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Solo Living outside Home: Case of Ukrainian Migrants

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The article considers such a category of migrants as solo refugees. The author substantiates the need to study this category of refugees from the economic, political, and psychological points of view. Solo migrants face several specific challenges. So, the purpose of this article is to characterize and describe the life strategies used by refugees who find themselves abroad in the status of solo refugees. The study is a pilot study and was conducted using the method of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were divided into main thematic blocks that consider the history of the decision to leave the country; the process of adaptation in a new country and the main difficulties; the process of organizing work; daily and communicative aspects of life, as well as emotional self-awareness; vision of life prospects. Two main categories of solo refugees were distinguished: those who have decided to stay in host countries for a long time and those who are in a «suspended» state. Features of each of these two strategies have been outlined. The possibilities for further research of this category of refugees were also outlined.

Key words: solo-living, lifestyle, migration, refugees, Ukraine, Russo-Ukrainian war.

Яшкіна Дар'я. Життя соло поза домом: кейс українських мігрантів. У статті досліджено категорію мігрантів-соло, тобто людей, які виїхали з України без сімей і близьких друзів. Розглянуто значущість цієї категорії мігрантів, з одного боку, з іншого – виокремлено унікальні проблеми, із якими вони стикаються. Пілотне дослідження проведено методом напівструктурованих інтерв'ю. Аналіз інтерв'ю дав підставу виокремити найбільш значущі проблеми, серед яких наріжнем каменем є категорія відповідальності. Зроблено висновок щодо існування двох основних груп біженців-соло: ті, які остаточно вирішили залишитись у новій країні, та ті, які планують повернутися в Україну. Та категорія біженців, котрі остаточно вирішили залишитись у країнах прийому, відчуває себе більш упевнено й комфортно. У рамках дослідження також виокремлено перспективи подальших досліджень.

Ключові слова: життя соло, стиль життя, міграція, біженці, Україна, російсько-українська війна.

INTRODUCTION

The wave of migration that has swept almost all continents, due to the war in Ukraine is one of the largest recently. Besides, this is the largest European migration crisis since World War II (World Economic Forum, 2022). This actualizes many issues including economic and political ones: the issue of state and interstate regulation and management of the flow of refugees by host countries; and socio-psychological: the readiness of the population for new flows of migrants and the readiness of migrants for new living conditions, changing their attitudes and building new life strategies.

The predominant number of refugees from Ukraine are families, more often mothers with grandparents and children, less often with grandparents and husbands. The main goal of women is to protect their children and themselves from the war, which is why so many mothers with young children fled to Europe. The low number of male migrants is obvious, since crossing the border by men under 60 during martial law in the country is prohibited by the Law of Ukraine. According to various estimates, since February 24, more than 7,8 million Ukrainians have left Ukraine (UNHCR, 2022).

In such a large flow of refugees, the category of people who fled the country without families and relatives, alone, may fall out of sight (both academic and, probably, social and political). However, the issue of

adaptation and life strategies of this category of the population should not be overlooked in social and humanitarian research and social policy. The relevance of studying the category of people who left their homes solo¹ can be justified from different positions:

1. Economic and Political. This category of the population is most often represented by youth or young adults. That is the most economically active category of the population, both in terms of consumption and production. Research suggests that people who live solo tend to consume more (Klinenberg, 2014). On the other hand, these are young specialists, students, graduate students, and all those who can potentially restore the economy of post-war Ukraine or develop the economy of the host country.

2. Social and psychological. We can consider this category of the population as one of the vulnerable categories of refugees, since in a foreign country they do not have any moral and emotional support in its tangible form.

3. Also, solo refugees is the most mobile and independent category of refugees.

People who have left the country alone face specific problems that are predominantly unique to them. The ways to deal with these problems and challenges are key to building future life strategies. Now they are alone, often with friends (with whom they have not lived together for a long time), they are somewhere in different countries of Europe. They are responsible for their actions and alone make decisions regarding their immediate future. In addition to the increased level of responsibility, risks and uncertainty, this category of people also faces several problems:

- loneliness (lack of close relatives and friends, difficulties in establishing new social ties);
- lack of self-sufficiency (host countries provide the opportunity for minimal security, but there are questions about organizing one's own life and organizing time and space);
- communication problems (often refugees do not know the language of the host country, and in small settlements they rarely know English);
- isolation from home, from loved ones (as well as stress due to worries about the fate of those loved ones who remain in the combat zone);
- labor maladaptation (those who are well-employed in Ukraine and have sufficient income are unsuitable in Europe if the field of activity is not universal. On the other hand, even if the field of work coincides with that in Ukraine, the European environment is much more competitive, and a refugee much harder to compete). At the same time, labor activity is the only possible one for those who turned out to be single migrants;
- new conflicts for which there are no solution models (ignorance of laws, customs, etc.);
- complete lack of ideas about the future, even the near future.

In any case, among the latest publications that deal with the study of refugees in connection with the Russo-Ukrainian war, there is practically no study of people who left the country alone. This work is mainly reconnaissance and descriptive in nature and can serve as a starting point for further research.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Modern society is increasingly characterized by social researchers as a society that is in a constant process of individualization and rationalization. It is from the rationalization of life that the concept of life strategies emerges. The term itself is widespread and used by researchers both in the West and in the post-Soviet space. Life strategies are used mainly within the framework of two sociological approaches: phenomenological (P. Berger, T. Lukman, A. Schutz) and activity and activist approaches (E. Giddens, M. Archer, P. Bourdieu, P. Shtompka, S. Babenko et al.). In general, a life strategy can be defined as a way for a person to plan his life, based on the preliminary construction of a lifestyle, practices for its implementation (lifestyle) and life satisfaction (Muradyan, 2013). Looking at the discussions around the category of life strategies, one can see that in the study of life strategies, special attention was paid to the role of the family «as the main arena for the synchronization of a person's life». Numerous studies have examined the preference for «home or group decisions over individual choice» in the context of the family. This becomes interesting for us from the standpoint of studying the life strategies of people who are cut off from the family or do not have one at all. On

¹ In the context of this work, «solo» means a category of people who lead their lives on their own, are not married de jure or de facto.

the other hand, we consider the life strategies of people who found themselves alone in an unfamiliar environment because of traumatic events – refugees.

1.1. Aim of Study

The aim of this article is to characterize and describe the life strategies used by refugees who find themselves abroad in the status of solo refugees; a description of the main challenges faced by solo refugees and the most typical ways to overcome them. The objectives of the article are to analyze how people organize their life and build their life strategies in connection with the traumatic events of forced migration, and what happens to their models of life strategies in the face of future changes.

In this direction, there are several studies of migration that have recently taken place in the context of rapid social changes (Genov, & Savvidis, 2011; Genov, 2008; Kutsenko et al., 2020; Richerson, & Boyd, 2008), etc.

Hypotheses:

1. Refugees in solo status build their life strategies in the new status based mainly on educational and career perspectives;
2. Refugees in solo status experience a lack of communication (in a qualitative, not quantitative sense), as a result, they more often experience a feeling of loneliness, which affects their psychological state and affects social adaptation in new conditions.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Method

In order to achieve the goal, the method of semi-structured interviewing was chosen.

2.2. Selection Process and Sampling

The study sample was formed using the snowball and convenience sampling method. The recruitment of participants started on the author's social networks: an invitation to the study was sent to thematic groups of refugees on Facebook, as well as to acquaintances, who in turn sent out to others. The invitation explained the aims of the study, the research approach, and the rights of the participants. It should be noted that many refugees in solo status enthusiastically responded to the invitation to take part in the study.

To decide on an adequate sample size, we followed theoretical sampling principles (Starks, & Trinidad, 2007) and recommendations for thematic analysis (Broun, & Clarke, 2013). The interviews provided a high quality of data, to achieve semantic richness in which we could implement the objectives of the study, we concluded that a sample of 16 interview participants is sufficient as for pilot research.

2.3. Data Collection

Research method: semi-structured interviews. The duration of the interview varied from 30 minutes to 2,5 hours. Interviews were conducted both online using platforms such as Zoom and Telegram, and face-to-face, where possible. Interview period August 5 – September 10. This period was chosen because it is approximately half a year since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the main wave of refugees occurred in the first months of the war, statistically it takes from 3 to 4 months for refugees to adapt. Thus, we assumed that by the time the study was conducted, the respondents could already adapt to new living conditions and circumstances and could more easily perceive communication on such a sensitive topic and be calmer and franker in interviews.

2.4. Participants

Interviews were conducted with people who left the country alone – without families.

- 14 out of 16 respondents did not have a permanent partner at the time of acquiring refugee status;
- the age of respondents ranged from 18 to 48 years old, average age: 31 years old;
- 15 out of 16 have a higher education, 1 out of 16 is a student of a higher educational institution;
- 15 out of 16 respondents are women.

The study covered refugees from 10 countries: Spain, Great Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Czech Republic, Germany, Finland, Canada, Israel. However, it should be noted that the main criterion for the selection of respondents was their solo departure. The study examines the features of the reception of refugees by different countries, but only in the context of the life experience of the respondents, and in this aspect the study does not claim to be representative.

2.5. Data Analysis

I analyzed the collected data in Ukrainian and Russian. First, I read the transcripts several times and made some initial observations. Then I looked for patterns in the data, working towards insights that could explain those patterns in the sample. Guided by the principles established by V. Broun and V. Clark (2013), I have identified and described the main themes in the data. Each identified issue raised by the participants was given a code name. Working within the experience, I chose the main categories and their subcategories and determined the meaning and relationships between them, resulting in the final set of categories.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

The interview was divided into main thematic blocks that consider the history of the decision to leave the country; the process of adaptation in a new country and the main difficulties; the process of organizing work; daily and communicative aspects of life, as well as emotional self-awareness; vision of life prospects.

3.1. Departure

Considering the issue of making a decision to go abroad alone, the majority of respondents said that the decision was spontaneous. In most cases, it was consciously necessary. That is, the respondents understood the need to leave (the reasons for this need most often were the inability to continue working in Ukraine, the lack of physical ability to live at home, the need for greater economic support for the family – parents and older generation of relatives). At the same time, the decision itself was made abruptly and not weighed. Only in one case, the decision to leave was well-considered, and the possibilities and opportunities of the host countries were prepared in advance and analyzed for a sufficiently long period of time. It should be noted that most respondents went abroad not in February, but not less than a month after the start of the war and did not leave the «hot spots» but had already been moved to safer regions of Ukraine.

By coincidence, several respondents were already abroad at the start of the Russo-Ukrainian war: they were visiting relatives or on business trips. Their decision to not come back to Ukraine was made on the day the war began.

Considering the emotional aspect of the perception of their departure, most respondents spoke about their unwillingness to leave and, importantly, that they did not plan their departure:

(38-years-old, accountant)

«I didn't want to leave and for a very long time I was tormented by a feeling of guilt that I left»;

(28-year-old, saleswoman)

«I didn't want to go; it wasn't in my plans at all».

(18-year-old, student)

«In fact, it was a very unexpected decision, the most spontaneous, because, well, I didn't want to ... I didn't want to leave at all ...».

At the same time, there was practically no urge to leave for security reasons in the responses, in contrast to the flow of refugees who left with their families out of fear for their lives and the lives of their parents and children.

Certainly, the issue of safety worried people who traveled alone no less, but in the process of describing the adoption of this decision, it appeared less since in most cases the respondents were solely responsible for their lives and for their safety, which was discussed in the process of further dialogue.

3.2. Adaptation / Difficulties

Considering their situation at the time of their arrival in the host country, omitting the issues of the peculiarities of reception by different states, in general, the respondents most often identified problems associated with the emotional component of adaptation. It was easier to adapt to those respondents who lived solo before the Russo-Ukrainian war and did not have any «anchors» in Ukraine:

Male, 48-year-old, computer engineer:

«I would generally say that I did not encounter any problems in principle, i.e. in this regard, that I have been preparing for this moment all my life ... I don't have any responsibilities, all I had time for work, well, how would I finish some pieces of projects ... I have a passport with reserve of a little money and English».

Adaptation was harder for those who left their loved ones in Ukraine, most often it was about parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents. Those who left their families most often said that the most difficult thing for them was the realization that your loved ones are in constant danger, and you cannot do anything about it. In

parallel with this, this category of refugees most acutely manifested the syndrome of the survivor: a sense of guilt for the fact that they left for safety.

28-year-old, HR specialist:

«The most difficult thing for me was to leave all my loved ones in Ukraine. This is how it has been so far. And I think what will happen if this issue is not resolved in any way, because. Well, I don't know, it's generally a thing that doesn't let me live at all. I don't understand how you can live in peace».

22-year-old, event manager:

«I don't start the day until I receive messages that everything is fine, that they (mother and grandmother - from the author) are alive and healthy. No one. (Day – from the author)»

All respondents say that the first months of adaptation were very difficult, the most common reasons were: different mentality; lack of support «on the spot», that is, the physical presence of loved ones; uncertainty in terms of employment; awareness of responsibility for their future.

In this context, reflecting on what was more difficult for them than for those people who traveled with their families, and what was easier, in both cases they indicated the concept of responsibility. On the one hand, it is easier for solo migrants in that they are not responsible for anyone but themselves.

29-year-old, saleswoman:

«Probably difficult, especially those with children. It is necessary to constantly supervise children, you constantly cannot even, here you left Ukraine, from those rockets, bombs of this, but you are constantly 24/7 with these children, in a foreign country. And I'm on my own. I wanted to come – I come, I wanted to leave – I left. I don't care about anything here».

25-year-old, translator:

«It's easier for me because I'm young, I'm not burdened with a family to take care of. It's easier for me because I live on my own, I rely on myself, I cook for myself, I do everything for myself, that is, I'm not burdened by anything, I can go, I can stay, I can cry, I can yell and talk and stuff like that».

At the same time, this category of responsibility solely for oneself bears additional difficulties: the respondents pointed out that the awareness of full responsibility for each of their actions and the need to make decisions solely on their own complicated the process of their adaptation to new conditions and was a heavy moral and emotional burden. The participants in the study pointed out that family people have someone to consult with and they can share responsibility for decisions regarding the future with someone.

Regarding aspects in which it was easier for solo refugees, respondents indicated the procedure in local municipalities, which took longer for family people; great opportunity for mobility; it was easier for people without families to find work. Of the positive aspects of going abroad with the family, the element of «normality of life» is indicated, no matter how external circumstances change, you are surrounded by all the same people as in ordinary life.

3.3. Organization of Life

The life that the respondents built, regardless of their country of residence, is built on two main aspects: work/education activities and online communication.

29-year-old, HR specialist:

«I usually wake up at 06:00, go for a run... Then I cook breakfast and sit down to work. And I usually work until five o'clock. And then I go to the university to my office and try to do my dissertation».

48-year-old, computer engineer:

«I get up abruptly at 6:20 and go to work... get on the bus and go to work. At lunchtime – lunch, in the evening we disperse, and I get on the bus and go home ... I run, I ate there, I got on the Internet, and I have to sleep».

25-year-old, translator:

«I wake up around 6... I come to work, turn on the computer... After that, the call lines open. After an eight-hour working day, a trip home, going to the grocery store to cook something for yourself that day, or a small, short walk along the river, which, thank God, is here and it's beautiful, it's good. A short walk, if you just need to wind your brain, I come home».

Respondents who, having arrived abroad, became involved in programs for the protection of refugees from the Red Cross or other organizations, say that within the framework of the programs they often organized leisure activities and, in general, at the household level. They did not feel the difference between themselves

and other refugees who left with families. Those who left alone and organized their life outside organizations say that if it is not about visiting friends, then organizing life and routine becomes more difficult when it comes to free time from work. Also important in the context of the organization of everyday life is the construction and organization of work, communication and building relationships, which we will consider below.

3.4. Career

It should be noted that most respondents worked remotely in Ukraine, however, the cases of those who were forced to look for a new job indicate that it was not so difficult in the status of a solo refugee if they knew the language and had a higher education. Lack of knowledge of the language of the host country significantly affects the job search, however, by the presence of English, job options can also be found.

30-year-old, estate manager:

«Well, this is a very distant question, because of my English, I first need to learn the language to be able to find at least some low-paying job, even with a minimum knowledge of the language. Therefore, while I did not even think about looking for a job here»

22-year-old, event manager:

«I almost found it. I have worked for two agencies. Well, they are more marketing. I'd been working, then I had to change the country, but this is not related to work».

As for working remotely, most respondents say that a few months after the start of the Russo-Ukrainian war, many companies switched to a remote format, which is not new due to the experience of the pandemic. So, even though workers are far from Ukraine, the workflow has begun to recover. It allowed some respondents to work both online and look for work in the host country, since, as already noted, one of the leading motives for going abroad was to improve their economic situation.

3.5. Social Environment

One of the most difficult moments for the respondents in building life in the new conditions was the moment of communication, building and rebuilding the social environment.

46-year-old, teacher:

«Don't even ask me about it. No, I don't have any social environment here. And that's the hardest part for me».

Almost all respondents say that they cannot (and do not strive) to find friends in a new country, about the lack of communication with loved ones, about the fear of losing contact with friends, and that they often do not want to burden those who stayed in their countries with their problems in Ukraine. At the same time, those who went through programs from organizations like the Red Cross found it easier in terms of communications, since they were surrounded by Ukrainians who, at least, spoke the same language with them: *«Due to the fact that the program didn't come like that, I didn't really meet anyone».*

On the other hand, the constant stay in the company of strangers, few of whom arrived without families, had such an impact on the psycho-emotional state of the solo refugees. Language is also a serious barrier to communication. Also, one of the problems in communication was indicated by the superficiality of communication and the lack of "deep" communication: *«I really lack communication», «Well, for some time I lacked deep spiritual communication», «Probably not enough», «Well, it's only at work that they try, as if I also try to meet with them after work».*

Many respondents report a quantitative narrowing of the environment of communication, including online. The respondents explain this by several reasons, the main of which is that everyone has their own affairs and problems now, therefore, there is simply not enough time to communicate with those who are far away: *«this is not enough and there is not enough communication with friends who have their problems»; «Everyone has their own (problems), already life begins after all, well, the distance is really somehow..... That is, you want it or no, no matter how do you miss a person there, well, once a week, that is, I really was there, my close friend, now we can write to each other there once a month»; «Now it's hard for everyone, everyone has their own problems, everyone has changed ... If we talk about the amount of time, then it has become less. The first reason that we are all on you in different corners. And, secondly, it's everyone doing their own thing, and there is not always a lot of time right for talking».*

Also, the respondents themselves said that they themselves sometimes deliberately cut off some communications, due to the lack of mutual understanding on the issues of their departure: *«I just realized that*

they think that once I am in Spain, then I have a siesta here, cool, great»; «with those with whom it has changed in a negative direction, that is, I felt that I don't know if there is support or understanding, I break these ties».

Respondents say that distance also affects the degree of closeness in relationships: «probably not with my relatives with whom I communicate online. It seems to me that there is very little of this communication»; «and of course, this affected intimacy, but it remains. Well...we remain under contract, but of course it would be more fun if we could chat live».

On the other hand, even though in many cases, communication with loved ones becomes rarer, it is defined as more meaningful: «it (communication) has become more meaningful because there is more content».

3.6. Romantic Relationship

Regarding the search for a partner and the desire to start new romantic relationships (none of the respondents were married, and only 2 respondents were in a relationship at the time of the interview), almost all respondents said that they had no desire to find and start new relationships now. They explain, first for themselves, this lack of desire for search in several ways:

1. lack of resources to find a partner (both emotional and time): «I am even unpleasantly frightened and repelled by the thought that I will need to somehow carry out some kind of communication acts to register on dating sites or communicate intensively on Facebook, Instagram, conduct some kind of correspondence, dialogues, go to some meetings, and so on»; «I make (attempts to find someone), but not all the time, let's say, when you start to start some kind of relationship, it didn't work out – you understand that it won't be none of your business. And some time after that, everything calms down and you just do nothing»; «maybe there is simply no stability in life, then, accordingly, you don't want anything that you will spend emotions on. Well, for now, I'm fine on my own».

2. lack of desire to find a partner in the host country: «I don't consider finding a roommate, husband, young man here as an option to stay here. Because in principle I don't consider the option to stay here»; «we can't talk about any relations, here I don't want to establish any relations with anyone».

3. presence of plans for the near future, the implementation of which may be hindered by new relationships: «no, well, just because I don't know any of my plans and I understand that my personal space is very important for me so that I make decisions by myself»; «If you need sex, I will find it. And so, no, because I understand that I have plans of my own».

4. convenience of a solo status: «I don't know, it just somehow tried to take shape, it somehow didn't work out and I'm like that ... do I need it? probably no longer needed. I don't participate in Tinder etc. etc.»; «So far, it's fine, while it's generally super class, because I'm high, it's normal, I don't need it, I don't need anyone. But I don't see a priority in this for myself, I don't see a need for myself yet».

3.7. Loneliness

The sharpness of the feeling of loneliness is manifested by the respondents in varying degrees. But almost everyone, to one degree or another, this feeling visited. The feeling of loneliness in the case of solo refugees manifests itself when two conditions are superimposed on each other: the presence of time in which there is nothing to do with oneself. It is not free time that you can devote to yourself, but excess time, when there is nothing to do with yourself: «When they have nothing to do, then it covers me. But when work immediately appears, some business. You understand. God, perfect!»

On the other hand, loneliness is caused by a feeling of loss of closeness with friends and family:

«Although it was difficult to accept that some people who were close to me for a long time, but they gradually left my life. Well, that's how it happened without scandals, but just left. Right now, it's a very intense feeling of loneliness, because it's not because there is no connection with friends or with anyone, but simply they are too far away».

«It's hard for me to open up to people there, I don't want to get to know each other, because I don't want to let anyone into my personal space, just to myself, so quite often now I have such a feeling, because I don't want to communicate with people, but at the same time I don't I want to be lonely, because, well, I am somehow amusing myself with some thoughts that I have friends there in Kharkov, but I also have friends in Ukraine».

More than half of the respondents report their intention to return to Ukraine after the war or soon, and they associate the feeling of loneliness with the fear that loved ones will «forget»: *«You understand that it's still temporary, it's not forever. And you will return after some time anyway. Whether they will remember you after this time is also incomprehensible».*

On the other hand, those respondents who immediately decided that they would not return to Ukraine and completely restructure their lives are less likely to talk about the feeling of loneliness: *«– the problem of loneliness as such, does it not exist for you? – does not exist at all, none».*

Some respondents associate the feeling of loneliness with responsibility for their actions, which there is no one to share with: *«You understand that you are lonely not because you are personally alone and you don't have people around you. And the fact that you do not understand how to act because you seem to have certain obligations».*

The main means of dealing with growing stress, feeling of loneliness, and any emotional upheaval for the respondents is sports and food.

3.8. Future

Solo refugees describe their future mainly in terms of career prospects. Those who have decided to stay in Europe describe their future more specifically, and after the end of the Russo-Ukrainian war, in general, they begin to build a life strategy, they begin to make plans and determine their prospects, they talk about self-realization. Those respondents who plan to return to Ukraine after the war are in an extremely uncertain state – on the one hand, they begin their labor activity in Europe and determine their prospects on the spot, they begin the assimilation process, and on the other hand, they oppose this process and are ready to any moment to break home. At the same time, the longer these refugees stay in the host country, the more they fear that the concept of «home» becomes vague for them: *«But I also have such, let's say, an absurd feeling, rather a desire, that in general want to go home. But in parallel with this there is an understanding that the house is no more. Not only physically...»*

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Thus, we see that solo refugees do have their own specific adaptation process and face specific difficulties. In general, two main categories of solo refugees can be distinguished: those who have decided to stay in host countries for a long time and those who are in a «suspended» state.

The first category is in a more definite state, both in terms of the emotional state and in terms of activity. They see their prospects more concretely and are capable of planning and restructuring life strategies, at least in the short term. At the same time, the second category of solo refugees is more numerous, who, due to the uncertainty of the situation in Ukraine, are also in a state of extreme uncertainty, and most of their decisions are still more situational than planned.

This category of refugees faces the greatest problems in terms of social environment, intimacy and building friendships. On the one hand, knowledge of the language of the host country plays a big role, on the other hand, the desire to establish friendly relations in the host country (for those who see their future exclusively in Ukraine).

From the point of view of accepting refugees by countries – this category of refugees is more adaptive in terms of employment and in terms of self-organization – they need less technical support (there is no need to look after elderly relatives, there is no need to help arrange children for school and kindergarten, etc.). But this does not mean that this category of refugees does not need support.

Within the framework of this article, life situations, self-perceptions, and views on the future of people who were forced to flee from Ukraine as refugees to other countries alone were considered. During the study, the main problems inherent in this category of refugees were identified – this is a colossal emotional pressure because of the realization of exclusive responsibility for their lives and future, the lack of people with whom this responsibility could be shared or discussed; decrease in the intensity of communication with loved ones; fear of being forgotten; uncertainty of the future.

The question of how, in general, to help and support solo refugees becomes debatable. We cannot give an answer to this question. But we can say that until the situation in the country is determined, and the refugees themselves are not able to determine the trajectory of their movement (life strategy), the main task of the host

countries remains to support refugees in overcoming the trauma. And the main research task is to determine what additional injuries can be caused by the status of a solo refugee.

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