



CARIM EAST – CONSORTIUM FOR APPLIED RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Co-financed by the European Union

Social and political implications of labor migration in Ukraine in the mirror of the sociological analysis

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CARIM-East Research Report 2012/24



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CARIM-East
Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe

Research Report
CARIM-East RR 2012/24

**Social and political implications of labor migration in
Ukraine in the mirror of the sociological analysis**

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Ekaterina Ivaschenko, Social and political implications of labor migration in Ukraine in the mirror of the sociological analysis, CARIM-East RR 2012/24, 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.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.carim-east.eu/>

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Resume.

Based on official data and sociological studies the article provides an overview of the main features of contemporary migration processes in Ukraine and its key implications for changes in the socio-political situation in the country. The conclusion is that international labor migration from Ukraine is a natural form of citizens' spatial self-organization in the conditions of the economic crises and unstable political situation in the country and the world. Attention is drawn to the fact that although immigration is gaining momentum in Ukraine (since the mid-2000s it became the host country with a positive balance of international movements), it is unable to compensate for the increasing competential imbalance in the domestic labor market and make up for the loss of national human resources. Low integration potential of the existing system of social and labor relations prevents the successful inclusion into society of returning Ukrainian migrants and arriving in Ukraine foreign labor force. Prevention of mass migration outflows from Ukraine due to improved economic, legal and civil environment in the country, promotion of comprehensive monitoring of citizens entering and leaving the country and their full integration into the internal labor market should be a priority of the national strategy and tactics for the national development of Ukraine.

1. Preface

In today's world, labor migration is not only an objective global phenomenon, covering the rapidly increasing proportion of the population of the planet, a phenomenon which has a significant impact on the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of national and international economic processes, not only acute and highly problematic topic of legal and political discourse, but a living, constantly evolving social construct, dominant in the minds of transitional societies that undoubtedly provides significant but complex influence on their spatial self-organization.

It is because of this fact - the existence of a well-defined and highly influential subjective attitude of society towards prospective opportunities, risks and challenges of movements in search of suitable conditions for work and self-realization – that understanding of the role of labor migration in modern Ukraine cannot be complete and comprehensive solely on the basis of official figures (which do not reflect its shadow manifestations), provisions in legal acts and sub laws (still undergoing the long and painful development process) and specialized expert evaluations (usually offering a brilliant analysis of individual events and trends, not accompanied by overall analysis and recommendations comprehensible for people and politicians).

Obviously, the answer to the question about the role of immigration in Ukraine, in terms of its social and political implications, is not a simple one. At the present stage international labor migration both from and to Ukraine forms a large scale parallel reality to social and political life. Over the past two decades, taking into account the number of specialists who have left the country in search of better employment opportunities, Ukraine has become one of the top ten suppliers of labor force in Europe¹, and in recent years, Ukraine has become both a transit country and the recipient country for many foreign refugees and illegal migrants.

Among *the troubling social phenomena associated with immigration* that attract the attention of experts, one should mention wide spread negative perception (fueled by biased media coverage) of foreigners coming to Ukraine, what leads to their stigmatization, intolerant attitude of prospective legal employers, lack of attractive job offers, and, consequently, their involvement in the unregulated shadow market and criminalization. However, over the years that historically coincide with the

¹ Data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development <http://www.oecd.org> for 2011 (see <http://delo.ua/world/ukraincy-desjatye-v-spiske-mi-161165/>).

independence of the Ukrainian state, a large-scale *outgoing labor migration* (departure of Ukrainian citizens abroad for temporary or permanent employment) has *generated a number of new social phenomena* that have become a challenge to the stability of the national economy and an inclusive social policy:

- In many parts of the country foreign employment has become one of the most significant markers of social and demographic change, defined in the Ukrainian language as "zarobitchanstvo" both in its practical ("zarobitchanstvo" as the action, voluntary labor migration), and ideological aspects ("zarobitchanstvo" as a way of thinking, as a group existential culture);
- For those permanently involved in labor migration "zarobitchanstvo" has become not so much the possibility to get temporary jobs but a way of life, the only possible form of participation in the international labor market, which as an intergenerational model is transferred onto the children of migrants: during this period in the families of "zarobitchany" a whole generation of young people grew that, regardless of gradual disintegration of family ties typical for the group, still tend to inherit the work pattern of their parents, i.e. going to live and get long-term employment abroad²;
- in labor migration most active groups of working population are involved, including not only irreplaceable workforce educated under once highly effective Soviet system of professional and technical education, but also highly qualified professionals, forming the intellectual potential of the country: in the period from 1991 to 2004 over 6000 people with first and second level Ph.D degrees left the country, one third of them being under 40 years old³. Such "brain drain", taking into account high public cost of their education, is unacceptable luxury for a country with poorly efficient economy teetering on the brink of default;
- migrant workers have traditionally been "dead souls" of political life in the country of origin - in all the years of elections turnout of Ukrainian citizens in the polling stations did not exceed 10% of all voters registered abroad; illegal migrants, who in order to exercise their right to vote need to come back to Ukraine, just ignore the elections, creating a precedent for exclusion of significant group of conscious citizens with an active lifestyle from the process of decision-making and limiting the prospects for democratic change in Ukraine.

It is well known that over the last twenty years the image of Ukrainian workers, wandering in search of a better life, has become one of the most popular personalized stereotypes of Ukraine in the world. The failure of this symbolic character to return to his homeland may result in the national collapse of Ukraine. On the other hand, over the past two decades, the experience of labor migration for a substantial number of our countrymen has become not only a way to improve their living situation in Ukraine (the volume of remittances sent by migrants to their home country is in fact equal to the amount of foreign direct investments in Ukraine)⁴, but also a significant contribution to cultural capital of families, to increased knowledge and acquisition of new professional and life skills. According to a recent survey conducted by domestic sociological centers, despite the traditionally significant migration outflow from Ukraine, 77% of Ukrainians have never been abroad, 36% of them

² See comments by Ms. Ella Lybanova, the Director of the Institute of demography and social studies of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine: <http://vikna.stb.ua/ua/news/2011/8/12/71645/>

³ Information referring to the government newspaper "Uryadovy Kurier / Governmental Courier" is quoted in the book "Migration and Tolerance in Ukraine": collection of articles., - Kyiv, 2007. - P.21.

⁴ Reference to the data of the World Bank in 2010 in the publication of online newspaper "Left Bank" of October 13, 2011 See http://economics.lb.ua/state/2011/10/13/119101_izza_demograficheskogo_krizisa_.html

Institute of Demography and Social research of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine estimates that earnings of Ukrainian citizens abroad amount to 4.7-7.6 billion annually, or 11.7% of Ukraine's GDP. See Yuskiv B. Ten myths about international migration // ZN/ Zerkalo Nedeli, No. 7 of 24 February 2012. The article is available online: http://zn.ua/SOCIETY/desyat_mifov_o_mezhdunarodnoy_trudovoy_migratsii_-97777.htm

have never traveled outside of their region; only about 5% of the population goes abroad every year, among others, for employment purposes. At the same time, according to Eurostat, 76% of Belgians, 53% of Dutch, 40% of Slovaks, 32.5% of Germans and 15% of Poles go abroad every year⁵. Experts note the significant negative impact of sedentary life of Ukrainians, including: narrow-mindedness, misconceptions about their own country and the world, closed conservative opinions. It is worth noting that, in case of those who had never been abroad, the idea of European integration of Ukraine is supported by 45%; in case of those who have been in the EU, the U.S. and Canada, the idea is supported by 79%. British sociologist Claire Wallace, involved in the research of Eastern European migration, said that "all this deprives the country of the soil for productive reforms as those who have been abroad bring with them new experience, which may not be available in Ukraine. Free movement brings enormous benefits both to recipient and donor countries."⁶

Objective evaluation of the complex socio-political implications of labor migration, analysis of its potential impact on the labor market and the changing status of the various strata of society are only possible within the framework of a multi-level interdisciplinary monitoring research. Unfortunately, to date, such research has not been carried out in Ukraine, but the importance of the development and implementation of such a study, with the participation of leading experts and representatives of relevant government agencies in charge of labor migration and employment, is becoming more evident.

In this context, sociological analysis of empirical data, i.e. results of sample surveys of the population, in-depth interviews with reference groups, expert interviews and focus groups can potentially provide significant information. The study of a wide range of problems related to labor migration and its complex consequences for Ukraine, has drawn the attention of national researchers and sociologists only recently, i.e. since the late 1990s. Serious research into the structure and dynamics of migration flows, their impact on changes in the distribution of urban and rural population and employment patterns, as well as changes in the migration potential of Ukrainian residents has been implemented by I. Pribytkova, who heads a thematic cluster on migration as part of the survey of the Institute of Sociology of Ukraine "Ukrainian society" - at present the only regular sociological perspective on migration with the representative sample, providing monitoring empirical data. Critical analysis of migration processes of the last two decades, including a review of the social aspects of labor migration in the context of the changing conditions of interstate relations and migration policy, has been done in the publications of N. Shulga, who also carries out systemic research based on sociological monitoring reviews. Among specialized studies, usually implemented as a part of international projects, valuable analytical data on the socio-economic aspects of labor migration, the impact of migration on the gender situation, changing family roles, the issue of children of migrant workers are included in the publications of S. Pirozhkov, E.Malinovskaya, A. Homra, V. Susak, V. Volodko, M. Kerik, E.Fedyuk, A. Tolstokorova, M. Chumalo, etc. However, the topic being of high importance due to the intensification of migration processes and attractive (academically and phenomenologically) for the scientific community, there is a common pattern regarding the research, i.e. non-efficient usage of numerous tools of empirical sociology for system analysis of labor migration and its changes over time. In the absence of centralized, state-funded annual monitoring studies of the social and political implications of labor migration, which, obviously, could provide a basis for informed decision-making in case of national social policies, one should develop a strategy for *systematized and continuous cooperation* between existing research initiatives in the field of labor migration; should seek to develop interdisciplinary approaches to the fullest possible and efficient use of the empirical material for further expert work and productive dialogue between analysts and

⁵ According to the data of the Eurostat study, in Germany, Austria, Slovakia, the Czech Republic 90% of young people went abroad at least once, in case of Ukrainian youth, only about 22%.

⁶ Information referring to the report of the company's Research and Branding Group, the fund "Democratic Initiatives" of Razumkov Center of the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, published in the article "Three-quarters of Ukrainians have never been abroad" / Korrespondent.NET, June 1, 2012 <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/1355598-korrespondent-tri-chetverti-ukraincev-nikogda-ne-byli-za-granicej>

practitioners. Special attention should be paid to studying the dynamics of the impact of labor migration on the transformation of social institutions and social relations, on the development of employment strategies of various social groups, on new social phenomena and behaviors triggered by migration and their prospective positive and negative impact on the sustainable development of the country.

Naturally, this article will not fill the gaps in the comprehensive picture of the role of labor migration in the development of social institutions in Ukraine, as such task can be accomplished only as a result of numerous future studies to be implemented in collaboration of scientists, lawyers, social workers, representatives of public organizations, and members of parliament. However, in this short review, we would like to draw attention to the fact that modern labor migration is not so much caused by external factors, but is a collective project of individualized majority caused by difficult living conditions of critical 1990s and unstable 2000s. In this sense, migration is a complex and multilayer process, which may result not only in social problems and challenges, but also answers and solutions.

The aim of this publication is to make a multidisciplinary review of the current state of migration processes in Ukraine as the donor and recipient country and analysis of typical trends and characteristics that are important for the development of recommendations on migration management. The review is based on the method of analysis of secondary statistical and primary and secondary social data, supported by desk-analyses of documents regulating social, political and legal aspects of migration policy, as well as backed up by analytical opinions of leading national experts in the field of migration, described in above mentioned publications (mostly, publications between 2002-2012 were covered). The main source of quoted quantitative data are published reports of the State Statistics Committee, supported by social studies conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine as part of a regular monitoring project "Ukrainian society" for the years 1992-2010, as well as observations from a thematic focus group with children of migrant workers as one of the most vulnerable groups exposed to the costs and benefits of "zarobitchanstvo". The focus group meeting was held as part of the "KARIM-East" project in Lviv in March 2012.

2. National Policy on Labor Migration: achievements and declarations.

Is the national policy on labor migration ready for crisis management, minimizing the negative impact of labor migration on the socio-political and economic situation in the country and using its positive outcomes for the social mobility and inclusion of vulnerable groups?

In general, state policies regulating labor migration in Ukraine have two major components: formation of a modern national labor market and the provision of legal and social protection to Ukrainian citizens working abroad and foreign citizens working in Ukraine⁷. Ukraine is not only a party to a number of international agreements in the field of employment, social security and regulation of small border traffic, but also since the 1990s it has undertaken continuous efforts aimed at the development of national legislation in this area. Unfortunately, however, Ukraine is among the countries in which the degree of development of the legal framework is always far ahead of the readiness of state institutions and society to implement it. Thus, in 1996 the Ukrainian Constitution established that migration processes are to be regulated by the laws of Ukraine (Article 92, paragraph 10 of the Constitution): it was indicated that foreigners and stateless persons legally staying in Ukraine enjoy the same rights as citizens of Ukraine, in particular, have the right to work, to free choice of profession and employment (Article 26 of the Constitution)⁸. "Code of Labor Laws" (editions of 1995, 2000 and 2010) stipulated that labor relations in case of nationals working outside their countries,

⁷ See the discussion on topical issues of migration policy in the materials of round tables and press conferences with the participation of experts and representatives of the state bodies in charge of employment and migration: "Where do Ukrainians work » <http://glavcom.ua/articles/5649.html>, «When will migration service in Ukraine work" <http://glavcom.ua/articles/3411.html>

⁸ See the text of the Constitution of Ukraine <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80>

including foreigners working in enterprises, institutions and organizations in Ukraine, and Ukrainian citizens working abroad, are regulated by the laws of the country of employment and the international treaties of Ukraine (Article 8)⁹. Finally, main articles of recently approved "Concept of the state migration policy" focus on illegal and "irregular" migration as "a phenomenon that threatens national security" and declare the strategic readiness of the state to "improve legislation on internal and external labor migration."¹⁰ The "Concept", in particular, provides a number of measures regulating social and economic conditions in case of people involved in the international labor immigration and emigration, including:

- Identification of immigration quotas in Ukraine based on the current and future demographic and labor market conditions;
- Motivating migrants for rational geographical distribution depending on the socio-economic and demographic situation in the region;
- Strengthening social and legal protection of Ukrainian citizens working abroad, among others, by enhancing international cooperation, concluding treaties aimed at the protection of migrant workers' rights, creating favorable conditions for border crossing for labor migrants from Ukraine and their staying in the country of employment;
- Creating environment and mechanisms enabling the return to Ukraine of Ukrainian citizens residing in other states,
- Developing targeted training, retraining, assistant programs for Ukrainian labor migrants after their return to Ukraine in order to integrate them into the local labor market;
- Creating conditions for minimizing irregular labor migration of Ukrainian citizens;
- Ensuring effective state regulation of the labor market in order to balance demand and supply of labor in the domestic market;
- Creating socio-economic environment enabling investments by labor migrant workers from Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora into the national economy;
- Monitoring the status of external labor migration; encouragement of immigration inflows to Ukraine depending on investment, scientific and cultural needs of the state; creating favorable conditions for the return to Ukraine of scientists and artists, skilled professionals and workers, the acute need for which is perceptible in the national economy as well as for their integration into Ukrainian society.

However, it is clear that Ukraine is not yet in a position to provide the economic and institutional framework for the implementation of the declared objectives. To encourage the return to the country of skilled migrant workers, it is not enough to guarantee them a minimum pension (on 1 January 2012 the average pension in Ukraine is UAH 1246.34 vs. the cost of living equal to UAH 1017). Additional mechanisms are needed in order to encourage those willing to return to live and work in Ukraine. It is also necessary to break existing informal "code" of interaction between citizens and government, based on double standards in the interpretation of the regulatory framework, opaque hierarchies and rampant corruption, among others, in the structures that are designed to regulate migration processes in the state.

To date, the approach to informational, analytical and scientific observation of labor migration and its impact on the situation in Ukraine is not systematized, while available information has almost no effect on the natural processes of the formation of the national labor market, does not lead to changes in the national legislation and the system of control over its implementation. Spontaneous, unregulated nature of business, huge gray economy, systematic violations of labor laws by employers, low wages barely covering living costs and low standards of social security: these are serious problems that make

⁹ See the text of the "Code of Labor Laws": <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/322-08>

¹⁰ See the text of the "Concept of the state migration policy": <http://dmsu.gov.ua/uk/pro-gmsu/pravova-informaciya/zagalni-polozhenna/ukaz-prezidenta-ukrani-pro-koncepciju-derzhavnoji-migracijnoji-politiki-.html>

Ukrainian labor market unattractive both for foreigners and Ukrainian citizens. One should not expect Ukraine to develop effective national policies capable of curbing outbreaks of emigration waves, as the state and the public have low awareness of the whole complexity of massive temporary or permanent movement of foreigners in Ukraine and of our compatriots abroad, of possibilities of their integration into the labor market and the system of social relations of the recipient country, of the consequences of the phenomenon for the national gene pool and the institution of the family.

3. Migration flows in Ukraine: what do the official statistics say?

Donor country and the recipient country: directions, scale and dynamics of migration processes. Estimates of the scope of labor migration in Ukraine are debated by experts due to problems with systemic control and registration of complex processes of legal and illegal movements, including circular, seasonal and long-term migration. Unfortunately, many manifestations of international labor migration are not captured by official statistics. Although a Decree "On the Concept of the state migration policy"¹¹, signed in May 2011, is aimed at creating a framework enabling more accurate national registration of labor migration by the State Migration Service, it is important to emphasize that to date, in the absence of effective mechanisms for complex control over the movements, *Goskomstat* (State Statistics Committee) data remain the main tool available for the registration of labor migration in Ukraine¹². They make a basis for an objective assessment of its scale and effects, and are the starting point for assessing the reliability of trends demonstrated in empirical studies.

So, according to Goskomstat, on December 1, 2011 the population of Ukraine was 45 644.4 thousand people, with an annual reduction by 134.1 thousand. *Why do less and less people live in Ukraine? What is the role of labor migration in this process? To what changes in the social structure of the country migratory movements lead?*

It should be noted immediately that the constant decline in population has been observed in Ukraine since the early 1990s, primarily due to the steady demographic trend of post-Soviet period: a decrease in fertility and an increase in mortality, which, with varying intensity in different years, slow population growth (so, in 2011, Ukraine lost 149.1 thousand people just because of the natural decline)¹³. Net migration flows in 2011, however, gave Ukraine the total increase of 15 thousand people¹⁴. Let's try to analyze complex social and demographic processes underlying these figures, and how they are influenced by international migration into/from Ukraine.

¹¹ For the full text of the Decree see: <http://dmsu.gov.ua/uk/pro-gmsu/pravova-informaciya/zagalni-polozhenna/ukaz-prezidenta-ukrani-pro-koncepciju-derzhavnoji-migracijnoji-politiki-.html>

¹² It should be emphasized that the first national sample survey, aimed at determining the extent of migration and socio-demographic characteristics of its participants, was carried out by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine only in 2008, when the peak of the migration activity had already passed. See A. Pozniak, Labor migration in Ukraine as a factor in the development of the labor market // Demoskop Weekly, No. 405 - 406 I for January 1-24, 2010. The article is available online: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0405/analit05.php>. The author of the article gives an overview of major studies of labor migration, conducted over the last 10 years. In particular, besides specialized study by the State Statistics Committee/Goskomstat of 2008, studying the quantitative parameters and geographic differentiation of labor migration from Ukraine, A. Poznyak refers to medical and demographic survey of the population of Ukraine in 2007, which records information about household members working abroad (at the time of the survey 5.6% of households had at least one migrant worker). Among the specialized studies, regional projects should be mentioned, in particular, a survey of the population of Ternopil region, conducted in 2006 by the Ternopil regional employment center, as well as 440 migrant household surveys in Chernivtsi, Kiev and Prilbychah conducted in 2003 as part of the project of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (see . Pirozhkov S., Malinowska E., Homra A. External labor migration in Ukraine: the socio-economic aspect, - Kyiv, 2003).

¹³ Socio-economic situation in Ukraine in 2011 // Government Courier, No. 19 of February 1, 2012 - P.17.

¹⁴ Increase in migration was recorded in 12 Ukrainian regions, while reduction in migration was recorded in 15 regions.

Based on the data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, which registers three migration flows, i.e. intraregional, interregional and international separately by regions and for the country as a whole¹⁵, it can be concluded that in the last decade internal migration prevailed, amounting to 96% of all movements, out of which about 60% were intraregional movements¹⁶, primarily covering migration related to seasonal or long-term employment of rural and small town population, where wages are traditionally lower than the national average. International migration makes steadily 5-6% of the total number of movements.¹⁷ However, despite modest official data, as it has already been noted, this particular movement gives rise to the most profound structural changes in the labor market as well as in the social sphere.

As for the dynamics of international migration, according to the official data, during the first three years of Ukraine's independence, from 1991 to 1993, international migration has brought an increase of the population by almost half a million people, mainly due to repatriation of citizens from the former Soviet republics, most of whom integrated into the domestic labor market¹⁸. From 1994 to 2005, more people left the country than entered (the main group are Ukrainian citizens who left Ukraine for permanent residence and long-term labor migrants), external migration balance was negative for all these years and, as a result, accumulated to minus 1.3 million. Finally, from 2005 to date migration flows have stabilized and give small annual surplus (so, in 2005-2010 more people - by 66 thousand- entered the country comparing to those who left)¹⁹. The trend is observed in both urban and in rural areas (see Figure 1, 2)²⁰. Naturally, all above mentioned data describe legal²¹ forms of

¹⁵ Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009," The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2010. - Pp.421.

¹⁶ It should be noted that the intra-and inter-regional commuting has been traditionally prevalent in the USSR and during post-Soviet years: for example, in 1991, one in four rural residents worked outside their village, including one in five that worked in urban areas. By 2001, the intensity of commuting from rural areas had fallen, primarily because it became difficult to find work outside the village. In the same period, there was a 2.6-fold increase in the number of people of working age working only in their private households. A detailed analysis of this phenomenon is given in the paper by Pribytkova I. "Chronicles of migration events in Ukraine before and after the collapse of the USSR." See Sociology: Theory, Methods, and Marketing. - Kyiv, 2009. - No. 1. - Pp.64-66.

¹⁷ See Pribytkova I., Chronicles of migration events in Ukraine before and after the collapse of the USSR // Sociology: Theory, Methods, and Marketing. - Kyiv, 2009. - № 1. - Pp.58-59; Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009" The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2010. - Pp.421-443; Yuskiv B., Ten myths of international labor migration // ZN/Zerkalo Nedeli, No. 7 of February 24, 2012 http://zn.ua/SOCIETY/desyat_mifov_o_mezhdunarodnoy_trudovoy_migratsii__-97777.htm

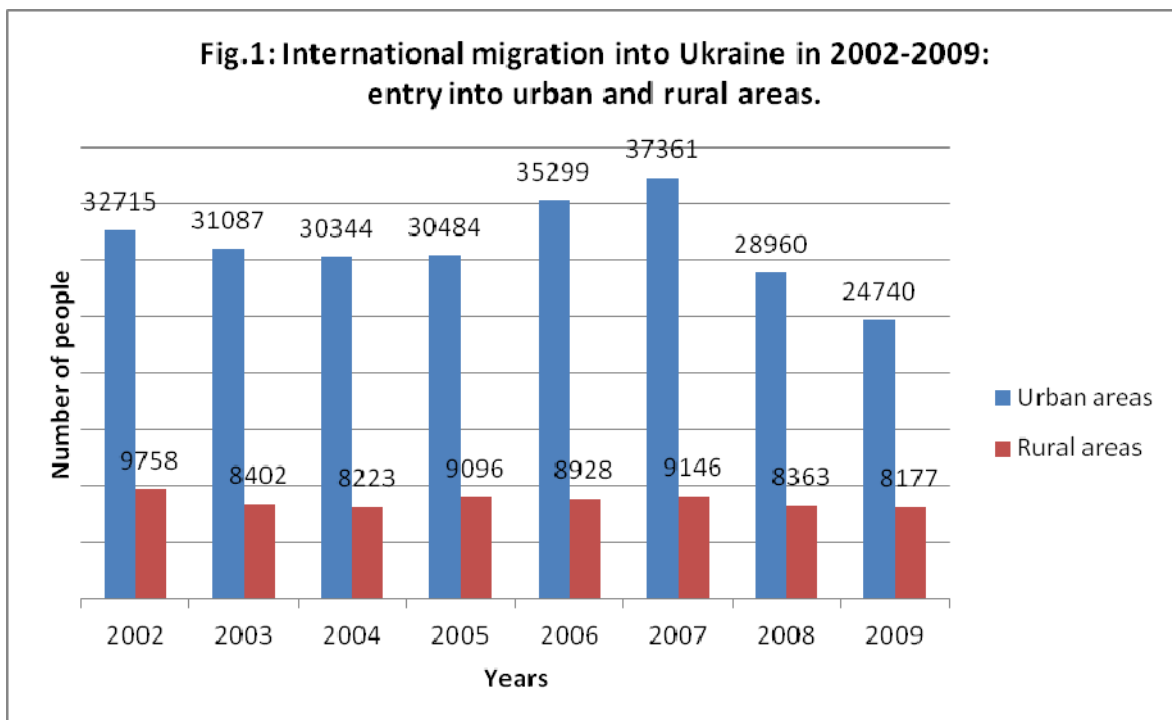
¹⁸ Shulga M., Drift to the roadside. Twenty years of social change in Ukraine - Kyiv, 2011. - P.373.

¹⁹ See above, p. 373

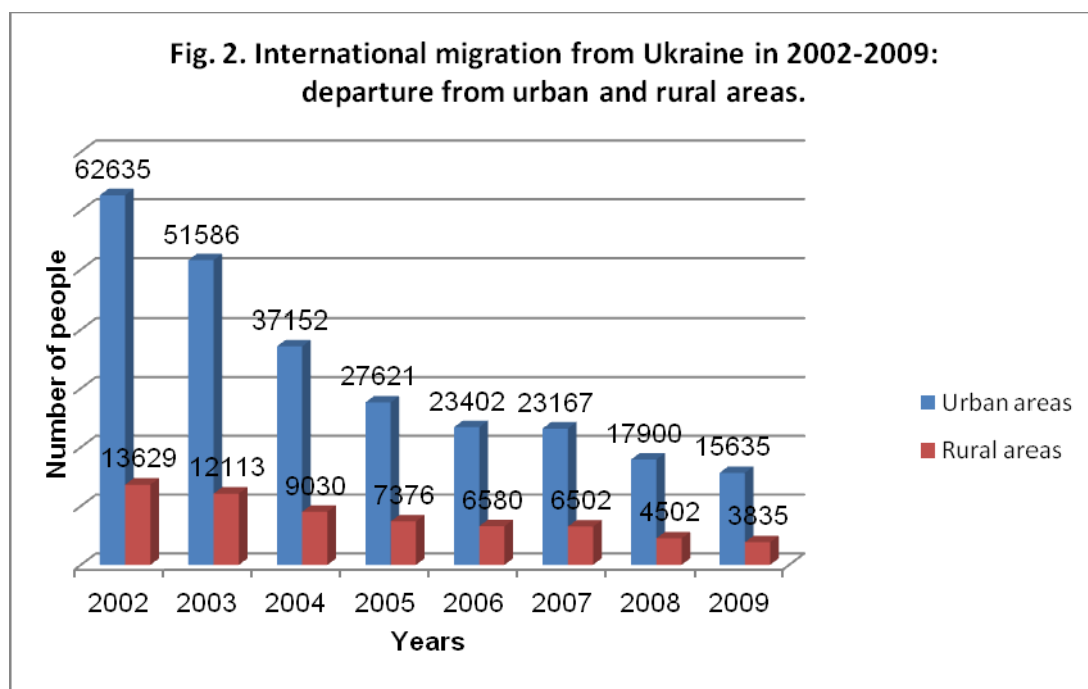
²⁰ Note that in Ukraine there is a steady increase in the share of urban and reduction in the share of the rural population. Thus, according to the State Statistics Committee from 2002 to 2011 the number of people living in urban areas increased by 1.5 million people, while the number of those living in rural areas decreased by 1.5 million people. In 2011 in Ukraine 68.7 million resided in cities, while in 31.3 million people in rural areas. The share of the working population in urban areas is 61.8%, in rural areas is 56.2%. The proportion of people younger and older than working age has traditionally been higher in rural areas. See Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine for 2010, the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2011. - P.328.

²¹ The volume of unregistered movements is estimated differently by experts and authorities, the biggest difference in estimations being related to migration from Ukraine. The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in 2007 published data showing that 73 thousand of Ukrainian citizens officially worked abroad, the Ministry of the Interior in 2008 reported that 231 thousand Ukrainians legalized their stay in the destination country (at the same time there were about 264 thousand foreign residents registered in Ukraine). When estimating the actual number of migrant workers from Ukraine in the world, Ukrainian politicians from the rostrum of the Verkhovna Rada periodically name the figure between 3 and 7 million people. But according to the calculations of the International Organization for Migration, the actual number of legal and illegal labor migrants from Ukraine in 2007 was 2.1 million people, or about 5% of the Ukrainian population. See Yuskiv B. Ten myths about international migration // ZN/Zerkalo Nedeli, No. 7 of 24 February 2012. The article is available online: http://zn.ua/SOCIETY/desyat_mifov_o_mezhdunarodnoy_trudovoy_migratsii__-97777.html

migration, registered by state statistics bodies on the basis of arrival/departure records at the place of residence in Ukraine, introduced by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine²².



Source: author's table based on the Goskomstat data "General results of migration in Ukraine" / Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009" State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kiev, 2010. - p.422.



Source: author's table based on the Goskomstat data "General results of migration in Ukraine" / Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009" State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kiev, 2010. - p.422.

²² The procedure is regulated by the Law of Ukraine "On freedom of movement and choice of residence in Ukraine / See News of The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VVR) - 2004, No. 15.). The text of the Law in full is available at: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1382-15>

According to the State Statistics Committee, in 2010-2011, about one-third of all immigrants were reported in the southern regions of Ukraine (in the Crimea and Sevastopol), from 12 to 15% in Kiev and in the south-east (Odessa, Donetsk and Dnepropetrovsk regions), from 2 to 7% in the western regions²³. Among those who arrived in 2011 to Ukraine, immigrants from the CIS countries accounted for the majority, i.e. 76.8% (that is the influx of migrants from neighboring countries dominates, primarily from Russia, Belarus, and Moldova). Among those who departed from the country, less than half of all emigrants, i.e. 44.9%²⁴, moved to the CIS countries (though the Russian Federation remains the most popular destination for Ukrainian citizens, still non-CIS countries prevail as a whole)²⁵.

Loss or gain: what does migration give and take away? Analysis of available statistical data confirms that international labor migration from Ukraine was and is, above all, an active response of the peripheral layers of the labor market to transformational, painful situation of the domestic economy. Who goes to work abroad most often? Those who cannot find job in Ukraine due to non-compliance of one's competencies to altered, rigid requirements of the internal market, or those dissatisfied with the terms of employment offered by potential employers. Analysis of job offers demonstrates that Ukraine is already experiencing a shortage of hands in case of low-skilled workers, and an acute shortage of qualified professionals. This is not only a consequence of the devaluation of the Ukrainian system of vocational education, unable to comply with changes in the market situation, but also the result of migration, because both workers and professionals for many years have actively joined and continue joining the army of labor migrants ("zarobitchan"). Migration gain, unfortunately, does not compensate for the deepening imbalance of the employment market. Although in recent years the number of legal and illegal migrants to Ukraine has steadily increased, labor potential and integration opportunities of new labor force still remain poorly understood, and there is low demand for their work in the legal economy, what leads to the criminalization of immigrant communities and the corruption of structures controlling them.

It is worth noting that the major influx of migrants, not belonging to ethnic groups traditionally inhabiting the territory of Ukraine (mainly from Africa and South-East and Central Asia), but increasing the group of "residents", is reported in the large cities of Eastern, Central and Southern Ukraine²⁶. Most of the migrants in this group belong to economically active population of working age, but the degree of their involvement in the social and economic relations in the recipient country is difficult to track using official data, since, mostly, they get employed in the shadow trade sector, which is easier to enter and more attractive in comparison with the legal labor market²⁷. Note that the registration of international immigration inflows to Ukraine, unfortunately, is limited to two general groups of citizens entering Ukraine²⁸, i.e. interstate migrants / foreigners and refugees²⁹. Procedures related to the regulation of inflows of other groups of migrants, including those temporarily staying

²³ Ukrainian Week, No. 2 (219) for January 13-19, 2012 - P.16.

²⁴ As above.

²⁵ Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009," The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2010. - Pp.438, 439.

²⁶ See Migration and Tolerance in Ukraine: collection of articles., - Kyiv, 2007. - Pp.134, 135.

²⁷ Boksha T. , Vasilchenko A., Ivanova T., Kravchuk, D., G. Nosak, Criminalization of Migration in Ukraine: the case of arson of Shuliavskiyi second -hand/ / Journal of social criticism "Together." – No. 1, 210. - Pp.79-88.

²⁸ See for example Migration of Ukrainian population in 2007, the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2008. - Pp. 92-98.

²⁹ It should be noted that persons granted refugee status in Ukraine in recent years are registered separately by the State Committee on Nationalities and Religions, while different situations pertaining to the status and protection of this category of people are regulated by a number of legislative acts. See "Law of Ukraine on Refugees", signed in July 2011: <http://dmsu.gov.ua/uk/pro-gmsu/pravova-informaciya/pravovij-status-inozemciv-bizhenciv-ta-osib-bez-gromadanstva/96.html>

and working in Ukraine or those transiting Ukraine on the way to neighboring Schengen countries, unfortunately, are still being developed by the above mentioned State Migration Service³⁰.

Among the most significant cultural outcomes of contemporary international migration, which can be traced based on the official data, is the reduction of the share of indigenous people and ethnic differentiation of the national composition of the population. Western Ukraine, which traditionally has a larger share of indigenous people (born in Ukraine), is characterized by high activity of international movements and a negative migration balance (more people leave than arrive)³¹. However, Eastern and Southern regions, for which a smaller proportion of the indigenous population is typical, are characterized by relatively low fertility rates and the largest influx of migrants from abroad. Hence, there is a steady trend of gradual "de-ukrainisation" of population that requires attention in the context of national integration policy, as the share of population, not identifying with Ukraine as a country of origin, grows. This may account for the low motivation for sustainable, not transit, participation in the domestic labor market and full involvement in the political and cultural processes in Ukraine.

New social and demographic trends caused by migration. It should be noted that geographical features of migration reflect changes in the labor market and provide impact on the transformation of the structure of employment, typical for urban and rural areas. As demonstrated by the analysis of the migration balance by gender and age group, despite the fact that registered international migration to/from the cities is traditionally stronger than to/from rural areas, *there is still growth in all groups of the working population in urban areas*³², while in rural areas there is a significant outflow, especially in case of women in all working groups, which may be associated with a relatively high demand for female labor in most popular destinations of Ukrainian labor migration. Total share of working-age population is higher in urban areas than in rural areas, but the level of registered employment, on the contrary, is higher in rural areas (see Table 1), mainly due to seasonal involvement in agricultural work. Naturally, one should take into account significant involvement of migrant workers in grey economy, particularly in urban areas with developed large and medium-sized businesses, which gladly employ illegally and pay out wages "in envelopes" evading huge taxes imposed due to the toughening fiscal policy. Hence, real job prospects are higher in the cities and the latter eventually attract most mobile workforce from the provinces.

³⁰ See official site of the State Migration Service of Ukraine: <http://dmsu.gov.ua/uk/pro-gmsu/pravova-informaciya/zagalni-polozhenna.html>

³¹ Migration of Ukrainian population in 2007, the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2008. - Pp. 10-11.

³² According to the definition of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, the age of departing/arriving citizens is defined as under working age in case of those up to 16 years old, as working age in case of those between 16 and 59 for men and 16 to 54 for women, and as older than working age from 60 years and older for men, and 55 years or older for women. See Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009," The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2010. - P.421.

Table 1. Population by age group and economic activity, %.

	Urban population / share of employed people	Rural population / Share of employed people	Total in Ukraine / Share of employed
Under working age	14,4*	17,2*	15,3*
Working age	61,8/66,6**	56,2/69,1**	60,0/67,3**
Older than working age	23,8/12,8**	26,6/22,9**	24,7/16,3**

Source: Statistical Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2010" State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kiev, 2011. – pp. 331, 352.

* Although there is no official data on illegal employment of below-working-age population, study conducted by the SSC jointly with the International Labour Organization, confirms the trend of growing use of child labor in Ukraine. In some areas, the proportion of working children is up to 7% of the total population, i.e. every 15th minor works illegally.

See: http://www.ukrrudprom.ua/digest/Ekspluatatsiya_detey_Ternistiy_put_borbi.html

** – author's calculations based on the data of the State Statistics Committee.

Because of the growing mismatch between labor market needs and the national education system, the most vulnerable group in the context of employment are young people under 25 years of age (unemployment rate according to ILO is 20.2%)³³. In the regions the highest unemployment rate was recorded in areas with traditionally low concentration of large industrial enterprises, or where the factories have significantly reduced their production capacity, e.g. in Rivne (11.4%), Sumy (10.6) and Ternopil (10.5%) regions, where negative balance of migration between regions and the negative or low net interstate migration are observed. Official data confirm the hypothesis that migration could provide impact on the reducing number of economically active population in some regions, but this trend was observed only up to 2005: for example, in the above mentioned Ternopil region from 2000 to 2005, the population between 15 and 70 years decreased by 10 thousand people, but by 2009 returned to its previous level, and in 2010 increased by 7 thousand people³⁴. However, as noted above, steady increase in the number of vacancies in the segments of "unskilled worker", "worker" and "office worker"³⁵ reflect changing segmentation of the labor market, i.e. competencies and career aspirations of working age people do not correspond to the actual supply in the labor market, while unemployment is on the rise, and *the share of unemployed is higher among men of working age*³⁶. During 10 years between 2000 and 2010 there were significant changes in the structure of employment by industry, in particular, employment in the industrial sector and agriculture significantly reduced, while at the same time, employment in trade and services increased (See Fig. 3). *This also increases career risks for men and fuels immigration aspirations in this group*. Note also that in the last 20 years, Ukraine has seen *a gradual increase in the number of pensioners*: from 253 retired persons per 1,000 people in 1991 to 301 retired persons per 1,000 people in 2011³⁷, as well as that over the last 10 years, the share of economically inactive people of working age increased (including persons with disabilities, persons raising children etc.), leading to higher social burden on the national budget. *To which extent international labor migration affects new opportunities in the domestic labor market and weakens or, on the contrary, increases social tensions?*

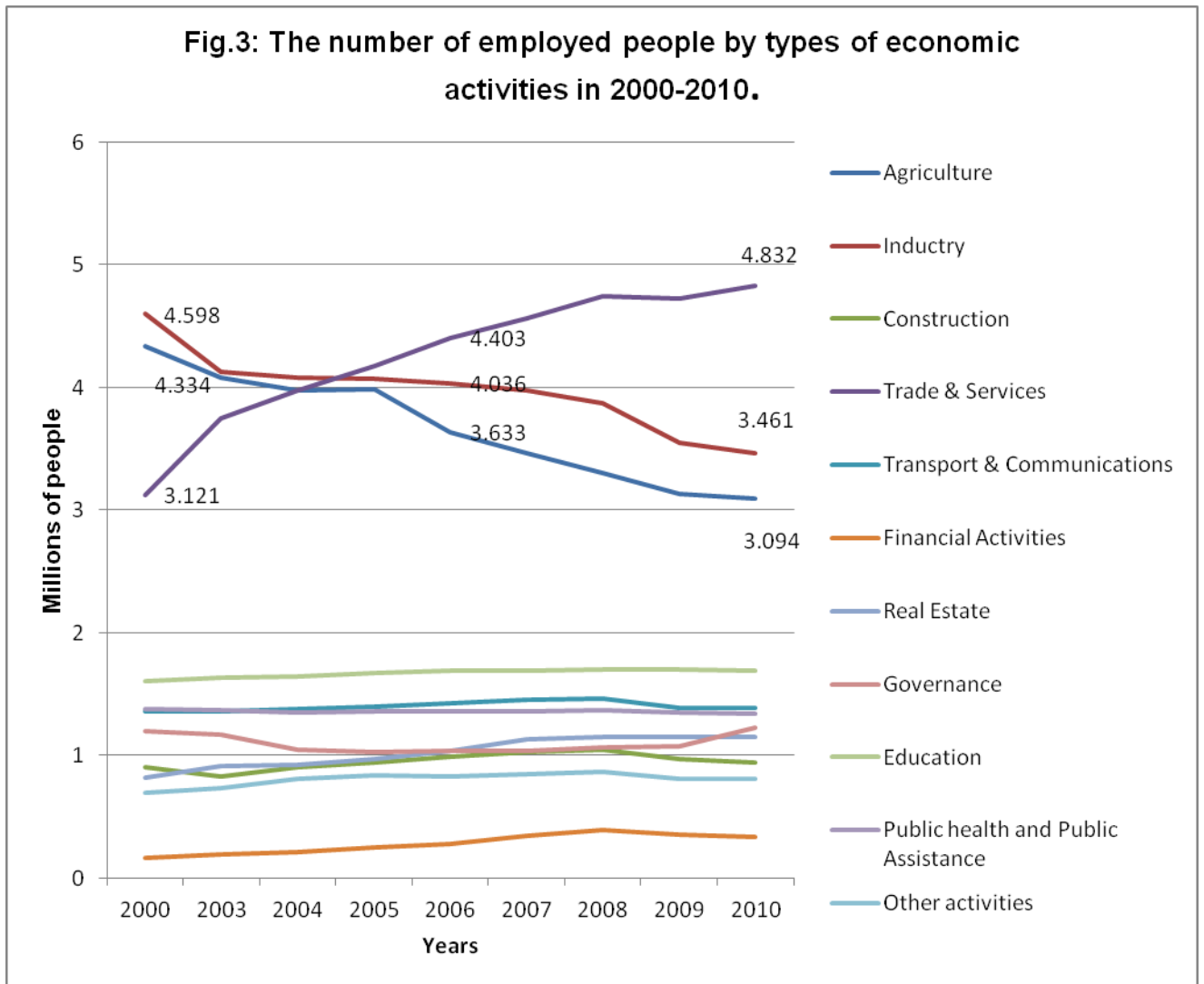
³³ Demographic Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2009," The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2010. - P.358.

³⁴ As above, P. 353

³⁵ Socio-economic situation in Ukraine in 2011 // Government Courier, No. 19 of February 1, 2012 - P.17.

³⁶ Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine for 2010, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2011. - P.352.

³⁷ Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine for 2010, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine - Kyiv, 2011. - S.335.



Source: Statistical Yearbook "The population of Ukraine, 2010" State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - Kiev, 2011. p.354 (author's graphs based on the data of the State Statistics Committee).

According to a demographer Alexei Poznyak, some aspects of the impact of labor migration on the labor market are almost impossible to statistically estimate, based on recorded figures of departures in one group of people and data on those joining economically active group, hence calculations can only be based on hypothetical assumptions. Indeed, given the lack of opportunities for "zarobitchanstvo", migrant workers do not have to remain unemployed in Ukraine (obviously, active lifestyle, high qualifications and motivation to work would get them a job in the domestic labor market). Accordingly, the departure of some part of active labor force abroad could free up jobs for others in need of work, contributing thus to increased employment of the local workforce. In addition, it is possible that some of returning migrants of working age do not look for "jobs in the domestic labor market due savings accumulated while working abroad." On the basis of such considerations and official data, experts estimate that in the absence of labor migration, the number of unemployed in Ukraine would be one and a half times higher than the current level³⁸. One should also remember that migrant workers tend to be main breadwinners for families remaining in Ukraine. *Remittances* not only provide solutions to the issues that directly motivated people to go to work abroad, i.e. significantly improve financial situation of the family, their living conditions, pay for children's education, but also, indirectly, contribute to

³⁸ See Pozniak A., Labor migration in Ukraine as a factor in the development of the labor market // Demoskop Weekly, No. 405 - 406 for January 1-24, 2010. <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0405/analit05.php>

emergence of social dependency, weaken the motivation of migrant's household members to seek additional sources of income and employment in the domestic market, that promises questionable benefits in comparison with the level of earnings of labor migrants.

Current official data confirm that Ukraine has gradually turned from a recipient country into the host country. However, observed during last years net migration does not compensate for the imbalance in the structure of employment: crisis on the domestic market, related primarily to the deterioration of working conditions and the reduction of the number of jobs in once powerful sectors of industry and agriculture, causes further outflow of skilled working age population from the country. Although official data do not prove decisive influence of migration on the reduction of the total working age population (this phenomenon is mainly caused by natural decrease), opinion polls show that the share of skilled labor in the flow of migrants is high, indicating thus the trend for the brain drain, i.e. departure from the country of labor force with high professional potential. According to the State Tax Administration of Ukraine, in 2011, for the first time in 20 years negative balance of entrepreneurial activity was recorded in the country (245.8 thousand entrepreneurs that terminated their business activities vs. 176.7 thousand that registered their businesses, i.e. 70 thousand fewer people)³⁹. Unfortunately, there is no official information on what are the future plans of former Ukrainian entrepreneurs, however, a number of publications in the media with reference to its sources in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirm that the number of people that left Ukraine for permanent residence abroad over the last six months is equal to the overall number of those who left the country during 4 previous years⁴⁰. Obviously, the new trend of active participation of mentioned categories of citizens in the migratory movements, involving usually a long-term or permanent residence abroad, provides negative impact on the prospects for economic and social development of Ukraine.

4. Labor migration and its impact based on the results of sociological studies.

In the absence of regular, systematic and centralized monitoring of the labor movement in Ukraine, sociological information partly fills the gaps in the study of general trends and specific aspects of migration, in particular, and allows to assess the status of immigration processes in public opinion, to analyze subjective migration potential of various groups of population, explore social wellbeing of household members of migrant's families, determine the level of their expectations towards the labor market in a long-term perspective.

Since 2002, the thematic cluster survey carried out regularly by the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine as part of the research "Ukrainian society: monitoring social change", included questions on respondents' participation in labor migration⁴¹. A representative sample of the survey includes 1,800 people over 18 years old in all regions of Ukraine preserving the ratio of population by places of residence (regional center / town / village), as well as by sex, age and education level, specific to that locality.

Immigrants. Outcomes of the study, in particular, data on the place of birth of respondents, allow us to estimate the change in the immigrant share among the respondents: in 2002, 10% of respondents named Russia as their birthplace, about 4% other former Soviet republics, a little less than 1% were born in other countries (i.e. 15% of respondents were non-indigenous residents of Ukraine), since 2005 the share of those born in Russia slightly decreased, the share of those born in other foreign countries remained the same (however, the specificity of the geographical distribution of illegal labor migrants suggests that they are the least likely group to be selected for the survey based on their

³⁹ Correspondent, No. 9 (497) of March 9, 2012 - P.42.

⁴⁰ "Private entrepreneurs leave Ukraine en masse" // TSENZOR.NET of March 12, 2012.

⁴¹ Thematic cluster developed by Pribytkova I. See Holovakha E., Panina N., Ukrainian society: sociological monitoring (1992-2008) - Kyiv, 2008. - Pp.53-54.

addresses, therefore, theoretically, the number of foreigners is still increasing, and additional studies are required in order to define their exact number). It should be noted that the level of tolerance to members of certain ethnic groups, involved in migration, has dropped significantly over the years. Thus, in 1992, 16% of respondents said that they never would have allowed the Arabs to Ukraine, in 2010 such answers were provided already by 27.4%. It is interesting that the attitude towards ethnic groups from the former Soviet Union has not changed in 20 years: as a rule they are welcomed as Ukrainian citizens, neighbors, colleagues and relatives. For comparison, according to the European Social Survey, Ukrainians are somewhat more positive about the impact of labor immigrants on the economy of Ukraine, as well as the overall situation in the country than people in most of the European countries, where Ukrainians often go to work themselves, but are less optimistic in assessing the impact of migrants on the cultural life of the country (see Table 2). This confirms our hypothesis about low integration potential of foreigners coming to Ukraine.

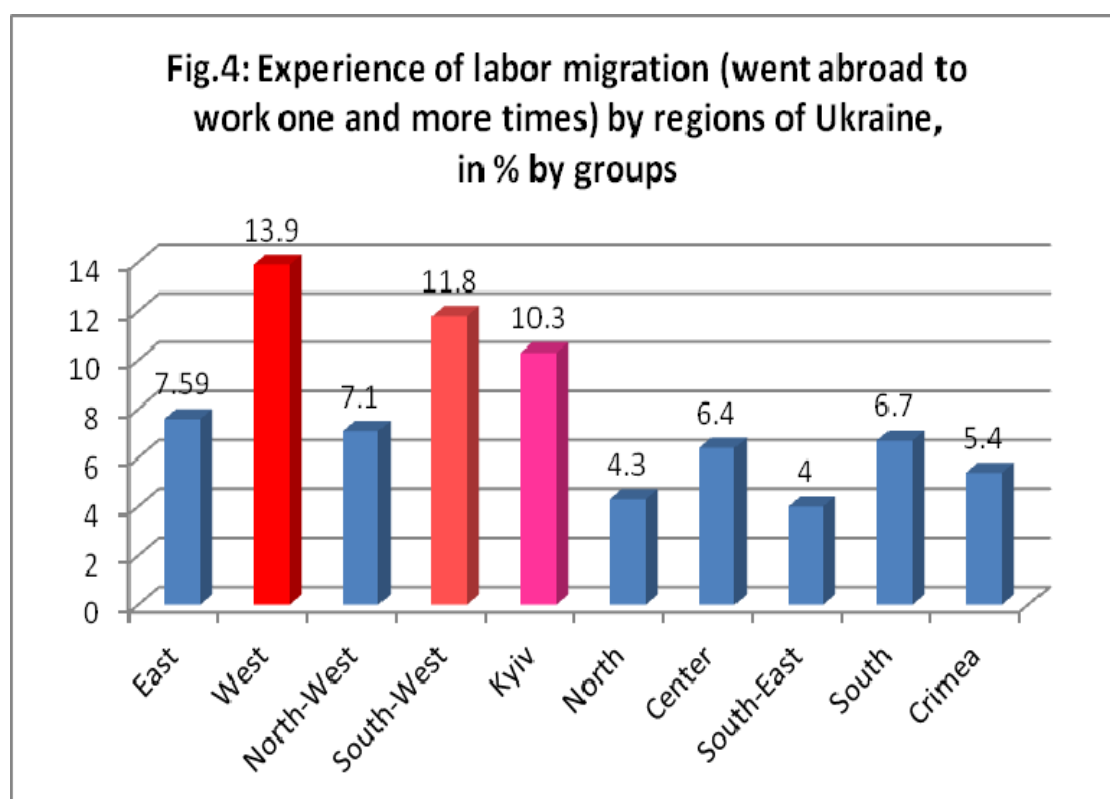
Table 2. Assessing the impact of immigrants on the situation in the host country, according to the European Social Survey (mean score on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is the most negative evaluation, and 10 is the most positive)*.

	Ukraine	Greece	Spain	Poland	Hungary	Czech Republic
What do you think: the fact that people from other countries move to our country, in general, impacts the economy (country) positively or negatively?	4,81	3,88	5,57	4,62	3,85	4,28
Do you think the influx of people from other countries in general destroys or enriches the cultural life (in the country)?	4,90	3,75	5,93	6,25	5,25	4,48
Do you think that as a result of the influx of people from other countries, our country is becoming a worse or a better place to live?	4,85	3,44	5,13	5,52	4,27	4,21

Source: Golovakha E., Gorbachik A., Panina N., Ukraine is Europe: results of an international comparative social survey, - Kyiv, 2006. - pp.135, 136

* Italy, also being one of popular destinations for Ukrainian migrants, unfortunately, did not take part in the survey.

Emigrants. To which extent do survey results confirm and complete official data on international labor migration of Ukrainian citizens? Note that estimations of the number of migrant workers made on the basis of sample surveys are much higher than official data on the number of movements recorded by the State Statistics Committee. According to the above mentioned monitoring study, between 2002 and 2010, the percentage of households in which at least one family member had previous experience of working abroad ranged from 10% to 13.5%. About 9% of the respondents in 2005-2010 had personal experience of work abroad, out of which 2 to 3% worked abroad more than three times. In 2002, about 7% of respondents were planning in the next year to go abroad for a temporary work; to date the figure, with minor variations, has remained at 6%. Considering that the total population (the population of Ukraine in this age group) in 2010 was about 36 million people, about two million people were planning to go to work abroad. By regions, survey data show the highest concentration of migrant workers in the western and south-western regions and in Kyiv (see Figure 4); by the type of settlement, in small cities and towns (the same group also has the highest percentage of those who went abroad to work more than three times) (see Table 3).



Source: author's graph based on the survey of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010

Table 3. Experience in international labor migration by types of settlements, in % by groups

How many times have you personally went abroad for temporary work?	Type of settlement								
	City with over 1 mln.	City with population between 501 th. & 1 mln.	City with population between 251 th. & 500 th.	City with population between 101th. & 250 th.	City with population between 51th. & 100th.	City with population between 21 th. & 50 th.	City with population under 20 th.	Town	Village
never	93,2	92,9	92,8	88,0	92,4	95,3	88,8	91,6	93,1
once	2,1	4,0	3,6	6,5	0,8	1,6	6,3	2,6	3,7
twice	2,1	2,4	1,4	1,1	1,7	0,8	-	1,3	1,4
three times	0,4	-	0,7	-	1,7	-	-	0,6	0,2
more than three times	2,1	0,8	1,4	4,3	3,4	2,3	5,0	3,9	1,6

Source: author's table based on the survey of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010.

Among potential migrants more than a third are skilled workers and up to 10% are unskilled workers. The group of potential "zarobitchany" is formed in a third by rural population and in about a quarter by inhabitants of small towns. Among those who would like to work abroad, more than a third described their income as average, "which allows to make ends meet," that is, in general, people with low social status among labor migrants are in the minority. Typically, potential migrant workers are family people (over 60% in the group), over 30 years old (more than half), with one or two children

under 16 years old (more than 40% in the group)⁴². The share of men among potential migrants is higher than the share of women by 10%. But the gap is much smaller in case of real labor migrants. Moreover, the further to the west the region is located, the greater is the share of women among migrants: in the sample in total 10% of men and 5.3% of women had experience of work abroad, while in the western region, 15.1% of men and 12.9% of women⁴³.

Vulnerable groups: limitations and opportunities. *How do survey data illustrate the opportunities for social mobility and marginalization created by labor migration in case of vulnerable groups: single women with children, seniors, persons with disabilities, young people in small towns and rural areas (see Table 4)?* According to the survey, the share of unemployed is quite big in those groups: over 65% of people with disabilities (those treated for chronic conditions or with confirmed disability) do not work as well as over 50% of young people in small towns and rural areas (only half of them is still studying, and therefore have limited employment opportunities)⁴⁴. Taking into account respondents' qualifications and expectations towards wages, worst job opportunities are in small cities and towns. As a result, the largest share of respondents in this group has experience in international labor migration, but most went abroad only once⁴⁵. It is noteworthy that the group of retired people is characterized by quite high, given their relatively limited physical abilities⁴⁶, percentage of those with the experience of temporary employment abroad, including multiple employments. As we know, a number of recommendations of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund aimed at reducing the deficit of the state budget of Ukraine, suggest, in particular, gradual extension of retirement age. However, from a formal point of view, the prospects of employment in Ukraine of average potential employees who are now over 55-60 years are hardly encouraging. Thus, the overwhelming majority of respondents of retirement age, i.e.60%, have primary or lower secondary education, 25,3% secondary education, 9,6% specialized secondary education, and only 5% university degrees. Only 3.4% of respondents know how to use PC and regularly work on it, 6,8% know how to use PC and sometimes use it (vs. the number of regular PC users among young people under 30 years old, which is almost ten times higher). Based on the data on the professional qualifications of the respondents it is likely that most of today's retirees, who could face a change in pension legislation in the near future, are qualified to work in manufacturing or agriculture, but, firstly, the number of jobs in these industries declined in recent years, and, secondly, employment in such areas typically involves considerable physical activity. Hence, good health is a prerequisite for the suitability of the employee. Thus, in our opinion, the extension of retirement age can lead to the marginalization of the group, while the possibility of migration and employment in a relatively less physically demanding and better-paid service sector the EU, on the contrary, contribute to the success of social mobility of retired

⁴² See the survey data in a tabular form in the article: Pribytkova I., *Chronicles of migration events in Ukraine before and after the collapse of the USSR // Sociology: Theory, Methods, and Marketing*. - Kyiv, 2009. - No. 1. - Pp.70, 72, 74.75

⁴³ Author 's calculations based on the survey of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2010.

⁴⁴ Among young people up to 30 years in big cities (with a population over 500 thousand) the share of students and employed people is a bit higher than in small towns and rural areas. In addition, fewer respondents in this group believe that it is difficult to find in their area well-paid work matching their qualifications (77.3% of the respondents in cities vs. 90.6% in towns and villages). Obviously, employment opportunities in big cities are a greater due to the concentration of private companies: about 40% of young people in big cities are employed in this sector (vs. less than 10% in villages and towns).

⁴⁵ In-depth interviews with migrant workers and members of their households, conducted in June 2011 and January 2012 in the villages of the Lviv region as part of the project THEMIS (Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/themis>) also it is difficult for rural residents to organize the trip for seasonal work more than once as in agriculture, for example, there is considerable competition of workers from the former CIS, Poland and the Baltic states.

⁴⁶ In general, 47.6% of respondents believe that their health condition is bad, 46,8% find it satisfactory and 5,6% state that their health condition is good. See Ivaschenko K. *Social Perspectives of the extension of retirement age in Ukraine / Ukrainian Society 1992-2010: Sociological Monitoring* - Kyiv, 2010. - Pp.386-392.

people, both in case of those whose children work abroad and who go abroad independently⁴⁷. In case of other groups, especially those under 30 years old, however, prolonged work abroad, although it promises invaluable experience in adapting to new cultural environments and better financial opportunities, carries certain risks related to the interruption in the sequence of basic socialization. Although the traditional model of the life path / growing / maturing that includes such milestones as the end of education, starting work, economic separation from parents and living on your own, marriage and having children, is no longer perceived by young people as linear⁴⁸, from the point of view of successful model in given socio-economic conditions, labor migration can rather hinder than promote consistent implementation of set goals. Outcomes of qualitative study of migrants' biographical stories after their return to Ukraine⁴⁹ suggest that the experience of long-term stay abroad often complicates successful adaptation, hinders effective socialization and career development of young professionals after their return to Ukraine. Applicant's work experience abroad is no longer perceived by potential employers as a plus or something valuable in the domestic market. On the contrary, often returning migrants lack the knowledge of national peculiarities of corporate ethics, and are unable to adapt to local conditions, as well as often get lower pay and work under worse conditions than those to which they were accustomed abroad.

⁴⁷ This is supported by qualitative data collected during in-depth interviews with migrants and their families as part of THEMIS, - in case of older respondents of retirement age (usually over 60-65 years old), a significant group received remittances from their children working abroad and did not intend to travel outside of Ukraine, but "young retirees", especially women between 55 to 60 years, who already had worked long enough in order to get pensions in Ukraine, many were able to financially support themselves and their households thanks to temporary jobs in Europe as workers household workers and invalid tenders. Similar work in Ukraine is not very common and not so well paid.

⁴⁸ Ivashchenko K. Growing Youth in transition: trends (1991-2011) / Ukrainian Society 1992-2010: Sociological Monitoring - Kyiv, 2010;

Roberts K., Predborska I., Ivaschenko K. Youth Transitions in East and West Ukraine // European Sociological Review - Volume 20, n.5, December 2004. - Pp. 403-413.

⁴⁹ The project THEMIS held 50 in-depth interviews with migrant workers that returned to Ukraine from Britain, Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal. The results are to be published in 2012.

Table 4. Employment status and prospects vs. migration activity of social vulnerable groups, in % by groups.

	<i>Single women with children (under retirement age)</i>	<i>Unemployed retired people (over 54 years old)</i>	<i>People with disabilities (all age groups)</i>	<i>Young people from small cities (under 30 years old, cities up to 250th. people)</i>	<i>Young people from rural areas (under 30 years old, including towns and villages)</i>
Number of respondents in a group	100	418	344	81	127
Prevailing type of employment	22,0 – work in public sector 34,0 – work in private sector, 4,0 – both in public & private sector 40,0- do not work	100,0 – are retired	19,2 – work in public sector 13,7 – work in private sector, 1,7 – both in public & private sector 65,4 – do not work	18,2 – work in public sector 29,5 – work in private sector, 50,0– do not work	16,5 – work in public sector 29,9 – work in private sector, 2,4 – both in public & private sector 51,2– do not work
Believe that it is difficult to find relatively well-paid job matching their qualifications in their place of residence	82,0	63,6	75,6	88,6	90,6
Believe that it is difficult to find even low paid job matching their qualifications in their place of residence	53,0	54,3	60,5	70,5	69,3
Believe that it is difficult to find relatively well-paid job & even not matching their qualifications in their place of residence	69,0	59,1	66,0	81,8	76,4
Have personal experience of temporary work abroad or a family member with such experience	14,0	7,4	8,4	18,2	22,0
Worked abroad several times	3,0	1,9	2,7	2,3	0,8
Plans to work abroad within a year	7,0	1,2	4,1	6,8	17,3

Source: author's table based on the survey of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010

Children of migrant workers on the causes, trends and socio-political consequences of "zarobitchanstvo." Children of migrant workers speak on the pros and cons of the experience of labor migration and its impact on the socio-economic and political situation in Ukraine: focus group conducted during "CARIM-East" project on March 14, 2012 in Lviv. Respondents were six young people under 30 years old with no experience of migration, but in regular communication with migrant parents (see Table 5):

Table 5. Information about the members of the focus groups and related to them labor migrants.

No of respondent	Sex	Occupation	Who works abroad	Country where labor migrant stays	Length of stay	Area of employment	Status
1	M	Engineer Programmer	Mother & father	Portugal	13 years / 10 years	Services (elderly woman care, construction)	Legal
2	M	Manager	Father	Portugal	12 years	Production (foreman at a factory)	Legal
3	M	Manager	Mother	Czech Republic	6 years	Service (restaurant business)	Legal
4	F	Student	Father	Italy	5 years	Construction	Legal
6	F	Veterinarian	Mother	Italy	11,5 years	Trade (work in a supermarket), married to an Italian	Legal
7	F	Do not work, maternal leave	Mother	Italy	8 years	Services (cleaning)	Legal

All participants in the discussion noted that the main reason for their parents' departure abroad was difficult financial situation of the family in the absence of employment opportunities in Ukraine, often after the shut-down of factories:

"We had big factories producing various products and supplying them to many regions, they were sold within a year, and now there is an empty space";

"My father left the country, because he lost his job in 2000, and he could not find job in Ukraine. Well, to be more accurate, he could, but with a low pay, three times less than he used to get, and he did not want to work for such money ";

"The end of the 90's was the time of biggest departures from Ukraine. I know, because I talked to my friends in different cities on the phone. Each month, from the same town ... 5-6 persons went abroad. It was the time when almost all the factories got closed, nothing was sold and everybody went out of business. "

Our assumption that migration is primarily a form of economic self-organization in the absence of acceptable alternatives got confirmed:

"The positive moment is that a person in a desperate situation can go somewhere and still hope for something, that he would be able to earn some money and still help his family."

"There is hope in man, he builds his plans for the future, based on this."

Note that all the migrants went abroad more than 5 years ago, which confirms our observation that Ukraine has passed the migration peak. During the discussion, it was suggested that, although transport communication between Ukraine and the EU was then poorly organized, it was easier to leave than now, as the EU did not have strict regulations restricting the entry of Ukrainians for employment purposes:

"When my father left, there was a small buss jammed packed with people. And now there is a plane and a direct flight. "

"I think transportation has improved, but today you need more documents".

"Well, before Europeans did not pay attention so much, and later introduced both customs and passport control. Spain, Italy, these countries did the right thing when they legalized jobs because many of them used to work illegally, thus they, Spain and Italy, replenished their budget slightly. They legalized those tourists who had entered illegally, and then got the right to legalize their work. ... still, of course, they want to introduce strict visa regime, introduce

biometric data . This means that it will be harder to enter those countries in the future. When there was ... revolution in Ukraine, we were given quotas, and many have received them, and now things have got worse. Let's say, before hundred of Ukrainians got them, now only ten get, and it will be even worse in the future."

At the same time, the respondents believe that promised restrictions related to the issuance of work visas for Ukrainians are justified, both for Ukraine and Europe:

"If this process is simplified, then half of Ukraine will leave immediately."

"Now it's kind of normal, but if things are simplified, Ukraine will become a desert - everyone will go abroad."

"But Europe is not made of rubber, it cannot accept all. You need to look at things realistically. "

Without exception, all the respondents mentioned negative aspects of migration: increasing estrangement of spouses, if the person is married, lack of regular contact with children, which can lead not only to psychological estrangement, but also to no control over children's adolescence.

"I have many friends whose parents are abroad, so 50% of families in which a husband or wife is abroad, get divorced in 5-6 years."

"Indeed, it leads to divorce and spoils the relationship. Even if it is not about married couples, but, for example, a mother and adult daughter: they also want to be closer."

"I haven't communicated with my father properly for 5 years, but still I would like. Now I have got older, so it cannot be that hard, but I still want to be next to him, not to just chat on Skype. He sends some money. Yes, I understand, it's support, even for education, for some of my needs, from there he takes care of me, but still I would like more communication. "

"My family consisted only of females, and male hands would not hurt. Some questions I could not ask anyone. Well, I did not feel free to ask my mother and father was away. And for the first time when my father left, it was really, really conflict time. All this time, when he was away for the first three months, every three days there were conflicts. I just was not yet used to not having my father at home."

Much attention in the discussion was given by the respondents to the outcomes of child abandonment, common in case of children of migrant workers:

"I read an article on the Internet about migration. Mainly somehow in "Ukraine Pravda" there are all the time articles about the family situation of migrants. Sometimes you read: it's horrible, parents left the country, children drank, became addicted, because virtually there was no control over the children, there was no proper education. "

"And this is the other side of the coin, that children are given the money, but there is no control. Due to the large amount of money children think they can do anything, and no one controls them. "

"There are 40% of such cases. "

"... In my year at school, in case of 55% parents had left, and out of those 55% one-third was like this."

When assessing opportunities offered by the internal migration, respondents noted that the employment of parents in other regions of Ukraine would not be as traumatic for the family connections, however, would not solve the problem that originally was the reason for migration:

"If, for example, parents work in Ukraine - in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Donetsk, the Crimea, or anywhere else - you have a better chance to see them more often, and even talk on the phone more often. Also, you do not need to travel very far. And plus, possibly, it is easier for parents, because it's the same country, the same language, and the same people. "

"I do not know: the best thing would be for them to work here. Why the country does not provide people with such opportunities? "

"200-300 kilometers is not three thousand kilometers, there is a difference."

"But the negative aspect is that in Ukraine you won't make that much."

"International migration is more positive, internal migration does not change anything. I studied in Eastern Ukraine in two cities, and it was just a chance to travel somewhere to entertain myself, but it had not changed anything for me: in this case the efficiency effect is zero."

Respondents' statements indicate that during the years of overseas work migrant workers greatly enriched their lives due to new experiences, in a sense, adapted to the standards of European culture, i.e. communication, service, labor relations, which, of course, can be described as a positive impact of international labor migration:

"People abroad change a lot. My mother, when she went to Portugal, she could not visit for the first five years, and when she came back five years later, she was a completely different person. She had a totally different worldview."

"I've got used to it all, but my Mom comes, and for example some documents are required, or something needs to be done, or even she needs to go to a dentist, or somewhere else, and then she says: God, these people are rude, uneducated, they push, get ahead of me in the line, generally culture is lacking. You come to a passport clerk, for example, to get some official document, and the person is rude. Mom says such things do not happen abroad."

"Where did all this come from? It comes from the people. It does not arise out of nowhere, the rudeness, the bribes ... We give, they take."

"Well, finance: it is clear, it is also stimulating, and you do not degrade. Parents somehow pass the European vision onto you, stimulate you somehow. Take accessories as an example: you would not wear just... you wear, let's say, Tissot watch, because you have these aspirations. When you're sitting here, and you are surrounded by the same people, you do not aspire to that, but this way you inherit the European style."

"No, you can have a watch even for a thousand dollars, but you will not understand anything. You see, the main thing is to strive for this European style (of life)."

On the other hand (as we mentioned above) adaptation to a different cultural context, communication standards and expectations developed during years spent abroad may clash with Ukrainian cultural realities when migrants return to their home country:

"For example, my Dad likes the situation THERE, he likes their culture, he's put down roots THERE, so to speak."

"And my father now and then comes here for 2-3 weeks, and then says: No, that's it, I'm going back. And goes back there."

During the discussion it was noted that many migrant parents pass on to their children migration-based carrier path, and, having settled in Europe, encourage their children to move out of Ukraine:

"In general, our young people leave when they follow their parents, in the majority of cases."

"Yes, because if you're working there officially, it's easier for your child to leave. You send them an invitation."

"I have friends: first, their mother left, and then gradually ... there are 5 children in the family, and gradually all of them moved there."

"My friend's wife also went to Spain, a year later he left, and after five years they took their children there."

When describing those who currently go to work abroad, the respondents confirm described earlier trends for migration segmentation:

(Gender)

"To Italy, mostly women are going, because they are typically find jobs there most often. To Spain mostly men go, because they had a construction boom, which stopped because of the crisis. And women, of course, stay longer, because they are more communicative than men. A lot of men, they are lost there, and women ... adapt better. Man just shrugs his shoulders: no work, then need to go back; and women are more communicative, they can deal with the situations. Even when couples

go abroad, there are many examples when the husband does not work, and the wife works, and she pulls him out. She is like a donor. "

(Age)

"All young people run away from the villages. Only the ones who were born here long ago, they remain on their land, and young people... they try to leave. Well, old people would not leave the village to earn money abroad. "

"When you are young, you take a bag and go to Europe, nothing keeps you here, no children, no family, and when you become older, you start thinking, - why bargain one trouble for another."

"Those are mostly going ... that are over forty years old."

"Even over thirty years old. I know that in a neighboring village, where I practically grew up, my aunt lived there - almost all women of 32 and over are gone. Men remained to work the land, with children. But children are rarely seen there – only in every 10-20th house you'll see a child".

(Type of employment)

"Well, the working class."

"Now, in my opinion, our women mostly go there to care: for children, seniors. And men are mostly seen on construction sites. "

"Men work, perhaps, at plants, if it works out...."

"Basically, now, in recent years, intellectual migration began: there are people who have some level of education, work in companies that are world famous, travel abroad, but perform mental work, that is, managers, office workers. But time is needed to change that stereotype that women are nurses, and men are unskilled workers."

(Education)

"I do not think that university diploma matters in our days."

"Any person face difficulties finding job with a good salary."

"Diploma (in Ukraine) makes no difference at all. As they say, you come, pay the money and have a diploma in hand, whichever you wish: Master's, specialist certificate, you can even buy the degree of a professor and an associate professor."

"You can be an associate professor, but you will clean up abroad."

"Frankly, a lot depends on the person himself. A person even may have a university degree, but it depends on whether he can realize his potential, what's his attitude to himself, whether he starts cleaning there, or looks for something bigger with his degree. A lot depends on this. Possibilities, of course, are not always the same, but if you strive for something, I guess, then you'll achieve it. "

"It is bad that our minds are leaving for Europe. I do not see around famous minds, any geeks who would make a scientific contribution, receive a Nobel Prize. "

(Place of residence)

"If you take the village, in villages people can live better than in cities, as in rural areas people can live off the land; of course, to work the land, you need to be in good condition, and not everyone can work the hectare of land, especially if no one else works in the household."

"To be honest, I noticed that more farmers leave. Well, I know more people from small towns or villages that leave than from big cities. Well, my mother told me that over there (abroad) there are more people from smaller communities."

"Take Eastern Ukraine, from there everybody goes to Russia, and I would not say they all are from villages. There is a city of Anthracite, where the mines were, and other ghost towns, they are not the villages: they all work in the Russian Federation. People from Kharkov, Eastern Ukraine are all in the Russian Federation. Even take our Lviv, look at the train "Moscow - Lviv", many people go there. So I cannot say that only people from villages go away. "

(Marital status)

"Probably the majority of those going abroad are family people, that is, they go mostly not at will, but because it is necessary to provide for the family."

What are the positive aspects of migration experience acquired by parents of the focus group participants, and how they evaluate the impact of "zarobitchanstvo" on the internal labor market and social situation in Ukraine?

(Improvement of the financial situation of the family)

"If there is nowhere to migrate, there's nowhere to take money from. And this would impact the entire family, because the family would be able to afford much less. Even as regards the basics: clothes, food, comfort. All these would be missing. "

"People buy apartments, children go to universities, cars are bought. In fact, so is food, and ... well, depending on who gets how much. Most people live here thanks to what is being made over there."

"Something additional can be afforded, for example, small remodeling of the apartment, some new furniture. If you try to save here even for something small, it takes a very long time, but this way it's faster. "

(Investing in your own business)

"The parents of my friends are also abroad, as they help them, their children started their own business here. That is, they invested a little in the beginning, and later also bought houses, cars and everything else. "

(Inflow of foreign currency into the economy improves the financial solvency)

"You know, remittances remain in Ukraine, and it certainly has a positive effect on the economy, because they are, as you know, subsidizing the budget. Turnover increases, demand increases. This provides positive impact on our economy, only from Russia we get 6 billion USD, and the money stays in Ukraine, circulate here. "

At the same time, the respondents indicated the risks caused by international labor migration for the domestic labor market and political life:

(Low attractiveness of available vacancies in the domestic labor market, even for low-skilled workers)

"Yes, positive aspect is that there are vacancies in Ukraine."

"Less competition."

"But I would say that there are both positive and negative aspects to it, because even if there is a vacancy.... you can earn only 800 hryvnia? Who will work for this money? Yes, the place is vacant, but with a salary of 800 hryvnia ... Nobody will go. You better go abroad and work there for \$ 800. "

"My opinion initially was that this is positive for those who stay in Ukraine, because there are so few jobs and quite tough selection in the current situation. Although here, too, everything depends on what job it is ... People are quite picky. "

"People do not want to take vacated jobs."

"For example, a person went to school, then went to college, slept during the lectures, finally graduated with a bought diploma that his parents have paid for. And afterwards this person says: I won't work for 800 hryvnias. He can't do anything, but still does not want to work for 800 hryvnias. Period."

(migrants may lose chances for employment in Ukraine)

"Overall advantage: to get to know another culture from the inside, to see the world. Disadvantage - it's probably ... the possibility of losing their jobs (here). "

"(Migration) increases the expectations of the population."

(possible manipulation of votes belonging to those working abroad illegally)

"The more people leave, the less stay here, the fewer are the votes, it means that parties and politicians get less support."

"Not everyone works abroad legally. We can say that out of 100% around 50-60% work legally and remaining 40% are still important in case of elections. That is the problem that not all votes are casted. There are cases, even if a person went abroad, instead of him a family member comes and votes, but if there is no such a chance, then the vote is just lost."

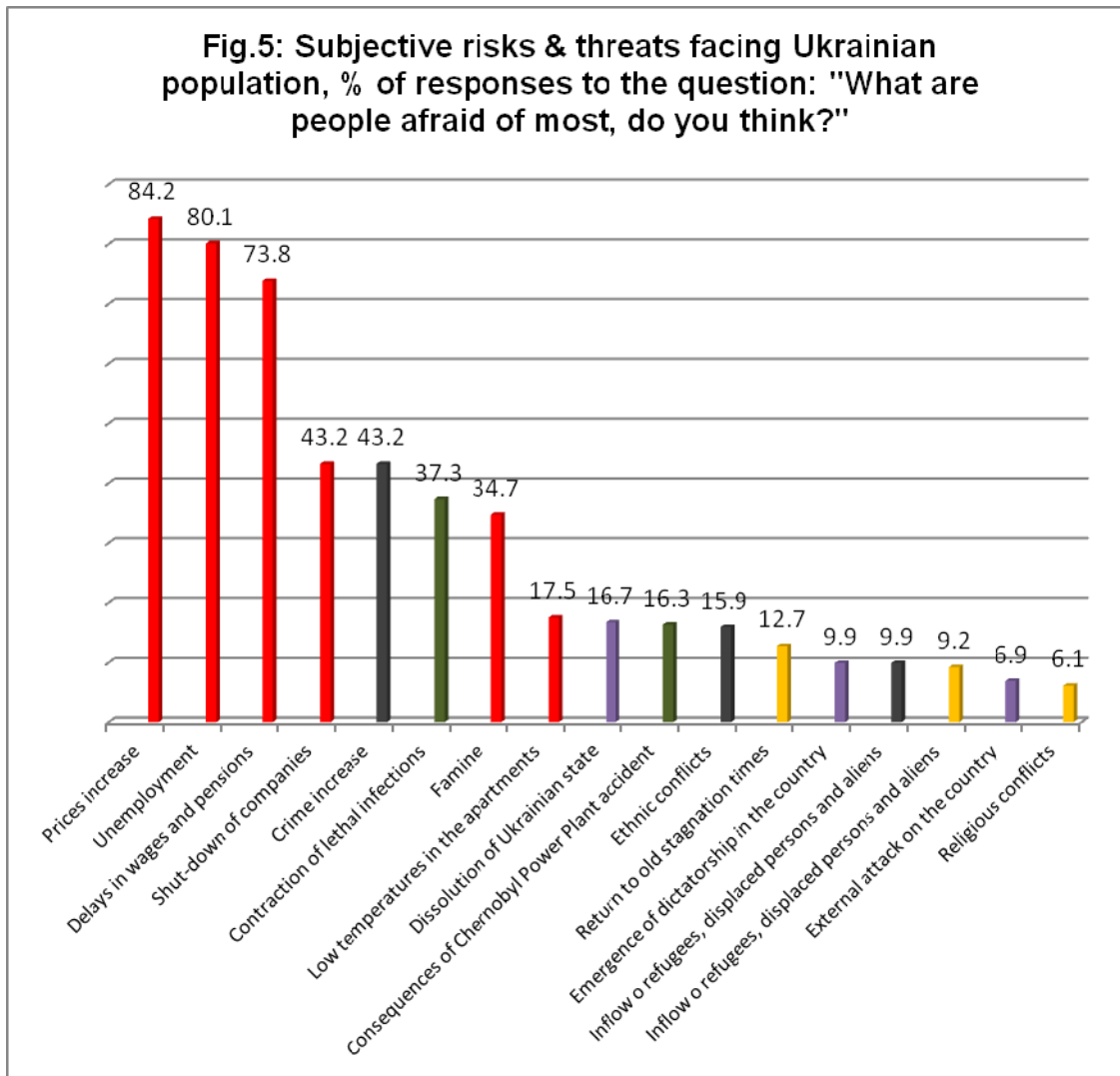
"Well, in general, migration does not affect policy, but during the election period it has quite a strong impact. Some migrate illegally, hence formally they remain a citizen of Ukraine, have the same right to vote. Although the person is not in Ukraine currently, still somebody can vote for him. "

"Somebody's vote can be misused. Everything can be bought and sold nowadays."

5. Conclusions and recommendations.

Official data backed by quantitative and qualitative empirical studies suggest that the development of an effective mechanism aimed at controlling migration-related risks requires Ukraine, first of all, *to overcome economic stupor, aggravating crisis manifestations in the social life and encouraging population's migration aspirations*. Feature of the social situation in Ukraine is that not only traditional groups, i.e. people with disabilities, elderly people, single mothers or fathers with dependent minor children, can be described as vulnerable categories but also young people struggling to find jobs, especially in small towns and rural areas, employed people with low wages, including married "working poor" with low income per family member. This means that almost any citizen of Ukraine – starting with business owners, burdened by very heavy taxation and corrupt pressure of government agencies, up to unemployed single mothers, unable to find a source of income to provide a decent living for themselves and their child – may face a situation, which will push them to leave the country in search of better living and working conditions. Therefore, national social policy in the field of labor migration should be designed in conjunction with targeted and systematic economic reforms, including, first of all, decisive actions by authorities narrowing income disparities, eliminating contradictions in taxation, increasing social protection of citizens, eliminating non-transparent and inequitable requirements for self-employment, establishing functioning system of preferential tax treatment for socially responsible employers. Special attention should be paid to the programs for social and economic development of depressed territories, small towns and villages, for which mass exodus of the population is typical.

According to surveys, most of the problems faced by our countrymen are connected to economics (inflation, unemployment, delays in payment of wages and pensions, shut-down of companies etc. - see Figure 5).



Source: author's table based on the survey of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010

Labor migration from Ukraine is really an effective self-propelling social program, i.e. one of the few effective ways to improve the financial situation of tens of thousands of Ukrainian families as quickly as possible without significant effort on the part of their own state. However, in the long-term perspective, infinite and uncontrolled use of this lifebuoy by left to themselves citizens will result in irreversible and harmful for the country's potential processes in socio-economic, ethnic and national and cultural spheres. Discussion about the effectiveness of the state migration policy will only be theoretically unless there is economic, political and ideological transformation aimed at the development of modern national labor market, that would take into account the interests of different social and demographic strata, promote the principle of social justice and narrow social disparities by introducing social guarantees and equal starting conditions for all segments of the population. However, informational and educational activities can be initiated right away in order to increase legal knowledge of potential and actual migrants, to promote objective media coverage both of emigration and immigration, including interactive online resources, TV and radio programs, covering different aspects of life of Ukrainians abroad and of foreigners in Ukraine, ensuring regular monitoring of the labor market in the recipient country, informing about targeted social programs and initiatives aimed at the integration and re-integration of different categories of migrants.

At the initiative of one of the world's largest suppliers of labor force, i.e. Poland, a couple of years ago huge posters with photos of real migrants who decided to return home were displayed in Spain and Portugal. The caption below the photo read as follows: "I, Andrzej Kowalski, a worker. I've

worked here for ten years. But Poland's economy is growing. I want to live with my family. I'm going back.⁵⁰ " A lot still needs to be done in order for Ukraine to get entitled to the same right as Poland to bring back home those who are able to ensure the prosperity of the country:

(Sayings of children of migrant workers)

"Economy is the priority. Factories should be re-opened."

"To provide everyone willing with an opportunity to work. Now the opportunity is there, but for what wages? "

"Now there is stagnation in the economy, we are dependent on imports, exporting raw materials, gas, and in general the trend is not changing."

"To improve the economy, to increase GDP, to fight budget deficit: then living standards will improve. All is linked to the economy. If decent salaries are paid here, no one will go abroad. "

"Politics must be improved."

"What our MPs do at the moment, in principle, does not contribute to anything, i.e. neither small businesses nor the development of some powerful national companies. Recently, about four years ago, they sold Kryvorizhstal, one of the largest industrial complex in Eurasia, which supplied steel to many parts of the world - and it was just sold. "

"If you sell the business, sell it wisely. In principle, the total amount of revenue from companies if they are sold, for example, to a foreigner, for the state does not change much. That is, you need to properly reform, restore companies, modernize the equipment and the production process, even sell some of the companies. But sometimes you are not allowed to do that. Sometimes foreigners are eager to do that, but they burn out quickly due to our bureaucracy. It is necessary ... to create opportunities for foreign investment."

"We will live well, if we go out of the gray sector. Everything here goes to the gray sector. Salaries in envelopes and all the rest. If everything is legalized and the budget is increased as a result, we will not have these problems at all. Well, of course there will be some problems, problems are always there, but for now the main obstacle is the shadow economy, the fact that everything is in the gray sector. An authoritarian rule is required for that. Simply, existing clans won't allow the legalization, because they themselves live quite well. As they say, the rich person is building, and the poor is digging out the dirt. The crisis should have affected everyone, but if you read the list of the "Forbes" magazine, our millionaires have only increased their incomes. And some of their plants are here. It is necessary to get rid of the gray sector, and then everything will be fine, and there will be no budget deficit. And the rest will follow, but first and foremost it should be legalized, and then there will be money. "

"Politicians should think about the people, not their own pockets, stop selling Ukraine to the left and right. They even started exporting soil from Ukraine. It is necessary to restore our factories, collective farms in the villages, in order to improve our lives. Because the collective farms operating now do not provide enough products for all of Ukraine. It is necessary to recover almost 50% of collective farms, and the production - then people would have work, and we would not import neither meat nor anything else from abroad, everything would be produced by us."

"And the human factor. Take the Orange Revolution: it was too peaceful. In France, for example, all of the revolutions ... There were actually bloodshed, but after that, how life has changed in France compared to ours? Well, of course I am not talking about the times when migrants from Africa

⁵⁰ Nadraga W., Labor Migration: Challenges for Ukraine // ZN/Zerkalo Nedeli, No. 5 of February 11, 2011. The article is available online: http://zn.ua/ECONOMICS/trudovaya_migratsiya_vyzovy_dlya_ukrainy-75323.html

started coming there, but, in general both economics and politics are quite stable there. And in our case..... our mentality is too kind. "

"The way of thinking should be changed some way."

The state by itself will not rebuild all of Ukraine. People should invest in the renewal of everything. In a short period of time going abroad will not stop, but first of all people should help each other in order to rebuild it all. Only authorities won't rebuild everything. "

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