, 2014).

These include digital nomads, who have a mobile way of life and work, making mobility a means of protection against uncertain, risky, unreliable forms of work. On the other hand, such a mobile way of being from protection can turn into a social risk, forcing the nomad's lifestyle into further mobility and uncertainty. We analyzed the phenomenon of digital nomadism in our study (Kolinko, 2019c). It is within this group that "there is a growing feeling that they are not just victims of unstable and insecure living, but can be active in coalescing around a new progressive politics" (Standing, 2014).

A contemporary challenge related to precarious practices is the movement of economic migration, which is characterized by Standing's metaphor of the "light infantry of globalization" (Standing, 2016). Migration practices are directed to another world, but they differ significantly from leisure travelers in other life goals and plans, conditions of relations with borders and host countries. They test the normality of the world they encounter, the stability of its rules, mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion, demonstrate flexibility and the ability to respond to new challenges. Transgressive reality, taken not in the center and center of the certainty of social order and human qualities, but as an experience of existence in marginal situations, liminal states, generates a discourse of going beyond the limits of norms, a discourse of deviant and marginal sociocultural practices.

Transgression is an apt description of a precarious state. "The prefix trans as a movement through, across the space, reveals a cultural dynamics that may be expressed in practices of overcoming cultural limits, blurred identity, domestication of symbols and rules of another cultural space" (Kolinko, 2019c: 58).

Migration processes in the world lead to the emergence of new forms of socio-economic relations, are a source of replenishment of the precariat's composition. In the social discourse, migrants are associated with those social problems that arise in the precariat environment, for example, unemployment, crime. Fear and mistrust of migrants have led to the emergence and even success of political parties with anti-migrant slogans in several European countries. We have already analyzed these phenomena in the monograph "Intercultural Communication: Topological Dimension" (Kolinko, 2019b). "Large-scale migration flows are indeed connected with the processes of social anomie and crimes in the territory of their settlement. This happens against the background of problematic social and economic adaptation, and not because migrants are culturally different and their cultural codes differ from the cultural matrix of the host countries. They bring their ideas about the home world into a foreign culture and are perceived as dangerous because they are suspected of destroying the foundations of the host culture. The active intervention of their traditions and worldviews can overturn and collide the ideas on which the sociocultural world's understanding of itself has been built until now" (Kolinko, 2019b: 244). Clearly established and fixed cultural and political forms give the autochthonous population a sense of security, so a certain part of society is reluctant to accept foreign migrants, fearing the uncertainty of changes, a state of "permanent suspension" and the destruction of the established order.

A characteristic feature of transgressive migrants is, as we noted in our article, "double identity, when they are not yet separated from their former cultural group, but already consider the host community as their own" (Kolinko, 2019a, p. 201). Migrants, who find themselves in another country in search of work, face contradictions between the universalist ideal of cosmopolitanism, which declares free movement and the possibility of settling in any state, and the laws and national traditions of a specific state that accepts temporary workers. These differences between the perception of a foreigner and a citizen of the state were described by Anna Arendt in the work "Vita Activa, or About Active Life." Addressing the status of apatrides (persons without citizenship), she seeks a legal solution that provides such groups with a new legal status. "In the light of the economic and technical character of human exchange relations in late modernity we are called to exercise constant moral vigilance as the state creates and expels its superfluous others. Arendt suggests that this wider crisis of moral norms to guide judgment is umbilically connected to a crisis of responsibility" (Rowlands, 2017).

In conditions of open interstate borders (as in the European Union), the mobility of financial flows, the erosion of regional identity, the lifestyle of the precariat meets the requirements of the times. Meanwhile, in recent years, impressed by the flows of migrants from Eastern and African regions, the European public questions the positive impact of immigration on the economy, culture and national identity. Many people associate social problems such as unemployment and crime with migrants. Fear and mistrust of migrants have stimulated the creation and even success of

anti-immigrant political parties in several European countries. The problem concerns not only refugees from countries suffering from political tension and economic decline, but also about "mobile EU citizens", as they are designated in European political discourse, that is, residents of Eastern European countries. For example, in France and Germany, the desire to regulate the numerous influx of foreign citizens and the departure of legal and illegal immigrants actually made this subject one of the main ones in the legal discourse.

In our opinion, differences and former priorities characteristic of migrants do not threaten the established order in the world that meets them, but migrants provoke socio-economic, political and everyday rules of a new social space for them. In their presence not only social risks lie, but also the possibility of updating the system, the prospect of cultural innovation. Considerations about the possibility of cultural reconstructions, of course, do not mean the indispensable cultural role of migrants, but their influence on these processes should be noted. Separation from the native cultural soil can lead to the destruction of cultural identity, and can expand the horizon of the life world of both the migrant and the residents of the host culture. The idea of the conventionality of sociocultural concepts and the mechanisms of sociocultural relations' reconstruction leads to the strategy of cultural recognition.

A critical analysis of the set of socio-political, economic, cultural, and psychological problems of migrants who fill the ranks of the precariat sharpens the issue of protecting the rights of this group. Along with the rapid spread of migration policies based on the allocation of places migrants' dislocation, competitive tactics are being formed for selection of skilled workers who can not only benefit from social protection, but also work for the benefit of the country of refuge.

Systems of differentiation based on multiple parameters, which, along with classical economic criteria (such as labor skills, economic knowledge and competences), pay attention to religion, knowledge of the country's language, education, health, savings, and the desire to integrate into a new community, can provide advantages to the acceptance of subjects with a long-term perspective and, ultimately, to the citizenship of those subjects who fulfill the requirements and meet a greater number of criteria. These regulatory mechanisms stratify the legal statuses of subjects inhabiting the same political space, and at the same time permit to effectively control the boundaries between different subjective positions, to produce different options for integration strategies.

The process of integration into the new economic and cultural reality is fueled by various forms of solidarity. For two centuries, social philosophers and sociologists have proposed conceptual schemes of solidarity, actualized certain forms of solidarity that work for the benefit of socially vulnerable sections of the population. In this paradigm, E. Durkheim created a theoretical and methodological project that is still relevant today. He considered solidarity a purely human phenomenon, a property intrinsic to intersubjective formations, which is formed through the mutual understanding of individuals. Durkheim did not believe in the fruitfulness of violent measures and refused to consider the struggle of oppressed social groups as an essential feature of his contemporary society, let alone as a driving force of historical progress. He finds great creative opportunities in the integration of society, in reaching a consensus of different systems' social values. Considering solidarity as the

main social value necessary for stabilizing reconstruction, the philosopher is sure that it presupposes the ability of human nature to sympathize and generally reflect – awareness of the stimuli and interests of others. According to Durkheim, the more socialized people are, the more organically the idea of solidarity fits into the modern world. This process takes place most intensively in the process of modern production activity. The state or political grouping is very far from the individual, and besides, the state is too abstract, too powerful, to create the necessary context for integration. The family, according to Durkheim, also does not play a great role, because due to its less visible economic opportunities, it cannot act as a mediator between the individual and the collective.

The concept of solidarity is based on people's internal need for cooperation. The idea of solidarity does not contradict the individualistic orientation of modern culture, but opposes the disintegration of a single social whole into atoms. It helps a person to overcome the fear of loneliness, uncertainty in the future. Durkheim assumed that solidarity can be cultivated in the process of socialization of a person both by pedagogical methods and by the entire system of social organization (including methods of social rehabilitation during a crisis). Kant's categorical imperative in Durkheim sounds like this: one should obey every authority of the law, which is, in fact, social, even if it is moral; but this obedience to the law must become the need of each of us, because it alone allows us to regulate our rational individuality. Thus, Durkheim tried to find the degree of connection between the individual and the social, which would lead to the harmonization of social processes. Taking into account modern trends, it should be noted that education should not only strengthen discipline, but primarily contribute to the flourishing of personality, the formation of a sense of independence, the ability to reflect and make choices in each individual. Thus, Durkheim's general social reform program as a whole deserves attention and study, and the methods of individual rehabilitation in the period of social transformation are not always relevant and can be used selectively.

Such a position regarding the formation of solidarity corresponds to the search for strategic ways to solve the social problems of the precariat. By uniting and interacting with each other on the basis of common interests, ideas and values, individuals create communities that are able to understand and protect them, they cease to be isolated units. The precariat as a social segment of society does not create a single, integral social stratum with clearly defined features and nature of action. A consistent analysis of the precariat factions leads to the conclusion that none of these factions creates a social environment close to the individual that can provide him with security and at the same time subject him to the demands of solidarity. The precariat is disjointed, fragmented, the actions of its members are localized within the limits of private, personal interests and, more often do not result in public protests and solidarity social and political actions.

So, what forms of solidarity then correspond to the precarious state of man? The family can play a very important role in the formation of new forms of solidarity. A person spends most of his life in an informal environment: among his friends, in his family. This environment gives essential meaning to human existence. Therefore, factors of solidarity that are present in a person's everyday life, i.e. family and friendly feelings, love for children, a social circle based on common interests, etc., occupy a very important place.

In his late work, E. Durkheim connects the concept of sociocultural evolution not only with the solidarity of large groups, trade unions, but also with family ties. They are based on the principles of solidarity, mutual respect, happiness, well-being - although extremely subjective phenomena, they correspond to the lifestyle of modern people. It must be taken into account that a characteristic feature of the social organization of civil society is that separate independent subjects are not only corporations, state institutions and teams of traditional enterprises, but also individual atomized and free individuals: freelancers, digital nomads, workers involved in temporary work and part-time employment. Such a contingent demonstrates the features of foreignness, fluidity of being, marginality (in the sense of M. Weber – as a social state of uncertainty), which opens up new sociocultural risks and opportunities. An atomized individual, who has broken out of a strong network of interpersonal relationships, has broken the natural ties of people (familiar, clannish, professional, etc.), becomes vulnerable to various social pathologies. Then the solidarity group support of an individual is an important and well-founded condition for reforms. A person, an individual, is not an isolated spiritual entity, but a being, first of all, a social being, and it cannot reveal itself, reflect itself outside of connection with other beings.

The "absolute priority" of a person in his relations with society is as little true as the transformation of the individuals' labor result into goods outside and apart from certain social relations, which leads to the well-known phenomenon of economic alienation. In crisis periods of life, in situations of uncertainty and variability, the motivators of anxiety and doubt are actualized in people's minds. Therefore, the characteristic features of solidarity of this period are revealed in the feeling of "fear of the future", "common difficulties of life", etc. Solidarity becomes a condition for group survival in difficult circumstances. Based on common interests, new types of human communication are created. They can perform an integrating role in society, because they have the opportunity to resolve conflicts, implement moral norms, thereby protecting people from crises and intensifying the development of a de-alienation strategy.

Durkheim's idea of corporate solidarity changes within the limits of modern informal associations built on the values of freedom and self-activity. They do not necessarily unite people on a professional basis. The basis of unification can be the ideas of self-worth of culture, personality, and freedom. Examples of such organizations can be environmental organizations, pacifist movements, and charitable organizations. They spread cultural ideals and goals in society by non-violent means. Their role is especially growing in a situation of crisis, economic transformations, and the search for new value orientations.

Conclusions

Thus, the processes of socio-economic turbulence in the 21st century lead to the growth of unstable labor relations and inequality. The paradox of the precariat is that it is meaningfully interpreted through characteristics that it does not have, because it shows vaguely defined, blurred contours of subjectivity.

Our scientific interest in the phenomenon of the precariat is connected with the fact that it manifests or illustrates the modern processes of anomie, transgression, the positioning of the constant marginality of existence, the liminality of the social state. The priority goals of the precariat in the struggle for their rights are the desire to ensure eco-

conomic and social security, quality of life, redistribute financial assets and benefit, regulate time, create opportunities and conditions for profit, education, and leisure.

Migrants are actively replenishing the social environment of the precariat. Social processes of the migrant flows' rapid evolution of require comprehensive analysis and scientific research. Migrants not only influence changes in economic rules and forms of financial relations, but also test the entire socio-cultural system of a new world for them. They bring their cultural patterns to the host countries. Their ideas about the form and rhythm of life collide with the ideas of Europeans and are perceived as foreign and potentially dangerous, because they can become possible destroyers of the of the host culture. A strategy of differentiated inclusion is proposed for the economic, socio-political and cultural integration of migrants. It has its own risks and disadvantages, because it can turn into social selection, demonstrate inhumane practices of the precariat formation. But the implementation of programs for social protection, assimilation of migrants, solidarity actions of the community can turn it into a promising strategy of gradual social adaptation, acculturation and inclusion of migrants in new economic and political conditions.

It is noted that the economic relations of the information society are based more on personal responsibility and interaction than on coordination and hierarchy, as in the time of E. Durkheim. Here it is important to see not only the interests of corporations, but the strategy of human existence in new conditions. Forms of solidarity based on natural unity and personal responsibility are spread to precariat groups, from which mutual obligations flow: in family, friendship, neighborly relations, network communication. It should be noted that this issue is acutely problematic. The elimination of the current idea's contradictions still awaits further research.

Мігранти як ресурс прекаріату

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Статтю присвячено новим соціально-економічним процесам у вибудовуванні трудових відносин та формуванні робочої сили, а також соціокультурним та політичним наслідкам цих трансформацій. Прекаріат розглядається як соціально-економічний феномен, який об'єктивно виникає на тлі невизначеності та стрімких змін сучасної доби. Автор зосереджується на дослідженні соціальних характеристик та ризиків прекаріату. Особливо це стосується мігрантів, що поповнюють лави нової соціальної верстви. З'ясовується взаємозв'язок суспільної аномії із трансресивним станом мігрантів та інших фракцій прекаріату. Показано вплив об'єктивних загальносвітових процесів та ситуативності повсякденного буття на активну інтеграцію нових форм зайнятості в соціально-економічний простір. Доведено, що солідарність є дієвою стратегією адаптації людини до умов невизначеності життя мігрантів і ризиків способу буття прекаріату.

Ключові слова: прекаріат, мігранти, аномія, невизначеність, трансресія, солідарність.

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