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Co-financed by the European Union

Problems of Migrant Integration in Ukraine

Oleksii Pozniak

CARIM-East Research Report 2012/45



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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

Research Report
CARIM-East RR 2012/45

Problems of Migrant Integration in Ukraine

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Oleksii Pozniak, Problems of Migrant Integration in Ukraine, CARIM-East RR 2012/45, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2012.

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CARIM-East – Creating an Observatory East of Europe

This project which is co-financed by the European Union is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.

The project's two main themes are:

- (1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
- (2) intraregional migration in the post-Soviet space.

The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).

CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:

- builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science).
- develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
- undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and *ad hoc* studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels.
- provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
- provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.

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Abstract

The paper assesses opportunities and develops proposals for the integration of immigrants, as well as the adaptation of re-emigrants – long-term Ukrainian labour migrants returning home. An analysis of immigration to Ukraine has been carried out on the basis of: the 2001 population census; the current registering of migration processes; and also administrative sources of information. These sources include material from the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine, the State Migration Service of Ukraine, the State Employment Service of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, as well as data from special sampling surveys, including those held under the author's guidance. The paper considers three specific migration groups in Ukraine: “non-traditional” immigrants; the “Soviet Diaspora”; and long-term labour emigrants. An assessment has been made of “non-traditional” immigrants in Ukraine and the prospects for their integration. A bilateral approach was here employed – the comparison of opinions from Ukrainian citizens and from foreigners on the basis of student youth surveys (including foreign students). It has been demonstrated that the frequency of contacts between immigrants and the receiving society is an important integration mechanism. An assessment has been made of the conditions of long-term Ukrainian migrants in recipient countries with the conclusion that these conditions are not significantly different from the conditions of short- and medium-term migrants. Particular attention has been paid to the “Soviet Diaspora,” thus far practically untouched by scholarly publications in Ukraine. It is shown that the Soviet Diaspora in Ukraine (and other former USSR republics) has certain features sharply distinguishing it from “diaspora” in the classical sense. An attempt has been made to define the term, develop the criteria to limit the reference groups and to assess the dimensions of the Soviet Diaspora. An analysis of current Ukrainian immigration policies has been given. Policy recommendations for perfecting Ukrainian state policy in the field of immigration, immigrants' integration and the reintegration of returning long-term Ukrainian labour migrants have been formulated as well.

Абстракт

Статья посвящена оценке возможностей и разработке предложений по интеграции иммигрантов, а также адаптации реэмигрантов – долгосрочных украинских трудовых мигрантов. Осуществлен анализ иммиграции в Украину на основе использования данных переписи 2001 г., текущего учета миграционных процессов, административных источников информации – данных Министерства внутренних дел Украины, Государственной миграционной службы Украины, Государственной службы занятости Министерства социальной политики Украины, Министерства образования, науки, молодежи и спорта Украины, а также сведений специальных выборочных обследований, в т.ч. проведенных под руководством автора. В работе рассматриваются три специфические миграционные группы населения Украины: «нетрадиционные» иммигранты, «советская диаспора» и долгосрочные трудовые эмигранты. Произведена оценка положения «нетрадиционных» иммигрантов в Украине и перспектив их интеграции. При этом применен двухсторонний подход – сравнение точек зрения украинских граждан и иностранцев на основе опросов студенческой молодежи (включая студентов-иностранцев). Показано, что частота контактов между иммигрантами и принимающим сообществом является важным механизмом интеграции иммигрантов. Оценено положение украинских долгосрочных трудовых мигрантов в странах-реципиентах, показано, что оно существенно не отличается от положения кратко- и среднесрочных мигрантов. Особое внимание уделено феномену «советской диаспоры», практически не исследованному в украинской научной литературе. Показано, что Советская диаспора в Украине (и других бывших советских республиках) имеет ряд особенностей, резко отличающих ее от диаспоры в классическом понимании. Предпринята попытка определить значение термина, разработать критерии делимитации контингента, оценить масштабы советской диаспоры. Проанализирована существующая иммиграционная политика Украины. На основе аналитических разработок, созданных в процессе исследования, сформированы и обоснованы предложения по усовершенствованию государственной политики Украины в сфере иммиграции, интеграции иммигрантов и реинтеграции возвращающихся долгосрочных украинских трудовых мигрантов.

Introduction.

Ukraine has always partaken in migration processes, with representatives of various ethnic groups cohabitating on its territory. Movements of peoples from Asia to Europe passed through the territory of the present day Ukraine in the past. Both Eastern Slavic tribes and the Turkic peoples of the Northern Black Sea region, as well as members of other ethnic groups, contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian ethnos.

The fact that the present day Ukrainian territory has been a part of various states in the past also contributed to the heterogeneity of its population. Consequently, today representatives of the principal ethnic groups of these countries find themselves in Ukraine. Thus, Poles settled on the territories of Western Ukraine, in the present day Chernovtsy region – Romanians, in the Transcarpathian region – Hungarians and, after it entered Czechoslovakia in 1919, - Czechs and Slovaks. Within the last three and a half centuries ethnic Russians and other peoples from the present day Russia have settled on the territories of Central, Eastern and South (from 1940s also Western) Ukraine.

When Ukraine was a part of the USSR the migration mobility of its population remained high. Just before the Second World War and immediately afterwards Ukraine suffered considerable population loss. This was the result of recruiting workforces for great construction projects in the Eastern regions of the Soviet Union: there was also the question of the reclamation of virgin lands, as well as due to forced resettlements of dispossessed “kulaks” and the deportation of certain ethnic groups. Thus, during the Second World War over 400,000 ethnic Germans, almost 200,000 Crimean Tatars, 10,000-16,000 Greeks, the same number of Bulgarians and Armenians and a round 500 Italians were moved from the Southern Ukrainian region and the Crimea to Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.¹ Both before and after the War hundreds of thousands of ethnic Ukrainians – participants in the national liberation movement and other “politically unreliable elements” – were deported.² The organized movement of people from other Soviet Republics was less numerous during this period. Thus, in 1933-1934 138,000 Russian and Belarusian peasants were resettled in the Ukrainian regions hit by the Holodomor of 1932-1934.³

Later on, spontaneous individual movements involving people of various ethnic groups replaced organized migration. Considerable unification in the way of life over the entire state territory (at least in urban settlements) contributed to this process. An other important factor was the availability of work, which made the citizens of the former Soviet Union sure of their employment and livelihood anywhere in the country and meant that migration was not necessary. In 1960s-1980s Ukraine had a mainly positive balance of migration exchange with other USSR republics. This resulted in a higher rate of people born outside Ukraine in its population structure. However, the newcomers, especially ethnic Russians who were unofficially considered the privileged ethnic group of the former USSR, made practically no attempts to integrate culturally into the receiving society. On the other hand, these migrants occupied high positions and were integrated into Soviet economic structures and thus promoted the economic integration of locals at the Union level.

The new phase of Ukrainian migration history began after independence. One of the outcomes of the collapse of the USSR was complete integration of the country into international population exchange. Whereas stationary migration (related to the change of place of residence and registered by official statistics) became less intensive, such new forms of migrations as outward labour migration, movements of refugees, irregular migrants' transit and immigration from outside the former USSR became widespread.

¹Котигоренко О. Етнічні протиріччя і конфлікти в сучасній Україні: політологічний концепт. – Київ: Світогляд, 2004.

² Енциклопедія історії України. – Т. 2.- Київ: Наукова думка, 2004.

³Національна книга пам'яті жертв Голодомору 1932-1933 років в Україні. – Київ: Видавництво ім. Олени Теліги, 2008.

Ukraine now is one of the largest donor-countries of labour force in Europe. According to the data of the first national sampling survey concerning the labour migration (2008), from January 2005 to July 2008 one and a half million Ukrainian citizens or 5.1% of its active age population worked abroad.⁴ With those migrants that were not covered by the survey of 2008, the total number of Ukrainian labour migrants was estimated as high as 2.1 million people.⁵ Some of them have been abroad for many years. Long-term returning migrants thus face the problem of adaptation to society that has changed through the period of their absence. The number of immigrants to Ukraine from other countries is insignificant, but constantly growing, which intensifies the problem of integration. Migrants' integration in Ukraine thus comprises two principal components: the integration of long-term returning Ukrainian labour migrants and the problem of the integration of migrants from other countries. Moreover, speaking of migrants' integration one should distinguish between migrants from developing countries who arrived in Ukraine post-independence and who have not integrated or insufficiently integrated into Ukrainian society and migrants of the Soviet period. The latter can hardly be considered immigrants *sensu stricto*, since they formerly moved to another region of the same state without crossing any state border. Internal migrants of the Soviet period formed in Ukraine a specific diaspora which can justifiably be called 'Soviet' given its social and political make up.

The paper assesses opportunities and develops proposals for the integration of immigrants, as well as for the adaptation of long-term Ukrainian labour migrants. Particular attention has been paid to the 'Soviet Diaspora,' thus far practically ignored by scholars.

Literature review.

Ukrainian scholarly literature pays little attention to the problems of immigration on the whole and the question of integration in particular. There exist just a few monographic studies and journal publications. A number of works can here be singled out: papers by E. Malinovskaia, V. Evtukh, publications by the Kiev office of the Kennan Institute and studies by the East European Development Institute.⁶ The department for migration studies of the Institute for Demography and Social Studies (IDSS) of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine with the participation of the author of the present paper has held several surveys with tertiary-level students. These have been devoted to the problems of immigration to Ukraine.⁷ A report devoted to the problems of immigrants in Ukraine was

⁴ Зовнішня трудова міграція населення / Звіт – Український центр соціальних реформ, Державний комітет статистики України.– К., 2009. – С. 25.

⁵ Poznyak A. External Labour Migration In Ukraine As A Factor In Socio-Demographic And Economic Development. <http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-2012-RR-14.pdf>

⁶ См. Малиновська О. Імміграційна амністія як засіб мінімізації загроз нелегальної міграції: міжнародний досвід та доцільність його використання в Україні // Стратегічна панорама, 2009. - №1.; Евтух В. Мигранты в Украине: Новые этничности – новые проблемы. / Этничность на постсоветском пространстве: роль в обществе и перспективы: Материалы конференции. – К., Феникс, 1997. – С. 78-82.; "Нетрадиційні" іммігранти у Києві/ Брайчевська О., Волосюк Г., Малиновська О., Пилинський Я., Попсон Н., Рубл Б./ Блер Рубл, Олена Малиновська (керівники проекту). - К.: Стилос, 2003. - 447 с.; "Нетрадиційні" іммігранти у Києві: сім років по тому / За заг. ред. Пилинського Я.М. – К.: Стилос, 2009. – 280 с.; Міграція і толерантність в Україні: зб. ст./ За ред. Ярослава Пилинського.- К.: Стилос, 2007. - 191 с.; Мазука Л. Проблема інтеграції новітніх міграційних спільнот в українське суспільство // Соціально-економічні та етнокультурні наслідки міграції для України : зб. матеріалів наук.-практ. Конф (Київ, 27 вересня 2011 р.) / упоряд. О.А. Малиновська. – К.: НІСД, 2011. – С. 261–268.; Непочуті голоси – проблеми імміграції, прав і свобод людини в Україні. Проект «Надати голоси тим, хто не має права голосу: опитування етнічних (нетрадиційних) меншин в Україні з метою вивчення їх потреб. – Київ: Фара, 2008.

⁷ Міграційні процеси в Україні: сучасний стан і перспективи / За ред. О.В.Позняка. – Умань, 2007.; Позняк О.В. Проблеми інтеграції "нетрадиційних" іммігрантів в Україні // Музейний вісник. – №11/2. – Запоріжжя, 2011. – С. 261–266.; Драгунова Т. Навчальна міграція китайських студентів та їх інтеграція в український соціум // Соціально-економічні та етнокультурні наслідки міграції для України : зб. матеріалів наук.-практ. Конф (Київ, 27 вересня 2011 р.) / упоряд. О.А. Малиновська. – К.: НІСД, 2011. – С. 277–284.

prepared for OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights by an international expert P. Kazhmirkevich.⁸ Nonetheless, on the whole, migrant integration in Ukraine remains little researched. The principal field of migration research for Ukrainian scholars is the outward labour migration of Ukrainians. That should not be surprising, because the scope of labour migration of Ukrainian citizens exceeds that of all other types of migration taken together.

Even though the number of post-Soviet immigrants in Ukraine is not, at present, particularly high it grows steadily. The significance of immigration for Ukraine increases with time. According to some estimates, by the end of the 2010s the first signs of the lack of labour force will become apparent and by mid 2020s this problem will be palpable.⁹ The only viable way to halt a collapse in the Ukrainian population, particularly the working age Ukrainian population, is an active immigration policy. All these factors increase the importance of immigration research and the research into the problems of immigrants' integration.

The present paper analyses the scope of problems related to the integration of re-emigrants and immigrants in Ukraine, as well as attempts to study the "Soviet diaspora" in the country.

Research goal and issues considered.

The goal of the paper is to study the scope of the problems related to the integration of immigrants and re-emigrants in Ukraine. The following issues have been considered:

1. Analysis of immigration to Ukraine on the basis of: the 2001 census; the current register of migration; and administrative sources of information.
2. Assessment of the conditions of "non-traditional" immigrants in Ukraine and prospects for their integration.
3. Assessment of the conditions of long-term labour migrants in recipient countries. Though a great number of studies of outward labour migration of Ukrainian citizens have been carried out in Ukraine recently, there have been no assessments given specifically to the conditions of long-term migrants.
4. Study of the "Soviet diaspora", including attempts to define the term, develop criteria to limit the reference groups and to assess the dimensions of the Soviet diaspora.
5. Analysis of Ukrainian immigration policy, including the assessment of State immigration and integration policies; the summary of the European and world-wide experience of migrant integration; and policy recommendations for perfecting Ukrainian state policy in the field of immigration, immigrants' integration and the reintegration of returning long-term Ukrainian labour migrants.

Methodology and sources.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the transition to market economy and Ukraine's involvement in international migration processes led to the formation of specific migrant strata with different characteristics. Under "population's migration structure" we here understand a country's or region's population distribution according to certain aggregate groups [*sovokupnosti*] on the basis of one or several features related to the migration characteristics of an individual, as well as the numerical correlation between the aggregate groups verified. A migration group is an aggregate group differing from other aggregate groups in significance of migration characteristics and standing out in qualitative

⁸ Інтеграція мігрантів в Україні. Оцінка стану та потреб. <http://www.osce.org/uk/odihr/81761>

⁹ Poznyak A. External Labour Migration In Ukraine As A Factor In Socio-Demographic And Economic Development. <http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-2012-RR-14.pdf>

terms.¹⁰ The verification of migration groups is a particular kind of typological population grouping according to migration characteristics.

The present paper considers three specific migration groups in the Ukraine: “non-traditional” immigrants, the “Soviet diaspora” and long-term labour emigrants. The latter group is a part of the Ukrainian population abroad – they are included in the official statistics of the Ukrainian population and at least part of them are potential re-emigrants. The above groups are insufficiently integrated in the Ukrainian society and differ considerably from the population stock according to their lifestyles and values. Such a situation poses a threat to the mental unity of the Ukrainian population. At the same time these groups differ between themselves and demand for specific migration policy measures.

Under “long-term labour migrants” we here understand Ukrainian citizens engaged in paid economic activities on the territories of other countries and staying for one year or more. The conditions of labour migrants are primarily assessed on the basis of the first national labour migrations survey of 2008. Since this survey does not cover over-long-term labour migrants (that is people who had left 3.5 years before the survey and who have not come back to Ukraine since) it is assumed that the figures for most labour migrants staying abroad for 1-3.5 years are valid for the entire class of long-term migrants.

Non-traditional immigrants are defined as representatives of ethnic groups not traditionally residing (in historic past) in Ukraine or other countries of the former USSR.¹¹ These are mainly incomers from Asian and African countries. Certain representatives of these peoples were staying in Ukraine even in the Soviet period, but mass migration of their representatives of non-traditional ethnic groups only started after Ukraine gained independence. A bilateral approach has been employed to study the conditions of these groups in Ukraine – the comparison of the points of views of Ukrainian citizens and foreign nationals on the basis of student youth surveys (including foreign students) carried out in 2005-2011.

Immigrants, having found themselves in an unusual environment, pass through a acculturation, namely cultural adaptation and adjustment to the traditions and values of a receiving society. Depending on the level of recognition of necessity to retain culture and on the nature of their social contacts (predominantly within their ethnic groups or within a broader environment) four possible acculturation strategies can be distinguished on the part of migrants: assimilation, segregation, marginalization and integration.¹²

Assimilation is understood as renunciation of migrants’ cultural identity and a wholesome embrace of the dominant culture. Segregation retains the distinctive character of migrant identity simultaneously a voiding contacts with surrounding culture. Marginalization means the absence of either desire or ability to retain cultural identity with simultaneous unwillingness or the impossibility of maintaining contacts with a receiving society. Retaining cultural and ethnic identity with simultaneous constant interaction with cultures of ethnic majorities represents the essence of integration. Integration is the most acceptable acculturation strategy for any receiving society and a recipient state should be supportive of it.

Scholarly literature understands diaspora as a stable aggregate group of people of the same ethnic or national origin living outside the territory of their historic homeland and having established social

¹⁰ Позняк О. Комплексна класифікація населення за міграційними ознаками // Соціально-економічні та етнокультурні наслідки міграції для України : зб. матеріалів наук.-практ. Конф (Київ, 27 вересня 2011 р.) / упоряд. О.А. Малиновська. – К.: НІСД, 2011. – pp. 296–306.

¹¹ Popson E. Nancy, Blair A. Ruble. Kyiv’s Nontraditional immigrants. – *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*. – 41, No. 5 – 2000. – P. 365-378.

¹² Етносоціологія. Етнічна динаміка українського суспільства / За ред. Євтуха В.Б. – К.: Вид-во НПУ ім. М. Драгоманова, 2010.

institutions for the support and development of their community.¹³ The term “Soviet diaspora” is used in scholarly literature to denote stable communities of the natives of the Soviet Union in any country. These may represent various ethnic groups, but they speak Russian and they recognize their unity. Under “Soviet” (sometimes – “post-Soviet”) diasporas various scholarly publications likewise understand the communities of the natives of the USSR in traditional immigration countries, representatives of ethnic groups moved to their historic homelands from the USSR and the states formed upon its demise (“Soviet” Jews in Israel, “Soviet” Germans in Germany, “Soviet” Greeks in Greece) and the Soviet period re-settlers in the former Soviet republics.¹⁴ Ukrainian scholarly publications devoted to the study of the conditions of migrants from other former USSR republics in Ukraine make no use of the term “Soviet diaspora”.¹⁵

The present study understands the “Soviet diaspora” as a specific community formed in Ukraine as the result of intense inter-republican migration within the former USSR. The diaspora is mainly Russian speaking and is different in mental terms from those ethnic Russians who have been living in certain Ukrainian regions for centuries. The phenomenon of the “Soviet diaspora” is practically unstudied in Ukraine. The Soviet diaspora in Ukraine (and other republics of the former USSR) has at least three characteristic features in which it differs drastically from “diaspora” in the classical sense. First, practically none of its representatives ever crossed a state border. Its representatives appeared in Ukraine as the result of inter-Soviet-republic migration and only after the collapse of the Soviet Union found themselves outside their country of birth. Second, the Soviet diaspora emerged only after the demise of the state which it considers its historic homeland – the Soviet Union: it was only then that institutions to support the diaspora came into being. And third, this group includes both the people of foreign origin and assimilated locals, including ethnic Ukrainians.

The sources of information for research include;

- Data of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine and, in particular, of the 2001 census¹⁶ on population structure according to the place of birth, ethnic and language composition, foreign nationals, etc;
- Administrative data of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine and the State Migration Service of Ukraine on foreign nationals including immigrants;
- Data of the State Employment Service on foreign nationals temporarily working in Ukraine;
- Materials from the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine on foreign nationals studying in Ukrainian institutions of higher education;
- Data from special sampling surveys of student youth, including foreign students, held under the author’s guidance in 2005-2011;
- Materials of the first national sampling survey of labour migrations held by the Ukrainian Center for Social Reforms and State Statistics Service in mid-2008 and supported by the

¹³ Социология: Энциклопедия / Сост. А.А. Грицанов, В.Л. Абушенко, Г.М. Евелькин, Г.Н. Соколова, О.В. Терещенко., 2003 г.

¹⁴ См. Fialkova L., Yelenevskaya M. Incipient Soviet Diaspora: Encounters in Cyberspace. <http://hrcak.srce.hr/file/4923>; Тишков В. Увлечение диаспорой (о политических смыслах диаспорального дискурса) // Диаспоры. – Москва, 2003. – №2.; Laitin, David D. Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Nationality in the Post-Soviet Diaspora. // Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar., 1999.; William Berthomière. Reconstruction of the Soviet Diaspora: Analysis of the Jewish Immigration from the Former USSR in Israel. http://auca.kg/uploads/Migration_Database/William_Berthomiere_1.pdf; Eftihia A. Voutira. Post-Soviet Diaspora Politics: The Case of the Soviet Greeks. http://130.102.44.246/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_modern_greek_studies/v024/24.2voutira.pdf

¹⁵ Національні меншини України у ХХ столітті: політико-правовий аспект / Ред. кол.: І. Курас (гол. ред.) та ін. / Кер. авт. кол. М. Панчук. – К.: Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень НАН України, 2000. – 356 с.; Дністрянський М. Етнополітична географія України. — Лівів: Літопис, видавництво ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2006.

¹⁶ Вторая Всеукраинская перепись населения состоится в 2013 г.

International Organisation for Migration, World Bank and Arseniy Yatsenyuk Foundation “Open Ukraine”; the survey was held as an additional module to two surveys held regularly by the State Statistics Service with an official status: the survey of population’s economic activities and the survey of household living standards; the survey covered the migrants of working age (males of 16-59 and females of 16-54 year old) who traveled abroad 2005-2007 and in the first half of 2008 Cross-border shuttle migrants were ignored.

Results and discussion.

Analysis of immigration to Ukraine.

According to World Bank data, 5,257,500 people born in other countries of the world were living in Ukraine in 2010.¹⁷ Ukraine is thus ranked 11th after the USA, Russia, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Spain, France, Australia and India in terms of foreign born population. The largest groups of non-locals are represented by migrants from Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The largest immigrants’ share (according to the criteria adopted by the World Bank) is taken by the people who moved (from one Union republic to another) in the Soviet period and who, at migration, were internal and not international migrants.

In the 1960s and 1980s Ukraine was predominantly a recipient in inter-Soviet-republic population exchange. The net migration of the Ukrainian population was positive, ensuring 5-10% (at certain years of up to 25%) of population growth. As a result, in the last USSR census in 1989, 13.6% of inhabitants of Ukraine had been born outside the republic. By 2001, when first Ukrainian national census was held, this figure had dropped to 10.7% due to the return to their countries of origin of some internal Soviet migrants and the re-emigration of ethnic Ukrainians from other republics of the former USSR. Among the population groups born in the former Soviet republics only one grew in number: Crimean Tatars born in Uzbekistan after their deportation, who returned to their former areas of residence upon the collapse of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, due to the intensification of migration contacts with countries outside the USSR, the number of representatives of ethnic groups from developing countries also grew. Thus the number of nationals from India and Pakistan grew 8.5 times, that of Vietnamese 8.2 times, Arabs 5.3 times, the Chinese 3.3 and the Afghans 2.8 times. The number of Kurds grew 8.8 times because of arrivals both from the Middle East and the former Soviet republics. Ukraine’s entry into global economy, the expansion of international organizations’ network, the creation of joint enterprises and branches of foreign companies led to growth in representatives from developed countries: Americans 64.5 times, Dutch 3.2, English and Japanese almost two times.

According to the census of 2001 there were 196,600 foreign citizens (0.4% of the population) and 84,000 stateless persons (0.17%). The absolute majority (85.5%) of foreigners were citizens of the former USSR countries, with more than a half of them being citizens of the Russian Federation. Among the nationals of developing countries the most numerous were citizens of Vietnam, China, India, Jordan and Syria.

The first national census in Ukraine demonstrated that as of December 5th 2001 the ethnic groups from developing countries numbered over 40,000. The most numerous group were Koreans (12,711 people), Turks (8,844), Arabs (6575) and Vietnamese (3850). Less numerous, but still notable were the Chinese, Afghans, Persians, Cubans, Chileans, as well as Indians and Pakistanis. One should note that among the Turks and Koreans there are migrants not only from developing countries. Among the people

¹⁷Migration and remittances. Factbook 2011. – World Bank, Washington, 2010. – P. 1.

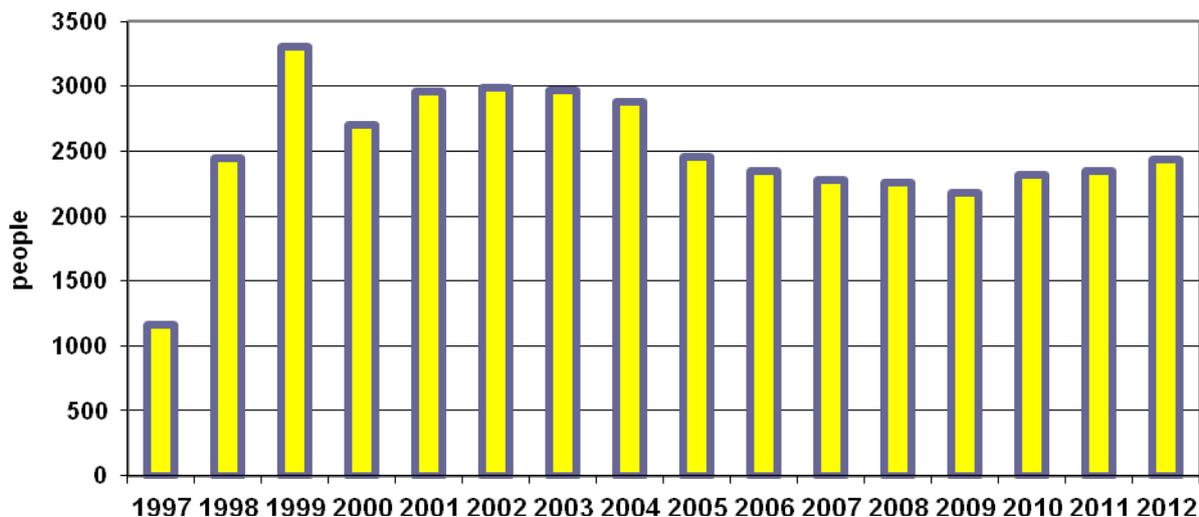
who called themselves “Turks” there are representatives of Meskhetin-Turks, whereas Koreans have been long living in Ukraine and their number is only partially the result of recent migration trends.

Recently (2006-2011), official net migration in the Ukrainian population stabilized at the level of +13,000-17,000 people a year. According to official statistics, the number of migrants annually arriving in Ukraine from developing countries was gradually declining in the early twenty first century and reached 2,900 in 2004. In 2005 their number grew somewhat (to 3,100) and in 2006 the flow doubled (up to 7,000). After some growth in 2007, stable decline in the number of arrivals from developing countries of up to 2,100 people in 2011 was observed. The most numerous were the groups of migrants from Turkey (571 people in 2011), China (318), Vietnam (208), Syria, Jordan, Afghanistan and Nigeria. Of particular note is the fact that the return flow to these countries within the first 11 years of the century did not exceed 1,700 a year, which testifies to migrants from these regions settling.

By the end of 2011 internal affairs authorities registered over 310,000 foreign nationals, predominantly citizens of the former USSR. Among the newcomers from developing countries the largest groups were from China, Vietnam, Turkey, India, Jordan, Nigeria and Iraq.

As of 1 January 2012 in Ukraine there were 2,435 people recognized as refugees. These included migrants from over 50 countries of Asia, Africa, the CIS and the former Yugoslavia. Refugee registration was introduced in Ukraine in 1997. Through 1997-2002 the number of refugees grew more than 2.5 times (the maximum reached in the beginning of 1999). 2003-2009 saw gradual decline in this group of migrants (figure 1), yet in recent years their number grew somewhat. In the structure of the Ukrainian population the number of refugees is insignificant, 0.005%.

Figure 1. Refugees in Ukraine, 1997-2012



Source: State Statistics Service of Ukraine

Asian countries are best represented here. More than a half of the refugees came from Afghanistan, even though their share is diminishing: 86% in 1997, 55% in 2012. Other numerous groups include citizens of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia (mainly Chechen migrants), Georgia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Iraq, Syria and Iran.

According to the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, at the start of the 2011/2012 academic year there were 43,000 foreign students in higher education in Ukraine and their number is growing each year. The most numerous are the nationals of Turkmenistan (6,900 people), China (4,300) and Russia (3,000). The number of students from Turkmenistan grew six times

within the last six years, whereas the number of Russian students diminished by over a third, and the number of Chinese students stabilized.

According to the data of the State Employment Service the number of foreigners temporarily working in Ukraine reached 8,100 at the beginning of 2012. By 2009 their number had been continually growing and reached 12,400 people. They then started to decline with the global financial and economic crisis and somewhat grew again in 2012 compared to 2011. Most foreign workers are migrants from the CIS countries, Europe and other economically developed countries. Among the migrants from developing countries the largest share is taken by the nationals of Turkey (1400 people), Vietnam, China, India and Thailand.

The Ministry of the Interior arrest 14-15 irregular migrants annually. The overwhelming majority are citizens of the former Soviet republics, mainly of the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia and Armenia.

On the whole the level of Ukraine's attractiveness to migrants should be assessed as medium: on the one hand, last years saw positive net migration of registered external migrations, with more foreign nationals coming in than going out, and a growing number of foreigners registered by internal affairs authorities, Ukraine turning from a transit country into a recipient country. On the other hand, neither permanent, nor temporary labour immigration in Ukraine have become mass movements.

An assessment of the condition of immigrants in Ukraine and the prospects for their integration: students. Ukraine has seen both positive and negative experience of coexistence between migrants and the local population. There have been separate instances of xenophobia, active skinheads groups, and a number of murders caused by ethnic enmity have been registered. Xenophobic publications sometimes appear in the mass media. Ukraine's sports persons sometimes fall victims to xenophobia. During the surveys foreigners often complain of the rude, hostile and suspicious attitudes of law-enforcement agencies.¹⁸ At the same time, one can not deny attempts on the part of the state authorities and the public to counteract xenophobia. Thus, a working group was set up by the Chief Administration of the Ministry of the Interior in Kiev for regular checks of bookshops for xenophobic literature; a database of people known for their racist and xenophobic activities was established. The first event aimed against xenophobia in the mass media was held in June 2008 in Kiev near the office of a newspaper which published an article which hoped to increase increasing negative feelings towards immigrants.

In April 2010 the department for migration research of Pukha IDSS of NAS of Ukraine held a survey of foreign students studying in Kiev universities devoted to the issues of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine-. The study looked at the country as a whole but also at relations between students: almost all respondents were Chinese. As the results of the survey showed, foreign students do not form a closed circle. There is no opposition between the Ukrainian citizens and foreigners in the student world, even though there are certain confraternal elements present. Thus, almost half of the respondents (44%) mentioned that their compatriots dominate the circle of their close university friends and 24% responded that most friends are Ukrainians. Another 14% made friends with foreign students from countries other than their own and the rest mentioned that there was no particular domineering group among their acquaintances. The following tendency is observed: the longer students study in Ukraine, the less mono-ethnic their circle of friends becomes. The share of students whose close friends are mostly their compatriots is highest among those frequenting pre-university courses (84%). Among the students of the first year this share almost halves (44%) and tends to decrease with every following year (up to 27% among the fifth year students). Even though 63% of respondents admitted that they found it hard to find a common language while communicating with Ukrainian students, more than a half (55%) celebrates holidays together with Ukrainians, and almost half (47%) claimed that they love the company of Ukrainians.

¹⁸ Непочуті голоси – проблеми імміграції, прав і свобод людини в Україні. Проект «Надати голоси тим, хто не має права голосу: опитування етнічних (нетрадиційних) меншин в Україні з метою вивчення їх потреб. – Київ: Фара, 2008.

More than a quarter (28%) of foreign students apply to Ukrainians if they need help with their studies. As potential advisers Ukrainian students are almost as popular as compatriots (32%) and twice as popular as other foreign students. Their share, however, is twice exceeded by professors (57%). It is worth noting that recourse to professors and compatriots is characteristic of pre-university students. Students who have been in Ukraine longer tend to turn to different sources for help with studies.

Since almost all respondents came from one country (The People's Republic of China), the data received are far from absolutely reliable. According to one study the frequency of contacts with local population among non-traditional migrants differs significantly. It is higher among the Vietnamese, Iraqi and Pakistani migrants and lower among the Afghani and Africans.¹⁹

Nevertheless, almost half of the respondents indicated the presence of ethnically triggered conflicts among students (21% mentioned that these occur often, 26% that they happen sometimes), almost 80% of respondents assess ethnic relations in their university as generally amiable (50%) or balanced (29%). Only 20% think them to be tense. 38% of the respondents evinced their desire to stay in Ukraine upon graduation, that is almost a half of those who had already made plans for the future. The pull-factors for such a decisions ("I like it here," "I see here better employment conditions") are somewhat ahead of push-factors (unstable social and political or unsatisfactory economic situation in their home country). Desire to stay is more often observed among the senior year students, as well as among those who make friends predominantly with Ukrainians and those who celebrate holidays together with Ukrainian students.

The frequency of contacts between immigrants and receiving society is, thus, an important integration mechanism. The materials from students surveys held by IDSS of NAS of Ukraine in 2005, 2009 and 2011²⁰ testify that the level of toleration and respect towards migrants from developing countries among the student youth directly depends on the frequency of their contacts with foreigners.

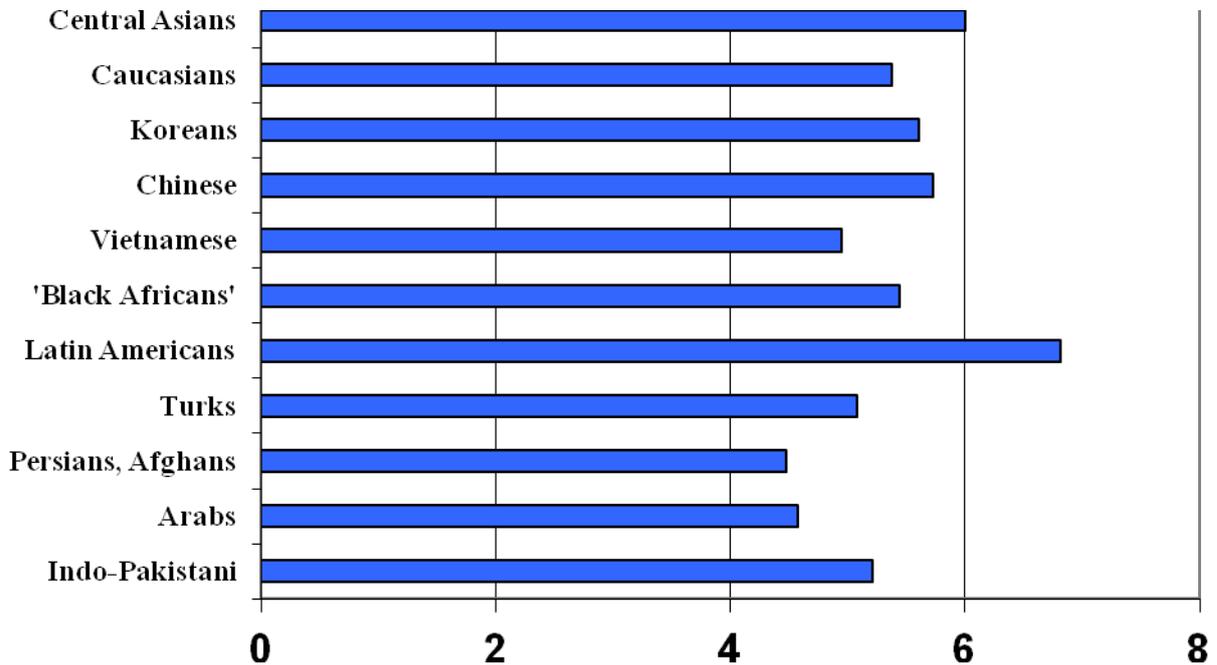
Characterizing ethnic relations in their universities Ukrainian students, in a survey of 2011, define them as balanced (44.8%) or amiable (28.8%). Only 4.1% of respondents think that ethnic relations are tense. 2005-2011 there have been no considerable changes in the assessment of ethnic relations. Less than one in six reported that ethnic conflicts take place in their universities, whereas 43% stated they did not and almost forty percent of Ukrainian students gave no answer to this question.

As the 2005-2011 surveys of Ukrainian university students show the level of toleration towards "non-traditional" migrants among the majority of Ukrainian students is relatively high. Respondents were asked to assess their attitudes to 11 ethnic and interethnic groups 9 of which belonged to "non-traditional" immigrants and 2 to interethnic groups originating from the Southern regions of the former USSR and who in their anthropological and, to a certain extent, also cultural and religious characteristics are closer to non-traditional migrants. Neither of the groups in the survey received less than 4.5 in the scale of 10. On the whole among the attitudes of Ukrainian students the most positive was for Latin American immigrants, and the most negative for immigrants from countries with strong Islamic tradition (figure 2). To the key survey question ("Do you agree that Ukraine needs to attract migrants from developing countries to improve its demographic situation?") 34.7% of the respondents of 2011 answered that they agree that a small number of immigrants can be drawn in to smoothen the worst outcomes of the demographic crisis. The comparison of the results of the three surveys shows that this share grew considerably.

¹⁹ Рубл Б. Капітал розмаїтості. Транснаціональні мігранти в Монреалі, Вашингтоні та Києві. – Київ: Критика, 2007.

²⁰ The survey was held in Kiev in 2005 and 2009 and in 6 Ukrainian cities in 2011 (Kiev included).

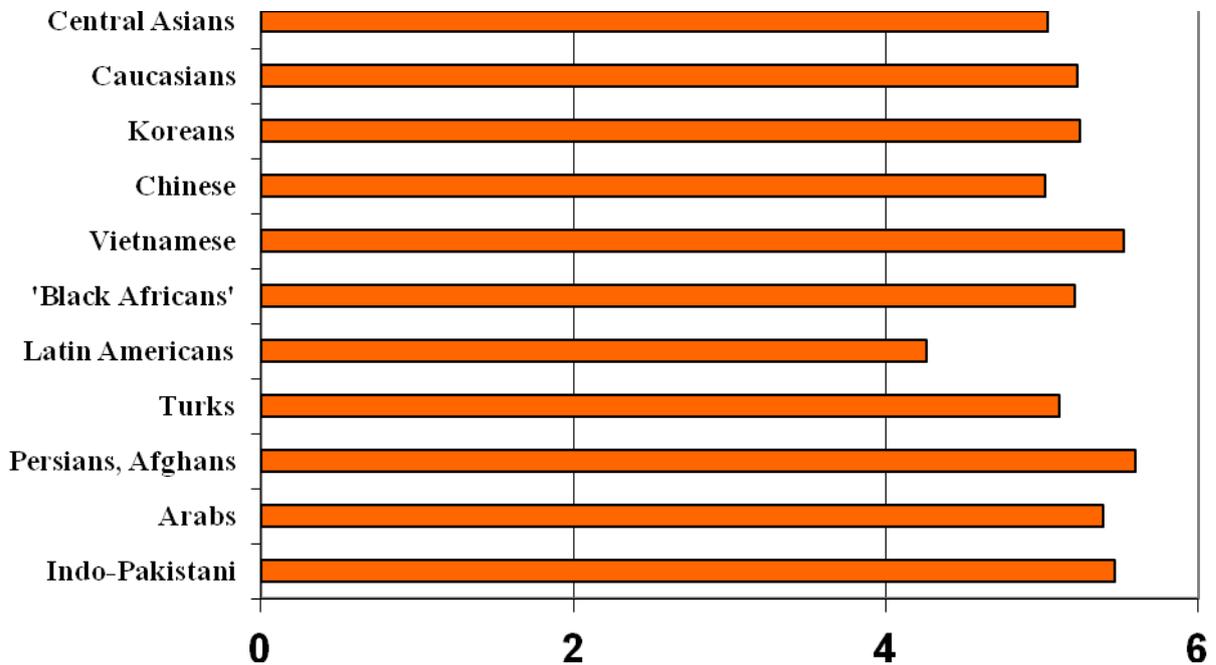
Figure 2. Attitudes of Ukrainian students to the representatives of various ethnic groups of foreign nationals (1-10 scale)



Source: The survey of Ukrainian university students, 2011.

At the same time application of Bogardus scale shows a somewhat less bright picture. The representatives of 7 out of 11 intra-ethnic groups are likely to be accepted as family members only in case of 0.5-1.7% of the respondents. This share rises to 3.7-3.8% only for Turks and two groups from the post-Soviet regions. Latin Americans managed 8.8%. Students' readiness to admit the representatives of non-traditional immigrants as close friends is 3.8-8.1% for certain groups: only for the Latin Americans are these figures significantly higher. The 2011 survey showed that social distance index for certain groups of non-traditional immigrants was 4.3 for Latin Americans and 5.0-5.6 for other groups (figure 3). At the same time the index of non-admission to Ukraine is 25% maximum for any of the groups. We thus should assess Ukrainian students' attitudes toward foreigners as moderately tolerant: the representatives of the most advanced groups of Ukrainian youth are ready to see immigrants settle in Ukraine, but they are not eager to see them in their close environment. Of particular note is the fact that female students' attitudes toward 10 out of 11 intra-ethnic groups are worse than those of their male peers, the only exception being their attitudes towards Sub-Saharan Africans.

Figure 3. Social distance index of various ethnic groups of foreign nationals among the Ukrainian student youth



Source: The survey of Ukrainian university students, 2011.

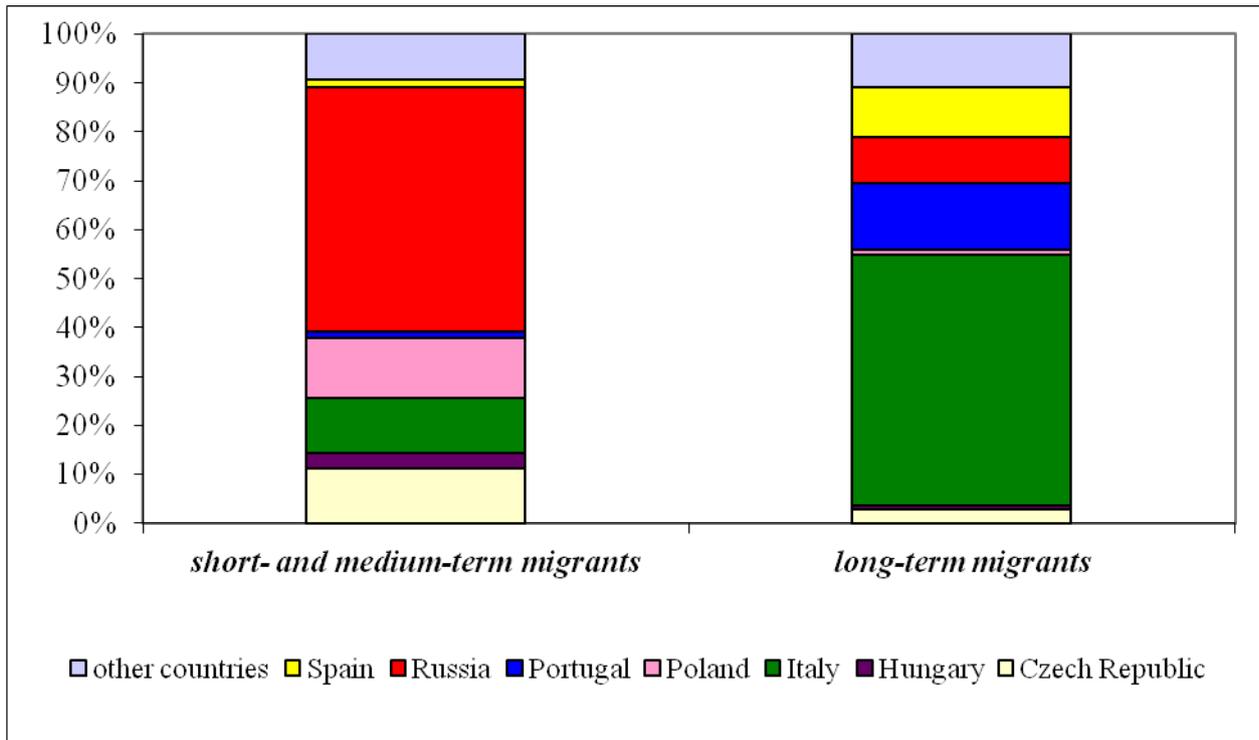
On the whole, the share of students demonstrating total rejection of “non-traditional” migrants does not exceed 10%. Yet, it is exactly these 10% that create ethnic tensions and ethnic conflicts. One of the tasks for higher education institutions must be to reduce this group, eliminating its influence over the mass of students. The success of foreign students’ integration, viewed by all economically developed countries as the most desirable immigrant group, depends upon this.

Assessment of the conditions of Ukrainian long-term labour migrants in recipient countries.

Among Ukrainian labour migrants a particular group is constituted of long-term migrants who stay abroad one year or longer. The author’s estimate of their number is 583,000.²¹ As compared to short- and medium-term migrants long-term migrants are more oriented towards the countries of Southern Europe and less towards Ukraine’s neighbors. Thus, among long-term migrants the share of those working in Portugal is 10.5 times, in Spain 6.3 times and in Italy 4.6 times higher than among short- and medium term migrants. At the same time long-term migrants work in Poland 12.3 times, in Russia 5.4 times, in Czech Republic and Hungary 4 times less frequently than other migrant categories (figure 4).

²¹ Poznyak A. External Labour Migration In Ukraine As A Factor In Socio-Demographic And Economic Development. <http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-2012-RR-14.pdf>

Figure 4. Ukrainian migrants in recipient countries depending on the length of their stay

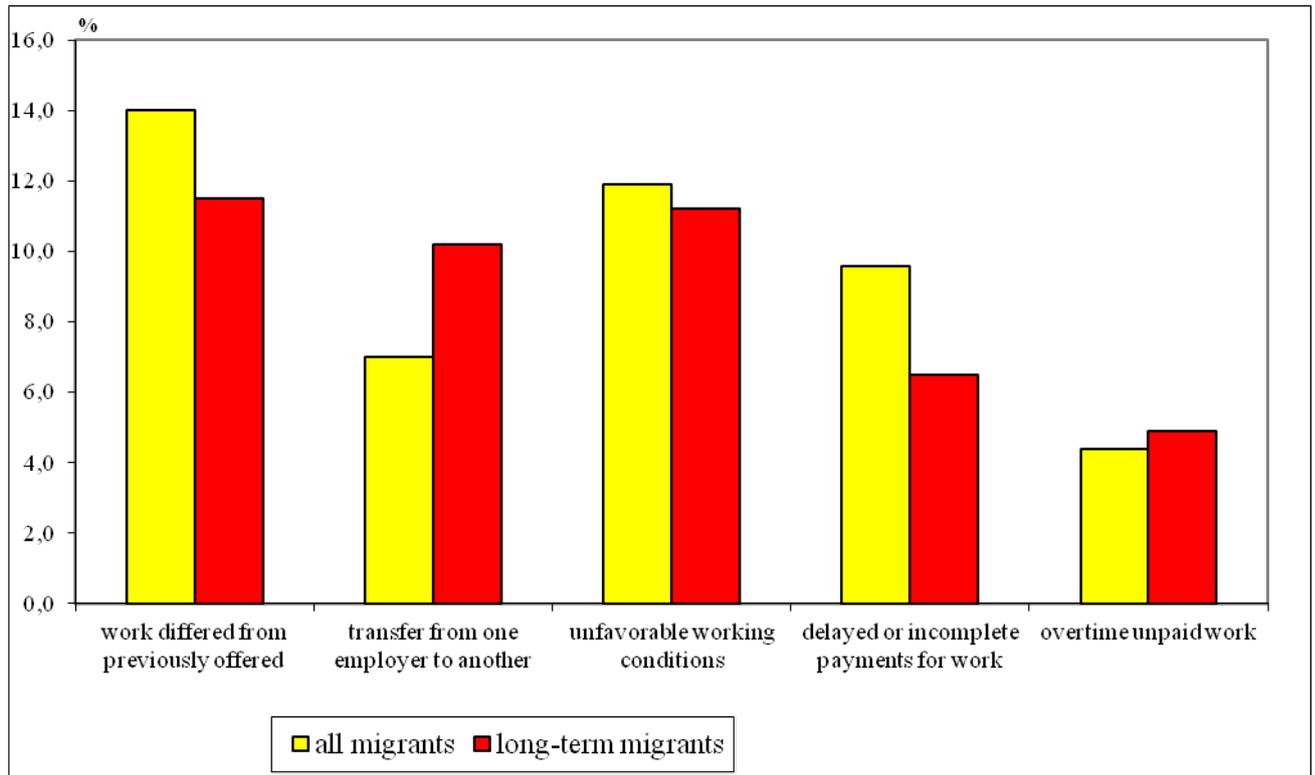


Source: author's assessment on the basis of the first national sampling survey of labour migration, 2008.

The material of the 2008 first national survey of labour migration shows that long-term labour migration in Ukraine attracts more women than labour migration on the whole: if among the total number of labour migrants there are almost twice as many men as women, then among long-term migrants both sexes are represented almost equally: 48.9% women and 51.1% men. Long-term migrants are characterized by higher educational level: the share of people with tertiary education is 1.6 times and of people with basic or incomplete higher education 1.2 times higher than in the total number of external labour migrants.

Though the share of people having permission for residence and work is higher among long-term migrants, almost 29% of them stay abroad without any official status. Only 39.4% of long-term migrants have written contracts with their employers, this figure is not particularly higher than in the total number of migrants. Yet, even in this category 23.1% do not have rights to any social benefits. Only in 31.4% of instances do labour contracts entitle employees to social insurance. 11.5% of the total number of long-term migrants experienced situations where their actual work differed from work previously offered. 10.2% transfer from one employer to another. 11.2% worked in unfavorable working conditions. 6.5% reported delayed or incomplete payment of wages. 4.9%, meanwhile, had to work unpaid overtime hours. If transfer from one employer to another and unpaid overtime work are more frequent among long-term migrants, other unfavorable situations (especially delayed or incomplete reimbursement for work) were more frequent among other categories of external migrants (figure 5). Thus the conditions of long-term migrants in recipient countries are not particularly different from those of short- and medium-term migrants.

Figure 5. The share of migrants who encountered unfavorable situations, among all Ukrainian labour migrants and among long-term migrants



Source: First national sampling survey of labour migration of 2008.

The “Soviet diaspora” in Ukraine.

Ukraine is a polyethnic state. According to the 2001 census there were 54 ethnic groups of 1000 people and more, with 18 ethnic groups numbering over 30,000. Yet only the two largest ethnic groups dominate the country’s population: Ukrainians and Russians make up respectively 77.8% and 17.3% of the total population. The Ukrainian language is considered native by 67.5% of population, whereas 29.6 consider Russian their mother tongue and 2.5% other languages. In rural areas the share of those considering Ukrainian their mother tongue runs as high as 85.8% (with 9.5% Russian). In the cities this share is 58.5% with 39.5% with Russian as their native language.

As the analysis of the ethnolinguistic situation demonstrates, the principal factor, conditioning the current widespread usage of Russian in Ukraine, were inter-Soviet-republic migrations in Soviet times and the absence of real stimuli to study Ukrainian in the case of the majority of migrants. Thus, the coefficient of correlation between the share of people considering Russian their mother tongue and the share of people born outside Ukraine in the total country’s population, as the first national census of 2001 has demonstrated, equals 0.907. The determination coefficient equals 0.822, that is interregional differentiation in the use of Russian is 82.2% conditioned by territorial differentiation of the share of people born outside Ukraine.

Let us not here that according to the data of the first (and the only) census of the population of the Russian Empire of 1897, in that part of Ukraine, which was the part of Tsarist Russia, the Russian speaking population could not be compared to Ukrainian speaking in number. Indeed, Russian was not even the dominant minority language. The data of this census in respect of those provinces and

districts, whose territory now entirely or to a greater extent lies within the present day Ukraine,²² the share of people with native Russian (“Great Russian” in the terminology of that time) was 10.4%. On the other hand, the share of people with native Ukrainian (“Little Russian”) was 73.3% and 16.5% with other mother tongues.

Thus, it was only in the Soviet period that a numerous community of people from other USSR republics formed in Ukraine. These people did and, to a great extent, still do identify themselves more with the Soviet Union rather than with their republics of origin. The survey of 1994 held by the sociologists from Lviv and Michigan University demonstrated that almost the half of Donetsk region’s residents primarily identified themselves as “Soviets” people, with most of them declaring cultural and socio-political orientation towards the Soviet political system.²³ The principal language of this community is Russian as the most widespread and unofficially privileged language of the former USSR. As Ukrainian scholars remark, Soviet identity is largely devoid of a particular ethnic brand, yet it has a distinctive Russian tint in cultural terms.²⁴

As has already been stressed, a considerable part of the migrants of the Soviet period did not evince interest in studying Ukrainian language and did not try to integrate into Ukrainian society. Moreover, in the Eastern and Southern regions of Ukraine (especially in the Crimea and large Donbas cities), where the number of new-comers was particularly high, a process of partial assimilation of the local population by migrants took place. According to the census of 2001, 14.8% of ethnic Ukrainians consider Russian their native language and this figure reaches 28.1% among urban dwellers. A survey held in 2003 showed that the share of people willing to join the “Liberal Empire”, the formation of which is the goal of certain political forces in Russia, in the cities of Central, Eastern and Southern Ukraine exceeds the share of ethnic Russians. However, it is less than the share of people considering Russian their mother tongue.²⁵

The formation of Soviet identity was promoted by the USSR leadership proclaiming the goal of creating “a new social unity – the Soviet people. On the whole this project failed, but it was partially successful among inter-republic migrants. A common Soviet mentality was retained by the emigrants from the Soviet Union. Thus, according to the USA census of 2000 (that is nine years after the collapse of the USSR), 2,265 people reported their first and second origin as Soviet.

The Soviet diaspora in Ukraine should thus be understood as a resident community of various ethnic descent to a degree identifying themselves with the Soviet Union. So formulated, the term is instrumental in defining Soviet diasporas in other former USSR republics, yet can hardly be applied to emigrants from the USSR outside its erstwhile boundaries.

Unlike non-traditional immigrants, this group is completely integrated within the Ukrainian labour market. In terms of cultural integration, however, the Soviet diaspora can justifiably be compared to non-traditional immigrants. Moreover, the Soviet mentality is upheld in families and community groups, which leads to the situation where the Soviet diaspora includes people born after the collapse of the USSR, that is those who never had Soviet citizenship.

²²Volhynian, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, Podolia, Poltava, Taurida, Kharkov and Kherson provinces – entirely; Chernigov province without Mglinsky, Novozybkovsky, Starodubsky and Surazh districts; Putivl district of Kursk province; Akkerman, Ismailand Khotyn districts of Bessarabia province. These territories approximately correspond to the present day Ukrainian territory without the Transcarpathian, Ivano-Frankovsk, Lviv, Chernovtsy regions, as well as the central and Southern parts of Ternopol region.

²³Черниш Н. Украина, Схід і Захід: регіональні особливості в оцінці політичних процесів // III Міжнародний конгрес українців. Політологія. Етнологія. Соціологія. – 1994. – С. 303.

²⁴Котигоренко О. Етнічні протиріччя і конфлікти в сучасній Україні: політологічний концепт. – Київ: Світогляд, 2004.

²⁵Живемо у ліберальній імперії? // Дзеркало тижня. 2003. – 18 жовтня. – С. 2.

The Soviet diaspora includes:

- people born in other countries of the former USSR - those who moved to Ukraine when the Soviet Union was still in existence; as well as their descendants except for the representatives of previously deported peoples and those migrants from other USSR republics, who at least partially adopted the culture and behavior patterns of the indigenous population and who identify themselves with an independent Ukraine rather than the Soviet Union;
- those ethnic Russians, Belarusians and representatives of other peoples of the former USSR historically settled in Ukraine, who as the result of prolonged contacts with the migrants from other Soviet republics are integrated within their community; these are predominantly urban dwellers, since the representatives of historic territorial groups of Russian population in rural regions of Ukraine (in the central part of Suma region, the steppes of the Northern Crimea, etc.) retain their traditional systems of values and rarely identify themselves with the Soviet Union;
- ethnic Ukrainians assimilated by incomers from other former Soviet republics (as in the above case these are mostly city dwellers), including some of the Ukrainians who returned from the countries of the former USSR;
- some migrants from the countries of the former USSR who arrived in Ukraine after the collapse of the USSR and integrated into the communities of the Soviet diaspora.

Unfortunately there have been no comprehensive sociological surveys held in Ukraine, which would allow the assessment of the extent of the Soviet self-identification among separate territorial and ethnic groups. Moreover, the statistical base, in the country, does not allow a precise calculation of the number of people forming the Soviet diaspora. Thus, the census provides information on the distribution of the Ukrainian population according to the country of birth, but without any indication of the place of birth of parents.

The numerical strength of the Soviet diaspora in Ukraine today can only be estimated approximately. Such an estimate can be made on the basis of the census of 2001, if we sum the number of people in the following groups:

- people born in the fourteen countries of the former USSR (4,883,400), with the exception of the Crimean Tatars born after 1941 and before 1993, that is after their deportation and before the first wave of mass repatriation subsided (169,300);
- children born in Ukraine to the families of migrants of the Soviet period; according to the census of 2001 the share of persons born in other countries of the former USSR is 15-17% for age groups of 45 and over, whereas for the younger generation these figures are much lower (4.7% for 15-19, 3.8% for 10-14, 1-4% for 5-9 and 0.5% for 0-4 years), since some of migrants' children were born in Ukraine. Among the people born in Ukraine the ratio of 20-59 and 0-19 age-groups is 2:1. Let us assume that the ratio of internal migrants from the countries of the former USSR aged 20-59 and their children of 0-19 is the same. Then the number of children of 'Soviet' migrants would amount to 1,440,500. If we subtract the representatives of this age group born in the former Soviet republics (361,000) from the number, then the final figure for this group is 1,079,500;
- half of ethnic Ukrainians considering Russian their mother tongue ($0.5 * 5544.7$ thousand people).

Judging from the assumptions made, we can conclude that as of 5 December 2001 (the date of the census) the numerical strength of the Soviet diaspora in Ukraine was approximately 8.6 million people or 17.8% of the total population. The Soviet diaspora is thus a formidable group considerably surpassing in number the other two migration groups considered in the present paper.

Ukrainian immigration policy and its possible improvement strategies.

Of great importance for Ukraine is the international migration experience and integration policies, primarily that of the European Union countries. The experience of the EU undeniably testifies to the fact that for any country the most desirable immigrants are potential re-emigrants, that is this country's former residents who left to live abroad, as well as their descendants. Now, in economic recovery, EU member states are trying to attract these migrant categories. One of the measures to achieve this goal is information campaigns carried out by countries' governmental structures. The government of the Polish Republic, for example, has agreed with Spanish and Portuguese authorities on the installation on their territories of bill-boards with photos of real Polish nationals and inscriptions in Polish. One such advertisement reads as follows: "I am Andzej Kowalsky, a plumber, I have worked here for 15 years, but the Polish economy is growing. I want to live together with my family. I am returning home."

Southern European countries are likewise interested in returning emigrants. Thus, Portugal allows 1000 stipends annually for nine-month courses to increase professional skills for young representative of Portuguese diaspora. One of the goals of such undertakings is to strengthen the ties of the Portuguese living abroad with their homeland. To the same end the governments of Southern and Eastern European countries promote cultural exchange and language study by emigrants' children.

Towards immigrants belonging to other cultures EU countries employ the policy of legalization and introduce various integration programs. Particular attention is paid to the acquisition of the language of a recipient country by immigrants.

The formulation of Ukrainian migration policy is far from complete. This is despite the fact that such laws as "On Refugees" and "On Immigration" were adopted over ten years ago. It was only at the end of 2010, the beginning of 2011 that state initiatives related to migration became more pronounced. In 2011 a new version of the law "On Refugees and Persons Requiring Additional or Temporary Protection" was adopted and the law "On Immigration" was amended in 2011-2012. After protracted period of uncertainty and relapse the State Migration Service has started its actual operation.

The Ukrainian State Strategy for Migration Policy with a accompanying Plan of Events for its realization was drafted and approved by presidential decree in 2001.²⁶ These are the first comprehensive acts in the field of migration policy. In particular, the Plan sets forth the tasks of: active measures for the integration of refugees, persons requiring additional or temporary protection, foreign nationals and stateless persons; drafting proposals for the legalization of foreigners and stateless persons illegally staying in Ukraine; study courses in the Ukrainian language by migrants and refugees, as well as their children; drafting proposals for creating opportunities of legal temporary employment of foreign students for the period of their study in Ukrainian universities; informing population of the particulars of national cultures and living styles of the ethnic groups, whose representatives are immigrants in Ukraine; and organizing events for the eradication of racism and xenophobia, strengthening public toleration of immigrants.

The Plan of Events for Migrants' Integration for 2001-2015 was enacted by the decree of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine No653-p of 15 June 2011.²⁷ This legal act envisages: the analysis of the procedure for the recognition of foreign diplomas of higher education and, if necessary, development of the mechanisms for assessment and confirmation of professional knowledge and qualifications of migrants and refugees in particular; drafting of uniform programs for studying Ukrainian language, history, culture, constitution of Ukraine, study guides, organize respective courses of the basic level for migrants and their children; drafting of qualification requirements to persons applying for Ukrainian citizenship and developing the criteria to define the level of their language proficiency; ensuring proper information among Ukrainian migrants returning to Ukraine on

²⁶ <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1058-2011-p>

²⁷ <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/653-2011-p>

employment, carrying out entrepreneurial activities, social and health security, as well as provision of psychological support to returning migrants.

The problem of carrying out the measures envisaged by the above program is of particular importance now. This would enable Ukraine to reach the new level of migration regulation, which is especially important considering the forthcoming shrinking of working age population and the necessity to introduce an active immigration policy. In addition to the already adopted measures for migration regulation it is hoped that it will: alleviate the procedure of granting Ukrainian citizenship to foreign nationals who graduated from Ukrainian universities; develop and implement mechanisms to stimulate migrants' and refugees' settling in depressed regions; ensure migrants' access to health care, and of their children's access to educational services irrespective of their parents' legal status.

Promotion of gradual return of those labour migrants, who under certain circumstances are ready to re-emigrate, should become the principal strategic goal of the state policy related to labour migrations of Ukrainian citizens. The State program for the return and reintegration of long-term migrants, completed by regional programs, should be drafted and adopted by the Council of Ministers. The support for entrepreneurial activities is the most attractive way to draw in migrant earnings for the benefit of Ukrainian economy. The programs should envisage provision of migrants with information and consultative services for business start-ups, employment in general, etc.

Conclusions.

Within the Ukrainian population there are a number of migration groups, whose representatives are either not integrated at all or who are insufficiently integrated into Ukrainian society: non-traditional immigrants, returning long-term migrants and the Soviet diaspora. According to estimates the Soviet diaspora includes every sixth Ukrainian citizen. The problem of migrants' integration is, therefore, of extreme importance to the country.

Ukraine is one of the foremost labour force donor countries in Europe: 2 million plus Ukrainian citizens are working abroad (mostly in the European Union and the CIS). 27.8% of them are long-term. The conditions of long-term migrants in receiving countries do not differ significantly from those of short- and medium-term migrants. The only positive tendency is that long-term migrants are less likely to experience incomplete or zero reimbursement for their work. Ukrainian society is interested in the gradual return of long-term Ukrainian labour migrants, which raises the problem of their re-integration into the society that has changed during their absence. The most efficient re-integration mechanism would be to promote the entrepreneurial activities of returning migrants.

Nonetheless, even if all Ukrainian citizens working abroad return, in mere 7-10 years Ukraine will face the problems of too few workers. An active immigration policy is the only solution to this. Attempts to contain immigration and to protect the unity of the present day mental environment are not going to solve this problem. They will only relegate the problem to the future generations in a much more acute form. Ukraine is thus facing a dilemma: either it should attract immigrants to the country on the basis of balanced migration policy or it will experience an uncontrolled inflow upon reaching the critical minimum in its own population.

The character and frequency of migrants' contacts with the local population is an important mechanism of cultural integration. The authorities, therefore, should promote interaction between indigenous and migrating population. As the results of the present study show, the frequency of contacts with foreign students is a defining factor in shaping tolerance towards immigrants among young Ukrainians. On the whole Ukrainian students' attitude to foreigners may be characterized as moderately tolerant. This situation is somewhat ironic, since out of all ethnic groups of non-traditional migrants Ukrainian students (that is the most advanced among Ukrainian youth) have the greatest sympathy with Latin Americans, who currently are least interested in permanent immigration to Ukraine.