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Anton Putytskyi

PhD Student, Educational and Scientific
Institute of Business, Economics and
Management, Sumy State University,
Sumy, Ukraine;
e-mail: antonput@ukr.net
ORCID: [0000-0001-6751-723X](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6751-723X)

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EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY OF THE POPULATION: RELATIONSHIPS AND CONTRADICTIONS

ABSTRACT

In the theory of human capital, education (as well as health) is the main object of investment, which ensures an increase in labour productivity, and therefore, an increase in the volume of goods and services, on the one hand, and an increase in the income of a working person, on the other. This article continues the research of leading Ukrainian and foreign scientists to identify the main trends that determine the impact of education on population inequality.

The main purpose of the article is to outline and substantiate the interrelationships and contradictions between education and inequality. For this, educational inequality was considered as inequality of access to education, inequality of access to quality education, inequality of educational chances or opportunities, inequality of educational standard, and inequality of educational results. In this context, it is determined that a significant factor influencing inequality is the dominance of instructions for obtaining higher education and the competitiveness of educated persons in the labour market. As a result of the conducted analysis, it was established that the presence of higher education not only significantly reduces the risk of poverty and increases the probability of obtaining average incomes but also significantly affects the way of life, in particular, consumer behaviour. Quality education is one of the main factors of financial security. Significantly higher monetary incomes of educated people force the latter to resort to such types of economic activity as work in a personal subsidiary economy less. The conducted analysis makes it possible to state that a higher level of education of at least one member of the household, and especially its head, is a guarantee of a lower risk of poverty. Thus, education today can be defined as the most effective and promising factor in reducing the risk of family poverty. The article proves that public investment in the education of their children is recognized as the most promising and profitable investment in their future. The study of the phenomenon of educational migration showed that it brings much more advantages to the recipient countries than to the donor countries, and therefore the inequality of the population in the donor countries will always be higher than in the recipient countries.

Keywords: education, population inequality, education of the population, educational migration, transformation of education, human capital, inequality in access to higher education

JEL Classification: H52, I28, J68

INTRODUCTION

Economic growth creates prerequisites for raising the educational level of the population, but at the same time, education itself is an important factor in economic growth and the formation of national wealth. In particular, E. Denison proved that the growth of the average worker's training period will explain at least 25% of the increase in average GDP per capita (Denison, 1974).

In the public consciousness, the legitimacy of inequality in the level of education is generally recognized, that is, it is inherent in any society and exists objectively. A large layer of scientific literature on the issues of socio-economic inequality presents the institution of education as one of the factors of its formation in society. The latest studies

on this issue emphasize the fact that the level of education has an indirect effect on the well-being of a person and his family and is a factor in the emergence or reduction of the risk of poverty.

For a modern person, education becomes a kind of "source" of material goods, forming and developing the ability to work since childhood. The acquired education determines a person's field of professional activity, level of income/salary, competitiveness and mobility in the labour market and even conditions the choice of place and area of residence. Motivational factors for obtaining an education (including educational specialization and educational level) are becoming more pragmatic, focused on external elements of prosperity (the possibility of obtaining a higher income, professional and career growth, acquiring a better and/or prestigious social status, material support descendants, reproduction of the social and cultural capital of the family).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Education as a criterion of social stratification was considered by many representatives of social theory. So, among classic and modern stratification theorists, we can mention R. Mare (1981), T. Parsons (1961), I. Szelényi (1983), D. Treiman (1977). Education, according to American sociologists P.L. Berger, B. Berger (1972), is an extremely important factor in the social position that can be gained in society.

According to the Polish sociologist P. Shtompka (2005), there are three goods - wealth, power and prestige, which differentiate people the most and become important generators of social inequality. But other values are also important for people, which are unequally distributed in society. One of these values is education. R. Breen (1997) and J. Goldthorpe (2004) developed a "model of rational action" that explains the problem of educational choice in modern societies, the factors that influence it and how it is reflected in the social structure. In his research, S. Schindler analyzed the life path of high school students and revealed the interdependence between the level of education and success at work (Schindler, 2011).

The conflicting functions of education - to transmit status from generation to generation and at the same time to change it - were noted by P. Sorokin (1994); the connection of the education system with the struggle of different status groups for mastering wealth, power and prestige through the mechanisms of supporting "own" and creating obstacles for "outsiders" - by R. Collins; the problem of strengthening class inequality in school is raised by neo-Marxists (Libanova, 2012).

The relations and mutual influences between education and population inequality were considered in his writings by A. Sen, winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1998 (Sen, 2004). It is he who claims that poverty/inequality causes irreversible loss of abilities. It is almost impossible to refute it: certainly, there are individuals who, thanks to their outstanding character, especially determination, have achieved success and escaped from the trap of poverty, but these are the very exceptions that prove the rule. But A. Sen's focus not on realized, but on potential opportunities makes it possible to interpret freedom from poverty/inequality rather as opportunities that open up due to objective circumstances, and not as the use of these opportunities (attitudes towards them).

Necessary prerequisites for protection against poverty/inequality are good health and natural learning abilities (in the broadest sense), which are transformed into opportunities through quality education, a competitive profession, social connections, orientation to success, purposefulness, and active behaviour. Therefore, poverty and inequality oppose the formation of these prerequisites and their development, while their absence/non-realization forms the prerequisites of poverty. So, we can talk about the presence of a kind of closed circle.

Other scientists (Belavina, et al., 2016) established that the more technological progress accelerates, the more important it is to use its achievements in the development of abilities from early childhood to the end of life, and the stronger the lag in the development of children and youth from poor families, with poor areas etc. It is obvious that in the absence of high-quality medical care, immunization, and balanced nutrition and given the abuse of alcohol, tobacco smoking, and early work in dangerous and difficult conditions, which are characteristic of the poorly educated poor, the probability of having good health drops sharply, and the inability to get proper education condemns the non-realization of existing abilities. In a high-tech society, inequality causes social isolation and makes adaptation and communication difficult. In fact, there are reasons to talk about information inequality.

Among domestic researchers, the socio-class foundations of educational inequality, main directions, and mechanisms of educational and interprofessional mobility of specialists with higher education are considered in the works of S.O. Makeev, O.V. Simonchuk, and I.M. Pribytkova. (1999), S.M. Oksamytna (2007), E.M. Libanova made a powerful contribution to the development of the investigated problem, considering the problems of methodology, methods and practice of analyzing inequality and poverty of the population, researching the main social problems of the modernization of the Ukrainian

economy and singling out the factors of the crisis of income policy in Ukraine. The researcher paid special attention to the issues of the causes and consequences of labour migration of Ukrainians and to the assessment of the scope and consequences of personal transfers of migrants (Libanova, 2012; 2016; 2018; 2019; 2020).

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main purpose of the research carried out in the article is to outline and justify the interrelationships and contradictions between education and population inequality. For this purpose, the analysis of educational inequality through the prism of its varieties, such as inequality of access to education, inequality of access to quality education, inequality of educational chances or opportunities, inequality of educational standard, inequality of educational results, was made.

The article also determines whether the level of education brings significant dividends in the sense of high rates of economic growth, how income inequality affects the opportunities to receive a quality education, how educational migration is related to population inequality, how inequality depends on the level of education and the competitiveness of educated people in the labour market.

METHODS

The work uses general scientific and specific methods of scientific research. The research methodology is based on a selective socio-demographic survey. To establish relationships and contradictions between education and the level of inequality of the population, the method of comparisons, graphic interpretation, and generalization was used.

Cohort analysis was used to determine the reduction in the number of rural residents and, accordingly, the increase in the number of urban residents.

RESULTS

The measurement of socio-economic inequality by level of education has some peculiarities, depending on the general purpose of the study and the selected approach - the sampling criterion (Figure 1).

The main criterion for the sample can be the presence of a certain level of education of the individual and his income (or his participation in the labour market). Then there is an opportunity to investigate the relationship between the educational factor and the level of human well-being, as well as the impact of this factor on the competitiveness and mobility of a person in the labour market. If it is necessary to investigate other indirect effects of the level of education on socio-economic inequality in society (such as inequality of educational chances, inequality of educational results, etc.), then the sample can include individuals who have acquired, are acquiring or only intend to acquire a certain level of education. The chosen approach to measuring socio-economic inequality by an educational factor will affect not only the level of detail/generalization of research, the selection or development of relevant indicators (both objective and subjective), the establishment of information support, and even the duration of conducting such of research

When studying the manifestations of inequality by the level of education, the indicator "income of the population depending on the level of education" is most often used, which shows the relationship between the educational factor and the level of well-being of the worker and the family. To study broader aspects of inequality by the level of education, the following groups of indicators are used:

- distribution of persons aged 25 and older by socio-economic status depending on their level of education; salary differentiation depending on the level of education; the level of poverty depending on the level of education of the head of the household - in domestic practice, data from the Survey of Living Conditions of Households of Ukraine (SLCH), which is conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on an ongoing basis, are used to calculate them;
- economic activity of the population by level of education; employment of the population by level of education; the level of participation of the population employed in the informal sector of the economy, by level of education; population by reasons of economic inactivity and level of education; unemployment of the population by level of education - these indicators are contained in the information base "Survey on the Economic Activity of the Population of Ukraine" (SEAP), which is also carried out by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

The use of a wider range of indicators of inequality by the level of education requires additional surveys, including sociological ones (differentiation of incomes within educational groups by industry or territorial characteristics; average duration

of job search by the unemployed by level of education; duration of job search among graduates of educational institutions with different levels of education; correspondence of the acquired education to the qualification level of the first jobs of young people).

In international practice, the following are the most famous areas of research on the indirect effects of education on inequality:

- the influence of education on social stratification;
- relationship between socio-cultural capital and educational opportunities;
- the impact of economic and cultural inequality on educational inequality;
- the influence of social capital on the educational effect;
- inequality and promotion of cultural practices of privileged groups by the education system;
- autonomy of higher education as a factor in the reproduction of social inequality;
- the relationship between social origin and academic failure;
- differences in the educational experience of men and women; the value of education for different social classes/strata and their educational opportunities;
- inequality of investments in formal and other types of education;
- poverty and access to education; expanding access to education through reformist programs;
- social compensations for equality of educational opportunities;
- use of educational barriers to reproduce educational inequality and achieve social equality, etc.

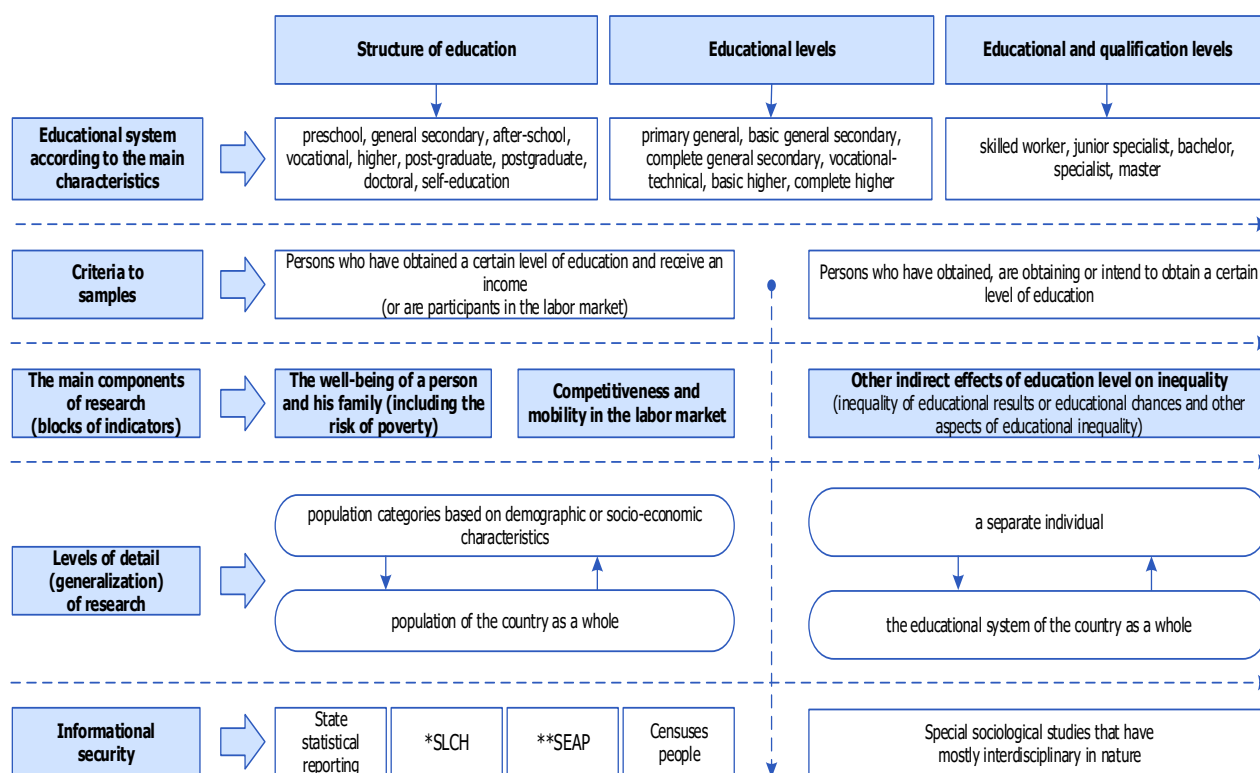


Figure 1. Basic approaches to measuring socio-economic inequality by level of education. Notes: *SLCH — a survey of living conditions of households in Ukraine; **SEAP — a survey on the economic activity of the population of Ukraine. (Source: Libanova, E. M. et al. (2012). *Nerivnist v Ukraini: masshtaby ta mozhlyvosti vplyvu*. Kyiv: Instytut demografii ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen imeni M.V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy. — 404 p.)

According to World Bank estimates made for 192 countries, it is human capital, the main component of which is education, that accounts for about 64% of world wealth (Figure 2). The predominance of human capital is particularly noticeable in wealthy countries with a high level of economic innovation, in particular in Germany, Japan, and Switzerland, it accounts for up to 80% of the total GDP.

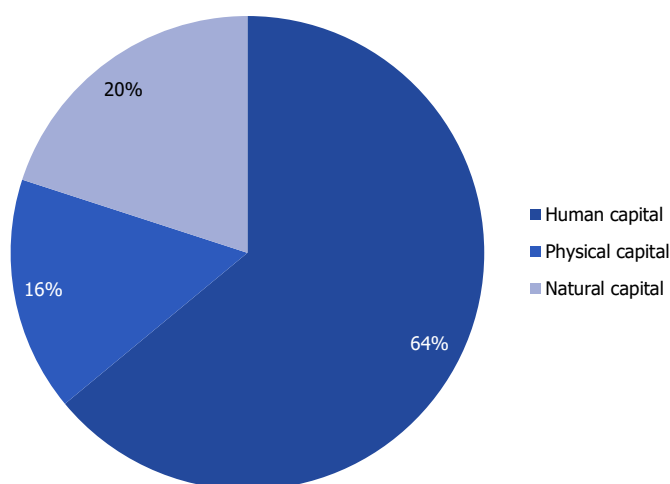


Figure 2. The structure of the country's wealth, %. (Source: *Monitoring Environmental Progress. A report on work in progress. (1995). Washington, D. C.: World Bank. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1596/0-8213-3365-8>*)

Contrary to popular opinion, the level of education of the Ukrainian population not only does not exceed the analogues of developed countries but is also noticeably inferior to them. In particular, the shorter duration of the training period demonstrates this, although it is growing in Ukraine. As in most countries with an educated population, women in Ukraine generally study longer than men, but if the average Finnish woman studies for 19 years, a Slovenian woman - 17, a German woman - 17, then a Ukrainian woman - only 15 (Figure 3). At the same time, in general, more educated Ukrainian women receive about 70% of men's earnings. A direct consequence of this is the increased risk of poverty for women, even with a high level of education.

The absolute advantage of Ukraine in the context of determining the role of education in reducing inequality is that the acquisition of education in the country is quite accessible to almost all segments of the population (the gender inequality index is 3.6% vs. 5.2% in Poland, 5.3% in Romania or 4.3% in Lithuania).

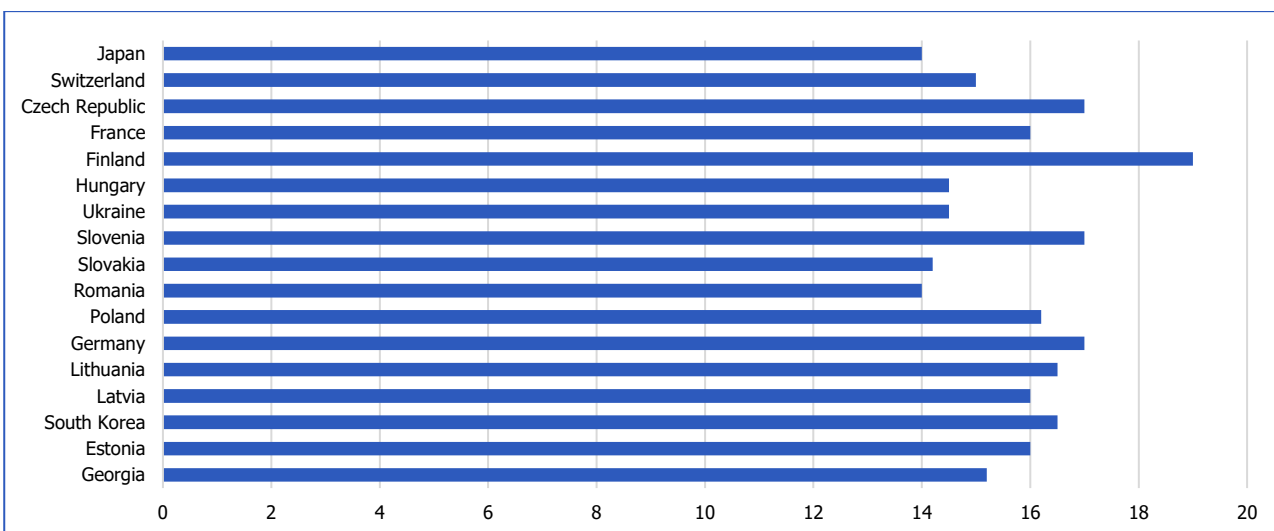


Figure 3. Average expected duration of study, 2022, years. (Source: *Human Development Report 2021-22. Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. hdr.undp.org. Retrieved from <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2021-22>*)

The share of people with at least secondary education among the population aged 25 and older is quite comparable to the indicators of the leading countries in the field of education - 94.0% among women and 95.2% among men (the maximum - 100% - recorded, for example, in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, the Czech Republic). As for the prevalence of higher education by Ukrainians, population censuses show the following dynamics: in 1959 - 7.7%, in 1970 - 13.0%, in 1979 - 18.3%, in 1989 - 30.8%, in 2001 - 37.7%. Population censuses have not been conducted in Ukraine since 2001.

But different types of Ukrainian education are developing extremely unevenly. A noticeable increase in capacity is observed mainly in the following areas:

- higher education and a small sector of general secondary education, that is, where educational services can be not only self-supporting but also profitable;
- international exchanges, projects and programs where international aid and personal entrepreneurship of citizens are active.

In the same directions, where educational services are not sufficiently profitable (but require significant costs), in particular in the system of preschool and extra-school institutions, secondary professional education, the opposite trends are observed: reduction of the network and contingent; lack of human resources; reducing their coverage of children and adolescents. The condition of the network of rural educational institutions is critical. It is these basic levels of continuous education that have experienced and are experiencing significant losses. And it is these losses that cause irreparable damage to the human potential of Ukraine, including the ability of society to overcome poverty. The most difficult thing is to make up for what was lost at the early stages of acquiring an education, at the early stages of development and in the formation of psychological guidelines.

Today, the massification of professional education in combination with the rapid obsolescence of requirements for the workforce (under the condition of economic development, and not the conservation of outdated industries) requires not only skills and abilities related to modern technologies but also a rapid process of their renewal. The lack of modern means of communication, almost inevitable in a small school in a remote poor village without broadband Internet and modern computers, makes it much more difficult to ensure the proper development of its students. The material conditionality of the opportunities for free development has increased many times due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the widespread transition to online education, which ultimately requires free access of students to high-quality communication, otherwise, significant gaps in school education cannot be avoided. Currently, it is precisely this completely new manifestation of inequality that is not yet realized, pedagogy, which turned out to be unprepared for the challenges and risks of online learning, is not even able to determine the subjects of the school curriculum that most require direct contact with the teacher. Moreover, it is not known exactly how these manifestations of inequality will respond in the future.

An important issue is the so-called dominance of guidelines for obtaining higher education.

The majority of young people who receive professional education are focused on obtaining a diploma specifically for higher education: according to 2020-2021 data. year, 729 students of universities, academies, and institutes accounted for 100 students of colleges, technical schools, and schools. At the same time, more than a third of employees have doubts about the demand for the professional knowledge they have acquired in the next 5 years (Table 1). Doubts of this kind are most common among workers in agriculture (44.3%) and industry (40.5%), the least - in the non-production sector (25.0%). Actually, this is a reflection of the perception of workers regarding the dynamism of the development of the relevant branches of the economy and changes in their requirements for the quality of the workforce.

Table 1. The level of confidence in the demand for acquired professional knowledge over the next five years, by economic sector, Ukraine, 2021, % of those who have decided. (Source: Calculated based on the data of the selective socio-demographic survey "Basic security of the population of Ukraine". URL: https://ukrstat.gov.ua/druk/publicat/kat_u/2022/zb/07/zb_szn_2021.pdf)

Branch of economy	Completely assured	Assured	Not assured
Economy as a whole	19,7	45,9	30,6
Industry	15,7	43,8	35,8
Non-production sphere	26,1	48,8	22,7
Service Industry	17,4	43,9	33,2

Given the general considerations about the need for structural changes in the economy of Ukraine, the population's uncertainty regarding the sufficiency of the acquired knowledge over the course of several years is a very positive sign of the awareness of this process by broad sections of society.

Along with this, attention should be paid to the inconsistency of the professional structure of training specialists with the requirements of the labour market. The main role in the general growth of the number of graduates of higher education institutions was played by the multiple increases in the scale of training of lawyers, economists and managers: out of 239.3 thousand graduates of universities, academies and institutes in 2021, only 36% (20% of those who studied with budget funds) received training in natural and technical fields of knowledge, potentially related to high-tech production, with the

introduction of innovations (Higher education in Ukraine, 2022). In the conditions of technological stagnation, engineering and other specialities that provide the scientific, technical and technological processes turned out to be less prestigious and attractive for young people. And the unjustified scale of training of economists and lawyers is connected with the inertia of the high prestige of obtaining these professions and the adequate reaction of the market of educational services.

Taking into account the concentration of higher education institutions (especially of III-IV accreditation levels) in large cities and their almost complete absence in small towns and rural areas, it can be concluded that obtaining higher education is one of the main reasons for the constant migration of rural youth to cities. As the cohort analysis shows, it is precisely at the usual age of entering professional educational institutions (15-16 years, and especially 17-18 years) that the redistribution of generations of young people takes place according to the place of residence: the number of rural residents sharply decreases and, accordingly, the number of urban residents increases. At the age when they usually graduate from HEI (20-23 years old), there is a certain redistribution of youth from urban settlements to rural areas, but its volume does not compensate for even a third of the previous one. That is a temporary move to the city for study most often turns into a change of place of permanent residence. As a result, modern urbanization processes in Ukraine occur mainly at the expense of persons with higher education (Dragunova, 2005).

So, the low educational level of the rural population of Ukraine is caused both by limited access to institutions of full general secondary and higher education and by constant migration losses of the most active part of the youth, who go to cities to obtain higher education and try to stay there after graduation. The mostly irreversible nature of such migrations is determined not only by the attractiveness of the urban lifestyle. Obviously, this is connected with the possibilities of realization of human potential, in particular through participation in the labour market.

Another aspect that should be taken into account when establishing the relationship between education and inequality is ***the competitiveness of educated people in the labour market.***

The high competitiveness of persons with high educational training in the labour markets of countries with developed economies is due to the increasing role of intellectual property in the formation of human capital and the social status of an individual in modern society, as well as the specificity of the current stage of socio-economic development. In Ukraine, only higher education gives such advantages. At the same time, cases of appeals to employment centres by yesterday's graduates of HEI and their further retraining are not unique. According to survey data, 70% of people with higher education in physical, mathematical and technical fields, 46% - in biological, agronomic and medical sciences, and 76% - in applied sciences and engineering work outside of their speciality.

As the level of education increases, the individual's requirements for working conditions and its payment increase, the costs associated with retraining the workforce increase, and the period of finding an acceptable job become longer. However, in general, there is a directly proportional relationship between the level of education and competitiveness in the labour market. If, say, the employment rate of the population with primary education at any age does not exceed 50%, then the similar indicator for persons with higher education aged 25-49 significantly exceeds 70%. It should also be emphasized the significant impact of high professional and educational training on increasing the period of economic activity. Even after the age of 70, 3.4% of the population with a higher education and only 0.5% of those without it are working.

A higher level of education makes it possible to better realize oneself in the labour market: if among persons with a complete higher education, only 4.5% are unemployed, then among persons with an incomplete higher education, this indicator increases to 7.9%, and with a general secondary education - to 15.6%. The share of employees and employers is directly proportional to the level of education.

At the same time, the acceleration of all economic processes, without exception, leads to a rather rapid ageing of acquired knowledge: if at the beginning of the 20th century, primary educational training was enough for almost the entire working life, and in the middle of the century the need for retraining arose only after 20-25 years, now this the period was shortened to 10-15 years, and in the most dynamic groups - to 5 years, that is, the acquired knowledge becomes obsolete even before the completion of university studies. In this context, it is extremely important to ensure their maximum use. Unfortunately, only 38.3% of employees fully use the acquired knowledge in their work, 11.3% use approximately half, and 14.3% use it slightly or not at all (Basic security of the population of Ukraine (based on the materials of a selective socio-demographic survey): survey results, 2006). Only workers in the non-production sector, 47.6% of whom fully use the acquired knowledge in their work, differ somewhat from the general population. Under such conditions, it is difficult to talk about the effective use of the educational potential of the Ukrainian population.

But even worse is the correspondence of the received qualification to the work performed (Table 2). And the problem lies not so much in their discrepancy (in general, it is not that high - 13.9%), but in the too-low share of those who consider

their qualifications insufficient. It is worth saying that the share of this group among women is somewhat higher than among men - 3.4% and 2.7%, respectively. This means a lack of proper motivation to acquire new professional knowledge, and therefore, a decrease - other things being equal - in the mobility of the labour force.

Table 2. Correspondence of the qualification level to the work performed, by economic sector, Ukraine, 2021, % of those who have decided. (Source: Calculated based on the data of the selective socio-demographic survey "Basic security of the population of Ukraine". URL: <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/operativ/operativ2006/sz/dop/zahust.htm>)

Branch of economy	Qualification level		
	much higher than necessary	corresponds to the work	insufficient for work
The economy as a whole	10,9	86,1	3,1
Industry	14,0	83,0	3,0
Non-production sphere	7,6	87,1	5,3
Service Industry	8,7	88,6	2,6

Therefore, today a high level of education can be defined as the main factor in reducing the risk of inequality and increasing the income of the worker and his family. The results of the analysis of the social stratification of the population of economically developed countries show that it is the high level of education and qualification that is currently the main factor of competitiveness in the labour market and high earnings, entering the middle class and the elite of society. Therefore, raising the level of education of the population is one of the main tasks of forming the middle class, reducing inequality, overcoming poverty, building civil society and ensuring social stability in Ukraine.

The impact of education on lifestyle

The presence of higher education not only significantly reduces the risk of poverty and increases the probability of receiving average incomes but also significantly affects the way of life, in particular, consumer behaviour. Thus, among people with higher education, the share of those who make savings is significantly higher - 14% compared to 6% among people who do not even have a secondary education. The population with higher education spends most of the funds (even if they are limited) on the education of their children. About 90% of those who use bank loans to build their own housing are persons with higher education.

Quality education is one of the main factors of financial security. Today, in Ukraine, socioeconomic status is closely related to the level of education: if among people with a complete higher education, the share of the poor is 11% of people with average incomes - 35%, and of the wealthy - 7.5%, then among those who have only a complete general secondary education, 29% of the poor, 18% of people with average incomes, and 2% of the wealthy.

Significantly higher monetary incomes of educated people force the latter to resort to such types of economic activity as, for example, a work on a personal farm less.

Accordingly, their incomes are formed to a greater extent from monetary income: for persons with a complete higher education, monetary incomes make up 88% of total income, for persons with a complete general secondary education - 82%, and for persons with an elementary education - 76%. Calculations indicate the existence of an extremely strong direct proportional relationship between the level of education and individual incomes of the population: the coefficient of determination $R^2 = 0.955$, which obviously rejects the hypothesis of the coincidence of the relationship.

Taking into account the dependence of income on the level of education, it is possible to estimate the payback period for the costs of paid higher education. Since the differences in the cost of basic and full higher education in Ukraine are quite significant, and the difference in the salary of masters and bachelors is significantly smaller, the costs of obtaining a bachelor's degree are compensated by increased earnings after 2.5-3.0 years and a master's degree - in 8-9 years. Therefore, the system of educational loans can be quite attractive both for the population and for HEI.

Employers are still not too concerned about the origin of the diploma, usually, the requirement is the presence of any higher education. Presumably, this will change, and priority will be given to graduates of prestigious vocational education institutions.

Issues of raising the standard of living of the population, and the well-being of the worker and his family today require special attention. The corresponding calculations show that the personal income of the population has a direct dependence on the level of education, that is, they grow directly proportionally with the increase in the level of education, and this dependence is maintained during the period under study. In 2021, incomes from employment of persons with a full higher

education exceeded the incomes of persons with a full general secondary education by 1.5 times, and with a basic general secondary education by 2.2 times (in 2015, respectively, by 1.5 and 2.3 times).

The incomes of persons with higher education affect the financial situation of the whole family. In households where the head has complete higher education, the average total income per person is almost one and a half times higher than the indicator for households where the head has a complete secondary education (according to 2021 data). The inverse relationship between the financial situation of the population and the effort to invest in education is interesting for research. As can be seen in Figure 4, to the eighth decile group, due to the low incomes of the vast majority of the population of Ukraine, an insignificant percentage of funds is directed to all types of education. However, spending on higher education increases from the eighth decile group, and representatives of the tenth decile group direct a significantly higher percentage of their resources not only to higher education but also to education that is not determined by level - extracurricular, postgraduate, for obtaining a scientific degree, etc.

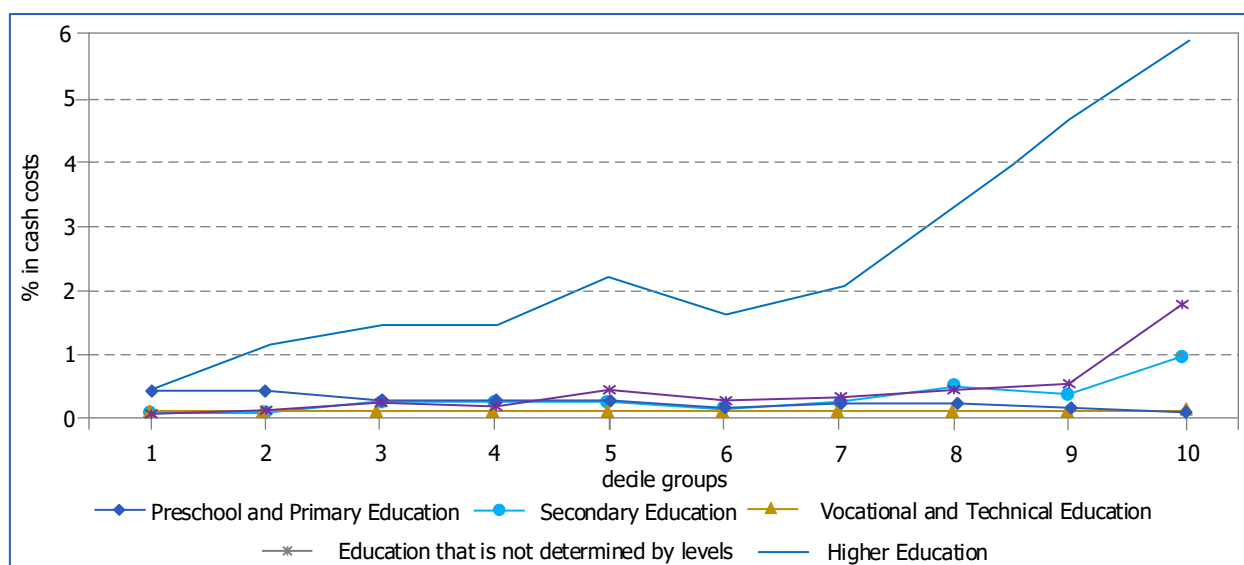


Figure 4. The specific weight of education expenses by decile groups, 2021. (Source: Human Development Report 2021-22. Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. *hdr.undp.org*. Retrieved from <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-2021-22>)

The level of education also has an indirect effect on the well-being of a specific person and his family, as it makes it possible to better realize oneself in the labour market. If only 4.8% of people with full higher education in 2021 define their socio-economic status as "unemployed" (4.5% in 2015, respectively), then among people with incomplete higher education this indicator increases to 6.9% (2015 - 7.9%), and with a complete general secondary education - to 13.6% (2015 - 15.6%).

The specific weight of representatives with the status of employees increases with each subsequent educational level. Thus, in 2021, 48.0% of people with a complete general secondary education, 55.4% with an incomplete higher education, and 66.3% with a complete higher education (in 2015, respectively, 51.5%, 59.4% and 69.8%).

In 2021, there were 2.5 times more employers as employees with the highest incomes among persons with a complete higher education (1.5% versus 0.6%) than among representatives with a complete general secondary education (in 2015, they were 3.4 times more - 1.7% versus 0.5%).

The level of education of the head of the household has a particularly significant effect on the family's risk of poverty since the head of the household is more often recognized as the person who is the largest supplier of resources, that is, who brings the highest income. In 2015, the poverty level in households headed by a complete higher education was 2.3 times lower than the average Ukrainian level and was only 11.8%; in 2021, respectively, 1.7 times and 14.1% (Figure 5).

The risk of poverty increases in households whose head does not have a higher education. In 2021, the poverty level in households where the head has a full general secondary education was 29.1%, and according to the basic average, it was already 36.6%, exceeding the average Ukrainian poverty level by 1.5 times.

That is, for households whose head has complete higher education, the poverty level in 2021 is 2.6 times inferior to the indicator for households where the head has only a basic secondary education.

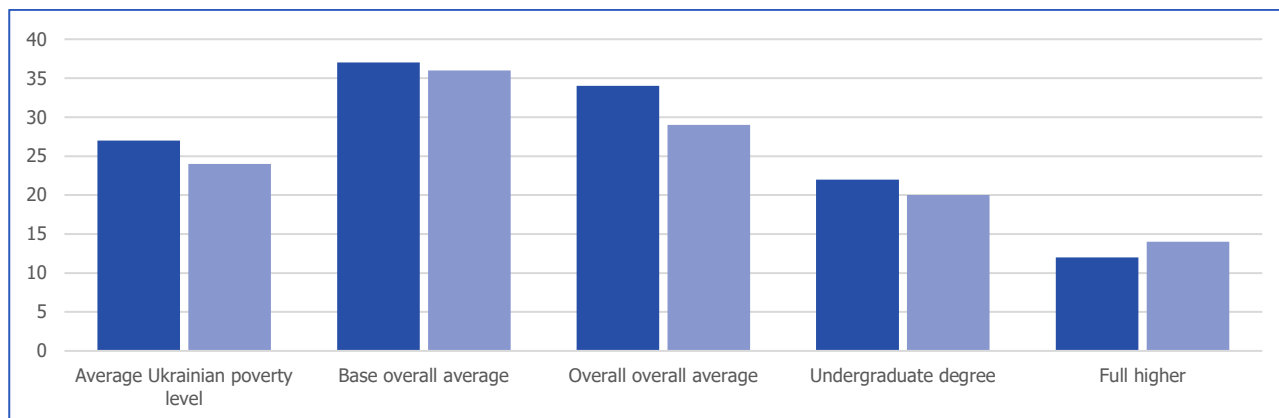


Figure 5. Poverty level depending on the level of education of the head of the household, 2015 and 2021. (Source: Calculated according to the data of the SLCH, which is conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine on an ongoing basis)

Thus, the dependence of the risk of poverty on the education of the head of the household can be traced across all educational levels - with each subsequent (higher) level of education, the level of household poverty decreases significantly.

As can be seen from Figure 5, the biggest difference in the situation with poverty is observed on the border between incomplete higher education and general secondary education. In households whose head has an incomplete higher education (basic or unfinished higher education), the poverty level is significantly lower than the average Ukrainian indicator - in 2015, it was 5.8 p.p., in 2021 by 4.3 p.p. In households where the head has only general secondary education, the poverty level exceeds the average Ukrainian level (in 2015 by 6.1 p.p., in 2021 by 4.8 p.p.).

The conducted analysis makes it possible to state that a higher level of education of at least one member of the household, and especially its head, is a guarantee of a lower risk of poverty. Thus, education today can be defined as the most effective and promising factor in reducing the risk of family poverty.

Analysis of individual indicators of economic activity of the population depending on the level of education (level of employment, including in the informal sector of the economy, the unemployment rate) showed that during 2010-2021 the highest employment rate was for persons who obtained a full higher education, and the lowest - with primary general education or no education at all. Although the employment rate of women is inferior to men (in 2021 p. 57.5% versus 66.7%), however, the presence of a higher educational level for both women and men is a guarantee of a higher level of employment in the labour market (Figure 6).

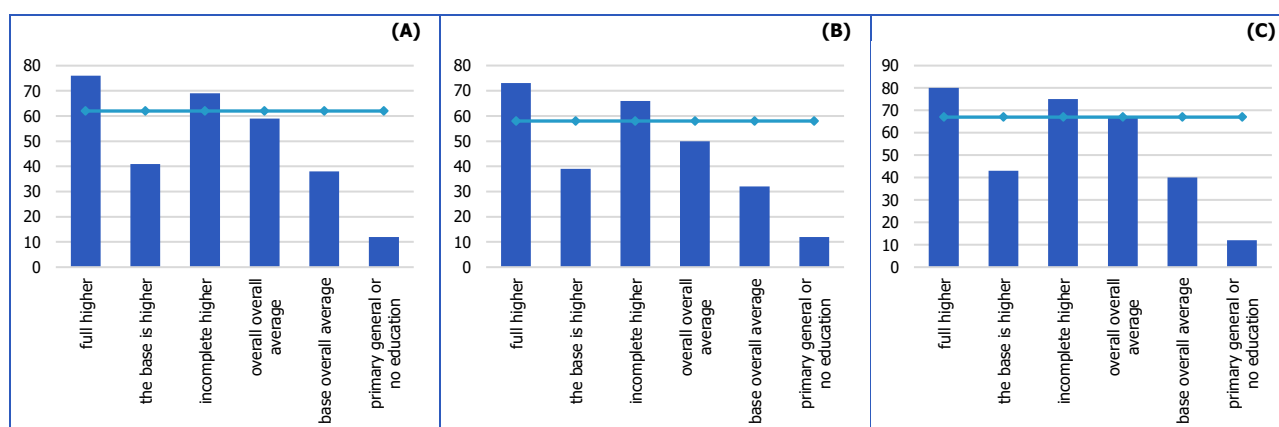


Figure 6. Employment rate of the population aged 15-64 by the level of education, 2021, %. Note: (A) – Employment rate of the population aged 15-64 by level of education, 2021, %; (B) – Employment rate of women aged 15-64 by level of education, 2021, %; (C) – Employment rate of men aged 15-64 by level of education, 2021, %. (Source: *Ekonomichna aktivnist naselennia Ukrainy 2021.: Stat. Zbirnyk*. Kyiv: Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy — 2022. — p. 146)

A similar situation regarding the level of employment of the population aged 15-64, depending on the education obtained, is observed in all types of settlements. But the lower the level of education, the more difficult it is for residents of urban settlements with higher education (educational qualification level of a junior specialist) or with a full general secondary school to get a job. First of all, this applies to women, men and residents of urban settlements.

The unemployment rate among bachelors has been the highest in recent years (Figure 7), especially among men and city dwellers. In 2021, the unemployment rate among persons with a basic higher education has already reached 20.2% (2005 - 7.4%), which once again raises the question of the need to eliminate existing institutional restrictions on the "entry" to the labour market of persons with a basic higher education (establishing correspondence between the educational systems of qualifications in Ukraine, improving the regulatory and legal framework of the field of education in order to increase the level of employment of graduates of higher education institutions, harmonization of higher education and the labour market).

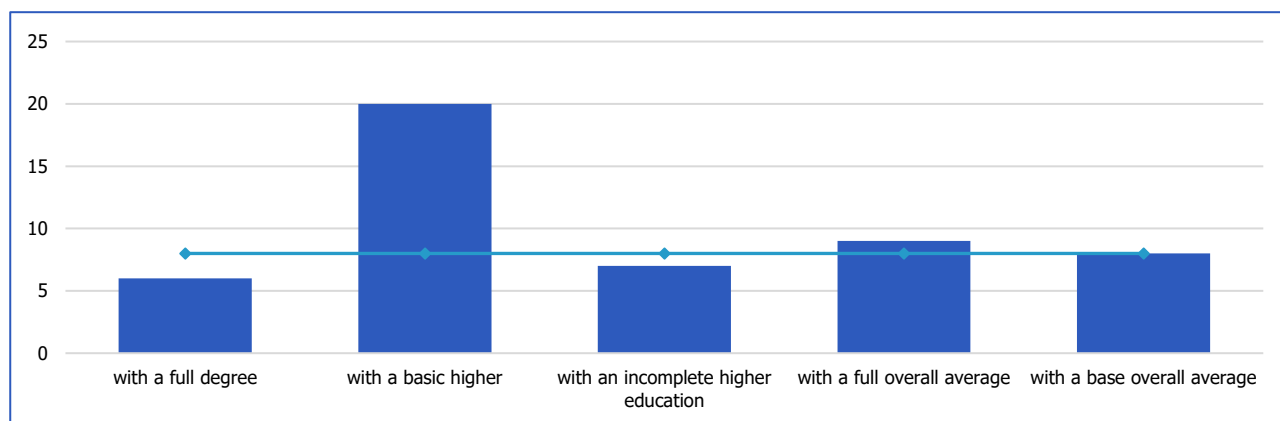


Figure 7. An unemployment rate of the population aged 15-64 by the level of education, 2021, %. (Source: *Ekonomichna aktivnist nase-lennia Ukrainy 2021.: Stat. Zbirnyk. Kyiv: Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy — 2022. — p. 155*)

Thus, the prestige of a master's degree compared to a bachelor's degree is fixed at the legislative level. Civil service, medicine and some other specialties require a full higher education (in the National Classifier of Ukraine "Profession Classifier" there are currently 7,000 such specialties). In the fields of aviation, law and education, employers will also prefer masters; only after completing the master's degree, a university graduate can apply for a place in a graduate school, engage in scientific activity or teach at a university. In addition, among some employers, the educational and qualification level of a bachelor is associated with an incomplete higher education (although it is defined as a basic higher education by law), and the requirement for mandatory work experience (even for a young specialist) and reluctance after graduation to occupy a vacancy (position) of the entry-level at a university significantly increases the risk of unemployment among bachelors. According to experts, basic higher education today remains not only an intermediate educational link in the educational system (due to the availability of the educational and qualification level of a specialist) but also a kind of "buffer zone" between the educational system and the labour market (and this problem is relevant not only for Ukraine).

As shown in Figure 8, the employment of the population aged 15-70 in the informal sector of the economy decreases in direct proportion to the increase in the level of education, and this dependence is maintained during 2015-2021.

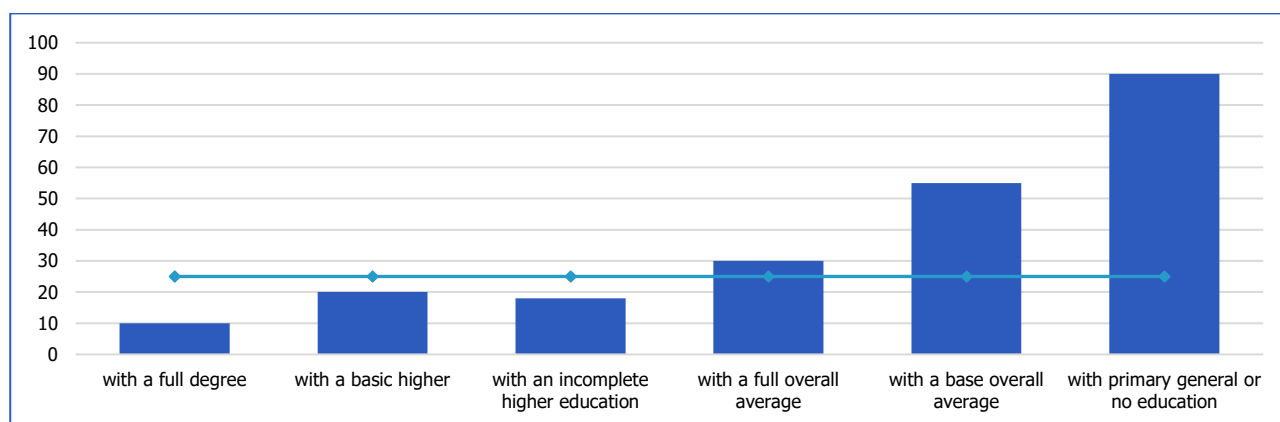


Figure 8. The level of participation of the population employed in the informal sector of the economy, by level of education, 2021, %. (Source: *Ekonomichna aktivnist nase-lennia Ukrainy 2021.: Stat. Zbirnyk. Kyiv: Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy — 2022. — p. 153*)

The highest level of population participation in the informal sector is objectively characteristic of rural areas (in 2021 it was 48.3% against 11.5% in urban settlements), but the presence of higher education (even incomplete) significantly increases

the chance of getting a job in the formal sector (that is, first of all, to provide oneself with minimum social guarantees). In 2021, the employment rate in the informal sector of the economy of the population with a complete general secondary education exceeded the employment rate of the population with an incomplete higher education: by 1.6 times in rural areas; 1.9 times in urban settlements; 1.8 times among men and 2.5 times among women.

Thus, a high level of education can be defined as the main factor in reducing the risk of poverty and increasing the income of the worker and his family, even in conditions of financial and economic crisis. Today, it is the educational factor that performs a greater protective and stimulating role than the measures of the state social policy to support the population, since the majority of people with higher education continue to enjoy economic advantages.

Public investment in the education of their children is recognized as the most promising and profitable investment in their future. Perhaps this explains the growing interest in raising the educational level of children, even under the condition of contract education, with the limited financial capacity of parents. After all, in Ukraine for a long period of time, more than half of all students of HEI I-IV of accreditation levels study at the expense of individuals (in the 2021/22 academic year, their share among all students was 56.2%) (According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2023). If we take into account that in recent years the share of students studying at the expense of the state and local budgets has a small but growing tendency, then we have reason to speak of an attempt by the state to adhere to the principles of social justice in access to higher education. as well as about the awareness of the population itself about the importance of getting an education.

Educational migration

Due to the destruction caused by Russia's war in Ukraine, the influence of migration on the growth of population inequality, including educational inequality, has significantly increased in recent years. In addition to the war, an important external factor of migration is the very active encouragement of educational migration of Ukrainian youth by professional educational institutions of most Eastern European (and not only) countries: special programs are opened, grants and scholarships are provided, and special preparatory language courses are run. The increase in the number of people wishing to get an education in the EU countries is also affected by the change in the policy of most European universities and colleges, which are economically interested in increasing the number of students, in particular, the expansion of budget support for students from Ukraine, the possibility of reducing their tuition fees, etc. Countries neighbouring Ukraine, accepting foreign students, support their own education systems, which suffer from a lack of applicants due to the outflow of young people to more developed countries and a general reduction in the number of young people due to the long-term conservation of the birth rate at a low level.

Educational migration is usually evaluated as a positive phenomenon for the student's country of origin (Cross-border Tertiary Education: A Way towards Capacity Development, 2021): improving the quality of education, gaining access to a wider selection of courses and disciplines, establishing social contacts, studying/improving foreign language, etc. But all this will work only if the students return to their homeland. Unfortunately, Ukrainian youth consider educational migration mainly as one of the ways of emigration, a kind of social elevator (Libanova, 2018), which gives an opportunity to enter the labour market of EU countries and secure their future from the risks of poverty.

Most students from Ukraine are currently concentrated in Poland. According to the data of the Central Statistical Office of Poland, in the 2016/2017 academic year, 35,600 Ukrainians studied in Polish institutions of higher education, which accounted for half of all foreign students (Malinowska, 2018). There are indications of territorial proximity, the practical absence of a language barrier, a fairly aggressive advertising campaign on the territory of Ukraine, the low cost of education and accommodation, the prevalence of preferential and free programs, very liberal terms of admission (often the submission of documents does not require personal presence, and takes place online on the page of the educational institution). Although both language courses and studies at Polish HEI are paid (except for holders of a Polish card), a student visa allows you to work in Poland. At the same time, the majority of Ukrainian students study in private educational institutions that do not have high ratings and do provide not as high-quality education as a European higher education diploma for further employment in EU countries (Stadnyi, 2017).

The transformation of educational migration into a permanent one is the main threat to the country of origin of students, in particular to Ukraine. According to the results of a number of studies, from 2% to 16% of Ukrainian students in Poland plan to return to their homeland, depending on the region of study. Although there are no systematic data on the relationship between student mobility and immigration, with the exception of the USA, where information about foreign students and their further stay in the country after receiving a diploma is collected more systematically, examples of individual countries indicate a positive correlation (Cross-border Tertiary Education: A Way towards Capacity Development, 2020). Thus, according to estimates, 15-20% of former foreign students live and work in Canada; in New Zealand, 13% of foreign

students who studied in 1998-2005 received a residence permit in 2006; in Norway, 18% of foreign students who studied in 1991-2005 remained in the country; in Great Britain in 2005, 27% of foreign students worked in the country after graduation.

The share of foreign students who remain in the country of study after receiving a diploma depends on the profession and the situation in the country of study - the level and quality of life, opportunities for employment and career advancement, etc. And, for example, the level of development of the country of origin of students studying in the USA has a rather limited influence: the share of post-graduate students from China, India, Iran, Israel, Greece, Argentina, Eastern European countries and even New Zealand and Great Britain who remain in the USA within 5 years after the defence of dissertations, consistently exceed 50% (Cross-border Tertiary Education: A Way towards Capacity Development, 2021).

In general, educational migration brings much more benefits to recipient countries than to donor countries. First, the market for the provision of educational services is rapidly growing and profitable. Thus, the number of foreign students in the world today reaches almost 5 million people (Measuring up: Global market share and national targets in international education, 2017), which is twice the figure of 2000 and three times the figure of 1990. Financial income from foreign students is a significant component of national budgets. For example, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2017, foreign students contributed USD 31 billion to the country's economy. USA (International students inject USD 32 billion a year into Australia's economy-boosting Aussie jobs and wages, 2018). In the United States, receipts from international students in the 2016-2017 academic year amounted to USD 36.9 billion. In the US, in addition, more than 450,000 jobs were created or supported at the expense of foreign students (NAFSA International Student Economic Value Tool).

The level of internal educational migration in Ukraine (the share of out-of-town students among all students) during 2011-2020 increased from 32.1% to 38.0%, which indicates the expansion of access to higher education. During 2011-2021, only in four regions (Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kharkiv and Khmelnytskyi) the share of out-of-town students constantly exceeds 40%. In 2021-2022, as a result of the displacement of Donbas higher education institutions and their students, the war, this indicator reached 51.5%. The maximum level of regional educational migration was recorded in Vinnytsia in 2022 (56.9%) due to the relocation of HEI from temporarily occupied territories. In general, the last two years have seen a significant increase in the level of internal educational migration to 66.5%.

At the bachelor's and master's levels (universities, academies, and institutes), the intensity of internal educational migration is traditionally higher than at the level of a short cycle of higher education (colleges, technical schools, schools).

DISCUSSION

Summing up the results obtained in the study, we would like to note that we share the opinion of scientists who say that a high level of education does not necessarily bring significant dividends in the sense of high rates of economic growth and even more so in the sense of reducing the level of inequality in society in general. as opposed to the higher standard of living of a particular individual/family.

Researching other mediated effects of education on inequality, in our opinion, is a very difficult task in methodological and methodical terms, since there is no unanimous understanding of the concepts of educational inequality, educational equality and social justice among scientists and practitioners. Educational inequality is considered as inequality of access to education, inequality of access to quality education, inequality of educational chances or opportunities, inequality of educational standard, inequality of educational results, etc. According to experts, modern studies of educational inequality are scattered between two poles - from the macro- (educational system as a whole) to the micro-level (individual). In addition, research on educational inequality, as a rule, is interdisciplinary in nature, can cover very long periods of time, and, accordingly, be expensive.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Currently, the level of education of the population of Ukraine is high enough to ensure the necessary competitiveness of the domestic labour force in the global labour market. However, the latest trends, their correlation with similar processes in most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the current professional structure of training specialists with higher education, and its compliance with the requirements of the economy are quite unfavourable and reflect the presence of serious problems in this area. In combination with the rather low professional mobility of the labour force and the absence of signs of continuous education throughout life, these processes testify to the reality of the threat of a gradual loss of this advantage.

2. Internal educational migration of youth is one of the main channels of territorial redistribution of the population of Ukraine and, in fact, its starter. The direction of internal educational migration is determined, first of all, by the peculiarities of the territorial distribution of higher education institutions. By its nature, it should be considered a suburban one, since most students (mainly from neighbouring regions) are currently concentrated in Kyiv and HEI of Western Ukraine.
3. The distribution of investments in education may be inefficient. This is primarily about the quantitative increase in the training of specialists according to outdated programs without taking into account changes in the needs of the economy as a whole and the labour market in particular; on the training of specialists in professions that are in demand among applicants and/or their parents, but not in the labour market; about the uneven distribution of investments between secondary and higher professional education. The consequence of such inefficiency is the inevitable formation of structural unemployment in the labour market with a slowdown, not an acceleration, of economic growth.
4. Investments may turn out to be ineffective due to the low quality of education, which is reflected in the mismatch of acquired knowledge and skills with the requirements of the labour market. As a result, both society as a whole and individual citizens receive significantly lower dividends. But this thesis is valid only in an economy that is focused on the introduction of new technologies and develops quite quickly in general.
5. The formed educational potential can be used inefficiently. A manifestation of such inefficient use is, for example, the employment of persons with higher education in workplaces that do not require such qualifications. However, this thesis, despite its theoretical validity, is not confirmed by Ukrainian practice: yes, people with a higher level of professional and educational training have consistently higher levels of employment and income.
6. Today, in international practice, the main directions of research into the effects of education on inequality are: the influence of education on social stratification; the relationship between sociocultural capital and educational opportunities; the impact of economic and cultural inequality on educational inequality; the influence of social capital on the educational effect; inequality and the education system's encouragement of cultural practices of privileged groups; the autonomy of higher education as a factor in the reproduction of social inequality; the relationship between social background and academic failure; differences in the educational experience of men and women; the value of education for different social classes/strata and their educational opportunities; inequality of investments in formal and other types of education; poverty and access to education; expanding access to education through reformist programs; social compensations for equality of educational opportunities; the use of educational barriers to reproduce educational inequality and achieve social equality, etc.

It is to the in-depth study of the listed influences that further research in this area should be devoted.

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Путицкий А.

ОСВІТА Й НЕРІВНІСТЬ НАСЕЛЕННЯ: ВЗАЄМОЗВ'ЯЗКИ ТА СУПЕРЕЧНОСТІ

У теорії людського капіталу освіта (як і здоров'я) є основним об'єктом інвестицій, що забезпечують підвищення продуктивності праці, а отже, збільшення обсягів товарів і послуг, з одного боку, і підвищення доходів працюючої особи – з іншого. У цій роботі продовжене дослідження провідних українських і зарубіжних учених щодо виявлення основних трендів, які визначають вплив освіти на нерівність населення.

Основна мета дослідження – окреслити та обґрунтувати взаємозв'язки й суперечності між освітою та нерівністю. Для цього розглянуто освітню нерівність як нерівність доступу до освіти, нерівність доступу до якісної освіти, нерівність освітніх шансів або можливостей, нерівність освітнього стандарту, нерівність освітніх результатів. У цьому контексті визначено, що вагомим чинником впливу на нерівність є домінування настанов на отримання вищої освіти та конкурентоспроможність освічених осіб на ринку праці. У результаті проведеного аналізу встановлено, що наявність вищої освіти не тільки істотно знижує ризик бідності та підвищує ймовірність отримання середніх доходів, але й значно впливає на спосіб життя, зокрема споживчу поведінку. Якісна освіта – один із головних факторів фінансової захищеності. Значно вищі грошові доходи освічених людей менше примушують останніх удаватися до таких видів економічної діяльності, як праця в особистому підсобному господарстві. Проведений аналіз дає можливість стверджувати, що більш високий рівень освіти принаймні одного з членів домогосподарства, а особливо його голови, є запорукою нижчого ризику бідності. Таким чином, освіту сьогодні можна визначати як найбільш ефективний та найбільш перспективний чинник зниження ризику бідності родини. У статті доведено, що інвестиції населення в освіту своїх дітей визнаються як найбільш перспективне та вигідне вкладання коштів у їхнє майбутнє. Дослідження явища освітньої міграції показало, що вона приносить набагато більше переваг країнам-реципієнтам, ніж країнам-донорам, а отже, нерівність населення в країнах-донорах буде завжди вищою, ніж у країнах-реципієнтах.

Ключові слова: освіта, нерівність населення, освіченість населення, освітня міграція, трансформація освіти, людський капітал, нерівність у доступі до вищої освіти

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