

DIFFICULTIES OF ADAPTATION IN SOUTH KOREA: THE CASE OF MARRIED FEMALES WHOSE NATIVE LANGUAGE IS RUSSIAN

Yem Natalya

(Candidate of Historical Sciences, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University,
Associated Professor)

Abstract

In this paper, the author studies the situation of international marriages of citizens of the CIS countries to South Korea and identifies the problems and specifics of the adaptation of marriage migrants from CIS countries. The author believes that the cultural and ideological aspects of the CIS countries make them less suitable for international marriage with South Korean men, which also affects their satisfaction with family life.

Based on the results of the questioning and interviewing of 54 women married in Korea, the author expresses some positions on issues of marriage migration of women of post-Soviet countries. Incidentally, the author excludes migration from foreign countries other than the CIS countries as well as the features of international marriage of men from consideration. The author discusses the peculiarities of the representatives of the post-Soviet space, who married the Koreans. The work reveals the relationship of demographic and socio-cultural characteristics with the level of satisfaction with the marriage of migrant women by the example of women migrants from the CIS and proposes the need to prevent the risks of international marriages for immigrants from the countries of the former USSR.

Intermarriage in South Korea: paradigm and discourse. In the theory of mixed marriages, the intermarriage is defined as marriage between a man and a woman from different groups. This difference may be religious, racial, or ethnic. Each type of mixed marriage has different attitudes towards the man. In modern studies, the understanding of "mixed marriage" is based on the theoretical approaches identified in the study of interpersonal relationships in various states and communities. Mixed marriages include the notion of religious, racial and ethnic marriages. In general, they are called as intermarriage. The term intermarriage is usually applied to married persons whose religious, racial or ethnic affiliation differ.¹ Thus, the "intermarriage" is contrary to the concept of "intramarriage". Mixed marriages are divided into several categories. Interracial marriage is a marriage between members of different races. Inter-religious marriage is a marriage between members of different religions. Inter-ethnic marriages-marriages between a man and a woman of a different ethnicity. The term "cross-border marriages" or "international marriage" refers to marriages of citizens of different states. This marriage with foreign partners is conducted in different ethnic and cultural communities and geographical territories. The socio-personal characteristics of the participants of the international marriage is characterized by place of origin,

¹ Gordon a. Intermarriage: Interfaith, interracial, interethnic-1964.-Boston: Beacon Press-425 p .

which forms the psychological, cultural, moral personality characteristics within a specific society state. International marriages have no territorial boundaries.

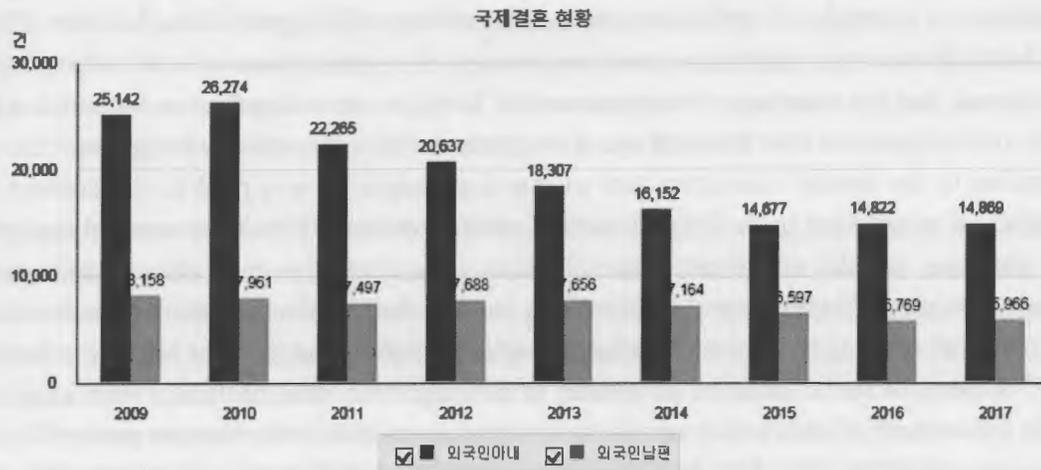


Figure 1 Status of international marriage. National Statistical Office (Annual Report on Population Dynamics) (http://www.index.go.kr/potal/main/EachDtlPageDetail.do?idx_cd=2430)

International marriage in South Korea is set to two groups of people: never-married men in the countryside and previously married men of low socio-economic status in urban areas. The number of such men can be reasoned, explaining the situation with gender imbalances in rural areas in South Korea. Rapid industrialization since the 1960s, with the expansion of the demand for services, led to the migration of women to urban areas by the 1980s, and men remained with their parents in the countryside because of Confucian traditions. As a result, in rural areas, the ratio of the sexes (the number of men per 100 women) aged 20-24 was 126 (1970), 151 (1980), 188 (1990) and 162 (2000). Similar figures were slightly lower for ages 25-29, but still higher than 100, reaching 131 in 2000. Speaking about the early 2000s, the sex ratio among the never-married population was more than 300 in rural areas and more than 200 in urban areas. The excess of men of marriageable age is also the result of the practice of selective abortion, which was extended in the 1980s due to the introduction of ultrasound examination of the fetus. The sex ratio at birth (the number of males per 100 females) was more than 110 in the mid-1980s, and peaked at 116.5 in 1990. After the introduction of the ban on selective fetal selection, the ratio has slightly decreased, but remained at 110 by 2002; in 2004 it reached 108. At the onset of the marriageable age of the men born in these years, the situation with the shortage of women has become more acute and has not been limited only to the rural areas.

Mixed marriages have long been one of the central focus of analysis in ethnic studies. Academic literature and media abound with information about the growth of inter-ethnic marriages in South Korea. Online dating agencies occupy a stable position. South Korean citizens use them to seek for marriage partners from many countries in Asia. Since the mid-2000's researchers have studied changes that led to the growth of inter-ethnic marriages and migration of foreign spouses. The influx of marriage migrants sharply increased in the early 2000s. The situation caused interest on the part of scientists. Earlier studies, especially studies before 2000, generally focused on demographic trends and statistics on marital migration or on issues of teaching the Korean language. A systematic review of the ten-year study of migrant women in Korea was conducted because of the necessity.

The study of the social position of foreign women in marriage, depending on ethnicity and nationality, revealed “the demand for foreign spouses is greater among rural bachelors and divorced urban Korean men.” The level of adaptation of migrants in the host society depends largely on nationality.² For example, in agricultural areas, the marriage of migrants from Vietnam showed a higher level of economic adaptation than the marriage of migrants from other countries.³ Another study showed that the marriage of migrant women living in agricultural areas exhibited a higher level of social adaptation than the marriage of migrants in small or medium-sized cities.⁴

Attention to the gender characteristics of marriage migrants was paid in the context of the difficulties of adaptation in the host society. Communication difficulties, economic problems, social isolation, and the limitation of social security benefits of women caused concern in the academic writings of researchers.⁵ Researchers studied the problems of the commercialization of international marriages, domestic violence, racial prejudice and cultural alienation in Korean society.⁶ Aspects of social isolation of women in marriage with rural bachelors were examined in detail in the context of state policy aimed at “integrating migrants into Korean society”. In 2006, the Government of the Republic of Korea adopted the “Great Plan” as a general policy for the social integration of foreign wives and members of their families. The results of national studies indicated that the plan led to “the assimilation of foreigners, and not to integration into society while preserving cultural identity”.⁷

The difficulties of adaptation were in the “patriarchal system of society and the nationalist attitude towards migrants”.⁸ The researchers explained the peculiarities of marriages with women from underdeveloped countries. The peculiarities were described as “women’s migration for domestic work”, because these women participate in domestic work and take care of the elderly parents of the spouse and children. Poverty in the home country, personal achievements combined with the desire for better economic conditions and living conditions can serve as factors that enable these women to participate in the labor market in a new country, although the scope of such participation in the labor market can be limited only in the sphere of services.

In Korean society, women migrants play an important role in reproduction of Korean citizens by the birth of children.⁹ All this led to different expectations from international actions in each separate destiny of the marriage migrant.

² Lee, Yean-Ju; Seol, Dong-Hoon and Cho, Sung-Nam. International Marriages in South Korea: The Significance of Nationality and Ethnicity. *Journal of Population Research*. - 2006. - No. 23 (2). - P.165-182

³ Seol, D. and H. Yoon (2008) ‘Socioeconomic Adaptation and Welfare policy for Married Immigrant Women: Similarities and Differences among Countries of Origin’, *Korean Journal of Social Security* 24 (2): 109-133

⁴ Choong Rai Nho&Eunju Lee Trends in Marriage Migration and the Well-Being of Southeast Asian Wives in South Korea, *Journal of Social Welfare and Human Rights*, December 2016, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 17-33

⁵ Kim Yi Seon. The Reality of Female International Marriage Migration and Challenges for the Government of the Republic of Korea 2006 // www.unescap.org/esid/.../KimYiSeon.pdf (circulation date 07.12.2011)

⁶ Kim, Hyun-Sil. International Marriage Migrant Women in Korea // *Korean Journal of Women Health Nursing*. - 2008. - No. 14 (4). - P.248-256

⁷ Lee Hye-Kyung. International Marriage and the State in South Korea: Focusing on Governmental Policy // *Citizenship Studies*. - 2008. - No. 12 (1). - P.107-123

⁸ Belanger Daniele, Lee Hye-Kyung and Wang Hong-Zen. Ethnic Diversity and Statistics in East Asia: ‘Foreign Brides’ Surveys in Taiwan and South Korea // *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. - 2010. - No. 33 (6). - P.1108-1130

⁹ Lee Hyunok. Political Economy of Cross-Border Marriage: Economic Development and Social Reproduction in Korea // *Feminist Economics*. - 2012. - № 18 (2). - P.177-200

In the academic literature all issues of interethnic marriages were studied in the context of marriages of migrant women from China, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Marriages with Russian-speaking women in post-Soviet countries were not at the center of consideration. The peculiarities of the “Soviet cultural heritage” and the “eastern mentality” of the Central Asia countries of the post-Soviet space bear a separate character. In addition, international marriage statistics do not hold the data of foreigners having the nationality of CIS countries. In the modern studies, nobody writes about intermarriage of women of the CIS countries in South Korea.

Marriage Migrants are citizens of the CIS in Korea. The following information was presented as intermediate results. It showed the characteristic of ethnic Koreans in the CIS countries. Based on the results, international marriages of ethnic group different from ethnic Koreans denoted the same tendency of the marriages of ethnic Koreans of Russia.

Table 1 Marriage migrants from CIS countries in South Korea in 2009-2012. (Statistics to Marriage Immigrants // https://www.index.go.kr/potal/main/EachDtlPageDetail.do?idx_cd=2819)

country	2009		2010		2011		2012	
	total	incl. wives						
Total	125 087	109 211	141 654	123 093	144 681	125 031	148 498	127 540
Uzbekistan	1 437	1 389	1 725	1 678	1 840	1 788	2 017	1 962
Kyrgyzstan	253	251	321	319	452	447	513	509
Kazakhstan	147	142	195	187	213	205	221	213
Tajikistan	7	7	6	6	7	7	8	8
Turkmenistan	4	4	5	5	3	3	3	3
Russia	835	790	1 161	1 102	1 174	1 109	1 179	1 107
Koreans of Russia	93	90	119	116	145	140	149	143
Ukraine	33	28	48	40	55	46	56	48
Belarus	15	13	15	13	18	16	19	16
Moldova	5	3	7	4	7	4	7	4
Armenia	2	1	4	3	6	5	8	7
Georgia	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Latvia	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Azerbaijan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

In 2016, the number of married migrants in South Korea was 152 374 and among them the number of the citizens of the post-Soviet countries was 4 510 people, which amounted to 2.95% of the whole. The citizens who came from all 15 republics of the former Soviet Union because of intermarriage are found in the table 2. The total number of migrants by marriage was 152 374 (male 23 856; female 128 518). The majority of marriage migrants was women as indicated by previous discussions: 84.3% of international marriages in Korea. The marriage migration of citizens of the countries of the former USSR can be defined as “female marriage migration”.

The author considers marriage activity in South Korea among the countries. The first positions in the activity in marriage are occupied by Russian citizens. Thus, 84 men (1.9%) and 1098 women (24.3%) were registered as marital migrants among CIS marital migrants. The 9 men (0.2%) and 130 women (2.9%), having Korean nationality, took part in the marriage, as is clear

Table 2 Status of marriageable immigrants by nationality and region. Immigration and foreign policy. Statistical Yearbook 2016 // Statistics of the Immigration Service of Korea, 2016).

State / residence status	sex	total	F-2-1	F-5-2	F-6-1	F-6-2	F-6-3
Total	bcero	152,374	3,503	27,539	116,238	2,216	2,878
Total CIS	bcero	4510	35	1419	2891	103	59
Uzbekistan	man	87	0	13	73	1	0
	female	2,215	24	699	1,416	51	25
Kazakhstan	man	13	0	1	12	0	0
	female	232	0	80	149	1	2
Kyrgyzstan	man	10	0	0	10	0	0
	female	470	4	108	340	11	7
Tajikistan	man	1	0	0	1	0	0
	female	9	0	0	8	0	1
Turkmenistan	man	0	0	0	0	0	0
	female	6	0	0	6	0	0
Russia	man	84	1	23	60	0	0
	female	1,098	5	422	610	36	25
Koreans of Russia	man	9	0	1	8	0	0
	female	130	1	37	89	1	2
Ukraine	man	15	0	4	11	0	0
	female	75	0	16	57	2	0
Belarus	man	5	0	2	3	0	0
	female	29	0	6	23	0	0
Azerbaijan	man	0	0	0	0	0	0
	female	2	0	0	2	0	0
Lithuania	man	0	0	0	0	0	0
	female	3	0	1	2	0	0
Armenia	man	1	0	0	1	0	0
	female	3	0	0	3	0	0
Latvia	man	1	0	0	1	0	0
	female	5	0	2	3	0	0
Moldova	man	2	0	2	0	0	0
	female	3	0	1	2	0	0
Estonia	man	1	0	0	1	0	0
	female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	man	0	0	0	0	0	0
	female	1	0	1	0	0	0

from the “Koreans of Russia” in the table 2. The most notable in the marriage were the citizens of Uzbekistan. Among them, 2,155 women (49.1%) and 87 men (1.9%) took part in the marriage. It is necessary to recognize that the presence of men in marriage with women of South Korea has become more prominent than before. Then the third place is occupied by citizens of Kyrgyzstan. They began to take part in marriages later, in comparison with others, but their number sharply increased in the last 5 years, reaching 470 cases of marriage (10.4%) for women; 10 cases (0.2%) for men. The fourth position in marriage is held by citizens of Kazakhstan: 232 (5.1%) for women;

13 (0.3%) for men. The citizens of Ukraine began to acquire the experience of marriage migration (15 (0.3%) for men; 75 (1.7%) for women) in the total number of marriages with Koreans. The citizens of Belarus acquired the experience of marriage migration since the early 2000s: 29 women (0.6%) and 5 men (0.1%) married in South Korea; For the citizens of Tajikistan, 9 women (0.2%) and only one man took part in such a marriage (0.02%). Characteristically, that other countries of the post-Soviet space have experience of no more than 5-6 cases of international marriage with Koreans: Turkmenistan (6 (0.1%) for women), Azerbaijan (2 (0.04%) for women) and Armenia (3 (0.06%) for women; 1 (0.02%) for man) are still unfamiliar with the experience of globalization and multiculturalism of the modern world, due to their traditional foundations and the difficulties of the domestic political environment. On the other hand, Lithuania (3), Latvia (6), Moldova (5), Estonia (1) and Georgia (1) have gradually appeared on the list of marriage migrants. According to the statistics indicated at the statistics of the immigration service of Korea in 2017, representatives of all fifteen countries of the former Soviet Union take part in an international marriage in South Korea.

Methodology of the study. In this report, the author studies the situation of international marriages of citizens of the CIS countries in South Korea to establish the problems and specifics of the adaptation of marriage migrants from CIS countries. The author believes that the cultural and ideological aspects of the CIS countries make the women migrants less suitable for international marriages with South Korean men, which also affects their satisfaction with family life. The study reveals the relationship of demographic and socio-cultural characteristics with the level of satisfaction with the marriage of migrant women by the example of women migrants from the CIS. Furthermore, it proposes the need to prevent the risks of international marriages for immigrants from the countries of the former USSR.

With the support of the research grant of Fellowship for Field Research of Korea Foundation, the author conducted a survey, based on the project "Ways of cultural integration in the post-Soviet space in South Korea (on the example of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan)". In 2013, the author conducted a survey on the level of cultural integration among women from CIS countries who are married to citizens of South Korea. A total of 54 women participated in the survey. The 30 people of them were ethnic Koreans (55.5% of the total number of respondents) for general information. A structured interview was conducted with twenty of them. The duration of the interview was from one hour to five hours. The residential area of respondents covered Seoul, Pusan, Ansan and the nearby small satellite cities of Seoul. The sample of women was conducted, using the snowball method mainly in the north-western part of South Korea, and also mainly in medium and large cities (70% of the sample). Thus, the participants in the study were women who came from countries of the post-Soviet space, including ethnic Koreans who were married to South Korean men. Women represented such countries as Kazakhstan - 20 (37.0%), Uzbekistan - 18 (33.3%), Russia - 10 (18.5%), Kyrgyzstan - 5 (9.3%), Tajikistan - 1 (1.9%).

Results. Older women who had proved an international marriage over 30 years old entered South Korea. Theoretically, this is often a repeated or postponed marriage. The average age of women in the total sample of 54 people was 32.6 years. All respondents in the total sample were divided into 4 age groups: 21-24 years - 3 people (5.6%), 25-30 years - 18 people (33.3%), 31-40 years - 29 people (53.7%), 41 and above - 4 people (7.4%). The bulk of marriage migrants is from the urban

environment (at the place of birth): 38 people (70.4%) from urban areas; 14 people (25.9%) from rural areas.

To understand the family life and the difficulties of adaptation in an international marriage, the respondents were asked: "How many years have you been in your present marriage?". As a result, the average age of marriage in 2013 was 7.1 years. The minimum age of marriage was 1 month. On the other hand, the maximum age was 15 years. Four groups were formed by age of marriage. The first group (from 0 to 4 years) was 18 people (33.3%); the second (more than 4 to 7 years) group - 5 people (9.3%); the third group (more than 7 to 10 years) included 14 people (25.9%); the fourth (over 10 years) covered 10 people (18.5%). Thus, the main group of women in marriage in Korea is represented by families who have entered the critical age of the life cycle of family life.

The level of education of women in the marriage was presented: "post-graduate professional" - 10 people (18.5%); "postgraduate unfinished" - 2 people (3.7%); "higher" - 21 (38.9%); "incomplete higher education" - 7 (12.9%); "secondary vocational" - 9 (16.7%); "secondary general" - 4 (7.4%). The women who were married got mainly the education of "secondary technical education" and "higher". For countries of high economies (Russia and Kazakhstan), it was characteristic that women with higher and postgraduate education were major.

Thus, the analysis of socio-demographic characteristics revealed that married females mainly from CIS countries has a high standard of education. They were usually from intelligent family and grew up in an urban environment. In addition, their high education was related to senior age. Women have been able to build a career and improve your financial situation. Accordingly, their age range was 30-36 years. Although women born in the 90's could get a higher education but has not managed to build a career. In addition, the results showed that the longer the duration of the marriage for ethnic Koreans in Korea was, the lower the level of satisfaction with marriage was. The marriage was accepted positively by 33.3% in the people over 4 years after marriage; however, it was accepted negatively by 57.1 from over 4 years.

Features of adaptation. The main criterion why women were included in the sociological survey was the fact that they were all representatives of the Russian-speaking society of the post-Soviet space. The mother tongue of 45 women (83.3%) in all the respondents is Russian. The level of language competence differs by their nationality and also depends on the length of residence in marriage in South Korea. Among all respondents, 24 people (44.4%) "have a perfect command of" the Korean language; 25 people (46.3%) "can express the main idea"; 2 people (3.7%) can use it "a little".

The socialist society, built in the countries of the former USSR, represents a special, new social environment for the development of the individual, which has a decisive influence on the development and formation of the personality of the Soviet man. The changes taking place in this area are so significant that they give us grounds to talk about a new type of personality: the personality of the Soviet man or the socialist type of personality. The subsequent generations of the post-Soviet space still feel the traces of Soviet culture.

The vast majority of women called themselves "representatives of modern post-Soviet culture-25 (46.3%); "representatives of modern post-Soviet than traditional culture-14 (25.9%). The other women answered: "the traditional modern than post-Soviet culture"-9 (16.7%); "traditional"-6 (11.1%); "women of Central Asia determined the role of traditional Central Asian culture"-10 (18.5%). Most of the women were "separate and independent" in the warehouse and on lifestyle in their home countries and they always took the decision alone and defended their point of view.

It is revealed that Russian-speaking women are mainly employed: 36 people (66.7%) work. They worked at enterprises and organizations or had private business. Areas of their work included education, trade and services. In cases where they still did not work, they indicated the reasons: "I cannot find a suitable job". CIS women married in South Korea are ready to earn more and more, because they can do it and find new opportunities. Such a woman will do this, even though her husband will earn less or nothing at all.

Economic opportunities and the decision to stay in Korea. Women of post-Soviet countries have certain psychological adaptations in the new space. It's like in the Russian saying: "The woman will go into the burning hut and the horse will stop at a gallop." It is known that in the post-Soviet space the number of women has always exceeded the number of men. The mortality rate of men is always higher than that of women. The level of education of women has always been no less than men. A woman in the average city family has always played a dominant role. The income and budget of the family were often administered by a woman in the city. The change in social roles as well as the orientation toward education, career and material prosperity formed the image of a "strong" woman, postponing marriage in time. Such mothers were seen by women who married men from Korea. It formed skills and instincts do everything yourself: make decisions, earn, and take care of children. Many of them did not rely on their husbands and went out into society.

The reason for marriage. The most sensitive was the question: "Please state the cause of his marriage. The author does not insist on the reliability of the respondents, given the psychological atmosphere during an interview with each woman. The following results were obtained. The majority of women defined their marriage as "love"- 28 (51.9%). As the other reason of marriage, the number of the people choosing "convenience and the desire to better" is 9 people (16.6%); "circumstances, parents" - 2 (3.7%); "hardship and despair" - 6 (11.1%). The percentage of people who do not responded is 9 (16.6%) women. This is not the part of the respondents, which has not yet entered into a formal marriage. With caution, you can combine the last three categories of response. A "marriage for love" was identified by the Union for the 17 respondents (31.5%). In many cases, the motive for marriage in adulthood are not romantic and warm relations, but material interest, the desire to avoid loneliness, feelings of uselessness, and the need for care. Part of the reason for marriage in South Korea for many of them was not only in adulthood.

Financial situation before and after marriage. Assessing their financial situation, women had as an average and above the average level of prosperity. The author asked to assess how much the material situation has changed compared to the pre-marital period? It is noteworthy that half of the women noted an improvement or a slight improvement. At the same time, the other half expressed the opinion that on the whole the financial situation had not changed and in some cases it "has worsened to some extent." The results show that the level of satisfaction with marriage is in direct proportion to the financial situation.

Level of satisfaction with marriage. To the question: "Weighing all the pros and cons, how do you assess your true marriage?" The respondents answered "Very unfortunate" - 3 (5.6%); "Somehow not entirely successful" - 7 (13.0%); "So-so" - 12 (22.2%); "Quite successful" - 17 (31.5%); "Very successful" - 6 (11.1%). They did not give an answer - 9 (16.7%).

Conclusions. Thus, married women (over the age of 30) of South Korea speaking Russian as a native language have an average of 7 years of marital life. Less than half of them (40.7%) estimate that their marriage is lower than "successful". The relatively high number of women having

dissatisfied with marriage in South Korea is not connected with the financial and communicative problems. Thus, according to the results of the interview, a woman reported: "I myself graduated from the Faculty of Philology at the State University in Sakhalin. I studied the Korean language. So, I have no problems with Korean grammar. I studied at the graduate school but did not finish it. I always look for intellectual work. In Korea, there are many opportunities to earn. I think that 30% of girls in marriage still work. For me, problems with adaptation in Korean society did not arise."(Julia, 34, Russia).

The high level of education of women in the post-Soviet space, combined with a high level of adaptation, brings the characteristics that are different from the socio-demographic characteristics to the fore. In the opinion of the author, the cultural and psychological characteristics of ethnic Korean women in marriage with a South Korean partner are important here: in other words, the needs that are expected when choosing a marriage partner are the higher features (intellectual, moral and aesthetic).

So, according to the interview, the women said, "He was interesting at first, he was decent, he treated me well, but in terms of level we were all different. At first it was good, as in a fairy tale ... "; "It was simply not interesting, primitive ..." (Tatiana, 40, Uzbekistan); "I always thought that all Koreans are intelligent and educated, but after coming here, I realized that they know very little about geography" (Irina, 26, Kazakhstan); "What to hide, everyone knows what South Koreans are like men. They do not know how to behave and do not know how to deal with women. They deal with women as slaves for them, yes, it's just like something that serves men, no more. I'm inferior in many respects, no, it's not understanding, it's patience. Well, this is my husband, what can you do" (Elena, 36, Uzbekistan).

Zamira from Kazakhstan believes that she will live only in Korea. Although she lives in a small town, she can sometimes go to Seoul to take a walk with her son. Estimating her life and her financial situation, she was embarrassed and said that "in general, life has not improved much and has not changed in comparison with Kazakhstan"; "Living here is not easy, it just seems so, that everything is beautiful. We are still different. Sometimes I want to give up everything, but I cannot. My son loves my father very much, and I cannot live in Kazakhstan any more. But sometimes it's very difficult with him, that I cannot stand it" (Zamira, Kazakhstan).

Thus, Russian-speaking women in the CIS countries have an average level of satisfaction with marriage, provided that when they marry, they pay a high price (leave the house, lose social support, experience cultural shock, have a language barrier and experience a stereotypical attitude to themselves in Korean society). Women of the CIS countries in the marriage migration in South Korea "are not suitable" for marriage with South Korean men due to their different mentality, perception of reality, and expectations related to the experience of becoming an individual in the society of the post-Soviet space.