

# **FORMATION OF SOCIAL POLICY IN UKRAINE AS A SYSTEM OF MEASURES TO ENSURE SOCIAL SECURITY**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The current issues regarding the state of social policy and the main directions of its reform have always attracted the attention of scholars. The viewpoints expressed vary depending on the historical period and field of study, even among representatives of the same discipline. This can be explained by the lack of comprehensive legislative regulation of Ukraine's conceptual principles and scientific approaches. In historical literature, social policy is understood as the purposeful activity of the state and its structures aimed at regulating the social sphere and social relations to improve the living conditions of the population. During the Soviet period, scholars considered the social sphere quite broadly, as the totality of all areas of social activity. In our opinion, such a definition was excessively extensive, while the essence of social policy was reduced to the confirmation of the ideological tenets of the monopoly marxist-leninist doctrine<sup>1</sup>. Social policy plays a key role in ensuring the welfare of citizens. The social state, as proclaimed in Article 1 of the Constitution of Ukraine<sup>2</sup>, recognizes the main task of such policy as achieving a decent standard of living and the free development of the individual.

By the mid-1950s, despite the growth of industrial production, there was stagnation in the standard of living of ordinary citizens, and the collectivized peasantry of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) continued to face hardship until the early 1960s. Soviet propaganda attempted to convince the population that their welfare was improving by appealing to their self-sacrifice in the interests of the state.

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<sup>1</sup> Конституція Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки 1976.  
URL: [https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/001\\_001/ed19761119#Text](https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/001_001/ed19761119#Text)

<sup>2</sup> Конституція України, 1996. URL.  
<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80#Text>

The aim of this study is to determine the goals of social policy under the Soviet occupation regime – taking into account the accumulated experience of generations – and to present theoretically substantiated proposals for improving its scholarly support.

Among the Soviet academic literature that reveals the social policy implemented in the western Ukrainian regions, particular attention should be given to the monographs of Hryhorii Kovalchak<sup>1</sup>. Despite the constant declarations of the Party-Soviet authorities regarding the priority of the social sphere, the existing state services in consumer services, trade, and housing and communal utilities were able to provide only a minimal level of benefits, especially in rural areas. Despite the systematic disdain of Soviet propaganda toward the capitalist way of life, citizens of the USSR sought to acquire modern technologies, obtain comfortable housing, and dress fashionably. Improvements in living conditions, housing construction, and the development of social and household infrastructure were carried out according to the residual principle. A characteristic feature was the emphasis on quantitative rather than qualitative indicators. During the Soviet period, the term «unpromising village» emerged. Housing and communal services were of extremely low quality, which negatively affected both the welfare of the population and the level of its provision.

The articles and book of the scholar-practitioner Yaroslav Fedorchuk<sup>2</sup> also deserve attention. As the First Secretary of the Dolyna District Party Committee of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, he developed an economic concept summarized by the slogan «The economy of the state strengthens: the welfare of the people grows». Its essence lay in the idea that the state should allocate appropriate funds to satisfy the social needs of ordinary people: education, healthcare, culture, and public amenities. The economic

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<sup>1</sup> Ковальчак Г. І. Індустріальний розвиток західних областей України в період комуністичного будівництва. Київ: Наук. думка, 1973. 236 с. Його ж: Економічний розвиток західноукраїнських земель. Київ: Наук. думка, 1988. 251 с.

<sup>2</sup> Федорчук Я. Вплив нової техніки на співвідношення трудомісткості, фондомісткості і матеріаломісткості промислової продукції. Економіка Радянської України. 1975. № 11. С. 57–62. Його ж: Економіка підвищення якості продукції. *Економіка Радянської України*. 1977. № 10. С. 53–56.

development of the western region of the republic and the infrastructure connected with it depended on local leaders who cared not only about career advancement and the blind execution of directives from higher authorities but also about the people. Such intentions encountered both open and hidden resistance at all levels. Nevertheless, some leaders, making use of the opportunities provided by their positions within the party-state apparatus, proposed and implemented their ideas in practice. The Ukrainian people, under the difficult conditions of totalitarianism, managed to preserve their language, culture, and enduring spiritual values thanks to the dedicated efforts of the intelligentsia, a prominent representative of which was the scholar-practitioner Yaroslav Fedorchuk. The local population received employment, free housing, social guarantees, kindergartens, recreational camps, higher education, health resorts, departmental preventive care facilities, rural hospitals, and etc.<sup>1</sup>.

Various aspects of socio-economic processes in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have been examined in scholarly and regional studies by Ukrainian researchers. In particular, the features of the industrial and agricultural potential of the western lands of Ukraine within the USSR – such as the forestry and woodworking industries, oil and gas extraction, farming systems, the structure of animal husbandry, and social policy – have been highlighted by Oleh Maliarchuk<sup>2</sup>, Vasył Ostapiak<sup>3</sup> and Nataliia Petretska<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Малярчук О. М., Сабадуха В. О. Наукова і адміністративна діяльність Ярослава Федорчука в умовах кризи радянської системи (1960 – 1980-ті рр.). *East European Historical Bulletin* / [chief editor Vasył Ilnytsyi]. Drohobych: Publishing House «Helvetica». 2023. Issue. 29. С. 163–172. DOI <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058X.29.292937>

<sup>2</sup> Соціально-гуманітарні виміри безпеки України: Івано-Франківська область в історичній ретроспективі (1944–1991): колективна монографія / О. М. Малярчук, М. В. Санкович, М. М. Палагнюк, А. В. Бойда. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2025. 404 с.

[https://search.library.nung.edu.ua/DocDescription?doc\\_id=480680](https://search.library.nung.edu.ua/DocDescription?doc_id=480680)

<sup>3</sup> Малярчук О., Остап'як В. Індустріальні процеси у Західному регіоні Української РСР: здобутки та прорахунки. *Український історичний журнал*. Київ. 2022. Вип. 2. С. 91–107. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2022.02.091>

<sup>4</sup> Малярчук О., Петрецька Н. Природоохоронна діяльність у західному регіоні Української РСР: на прикладі Івано-Франківської області *East European Historical Bulletin* / [chief editor Vasył Ilnytsyi]. Drohobych: Publishing House

A thorough examination of the mechanism of the «second Sovietization» and the establishment of the Soviet occupation regime at the district level in the Stanislav (Ivano-Frankivsk) region was carried out by Mariia Sankovych<sup>1,2</sup>. The researcher revealed the main measures aimed at the Sovietization of the region: the provision of a personnel corps, the mobilization of human and natural resources for the needs of the front, and the counteraction to this process by the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the armed units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the local population, as well as the preparation of prerequisites for the complete collectivization of the countryside and the industrial development. Historiographical studies by Ukrainian scholars Ihor Raikivskyi, Oleh Yehreshii, and Bohdan Paska<sup>3</sup> have also been reflected in academic research.

The history of the development and implementation of social policy during the Soviet totalitarian regime in the Ukrainian SSR—particularly the changes in the economic concept throughout the successive five-year plans—has not yet been comprehensively studied. Among scholars, there exist different viewpoints regarding the evaluation of the consequences of socialist experiments at their various stages. These range from extreme and tendentious assessments and praise for the alleged infallibility of the Communist Party, which characterized the entire Soviet historiography, to entirely opposite conclusions. Some Ukrainian economists and historians express the view that the results achieved during the reform periods were highly effective. However, the

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«Helvetica». 2024. Issue. 31. С. 173–182. DOI <https://doi.org/10.24919/2519-058X.31.306348>

<sup>1</sup> Санкович М. Аграрна політика радянської влади в Карпатському регіоні – матеріали преси і реальний стан справ. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук. Серія. Історичні науки*. 2024. Вип. 72. Т. 3. С. 42–49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863/72-3-6>.

<sup>2</sup> Санкович М. Структурні зміни в промисловості Івано-Франківської області Української РСР. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук. Серія. Історичні науки*. 2024. Вип. 73. Т. 3. С. 21–28. DOI <https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863/73-3-3>

<sup>3</sup> Райківський І., Єгрешій О., Паска Б. Українська історіографія соціально-економічних процесів в Івано-Франківській області УРСР. *Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук*. 2024. Вип. 72. Т. 3. С. 33–41. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863/72-3-5>

majority argue that there was neither an acceleration of development nor an increase in the growth rates of industrial and agricultural production. We believe that such ambiguity in assessments results not only from the use of different methodologies of economic calculation but also from the authors' attitudes toward the contradictory policies of the occupation regime. Nevertheless, according to a number of technical and economic indicators, the Soviet five-year plans did show certain advantages; at the same time, however, errors were made in the reform concept due to the usurpation of powers by ministries and departments. Ultimately, on the scale of the republic, the so-called «socialist transformations» were largely nullified. At the same time, at different stages there existed distinct regional features and economic achievements developed by the Ukrainian people.

### **1. Historical Preconditions for the Formation of Social Policy**

Throughout human history, each new generation has perceived the world in its own way. The generation of the 1960s in the USSR saw the world as new and youthful. The gap between the generation traumatized and devastated by war – the generation of their parents – was greater than the usual distance between different age groups. For many young people, it seemed at the very least that they had been born into a society that was changing its values, style, and rules toward more fashionable values, styles, and norms closely linked with cinema and television. Youth culture had its own idols and trends, which easily transcended state borders. Mass culture was becoming international. Trends in music and fashion originated in the English-speaking world and then moved eastward and southward. The Soviet ideological apparatus attempted to resist these trends and promoted its own alternative. These new trends were mainly addressed to wealthier and student youth, who could afford records, concert tickets, shoes, clothing, cosmetics, and so on. However, the way young people presented these products often openly conflicted with the Soviet class-based divisions. The most successful musicians of the time, such as The Beatles, became a transnational cultural phenomenon for European youth. The content and form of pop music were highly significant. In the 1960s, young people paid particular attention to style, creating an entire subculture known as the «Stilyagi». Pop music, as a hallmark of the

1960s, had a rebellious tone. In the USSR, listening to or playing British or American music for young people meant protesting – a figurative «spit in the face» to the generation shaped by Joseph Stalin or Adolf Hitler. In neighboring socialist bloc countries, this was perceived similarly, with minor local adaptations.

The youth of the 1960s made strong and unusual efforts to distinguish themselves through their appearance. Clothing, hairstyles, personal belongings, and makeup («fashionable accessories») became essential markers of age identity. At the height of the Cold War between the socialist and capitalist worlds, London served as the source of these trends, influencing European tastes in clothing, music, photography, models, advertising, and even mass-circulation magazines. The «lighthearted» side of the 1960s – pop culture and fashion–should not be dismissed as trivial or superficial. For the new generation, it was a meaningful form of self-expression, signaling individuality and generational identity. For this generation, it was a way to put an end to the «era of Nazism, racism, and despotism» associated with Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin. Their anti-human «teachings» had been discredited.

In the first half of the 1960s, alongside centralized capital investments, the authorities began using the financial and material-technical resources of enterprises and collective farms to form their own development funds for the socio-cultural sphere. For various reasons – primarily the residual principle of funding and insufficient attention from the authorities – the commissioning of «cultural facilities» was often delayed, and construction plans were not fulfilled. By the mid-1960s, many settlements in the western regions of Ukraine still lacked clubs or club buildings. Some libraries operated in adapted premises. The shortage of qualified personnel remained acute. Some cultural-educational workers did not have the appropriate education, and low salaries contributed to high staff turnover.

At large industrial enterprises and associations, services related to physical education and sports developed – for example, the «Khlorvinil» football team «Khimik», Burshtyn Thermal Power Plant – «Enerhetyk», Yamnytsia Cement and Slate Plant – «Tsementnyk», Kolomyia Agricultural Machinery Plant – «Sil-mash», and Tysmenytsia – «Khutrovyk». Health-related services included sanatoriums, preventive care facilities, pioneer camps, and

recreational bases, including in the Carpathians. Most enterprises and collective farms were limited to traditional types of services: childcare in preschools, maintenance of stadiums and cultural centers, and organizing leisure activities for their employees. During the drafting of the new Eighth Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ivano-Frankivsk regional executive committee slightly increased capital investments in the construction of schools and cultural institutions to 13.7 million rubles, compared to 8.24 million rubles in the previous seven-year plan<sup>1</sup>.

It was the responsibility of state institutions, governed by the totalitarian system, to provide the population with educational and cultural services. Each district of the region, as well as its major towns and smaller settlements, had its own library, cultural center, theater, dance troupe, and sports team, which were funded either from the budget or by large enterprises and collective farms. The main focus of the Bolshevik Party and the occupying regime was the struggle against the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism. The Soviet authorities took ideological control over the most accessible leisure centers and recreational sites – clubs, libraries, reading houses, theaters, and philharmonic halls. Through various amateur art circles, mass cultural activities, and propaganda events, communist ideals and the Soviet way of life were promoted, while everything Ukrainian was discredited. A defining feature of all cultural and educational institutions under the totalitarian system was their excessive politicization. The Ukrainian intelligentsia initiated a new attempt at national-cultural revival, known as the «Sixtiers» movement. In combating dissent, the occupying regime employed the full arsenal of moral and physical repression developed in earlier decades. The intellectual and cultural advancement of Ukrainians over the two postwar decades contained a significant political component. Members of the creative elite elevated Ukrainian national culture to a higher level and infused the national idea with new content.

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<sup>1</sup> Малярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991): монографія. Вид. 2-ге, переробл. і допов. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2023. С. 322.

## 2. Daily Life and Employment

The social sphere encompassed the domestic complex, which included housing and communal services, trade, transport, communications, consumer services, energy supply, water and gas provision, land allotments, and the use of equipment and technology, among other things. The fundamental changes that took place during the Soviet period indicate that living standards gradually improved, yet remained significantly behind those of developed countries. After Nikita Khrushchev rose to power in the USSR, Stalinist laws prohibiting changes of workplace were abolished, the working day was shortened, minimum wages were established, and both maternity leave and a universal pension system were introduced. The Soviet Union «transformed into a welfare state in its infancy, at least formally»<sup>1</sup>.

The primary source of information, opinions, and entertainment accessible to the vast majority of the population was radio. People got their news via radio, relying more on what they heard than on what they saw or read. In the USSR, as in European countries of that time, radio was state-owned. Radio stations, transmitters, and frequencies were licensed and belonged to the state. Notably, a few foreign stations – Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and until 1959, Radio Liberation – were also operating, partially covering the European part of the Soviet Union and broadcasting objective criticism of communist authorities in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Radio receivers, popular even before the war, were present in nearly every urban household. In rural homes across the region, mass «wired» radios – commonly nicknamed the «liar» – appeared in the mid-1950s. Radio was the principal medium of mass communication, fully controlled by the state. Young people everywhere listened primarily for popular music, while other content was later supplemented by television. Television services reached the Stanislav (Ivano-Frankivsk) region slowly, and in some mountainous areas they arrived quite late. Only in the 1960s did black-and-white TVs gain popularity almost everywhere and became a necessary part of home interiors, even in modest

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<sup>1</sup> Джадт Т. Після війни. Історія Європи від 1945 року / переклад з англ. З. Зарембо. Київ: Наш формат. 2021. С. 465.

dwellings. During the early decades of this medium, most television programs were dull, didactic, and ideologically programmed. People had little choice – one or at most two channels – and TV broadcasting operated only for a few hours in the daytime and evening. Television, like radio, extended state policy into nearly every home, delivering a significant blow to the cinema industry and theater attendance. It offered full-length popular films, partially eliminating the need to go to movie theaters and becoming a direct competitor to them.

Postwar European historian Tony Judt argues: «The European welfare state not only did not set social classes against one another, but linked them more closely than ever before, based on a shared interest in preserving and protecting such a state. Yet state financial support for social protection and the provision of social services was grounded in the general belief that this is the task of governments. The postwar state throughout Europe was, in essence, a social state (and often constitutionally mandated as such), responsible for the well-being of its citizens. It was obliged not only to create the institutions and services necessary for good governance, security, and prosperity, but also to improve living conditions, measured by a «growing number of indicators»<sup>1</sup>.

Traditionally, the largest portion of household expenditure in family budgets was spent on food and clothing, which consumed the majority of family income. During the postwar decades, this situation changed slowly. Young people began to spend their money on clothing and music – particularly gramophone records. The appeal of «America» and «Europe» for youth lay in their advanced fashion: household appliances, inexpensive and brightly colored clothing, cars, and accessories. This represented abundance and consumption as a lifestyle – the so-called «American way of life» – and stood in stark contrast to Soviet reality.

The shortcomings of the communist economy were no secret. It focused on mass production of «unnecessary» primary industrial goods. Consumer products in demand were either not produced, produced in insufficient quantities, or of poor quality. Soviet manufacturers damaged their reputation across virtually all sectors.

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<sup>1</sup> Джадт Т. Після війни. Історія Європи від 1945 року / переклад з англ. З. Зарембо. Київ: Наш формат. 2021. С. 99.

The distribution and sales system for the low-quality goods that were available functioned so poorly that the true scarcity was exacerbated by shortages artificially created by bureaucracy, the retention of the best products for the elite, and corruption. The party nomenclature secured goods from Eastern European and capitalist countries. Style and quality were closely associated with Europe, in contrast to the USSR.

While Europeans could purchase cars for personal use, this was not only because they had more money; the availability of affordable cars was determined by a free market. In the USSR, a car remained a luxury throughout the entire Soviet period, meaning that supply never met demand. The party nomenclature and managers of institutions, factories, and collective farms had free access to official vehicles. For the general population, only motorcycles, mopeds, and bicycles were realistically attainable. Despite these differences, ownership of a radio receiver, gramophone, tape recorder, camera, washing machine, or television became achievable and accessible to the middle class only in the 1960s. Possession of these items became the most significant measure of Soviet welfare.

By the late 1950s, collective farms in the Stanislav (Ivano-Frankivsk) region emerged from economic stagnation and were able to focus on the improvement of «collective farm villages». Carpathian builders made a significant contribution to the development of settlements both in the region and across various parts of the USSR. Using new materials, they constructed durable administrative buildings, production facilities, workshops, bakeries, schools, nurseries, cultural centers, hospitals, feldsher-midwife stations, and trade and utility enterprises. Rural construction expanded every year and increasingly adopted an industrial basis. Its scale and focus evolved, incorporating reinforced concrete and wide mechanization of construction processes. Rural construction organizations had access to reinforced concrete factories, dozens of truck cranes, bulldozers, excavators, and other machinery.

Villages in the Stanislav region, as in the republic as a whole, were categorized as «promising», «less promising», and «unpromising». In the «promising» villages – that is, those with rural councils, collective farm administrations, or large brigades – development initiatives were concentrated. In these «promising»

villages, residential and cultural-household construction was planned according to established standards. In «less promising» settlements, where the territory did not allow for village expansion and where economic feasibility was lacking, the construction of cultural and household facilities was planned only based on the existing population, while building new housing or increasing the number of homesteads was not recommended. «Unpromising» settlements – small hamlets and villages – were to be relocated to the «promising» villages. New construction in these areas was either prohibited or severely restricted. This classification was based on an analysis of the local economy, the potential and direction of land use, availability of natural resources, labor capacity, and the level of industrial development.

In the Ivano-Frankivsk region, out of 767 villages, over 300 were considered «unpromising», and their development was deemed impractical. Only 450 «promising» villages were covered by general development plans. According to a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers, general plans were to be developed for 291 promising villages in the region between 1965 and 1970. The pace of rural construction required accelerated preparation of these general plans. There was no unified approach regarding the categorization of settlements as «promising», «less promising», or «unpromising». Special attention in developing a general plan was given to the public center, where main public buildings were constructed, forming the core of the architectural and spatial composition of the settlement.

Despite constant declarations by the authorities about the priority of the social sphere, the existing state services in consumer services, trade, and housing and communal infrastructure could provide only a minimal level of benefits, particularly in rural areas. Despite Soviet propaganda's disdain for the capitalist way of life, people sought to acquire new appliances and comfortable housing. The living conditions of the population did not correspond to their contribution to building the industrial capacity of the state. Improvements in living conditions, housing construction, and development of social and household infrastructure were carried out according to the residual principle. A characteristic feature of residential construction was the tendency to focus on quantitative

rather than qualitative indicators. During the Soviet period, the term «unpromising village» emerged and gained widespread usage.

The level of housing and communal services for the population of the Ukrainian SSR in the second postwar decade improved somewhat compared to the previous decade. However, many indicators still did not meet contemporary requirements or expectations. Housing and communal services remained of extremely low quality, which affected the well-being and standard of living of the population. Rural residents lacked many basic communal amenities and conveniences that were commonplace in urban areas.

The most favorable period for the development of the social sphere was 1960–1970. In rural areas, electrification and radio access were implemented, and gas supply and telephone connections began. Although still insufficient, rural settlements saw the construction of residential buildings, schools, hospitals, cultural centers, shops, preschools, feldsher-midwife stations, and other household facilities. The fulfillment of residents' everyday needs depended directly on the location of a settlement relative to the regional or district center. Life in mountainous or «unpromising» villages contrasted sharply with urban or «promising» settlements. The rapid pace of housing construction and the development of rural economies were closely linked to industrial processes.

### **3. Labor Resources**

The socio-economic life of both the country and individual regions depended on labor resources, consisting of the working-age population. Their quantitative and qualitative characteristics directly affected social production. During the period under study, a transformation occurred due to the widespread adoption of modern machinery and technologies, which required higher levels of education, professional qualifications, and improvements in training systems. The main source of labor replenishment, as in the two previous postwar decades, was the rural population of the western regions of Ukraine.

A distinctive feature of the historical development of the western Ukrainian lands was the surplus of labor. Labor emigration «overseas» had been ongoing since the late 19th century. From the first months of occupation, the Soviet authorities used

administrative methods to enforce centralized conscription, organized recruitment, mobilization, and placement of youth into industrial centers of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR. Tens of thousands of young men and women were directed to the Donbas coal mines, the development of virgin and fallow lands in Kazakhstan, and the exploitation of oil and gas fields in Siberia. During Stalin's era, such employment often amounted to a form of «labor exile», akin to those forcibly deported as part of special contingents. Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev, however, these assignments were framed as «Komsomol construction projects», a demonstration of patriotic sentiment, and «rational assistance».

With the postwar reconstruction of local industry and the further development of the economy, opportunities expanded for young people to obtain higher or secondary education. At the same time, the number of students acquiring vocational skills in factory-training schools, craft schools, and technical colleges increased. This contributed both to the formation of a working class and to an increase in the number of experienced workers in regional enterprises. Gradually, skilled labor cadres were being formed.

In traditional sectors such as wood-processing and oil and gas industries, the workforce was largely composed of skilled workers with more than ten years of experience. In contrast, industries such as chemicals and mechanical engineering were dominated by relatively inexperienced personnel.

From the early 1960s, new trends began to emerge in the labor structure of western Ukraine, shaped by the region's development characteristics. The economy and social sphere of the region began to exhibit new dynamics. Intensive construction of new enterprises commenced, alongside the expansion and reconstruction of previously built facilities. Comprehensive mechanization and automation of production allowed output to increase through higher labor productivity rather than by increasing the number of workers.

The population of any country or territory develops according to certain demographic patterns, which are shaped by prevailing socio-political and socio-economic conditions. Between the 1959 and 1970 censuses, despite overall population growth, the number of individuals in the most productive age group (20–30 years) in the USSR decreased by 7.6 million. The natural growth of the labor force in the USSR was insufficient to meet the needs of the national

economy, as the average annual increase during the five-year plans was around 2 million people, while the average annual demand for workers and employees was estimated at 2.5 million<sup>1</sup>.

A particularly adverse factor affecting Ukraine's overall demographic situation was high mortality. By 1994, the mortality rate reached 14.7 per 1,000 people, doubling over 30 years (in 1960 it was only 6.9 per 1,000). In 1989, higher general mortality rates than in Ukraine were observed in only eight countries worldwide. While Ukraine's natural population growth was 13.6 per 1,000 in 1960, by 1990 it had become negative, reaching – 4.7 per 1,000. In 1970, the absolute natural increase was 300,000 people, observed in both cities and villages. By 1994, deaths exceeded births by 243,100 people. That year, 521,500 births and 764,700 deaths were recorded in Ukraine. In urban areas, the figures were 328,500 births and 450,800 deaths, and in rural areas 193,000 births and 313,800 deaths<sup>2</sup>.

The decline in rural population due to this factor began in 1979, marking the start of ongoing depopulation trends in Ukrainian villages. Depopulation trends deepened. In fact, the decline in the total rural population began as early as the 1920s, and particularly in the 1930s, following the Holodomors, genocide, and mass deportations of Ukrainian peasants. As is well known, a population census was conducted in January 1937, the results of which caused a political scandal and drew the anger of the «leader of all times and peoples», Joseph Stalin. According to this census, the total population of Ukraine was 1.7 million fewer than in 1933. The census materials were destroyed, and the population statistics were classified. If, in the prewar year 1940, the rural population of Ukraine was 27.3 million, by 1950 it had decreased to 23.8 million, and by 1989, it was only 17.1 million. The rural population has been the main source for the preservation and reproduction of the Ukrainian ethnos. Villages preserved centuries-old national traditions, customs, rituals, and distinctive culture, yet today their

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<sup>1</sup> Копчак С. І. Населення українського Прикарпаття (історико-демографічний нарис). Докапіталістичний період. Львів: Вид-во при Львівському державному ун-ті, 1974. С. 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> Копчак С. І., Мойсєєнко В. І., Романюк М. Д. Етнічна структура та міграції населення українського Прикарпаття (статистико-демографічне дослідження). Львів: Світ, 1996. С. 5.

population faces depopulation. Birth rates in Ukraine, as in other economically developed countries during the 20th century, showed a trend of sharp decline. In 1913, the birth rate per 1,000 inhabitants was 44.1, while by 1970 it had fallen to 15.2 – a threefold reduction over two generations. Only from 1970 onward did a slight increase or stabilization in birth rates occur for several years. In the USSR as a whole, birth rates were higher than in the Ukrainian SSR, due to high fertility in the Central Asian republics. At the same time, the mortality rate in the Ukrainian SSR showed the opposite trend. In prewar 1913, 25.2 people per 1,000 died, followed in subsequent years by a gradual decline. By prewar 1940, it had fallen to 14.3 (the war years are the subject of a separate study). In the postwar period, up to 1959–1960, mortality gradually declined further. In 1958–1960, it reached 6.9 per 1,000 – the lowest mortality rate in Soviet history<sup>1</sup>.

This demographic situation led to a gradual increase in the proportion of elderly and aged individuals (in contemporary archival materials referred to as «overaged»). In 1926, the population of pension age (men after 60 years, women after 55). The proportion of the population of elderly and aged individuals rose steadily: in 1926 it was 7.6%, in 1960 – 13.4%, and by 1970 – 17.8%. The decline in mortality was accompanied by a gradual increase in life expectancy. In 1926–1927, the average life span was 47 years, by 1958–1959 it had risen to 70 years, and in 1968–1970 it had reached 72 years. Due to the growing proportion of elderly people, mortality rates began to show a slight upward trend starting in 1959: 7.5 per 1,000 in 1959, 8.0 in 1967, 8.6 in 1969, and 8.9 in 1970. Despite this, the overall mortality rate in Ukraine (as in the USSR) remained lower than in economically developed capitalist countries.

The indicator of infant mortality is considered the death of children under the age of one. About 60% of the total mortality of children under 14 years falls on the age of up to one year. In global medicine, infant mortality is regarded as the most sensitive indicator of a nation's cultural level and the state of healthcare. The

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<sup>1</sup> Малярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991): монографія. Вид. 2-ге, переробл. і допов. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2023. С. 292.

improvement of material well-being, culture, and the level of medical services in the Ukrainian SSR contributed to the gradual decrease of infant mortality rates throughout all the years of Soviet rule, which in turn affected natural population growth. In 1913, out of every thousand children born, 215 did not survive to one year, and in 1920 – 307, meaning that every third child died before reaching one year. By 1940, infant mortality had decreased to 161, in 1959 – 36, and in 1971 – 16.2. Infant mortality thus fell nearly 13 times.

Due to a significant decline in birth rates, despite the reduction in mortality rates, the natural population growth of Ukraine gradually and steadily decreased. In 1913, it was 18.8 per thousand of the population, in 1924 – 24.5, in 1940 – 13, in 1958 – 12.1, in 1964 – 9.5, in 1969 – 6.1, in 1970 – 6.3, and in 1971 – 6.6, i.e., it decreased threefold. In this situation, a detailed analysis of the causes of even a small but stable and gradual increase in mortality was necessary. At the same time, statistical data indicate that the increase in rural mortality clearly outpaced urban mortality. The rise in mortality in Ukraine occurred due to the overall increase in the proportion of elderly and aged people in the population structure, especially women. For example, in 1958, when overall mortality was at its lowest, 46.1% of deceased men and 66.6% of women died at retirement age. In 1965, this figure was 58.1% for men and 80% for women, and by 1970 it had increased further to 60.7% for men and 83.9% for women. It should be emphasized that the average life expectancy of women is significantly higher than that of men, resulting in a higher proportion of elderly women. According to the 1970 population census, of the total number of pension-aged individuals, men comprised only 26.6%, while women accounted for 73.4%<sup>1</sup>.

The increase in the proportion of elderly people in the population structure was not the only reason for the rise in overall mortality. There was a gradual increase in mortality among men of working age. In 1970, the overall mortality of the entire population, compared to 1958, increased by 28.3% (from 6.9 deaths per

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<sup>1</sup> Мaлярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991): монографія. Вид. 2-ге, переробл. і допов. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2023. С. 294.

thousand population in 1958 to 8.9 in 1970). During this period, the mortality of people of retirement age increased by 28.9% (from 28.3 deaths per thousand elderly people in 1958 to 36.5 in 1970). At the same time, over the same period, mortality among men aged 15–60 increased by 11.5%, while among women aged 15–55 it decreased by 18.2%.

The increase in mortality among people below retirement age occurred exclusively due to the rising proportion of male deaths. According to data from 1968–1970, male mortality was higher than female mortality: in cities – by 64.1%, in rural areas – by 62.9% (in standardized indicators). This difference was especially noticeable among the working-age population. For example, in 1970, mortality among women aged 20–39 was 1.09 per thousand women, while among men of the same age it was 3.07 – meaning that the mortality of men in the most productive age was three times higher than that of women of the same age. In this situation, it is necessary to determine the main causes of mortality, especially among young people and working-age men. The continuous improvement of material living standards and cultural conditions, as well as the enhancement of the healthcare system, ensured not only a reduction in various diseases but also a decrease in mortality from most diseases among working-age people. However, this did not apply to injuries and deaths from various injuries and accidents. In 1968–1969, injuries were the cause of death for 66.1% of men aged 16–19, 68.1% of men aged 20–29, and 56.3% of men aged 30–39. At the same time, the share of deaths from injuries and other accidents among women was 40.4% for ages 16–19, 28.7% for ages 20–29, and 20.5% for ages 30–39<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, trauma became the main cause of death among young working-age men. Men died from injuries three times more often than women of the same age. Moreover, the increase in mortality among the population below retirement age in the Ukrainian SSR occurred due to the rise in deaths from injuries and accidents

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<sup>1</sup> Соціально-гуманітарні виміри безпеки України: Івано-Франківська область в історичній ретроспективі (1944–1991): колективна монографія / О. М. Малирчук, М. В. Санкович, М. М. Палагнюк, А. В. Бойда. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2025. С. 287.

[https://search.library.nung.edu.ua/DocDescription?doc\\_id=480680](https://search.library.nung.edu.ua/DocDescription?doc_id=480680)

among men. It should be emphasized that the proportion of deaths from injuries in Ukraine, compared to some capitalist countries, was very high. In 1968, in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 125.8 men per 100,000 male population died from injuries; in the USA – 112.3; in England – 58.5. In Ukraine, according to 1970 data, this figure was 142.2 men per 100,000. Statistical analysis showed that, on average, 25% of injuries occurred at workplaces, while 75% of all injuries were of a non-occupational nature.

It should be noted that during the period under study, the number of households in rural areas increased. This happened because people who moved to new construction sites in large cities often lived in suburban villages until they received their housing. At the same time, year by year, the number of collective farm households decreased, while the number of workers' and employees' households grew. The increase in workers' and employees' households occurred partly due to the transition of artisan (individual) households into this group.

The formation of labor resources was influenced by various factors, primarily the demographic situation. The extensive development of the economy required the mass involvement of labor mainly in industry and construction. Additional labor resources, drawn into the sphere of social production from household subsidiary farms and non-collectivized mountain villages were practically fully utilized. The redistribution of labor resources between agriculture and other branches of social production was also almost completely exhausted. The development of the social and domestic sphere required significant labor resources. For the western region of the republic, the same patterns were characteristic as for the Ukrainian SSR as a whole: a decrease in the natural population growth; the introduction of new economic mechanisms based on incentives, mechanization, and automation of production processes; the mass transition to brigade forms of labor, and so on.

#### **4. Household Infrastructure**

In the second half of the 20th century, the content of social policy did not change – at its core, as before, it was based on distributive relations and centralized administrative regulation. The

increase in economic efficiency allowed attention to be drawn to social problems. In general, the population gained access to appliances and equipment. For example, in 1966, the population of Lviv Oblast used 87,000 televisions and 273,000 various household radio devices (radio receivers, radiolas, tape recorders, radio-tape recorders), which amounted to 153 radio and television devices, including 37 televisions, per thousand inhabitants of the oblast. These figures were significantly lower than the average number of radio and television devices in the republic (respectively – 205 and 67). Despite the production of televisions directly in Lviv Oblast and the concentration of enterprises producing radio equipment, the oblast lagged far behind other regions in this regard, such as Crimea – 275, Mykolaiv – 221, Kherson – 180, and even Chernivtsi – 175. The number of televisions per thousand inhabitants in Kharkiv and Luhansk Oblasts was three times higher than in Lviv<sup>1</sup>.

Improvement of living conditions for the population was facilitated by guaranteed wages for collective farmers, intensive housing construction, and the improvement of social and domestic infrastructure. Overall, the period under study was marked by the highest rates of housing construction and, accordingly, the expansion of municipal services. In housing construction, as elsewhere, the trend was dominated by quantitative rather than qualitative indicators, with a minimal set of amenities. The five-story buildings of cities and towns, the so-called «Khrushchyovkas», were gradually replaced by six- to nine-story buildings and private construction. A new type of service emerged and became widely spread – construction and renovation of housing on the orders of the population. The expansion of construction accelerated the transition from communal apartments («kommunalkas») and dormitories to small family-type apartments. However, many obstacles stood in the way of new housing construction. No method was found to unite the efforts of developers to comprehensively build engineering communications and improve the landscaping of surrounding areas. Local executive committees did not have the right to pool enterprise resources for the construction of cultural and domestic facilities.

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<sup>1</sup> Державний архів Львівської області. Ф. П–3. Оп. 9. Спр. 218. Арк. 63.

In the western regions of Ukraine, a powerful construction industry was established. The main portion of the invested funds went to large trusts such as «Naftohazbud», «Khimmetalurhbud», and «Prykarpatzhytlobud». In 1966, construction and installation work was carried out by 44 general construction and specialized organizations; by 1977, there were 61. Housing and industrial construction was performed by specialized combines such as «Prykarpatspecbud», and trusts «Zakhidkhimpromontazh», «Prykarpatzhytlobud», and regional intercollective farm construction organizations, among others<sup>1</sup>.

These trusts and their subordinate organizations faced criticism «for failing to meet assigned tasks», for not fulfilling plans regarding the commissioning of housing and productivity targets, and for delays in the construction of kindergartens, clubs, trade facilities, and municipal services<sup>2</sup>.

Let us examine this problem through the example of one of the largest industrial giants of the region. Thus, during 1961–1970, the Kalush Chemical-Metallurgical Combine absorbed 238.5 million karbovanets in capital investments. Of these, 213.3 million karbovanets (89.2%) were allocated to industry, 18.8 million karbovanets (7.9%) to housing construction, and 3.5 million karbovanets (1.49%) to municipal services. Under the funds for «housing, culture, and domestic services», priority was given to industrial production, with certain «deviations from previous planned figures». Allocation of funds for the construction of housing and cultural-domestic facilities in the most favorable years did not exceed 1.5–2%. In subsequent years, a steady downward trend was observed – 0.5%.

The highest rates of housing construction were reached in the mid-1970s. During the eighth five-year plan alone, 2,218.7 thousand m<sup>2</sup> of housing was built in the agricultural Ternopil region, including 435.6 thousand m<sup>2</sup> funded by the state, enterprises, and housing cooperatives, and 1,783 thousand m<sup>2</sup> individually through state credit. In 1970, 455.6 thousand m<sup>2</sup> of housing was commissioned in the region, including 111.8 thousand

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<sup>1</sup> Державний архів Івано-Франківської області (далі – ДАІФО). Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Спр. 3676. Арк. 8.

<sup>2</sup> ДАІФО. Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Спр. 3584. Арк. 1.

m<sup>2</sup> funded by the state, enterprises, and housing cooperatives. Thatched cottages with straw roofs disappeared into the past, entering ethnographic museum collections<sup>1</sup>.

On average, during the period under study, 3,500–4,000 new apartments were commissioned annually in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR. The housing problem was most acute in regional and district centers. The estimated cost of 1 m<sup>2</sup> of living space from centralized funding sources in 1971 was 188.5 karbovanets, and from non-centralized sources – 179.9 karbovanets. Lists of those needing improved housing included about 15–20 thousand people per region. At the same time, those in urgent need of housing were 3–4 thousand people, or 20%. These included large families and people living in basements, attics, or unsafe buildings.

City and district executive committees, enterprises, and organizations developed annual plans to provide housing for workers who needed urgent improvement of living conditions. For this purpose, they were allocated no less than 15% of the total apartment space being distributed. Party regional committee bureaus repeatedly reviewed issues concerning violations of housing distribution procedures at their meetings and «responded» by «strengthening control» and «decisively suppressing various attempts». Archival materials indicate widespread abuse of official positions by responsible individuals<sup>2</sup>.

Self-interest, «private ownership tendencie», and the desire of economic, state, and party employees for profit and enrichment became increasingly widespread. In a high-profile resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine «On the results of checking a letter from Kolomyia, Ivano-Frankivsk region» dated September 25, 1979, it was noted: «Numerous letters and complaints regarding gross violations in the distribution of housing and individual housing construction were received by the regional executive committee from Kolomyia. However, due to a formal-bureaucratic approach, such cases did not receive proper assessment and response...». Administrative bodies

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<sup>1</sup> Малярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991): монографія. Вид. 2-ге, переробл. і допов. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2023. С. 328.

<sup>2</sup> ДАІФО. Ф. Р–295. Оп. 5. Спр. 4436. Арк. 94.

of the city and district of Kolomyia uncovered facts of abuse and bribery involving 22 officials, against whom criminal cases were initiated<sup>1</sup>.

In the 1970s, individual private construction became widespread among the party-Soviet nomenclature, employees of trade and economic structures, and law enforcement agencies. The most prestigious were plots of land around regional and district centers and resort areas. Departments for Construction and Architecture of regional executive committees analyzed letters and applications from workers regarding individual construction. The main reasons for complaints were: constant violations by responsible officials of the general development plans of settlements, improper procedures for individual construction, cases of unauthorized construction, etc.

A pressing issue remained the provision of needs in children's preschool institutions. Regional executive committees developed and approved long-term plans for the construction of preschool institutions. Even with successful implementation of these tasks, only about a quarter of children in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR would have access to preschool education, whereas across the republic this figure already reached 41% by 1977. The expansion of the preschool network in rural areas proceeded at an extremely slow pace.

By the early 1980s, a single region in the western part of the Ukrainian SSR had 250–400 dormitories, housing between 40,000 and 60,000 people. Most dormitories in regional centers were overcrowded. As a rule, there was no hot water, no laundry rooms, one kitchen for 15–20 families, and repairs were carried out belatedly. Dormitories for single individuals were becoming increasingly common<sup>2</sup>. Archival materials contain a large amount of information on this issue. For example, in implementation of Resolution No. 58 (with the knowledge of the regional Council of Trade Unions), the regional construction and industrial materials workers' union, together with the «Ivano-Frankivskprombud» combine, developed and communicated concrete measures to improve living conditions for dormitory residents and organize public catering for construction workers. According to prepared

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<sup>1</sup> ДАІФО. Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Спр. 4677. Арк. 11.

<sup>2</sup> ДАІФО. Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Спр. 4617. Арк. 17.

schedules, individual responsible employees of the regional Council of Trade Unions, managers of the combine, construction trusts, and administrations visited worker dormitories, held discussions on topics of interest to residents, provided necessary consultations, and attended resident meetings<sup>1</sup>.

The most pressing issue for citizens, in the resolution of which the leadership involved the trade union, was the distribution of housing among employees in accordance with the established queue, as well as the organization of leisure and recreation and sanatorium-resort treatment. Although it was officially considered that the trade union committee supervised the distribution of housing, its opinion can hardly be regarded as decisive. The chair of the trade union could show some independence perhaps only in the distribution of vouchers to holiday homes and for sanatorium-resort treatment. However, even in these matters the trade union could not ignore the wishes of the party committee secretary or the «authorities». Deprived of the real right to independence in resolving important issues of the collective, the trade union was perceived as a body authorized by the party that created only the appearance of protecting the rights of ordinary citizens.

In the second half of the last century, the rural household infrastructure improved, mainly in urban-type settlements and suburban communities. Provision of household services was carried out by specialized enterprises – household combines – which for years did not change the structure of their activities. By the mid-1970s, almost all collective farms (kolkhozes) and state farms (sovkhozes) in the region had organized household service centers and comprehensive reception points<sup>2</sup>. For general public use, the following services were provided: custom tailoring of clothing, furniture manufacturing, dry cleaning and dyeing of garments, and the repair of footwear, clothing items, household appliances, vehicles, and others. Regional departments of consumer services reported on the commissioning of bathhouses and shower facilities, the volume of laundry services, the services of photo studios, apartment repairs, as well as the work of hairdressing salons, rental points, and other services.

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<sup>1</sup> ДАИФО. Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Стр. 4118. Арк. 164.

<sup>2</sup> ДАИФО. Ф. П–1. Оп. 1. Стр. 4119. Арк. 177.

An element of the household complex – radio broadcasting and telephone service in villages – developed extremely slowly. The issue of complete electrification of villages and suburban houses remained urgent. Archival materials indicate varying numbers across the region's oblasts. In letters to the Minister of Energy and Electrification of the Ukrainian SSR, A. Makukhin, the secretaries of the western regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine reported that 3,000–5,000 houses in the oblasts were still not electrified. This caused numerous complaints from village residents, who required the construction of kilometers of low-voltage power lines.

The next problem in municipal infrastructure development for villages was gasification. In the western regions, due to the availability of local natural gas, villages were being gasified at relatively high rates compared to other regions of the republic. For example, in the Carpathian regions, the share of gasified villages in the mid-1990s was 30–40%, whereas 3% of gasified villages in the Odesa and Kherson regions was considered a high figure. Gasification of cities and villages was an important factor in improving the material well-being of the population. During just one seven-year period, the total savings for the population of the Ukrainian SSR from the use of gas for household needs amounted to 577 million rubles. In addition, the use of natural gas for communal and household purposes freed millions of workers from unproductive labor and significantly improved sanitary and hygienic conditions<sup>1</sup>.

Automobile transport took an increasingly important place in daily life. The bus became the main type of urban and rural transport. Connections between remote mountain and forest villages, as well as those located at significant distances from district centers, were not well established. From the early 1970s, suburban lines began to be serviced by Hungarian diesel trains, popularly called the «Chervona Ruta». Major railway hubs developed in regional centers, through which international express

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<sup>1</sup> Розквіт економіки західних областей УРСР (1939–1964 рр.) / [відп. ред. М. І. Петровський; І. Ф. Гриновець, І. О. Луцик, В. І. Михайлов та ін.]. Львів: Вид-во Львівського ун-ту, 1964. С. 124.

trains ran. Regional centers received direct connections to various capitals of the Soviet Union.

According to official statistics, in 1971–1980, state expenditures on improving the material well-being of people nearly doubled in absolute terms. However, analyzing the structure of state investments by economic sectors reveals a different trend: while absolute capital investments in social programs increased, their share in total expenditures decreased. During 1966–1970, capital investments in the development of the «B» group sectors accounted for 5.3% of all investments, but in the following five-year period, they fell to 4.8%. In housing construction, this decreased from 17.2% to 15.3%, and in the construction of trade, communal, and other socio-cultural enterprises – from 15% to 14.8%<sup>1</sup>.

In the field of consumer trade, a number of measures were implemented that ensured the fulfillment of trade development plans. The first autumn Carpathian fair in the Ivano-Frankivsk region took place on October 9, 1966, on the day celebrating agricultural workers. The fair included trade enterprises from 12 districts and the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, 12 district consumer cooperatives, 8 worker supply departments, 2 trade and industrial-trade organizations, a trust of canteens and restaurants, food trade, the companies «Furniture» and «Shoes», forestry trade, cooperative trade, road restaurants, book trade, pharmacy administration, 156 collective farms, 2 state farms, and individual farmers. Over 145,000 people visited the fair<sup>2</sup>.

Soviet gigantomania was vividly reflected in the architecture of stores and «trading space». The network of public catering enterprises expanded (exceeding the target by 3,702 seats). By the mid-1970s, the planned targets for opening shops, semi-finished and culinary product workshops, as well as the reconstruction and construction of enterprises producing soft drinks and sausage products, were exceeded. Characterizing trade development, both production and sales of consumer goods increased. At the same time, there was a tendency to change the subordination of enterprises within districts, especially those located around regional

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<sup>1</sup> Саржан А. О. Зміни в соціально-економічній сфері Донбасу. Друга половина 40-х – кінець 80-х рр. XX ст. Донецьк: ООО «Лебедь», 2004. С. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Радянське Прикарпаття 1959–1975. Документи і матеріали: [в 2 т.] / Відп. ред. М. Хвостін. Ужгород: Карпати, 1983. Т. 2. С. 93.

centers. Regional authorities sought to gain more benefit from factories and plants for the development of the city rather than surrounding villages. Enterprises directly organized the sale of packaged semi-finished products, expanded factory canteens, and set up buffets.

A significant portion of consumer goods was of low quality and did not have proper demand. A typical situation in a Soviet store was that goods supposedly existed, yet there was nothing to buy. Scarce goods, especially those of imported origin, had to be purchased «from under the counter». The authorities attempted to study the population's needs for various categories of goods; various interdepartmental, local, and interregional commissions were created to analyze demand. Large industrial associations began organizing exhibition-sales of high-demand goods, meetings between representatives of industry and consumers, wholesale fairs for the sale of goods, and similar events. The production plan for the following year was formed taking into account the results of buying and selling, as well as contracts concluded between wholesale trade bases and retail trade enterprises on the one hand, and industrial enterprises, associations, and firms on the other.

In general, the state implemented numerous measures that contributed to raising living standards and improving the everyday life of citizens. Between 1965 and 1985, the average monthly salary of workers and employees in the republic more than doubled. The functioning of public consumption funds contributed to an increase in various payments to the population. A significant portion of these funds was allocated to free education, the development of healthcare, and cultural and consumer services. Since 1970, the payments and benefits received by the population of the republic from public consumption funds doubled. In 1985, the average monthly salary amounted to 174 rubles, and including payments and benefits from public consumption funds it reached nearly 250 rubles<sup>1</sup>.

It is necessary to take into account that hidden inflationary mechanisms were operating at the same time, while prices on the consumer market were constantly rising. The growth of wages was

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<sup>1</sup> Саржан А. О. Зміни в соціально-економічній сфері Донбасу. Друга половина 40-х – кінець 80-х рр. XX ст. Донецьк: ООО «Лебедь», 2004. С. 232.

not supported by an increase in the supply of goods and services. A significant portion of consumer goods was of low quality, and the chronic shortage was becoming increasingly widespread. The illusion of citizens' material well-being was created by money, part of which accumulated in savings banks. In an average village with a population of 1,500–2,000 people, about 600–800 residents were depositors in the savings bank, and their total deposits amounted to more than 1 million rubles<sup>1</sup>.

During 1965–1985, savings of the population in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 6.4 to 63.7 billion rubles. However, in 1965 the annual retail turnover was almost three times higher than the total deposits of the population in savings banks, whereas two decades later unused savings exceeded the annual retail turnover by 13%. This led to widespread abuses in the trade system, speculation, and the development of the «black market» and the «shadow economy». Such everyday practices as purchasing goods «through acquaintances» or «through connections» (known as *po blatu*), that is, by using personal or family ties, became particularly widespread<sup>2</sup>.

In the 1980s, the state allocated 10–15 million rubles from the budget for the improvement of cities and urban-type settlements and for major repairs of the housing stock in the western regions. In 1988, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast used 14 million rubles, which was 20% more than the previous year. Financial inspections of the use of these funds revealed «significant deficiencies and violations». In the cities and villages of the region, only 49% of roads were paved, and only 10.7% had stormwater drainage systems. Street lighting was in unsatisfactory condition in the cities of Yaremche and Horodenka, and in the settlements of Dyliatyn, Korshev, Kovalivtsi, Vyhoda, and others. Most of the urban housing stock belonged to enterprises of various ministries and departments. Such apartments were often equipped with communal amenities

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<sup>1</sup> Малярчук О. Соціально-економічні процеси в західному регіоні Української РСР (1964–1991): монографія. Вид. 2-ге, переробл. і допов. Івано-Франківськ: Симфонія форте, 2023. С. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Саржан А. О. Зміни в соціально-економічній сфері Донбасу. Друга половина 40-х – кінець 80-х рр. XX ст. Донецьк: ООО «Лебедь», 2004. С. 234.

significantly worse than those in premises managed by the local Soviets<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, the most favorable period for the development of the social sphere during the studied timeframe was the second half of the 1960s to the 1970s. In rural areas, although still insufficient, residential buildings were constructed for young specialists, as well as schools, school boarding facilities, preschool institutions, fieldsher-obstetric stations, clubs, libraries, consumer service facilities, bathhouses, shops, public catering pavilions, administrative buildings for village councils, post offices, and bus stations; gas and telephone services were also extended. In cities, the housing sector expanded, prompting the construction of new streets, squares, roads, sidewalks, bridges, and the organization of public spaces.

## **5. Attempt to Outline Prospects**

The social policy of the totalitarian regime in the Ukrainian SSR was based on Marxist-Leninist ideological doctrine and strict adherence to all indicators of the unified state plan. The process of economic development in the western region of Ukraine, exemplified by Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, showed certain specific features, primarily determined by the deformed structure of production. First, the party-Soviet authorities concentrated their main attention on the development of heavy industry, while agricultural production and the social sphere were considered secondary. Second, the development of social infrastructure depended on the conditions of the city or rural area, which in turn was classified as either «promising» or «non-promising».

The state proclaimed that the socialist economy worked for the individual, for the satisfaction of people's vital needs and interests, and was subordinated to them. The particularities of implementing social policy during these years consisted in the fact that the state simultaneously addressed various tasks, namely: ensuring minimum state social guarantees, regulating wages and monetary incomes, maintaining employment, providing state support for the most socially vulnerable groups, and ensuring housing for citizens, among others. The main indicator of the effectiveness of a state's

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<sup>1</sup> ДАІФО. Ф. Р-295. Оп. 5. Спр. 5910. Арк. 231.

social policy is an adequate standard of living for the population. The standard of living of the majority of citizens, especially those working in agriculture, was characterized by low wages. The problem of developing economic and legal measures to strengthen motivation to work and to create conditions for halting the decline in real incomes of the population remained relevant, as did the need to normalize the relationship between minimum wages, pensions, scholarships, and social benefits under conditions of rising consumer prices.

In the 1960s–1980s, the development of the social and social-service infrastructure in rural areas was carried out on the basis of two main sources of financing: the state budget and allocations from collective farms. At the same time, an analysis of archival and statistical data shows that state capital investments did not cover the needs of the countryside, and the main burden of constructing facilities was shifted onto the collective farms.

At the same time, the social sphere of the Western Ukrainian countryside was undergoing fundamental changes and improvements. However, it developed at an insufficient pace, which made it impossible to properly resolve problems such as universal radio coverage, gas and water supply, and even the electrification of remote mountainous settlements. Not all villages had kindergartens, consumer service centers, hairdressing salons, and similar facilities. The lag in the development of the social and everyday services infrastructure negatively affected the attractiveness of rural areas for young people and specialists. Even the existing system of state job placement could not keep them in the countryside.

During the years of Ukraine's independence, the transformation of the socio-economic sphere in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, as well as in the country as a whole, has been extremely slow and painful. The crisis affected all sectors of socio-political, socio-economic, educational, and cultural life. Due to the Russo-Ukrainian war that began in 2014 and especially after the full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, the path toward an open democratic society, a socially oriented economy, and the creation of conditions capable of ensuring a dignified life and the free development of every citizen has been significantly slowed.

Awareness of the positive and negative trends in the socio-economic life of the western region of Ukraine during the studied period makes it possible to formulate a program of social policy and several practical recommendations:

- the main focus should be placed on the legal framework of reforms. The provisions of the Constitution of Ukraine and Presidential Decree of Ukraine No. 543/2019 «On the Development of the Region of the Ukrainian Carpathians», aimed at stimulating socio-economic development, increasing investment attractiveness, and developing the recreational, tourism, and ethno-cultural potential of the Ukrainian Carpathians, apply to Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Zakarpattia, and Chernivtsi regions.

- the successful implementation of reforms is possible within an appropriate educational and information network, provided that qualified specialists and managers are involved.

- reforms should be carried out consistently, taking into account the experience of neighboring states.

- an important component of social policy is the management of the labor market and the implementation of an active employment policy.

The optimal resolution of socio-economic problems depends on state authorities, research institutions, and private initiative. A market system presupposes «producing what sells». The structural restructuring of industry includes: the closure of economically inefficient and environmentally harmful enterprises that cannot be repurposed to produce competitive products or transformed into environmentally safe ones; the division of large enterprises and their further reorientation toward the production of profitable goods that are in demand; the establishment of private manufacturing enterprises and the expansion of the service sector related to green tourism.

Today, as we seek to comprehend the past and find guidance for the future, it is necessary to study comprehensively the problems of the Ukrainian mentality that contributed to spiritual revival and economic development. The time has come to objectively reconstruct the history of Ukraine at its various stages, free from ideological distortions and censorship. While carrying out «socialist transformations in the countryside», the regime used all means to prevent political self-expression. The absence of peasant

political organizations complicated the search for common ground and the development of a unified approach to policy in rural areas. The transformation of the economy from one type to another has the greatest impact on the social sphere. Along with the restoration of national forms of worldview, there is also the penetration of new systems of values characteristic of Western civilization. Economic growth and competitiveness are associated with the country's economic development; therefore, the issue of education emerges as a matter of national importance.

## CONCLUSIONS

The rapid pace of industrial development over a relatively short historical period fundamentally changed the nature of the economy of the western regions of Ukraine. From predominantly agrarian areas, they were transformed into industrial ones. New branches of industry emerged, and the sectoral structure of the economy changed significantly. Whereas previously the population was mainly engaged in household farming, during the period under study the majority worked in industry and construction. In the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, the growth rates of industrial production were higher than in other regions. This made it possible, especially in the Carpathian zone, to involve a considerable amount of previously unemployed labor in «socially organized labor». Villages that had not been collectivized by the early 1970s had a significant surplus of labor.

In the second half of the twentieth century, labor-day work units in collective farms were abolished and replaced with a system of guaranteed wages. Collective farmers began receiving pensions and paid leave, meaning their social status was equated with that of other categories of citizens in Soviet society. In rural areas, although still insufficient in number, residential houses were built for young specialists, along with schools, school boarding facilities, preschool institutions, feldsher-obstetric stations, clubs, libraries, consumer service facilities, bathhouses, shops, public catering pavilions, administrative buildings for village councils, post offices, and bus stations; gasification and telephone services were also implemented.

The material and everyday living conditions of the majority of the population were determined by wages, which, along with

household plots, became the main source of family income. At the same time, the tariff rates for workers, engineering and technical staff, and employees differed significantly from the meager salaries of collective farmers. The minimal incomes of the rural population engaged in collective and state farm production resulted in low purchasing power. Gradual increases in wages for collective farmers noticeably improved people's well-being.

During the period under study, the essence of social policy in the USSR did not change. It was based on distributive relations and centralized administrative management. The growth of the country's economic potential allowed for increased attention to social issues. Housing construction was carried out at the fastest pace, particularly in rural areas. Significant changes took place in the development of villages. New technologies and materials began to be widely applied. Rural dwellings became much larger, more spacious, and met new standards. The boom in construction helped to solve, albeit not completely, one of the serious problems: many peasants began living in their own homes, which contributed to improving the quality of rural life.

During this period, the bureaucratic term «non-promising village» emerged, which negatively affected the development of rural areas. In such villages, social and household construction was «frozen», repairs were not carried out on time, and various facilities were neglected or even closed. This policy caused irreparable harm. Many schools, clubs, libraries, and kindergartens were opened in adapted premises or built according to outdated designs. In some remote settlements, the problem was even more acute: these institutions either did not exist at all or were not operational. The network of healthcare facilities and the effectiveness of medical services were significantly below urban standards. Overall, rural workers lacked adequate living conditions and leisure opportunities, which prevented them from fully meeting their cultural and educational needs.

Despite the authorities' constant declarations about the priority of the social sphere, state services in consumer affairs, transport, trade, and housing and communal services could provide only a minimum of benefits for citizens. The living conditions of the population in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR did not correspond to their contribution to the formation of the country's

industrial capacity and military-industrial complex. Improvements in the living conditions of the elderly were supported by pension legislation. Minimum pension amounts were increased for old age and in cases of loss of a breadwinner; pensions were granted to women who had five or more children even if they did not have a full work record, as well as to mothers of children with disabilities. For continuous service, workers and employees who had worked at the same enterprise for more than 25 years received an increase in pension supplements from 10% to 20%. While these measures represented positive changes, it should be noted that, overall, all these actions of the Soviet authorities did not provide an adequate standard of living for the majority of people, especially those living in rural areas.

### **ABSTRACT**

This study attempts to characterize the main stages, directions, and current state of research on social policy using the example of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast from the second half of the 1940s to the first quarter of the 21st century. In the second half of the twentieth century, the western region of Ukraine developed significant industrial, agricultural, and social potential, which was intensively utilized within the framework of the all-Union and republican economic system. However, this was a deformed, inefficient, and stagnant socio-economic structure subordinated to the military-industrial complex of the USSR.

The principles of social justice in the state were upheld by the Constitution, which guaranteed equal conditions for the development of each individual and opportunities to apply one's abilities for both personal and societal benefit. The state assigned numerous socio-economic responsibilities not only to itself but also to various social institutions, creating corresponding services that collectively formed the system of social protection for citizens. Pensions, other types of social payments, and assistance – which served as the main source of livelihood – ensured a minimum subsistence level. However, the state's social policy was implemented on a residual basis, which became a factor of destabilization in forming a comprehensive and integrated approach. Under the dominance of command-administrative principles in the economy, the resolution of social and everyday

issues was considered secondary. Accordingly, access to social benefits and services varied sharply between urban and rural residents, as well as between workers in large enterprises and those in underdeveloped collective farms.

The development of the social sphere and the standard of living of the population displayed certain specific features: primary attention was given to the growth of heavy, chemical, and oil-and-gas industries, as well as agriculture. The social sphere lagged behind in its development. During these years, some progress was made in addressing housing issues, and in the development of education, healthcare, culture, sports, and so on. However, significant social contradictions were embedded in the system. Property stratification was emerging in society, and social tensions were increasing, even though Soviet social policy was formally based on principles of standardization and meeting the minimal needs of the «ordinary» person.

In the face of new geopolitical challenges related to the Russo-Ukrainian war, it is necessary to focus on the accumulated experience of generations, which, with state support, can reach a new qualitative level and stimulate various sectors of the economy and social infrastructure.

## **АНОТАЦІЯ**

У роботі здійснено спробу здійснити характеристику основних етапів, напрямків і сучасний стан розробки проблеми соціальної політики на прикладі Івано-Франківської області в другій половині 40-х ХХ ст. – першій чверті ХХІ ст. У другій половині ХХ ст. у західному регіоні України було сформовано потужний промисловий, аграрний та соціальний потенціал, який інтенсивно використовувався в межах загальносоюзного і республіканського господарського комплексу. Проте це була деформована, неефективна, нединамічна соціально-економічна структура підпорядкована військово-промислому комплексу СРСР.

Принципи соціальної справедливості в державі захищала Конституція, яка гарантувала рівні умови для розвитку кожної особистості, можливості застосування своїх здібностей заради власної та суспільної користі. Держава покладала численні соціально-економічні обов'язки не тільки на себе, а й різнома-

нітні суспільні інституції – створювали відповідні служби, які загалом формували систему соціального захисту громадян. Пенсії, інші види соціальних виплат та допомоги, що були основним джерелом існування, забезпечували прожитковий мінімум. Проте соціальну політику держави здійснювали за залишковим принципом, що стало фактором дестабілізації у формуванні цілісного, комплексного підходу. За умов панування командно-адміністративних засад в економіці у країні домінував принцип другорядності щодо розв’язання соціально-побутових проблем. Відповідно, він різко відрізнявся і для жителів міста чи села, і працівників великих підприємств чи відсталих колгоспів.

Становлення соціальної сфери і життєвого рівня населення виявляли певну специфіку – головну увагу надавали розвитку важкої, хімічної, нафтогазової промисловості та сільського господарства. Соціальна сфера відставала у своєму розвитку. У вказані роки відбулися певні зрушення в розв’язанні житлової проблеми, розвитку освіти, охорони здоров’я, культури, спорту тощо. Однак, відповідно закладено великі суспільні протиріччя. У суспільстві назріло майнове розшарування, посилювалась напруженість, хоча радянська соціальна політика базувалася на основі принципів уніфікації і мінімальних потреб «простої» людини.

У нових геополітичних викликах, пов’язаних з російсько-українською війною, необхідно робити акцент на наявний напрацьований досвід поколінь, який здатний при державній підтримці вийти на новий якісний рівень та активізувати різні галузі економіки та соціальної інфраструктури.

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