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Evaluation of migration mobility based on sociological research data in Ukraine

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Migration mobility: subject field, measurement instruments, application. In the absence of reliable instruments for control and accounting of irregular forms of interstate migration¹, including migration from Ukraine to the non-CIS countries², estimates of migration flows voiced by experts and broadcast by domestic mass media are contradictory³. Hence there is a need to use interdisciplinary methods to monitor and forecast migration, including methods offered by sociology. It is important to agree upon the terms and categories to be used in research. It is also important to correctly interpret sociological data illustrating public mindset with regards to various aspects of migration.

One should note that in the Ukrainian research literature "migration process" is understood not only as "departure of population from one location and arrival in another location or a certain flow of relocations"⁴, but in a broader context: 1) formation of a migration attitude preceding the relocation, 2) relocation as such, and 3) integration after relocation⁵. One of the key notions used by experts when

http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/cuspilstvo/vlada-ne-chuie-ukrayinciv-yaki-pracyuyut-za-kordonom, accessed on 12 July 2013; Yuskiv B. (2012), Ten myths on international labor migration // "Zerkalo nedeli" (Mirror of the Week) No.7 of 24 February 2012. Available at:

http://zn.ua/SOCIETY/desyat_mifov_o_mezhdunarodnoy_trudovoy_migratsii___97777.html. In the context of exaggerated figures characterizing 'migration per se'/relocations, political party leaders often voice emotional forecasts of the forthcoming large-scale waves of mass external migration. Learn more in: Ivaschenko-Stadnik E. (2012), Eternal return: present-day problems associated with social reintegration of Ukrainian labor migrants arriving in Ukraine from the EU (based on sociological research results) // European University Institute, CARIM-East Research Paper, cc.5,6. Available at: http://www.carim-east.eu/media/CARIM-East-RR-2013-05_RU.pdf, accessed on 12 July 2013.

http://conf.nsc.ru/files/conferences/intercarto17/fulltext/83336/83337/TikunovChuklova.doc, accessed on 12 July 2013.

See: a typology of state policy instruments to address irregular migration: Koser K. (2005), *Irregular migration, state security and human security* / Global Commission on International Migration, pp.2, 13-15. Available at: http://iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/tp/TP5.pdf, accessed on 12 July 2013.

² Despite the fact that, according to the International Organization for Migration estimates, the real number of legal and illegal labor emigrants from Ukraine is around 2.1 mln. people, Ukrainian politicians and experts, relying on various estimates, often voice different figures regarding the size of Ukrainian community abroad. For instance, during public debate one can hear opinions that from 2-3 to 7-9 mln. labor migrants work overseas. See: Ministry of Labor and Social Policy estimates the number of Ukrainian labor migrants at 3 million people (2010) / "Novy Region" (New Region) of 27 August 2010. Available at: http://nr2.com.ua/kiev/298062.html, accessed on 13 July 2013; Mikolyuk O. (2011), Authorities do not hear Ukrainians who work abroad: from 2 to 7 mln. citizens according to different estimates [in Ukrainian] // "Den" (Day) No.129 of 26 July 2011. Available at:

³ The scale of external migration is often exaggerated, because mass media publish fragmented and unexplained data of sociological surveys carried out by various research organizations, according to which, for instance, in 2012 more than half of Ukrainian young people aged 18-29 "were ready for emigration" (source: Sociological Research Center "Sofia"). In such reports survey methodology is rarely explained, it is also not explained that for correct forecast one should interpret the data obtained in relation to other variables. See: Over 6 mln. migrants in the world are Ukrainians, half of them are young [in Ukrainian] / ZAXID.NET, 21 August 2012. Available at: http://zaxid.net/home/showSingleNews.do?ponad_6_mln_migrantiv_u_sviti_ukrayintsi_polovina_z_nih_molod&objec tId=1263051, accessed on 10 July 2013. For comparison of youth migration estimates: I. Pribytkova, for instance, describing "migration potential of Ukrainian youth", refers to the data of the sociological survey carried out relying on research methodology of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation and Ukrainian Sociology Service. According to these data, in December 2009 and January 2010 only 13.8% of young people aged 18-34 had an intention to leave Ukraine for good. Much more often Ukrainian youth demonstrated desire to leave Ukraine temporarily (29.9%), while over half of young people surveyed (51.5%) did not plan to depart from the country at all. See: Pribytkova I. (2011), Post-Soviet migration transition in Ukraine [in Russian]/ International Migration of the Population: Russia and Contemporary World. Issue 25 ed. by V.A. Iontsev, Moscow: MAX Press, 2011. P. 58-73. Available at: http://isoc.com.ua/institute/Постсоветский миграционный переход в Украине.pdf, accessed on 11 July 2013.

⁴ See: Rybakovskiy L. (2011), *Population migration. Three stages of migration process* [in Russian]. Available at: http://sbiblio.com/BIBLIO/archive/migracia/2.aspx, accessed on 12 July 2013.

⁵ Tikunov V., Chuklova O. (2011), Evaluation of migration processes in the Russian-Ukrainian border area using GIS technology [in Russian] // Materials of the international conference "Sustainable territory development: GIS theory and practical experience", Barnaul (Russia). Available at:

analyzing different stages of migration process is 'migration mobility'. Literature review demonstrates that researchers from different disciplines understand this term differently.

Thus, in economic and demographic studies migration mobility often indicates an accomplished fact of spatial transition, i.e. "includes migration per se that presupposes the change of permanent residence, as well as temporary, occasional transitions"⁶. Researchers analyze migration mindset as 'potential migration activity' and 'migration intentions' contributing to greater migration mobility⁷. Sociology can offer data of empirical studies on migration to researchers from related disciplines. giving them a chance to fill in the blanks in the absence of complex statistical data. However, in sociology migration mobility has a slightly different interpretation and is defined as 'potential', 'readiness' or 'inclination of population towards relocation that cannot always be implemented for different reasons'9. In sociological studies migration mobility is also understood as "transition of individuals and social groups from some social layers to others as a result of change in their place of residence" ¹⁰. Thus, sociology studies individual migration mindset in the context of wider social circumstances (education, social environment, welfare, ambitions regarding the quality of life, social values etc.)11. Sociologists emphasize that respondent's positive mindset regarding the theoretical possibility of his/her emigration registered by survey is not a reliable indicator of his/her migration mobility¹², and widespread migration-oriented sentiments within the given socio-demographic group cannot be interpreted as a symptom of the coming emigration surge, if there were not analyzed in the context of other statistically significant factors and trends.

Migration mobility can be defined as "ability of a person to migrate formed as a result of some kind of migration biography", i.e. migration experience accumulated in the course of life, "in the aggregate of relocations preceding the moment" of respondent's participation in the study 13. Sociologists measure migration mobility by method of questionnaire survey or personal interview, where they use a special system of indicators, i.e. a more or less standard set of questions that in the course of the last 20 years has been improved and supplemented during various national and international studies 14. In

⁶ Mkrtchan N. (2009), Migration mobility in Russia: assessment and analysis problems [in Russian] // SPERO, 2009, No. 11, P. 149-164. *Available at:* http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2010/0445/analit01.php, accessed on 11 July 2013.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Pribytkova I. (2011), ibid.

⁹ Ryazantsev S. (2007), Population migration [in Russian] // Social and demographic policy, Moscow: Panorama, No. 2, P. 20-26.

¹⁰ See: Yudina T. (2007), *Migration: glossary: textbook* [in Russian]. – Moscow: RSSU publishing house. P.472.

¹¹ In sociology the range of issues that can be studied in the context of migration mobility includes 'intensity of migration mobility of the population in different social groups', 'determination of migration mobility by background, education, social status, nationality', 'dynamic of personal mindset and preferences in conscience and behavior of potential migrants', 'expectations of individuals and social groups in connection with change of residence and their confirmation in real life' (if migration experience took place). For details see Yudina T. (2007), ibid.

Learn more in See Rybakovsky L. (2011), ibid. L. Rybakovsky quotes papers by T. Zaslavskaya and L. Korel, who wrote about potential migration as 'psychological state of readiness for departure' and about the fact that 'positive attitude to mobility' can be combined, though not always, 'with decision made, but not implemented'.

According to L. Korel, respondent's relocations can include participation in various types of migration, for instance, in tourism, pendulum migration etc. L. Rybakovsky notes that "combination of different circumstances can lead to persons having less migration experience finding themselves among potential migrants, while migrants having experience of multiple relocations can become part of permanent population. Nevertheless, in case of equal living conditions persons having greater migration mobility, as a rule, have greater psychological readiness for relocation. A person having greater migration experience is more likely to make a decision to move again, if he or she is not satisfied with life in the latest place of residence than the person who was born in this location and lived there his or her whole life". Ibid.

One should note that in Western literature the term 'migration potential' is used more often. Studies of such European sociologists as Clare Wallace, Heinz Fassmann, Endre Sik etc are devoted to migration potential. In his interview to the specialized website MIGRATIONONLINE.CZ professor Endre Sik, for instance, notes that emergence of projects focusing on migration potential (for instance, large-scale 2002 project carried out by the European Foundation for the

addition to asking the question that would help find out the respondent's attitude to the possibility of migration (for instance, "Would you like to leave the country, if you had such an opportunity?"), one also usually attempts to find out how serious the person's migration-oriented intentions are (for instance, "What specifically did you do to use this opportunity?" and "When is your departure most probable – in the course of the next year, in the course of the next five years?") and to learn about the previous migration experience of the respondent or his/her family members (for instance: "Do you have experience of travelling/residing abroad"? and "How many times did you go abroad?"). Analysis of the system of indicators allows evaluating different levels of migration mobility of the population as a whole and of certain socio-demographic groups. One should take into account that predictive capability of survey methods is limited (sociology cannot predict how a person will behave in real life). Nevertheless, such research methods allow monitoring changes in respondents' migration mindset. Results of monitoring observations over migration mobility allow supplementing available statistical data regarding the level of migration during a certain period and analyzing the dynamic of migration processes, their impact upon social structure of the population and upon demographic, economic and political situation, as well as ensuring theoretical foundation for target-oriented migration policy programs¹⁵.

Monitoring study of migration mobility in Ukraine and use of sociological data for migration policy development. Despite migration topic being popular in Ukraine lately, only two research centers undertake national monitoring projects that study migration mobility issues: Institute of Demography and Social Research (specialized studies of quantitative parameters and geographical differentiation of labor migration from Ukraine requested by the Ukrainian State Statistic Committee and supported by international organizations¹⁶ were carried out twice so far, in 2005-2008 (first study) and in 2010-2012 (second study))¹⁷ and Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (independent monitoring of social change entitled "Ukrainian society" is carried out every two years starting from 1992 and contains a set of questions on migration, including – starting from 2002 – questions developed by I. Pribytkova based on her own methodology for studying migration potential on the basis of previous, including circular, experience of relocations).

The study carried out by the Institute of Demography by method of survey registered the current trend towards decline in the number of labor migrants from approximately 1.5 mln. people in 2005-2008 to 1.2 mln. people in 2010-2013¹⁸. According to experts, decline in migration was caused by the global economic crisis and reduced employment opportunities abroad. On the basis of data obtained a conclusion was made that one should not expect significant growth of labor migration in the next 2-3 years: "Labor migration potential has been exhausted, all niches are already filled. Middle-aged and

⁽Contd.)

Improvement of Living and Working Conditions in the candidate countries for EU membership) was brought about by 'Western fear' of possible influx of migrants after disintegration of the USSR and dissolution of the socialist bloc. See *Migration potential survey: a research method born out of fear. An interview with Professor Endre Sik, professor at the ELTE University and senior researcher at TARKI Social Research Institute / Multicultural Centre Prague, 31 August 2010. Available at: http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/migration-potential-survey-a-research-method-born-out-of-fear-an-interview-with-professor-endre-sik-professor-at-the-elte, accessed on 11 July 2013.*

¹⁵ See Yudina T. (2004), On sociological analysis of migration processes [in Russian] / *Social Work*. Available at: http://socwork.ru/article/102, accessed on 13 July 2013.

 $^{^{16}}$ The study supported by the European Union, International Labor Office and International Organization for Migration.

¹⁷ In this connection one should also mention 2007 medico-demographic survey of Ukrainian population that for the first time registered information on presence in the households of persons who worked abroad (at the time of observation 5.6% households had at least one labor migrant).

¹⁸ Ukrainians now less often go abroad to earn a living [in Ukrainian]. Data of the Institute of Demography, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences / *Tizhden.UA*, 29 May 2013. Available at: http://tyzhden.ua/News/80720, accessed on 14 July 2013.

senior Ukrainians who wanted to leave did that already, while young people without work experience and without degrees recognized abroad will find it difficult to leave and find decent jobs" ¹⁹.

According to the "Ukrainian society" monitoring carried out by the Institute of Sociology, in 2000-2012 practically every fifth Ukrainian noted during the survey that he/she would like to leave his/her settlement, but at the same time less than 10% expressed intention to depart for a non-CIS country. Only a fraction of respondents had previous migration experience / temporarily worked abroad: from 10.1% in 2002 to 13.8% in 2012 (furthermore, starting from 2006 there is a trend towards decline in the share of those who mentioned their labor migration experience). In the course of the last ten years the number of respondents planning to move abroad in the nearest future, in order to earn money, also remains low – at the level of 5-7% (see Table 1).

| Do you or your family members have experience of temporary employment abroad? | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|
| | 2002 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2008 | 2012 | |
| Yes | 10.1 | 11.8 | 12.1 | 15.7 | 13.7 | 13.7 | |
| Do you plan to go abroad within the next year, in order to earn a living? | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 6.9 | 5.7 | 6.3 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 5.3 | |

Table 1. Previous labor migration experience and migration plans (%)

In the context of alleged decline in the volume of labor migration one should take into account that significant number of respondents interested in short-term trips for tourist, training, professional, personal/family purposes can take a more active part in migrations not related to employment abroad, if liberalization of the visa regime takes place²⁰. If one considers values of the respondent group characterized by high migration mobility (those who already have migration experience, plan a new trip in the nearest future and due to their gender, age and status are more likely to relocate again), one can note that migration mobility / readiness to depart for a non-CIS country are correlated with a more pronounced pro-European and pro-Western geopolitical mindset (see Table 2). High migration mobility does not have an impact on self-confidence, when it comes to defending legal rights and interests vis-àvis central authorities (it remains traditionally low for all groups of citizens in Ukraine). However, among respondents having experience of staying abroad there are twice more of those who are ready to counteract the decision of the local authorities, if their legal rights and interests are violated. The data of quantitative research also confirm that majority of migration-mobile people support the idea of personal responsibility over transformations in society. Even if migration intention of a respondent was not implemented, it can still be seen as a declared desire to change the situation to the better and as potential susceptibility to development. That is why this and other aspects of migration mobility research require specialized studies and overviews. For instance, one needs to identify groups shaping the profile of various migration movements, as well as identify personal mindset dynamic and socio-political orientations of potential migrants contributing to the change in the country of origin.

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^{*} Ukrainian society: 1992-2012. Contemporary state and dynamic of change. Sociological monitoring (2012) [in Ukrainian] / ed. by V. Vorona & M. Shulga – Kiev, Institute of Sociology, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, P.613, 633.

Opinion of the former national coordinator of the International Labor Organization in Ukraine Vasily Kostritsa. See: Ukrainians answered the motherland's call: number of citizens going abroad to work went down [in Russian] // Kommersant, No. 86 of 29 May 2013. Available at: http://www.kommersant.ua/daily/7001378, accessed on 13 July 2013.

For Ukrainian citizens experience of temporary stay abroad remains an important resource for improvement of financial situation of their households in the country of origin (it is known that volume of money transfers by migrants are practically equal to the volume of direct foreign investment to Ukraine). In addition to that any experience of a trip abroad is a significant investment into cultural capital of their families, expansion of knowledge and acquisition of new professional and life skills. That is why development of tourist, educational and professional routes and facilitation of document processing for arrangement of such trips represent crucial factors in improvement of Ukrainian living standards.

Table 2. Socio-political orientation of respondents depending on previous migration experience, % in groups

| | Have experience of temporary employment abroad | Have no experience of temporary employment abroad |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Support socialism | 14.6 | 24.2 |
| Support capitalism | 12.1 | 8.3 |
| Give preference to expansion of ties within CIS | 13.8 | 14.5 |
| Support development of relations with Russia primarily | 6.1 | 12.2 |
| Support development of relations with developed Western countries primarily | 23.5 | 15.3 |
| Approve of Ukraine's accession to the EU | 58.7 | 44.0 |
| Approve of Ukraine's accession to NATO | 28.7 | 13.2 |
| Support position that Ukraine ought to rely primarily on its own resources | 27.5 | 21.7 |
| Would be able to counteract the decision of the government that violates their legal rights and interests | 9.3 | 6.0 |
| Would be able to counteract the decision of the local authorities that violates their legal rights and interests | 21.1 | 11.3 |

^{*}Table compiled by the author on the basis of 2012 survey results – monitoring "Ukrainian Society": 1992-2012 (2012), State and Dynamic of Change", Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences.

Regular monitoring and complex analysis of migration mobility as a key migration process category, as well as presentation of data during scientific and public discussions and their media coverage can encourage a more efficient use of sociological information for shaping of governmental migration policy. The first uncertain and irregular steps are made in this direction: for instance, in the course of parliamentary hearings "Ukrainian Labor Migration: State, Problems and Ways to Resolve Them" in July 2013 Ukrainian deputy minister of social policy voiced the figures on labor migration dynamic based on results of the above-mentioned study carried out by the Institute of Demography and Social Research. She emphasized that correct assessments of the prospects of external labor migration from Ukraine are extremely important due to the possible signing of the Association Agreement with the EU envisaging establishment of the deep and comprehensive free trade zone. In the course of hearings it was noted that Ukraine needs profound analysis of how adoption of certain documents could influence the scale and dynamic of labor migration and the status of the country's citizens abroad²¹. It is important for Ukraine to learn from practical experience of the Eastern Partnership member states, for instance, in the field of legal regulation and expanded international cooperation on external labor migration issues, from their experience of creating conditions in the national labor market for the return of migrants and encouraging social mobility, in order to turn migration mobility of active employable Ukrainians into the factor of socio-political and democratic transformations in the country.

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²¹ Parliamentary hearings took place in Kiev: "Ukrainian Labor Migration: State, Problems and Ways to Resolve Them" [in Ukrainian] / Ukrainian Congress of Russia, 6 July 2013. Available at: http://www.ukrros.info/aktual/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=3946, accessed on 12 July 2013.