

# TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION IN TRANSITION: STATE OF THE ART REPORT ON TEMPORARY MIGRATION

Collected Working Papers from the EURA-NET project

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## 4.11 TEMPORARY MIGRATION IN UKRAINE

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### Introduction

#### Historical background of migratory movements and policy responses in Ukraine

Researchers studying Ukraine usually mention a misconception regarding its physical and political geography. Some of them treat Ukraine as a central European country, while others view the country through the prism of a buffer zone between the East and the West (Lysiak-Rudnytsky, 1994). Long periods of political uncertainty in Ukrainian society, continuing political upheavals caused by both internal and external factors are related to this.

On the other hand, Ukraine has always been a transit country due to its geographical position: for instance, in IX–XII centuries the trade route “from the Varangians to the Greeks”, which connected northern and southern parts of Europe at that time, took place through modern-day Ukraine. Nowadays, experts claim that Ukraine is a trans-territorial zone with the largest transit coefficient in Europe<sup>1</sup>. International transit and export-import flows go across the country.

Almost all types and forms of migration known from history are characteristic for Ukraine. This country has one of the largest Diaspora, mostly formed by three huge “migration waves” in Western and Eastern directions in XIX–XX centuries<sup>2</sup>.

One of the largest migration corridors in Eurasia goes across Ukraine, and migration was especially intensive at the edge of historical epochs. Let us compare: the great migration of peoples to the territory of Roman Empire from the fourth to the sixth centuries went across Ukraine in its current political borders and resulted in creation of ethnic structure of Europe which remained relatively stable until the XXI-st century. According to the World Migration Report from 2013, migration corridor “Russia–Ukraine”, and “Ukraine–Russia” yielded only to the world’s largest migration corridor Mexico–USA in view of the number of immigrants who passed them in 2010. Ukraine, together with the United States, the Russian Federation, and India belongs to the top migrant-sending and receiving countries in the world. For South–South, the largest after South–North migratory flow (Euro–Asian transnational space belongs to it too) such countries as the Russian Federation, Ukraine and India are both major donor and recipient countries (World Migration Report, 2013).

Ukraine received a specified position in the global migration record during the previous 20 years after the collapse of Communism and the Soviet Union, and further transition of the new independent states to market economy. The former mitigated the “Iron Curtain” of totalitarian regime that deprived people of the possibility to move from one country to another, while the latter stimulated them to intensify movements, i.e., to migrate in search of work and higher income. The renewal of the possibility of free movement across the borders and across the territory of Ukraine, and Ukraine’s de facto open eastern border with Russia soon re-established its geo-strategic advantages of location between historic East and West in the sphere of migration: 1) all time forms of trans-border migration became characteristic for Ukraine – circular migration in the regions close to the border, seasonal and long-term migration, permanent emigration and immigration, transit migration; 2) the moving of

1 According to economists, Ukraine holds the top rank in Europe in terms of transit routes (the transit index of Ukraine is – 3.75, Poland – 2.92 (second position).

2 According to IOM, the number of people from Ukrainian Diaspora is between 12 and 20 million. The countries with the largest Ukrainian Diaspora are: Russia – approx. 2 million people, Canada – approx. 1.5 million people, USA – 900,000, Brazil – 600,000, Kazakhstan – 500,000, Moldova – 350,000 (Migration in Ukraine: Facts and Numbers, 2013:7).

people related to Ukraine became a component of global migration movements.

The above stated suggests an interesting viewpoint on Ukraine as “an open field of external migration”. Additional circumstances – independence achieved quite recently, absence of clearly defined migration policy of Ukraine and lack of adequate regulatory mechanisms in the sphere of external migration including relevant categorical apparatus of social and legal classification of flows and groups of migrants, – all these make such approach more distinct.

## The characteristics of temporary transnational migration

We consider modern Ukraine as the country which embraces “two circles” of transnational migrations, of which one can supposedly be called “inner” and another “outer”. The first one includes the migrations of Ukrainians starting from the 90’s of the last century and lasting till now, – these are the majority of the groups of migrants selected by us: intellectual migrants (students, researchers and academics, skilled specialists), labour migrants, immigration and transit migration, humanitarian migrants (refugees, human trafficking), lifestyle, potential and return migrants.

Among the Ukrainian researchers, there are two approaches to assess temporality of modern Ukrainian migration: 1) “linear” approach by which temporality of migration (temporary or constant) is measured by the number of years modern Ukrainian migrants spend outside Ukraine: for example, a modern worker living in the host country for a certain period of time, say, over 10 years can be considered a representative of the Diaspora, however, retaining Ukrainian citizenship (not to mention adopting the nationality of the host country); 2) the development of Ukrainian migration process on a “horizontal circulation” is a periodic movement of migrants from one country (or region) to the other in search of better living and working conditions in which the country of origin becomes one of the “links” of movement. This means that even a return to the country of origin (return migration), as well as the specific time period of stay in the host country for more than a year / decade – for migrations after 1991 should not be considered a criterion for migration transition from “temporary” to a “permanent” state. Within this second approach to temporality we have to say that the starting factor combines several known types of migration, integrating them into a new quality, which poses a need for new typology of temporary mobility.

The second characteristic of temporality external migration is supported by our research group, based on numerous field studies of Ukrainian external migration in the EU and Russia. From the perspectives of the researches for 25 years the scholars agree on gradual increase in the number of Ukrainian migration and rise in duration of migration.

The second, “outer” circle of Ukrainian transnational migration is immigration and transit migration through Ukraine from the East and from the South to the West, mainly to the EU. These migrations in Ukraine are almost unexplored.

The representatives of CIS countries are prevailing among the migrants. These are Georgians, people from Southern-Eastern Asia and Middle East, Africa. In recent times, the illegal migrants have been arriving even from the region of Caribbean (Malynovska, 2010).

The existing data show that immigrants most often consider their stay in Ukraine as a possibility of further immigration to the EU countries, or, vice versa, the primary intentions of further moving to EU change to a permanent residence in Ukraine. The latter example also indicates “the relativity of permanence” and allows using the principle of temporariness for all groups of immigrants in Ukraine, except for the nations and ethnic groups which were deported by Stalinist regime and those returning to Ukraine after the declaration of its independence in 1991. According to state statistics, the classification of immigrants can look like this: migration for business and diplomatic purposes; tourism; migration for private purposes; study migration (students); migration with purposes of employment; immigration; migration for cultural, sports or religious purpose. Still, the data received in sampling

studies show that officially declared reasons for in-coming and outgoing migrations are often not true. Therefore, the data of the official statistics must be used with caution, and the goal of our future research is to compare the ratio of the examined by us groups of external migrants from Ukraine with immigrants and transit migrants

## The Current State of Research

### Research overview

The thesaurus of works by Ukrainian scholars in the field of migration for the period of twenty years embraces main spectrum of themes pertaining to it. In the first place, these are: modern massive labour migration of Ukrainians, immigration into Ukraine and transit migration through its territory, human trafficking, migration policy of Ukraine and donor-countries and migrants recipient countries, migrations within Ukraine, the history of Ukrainian Diaspora. The researches tackle key characteristics of migration process: types, geography and scale of migration, regional, social, age, educational-professional, gender and other aspects, not to mention the problem of influence upon labour market.

Some Ukrainian researchers and institutions compiled synthetic and encyclopaedic publications in the sphere of migration (Rymarenko, 2003; Poznyak, 2007). Recently the Kyiv Institute of Law of the National Academy of Science issued the first in Ukraine manual for university students edited by O. Malynovska (Malynovska, 2010).

Regional, national and international forums dedicated to various aspects of migration often take place in Ukraine. Their participants are representatives of government, academic institutions and non-government organizations. The results of the research are usually presented in the form of reports, presentations or surveys<sup>3</sup>. Some of them (for example, international scientific-practical conferences dedicated to Ukrainian migration organized by the International Institute of Education, Culture and Cooperation with Diaspora at National University “Lviv Polytechnics”) are conducted on a regular basis (Onyshchuk, 2010).

A special feature and at the same time a drawback of Ukrainian migration studies is the fact that most researches are focused on the so-called “fourth wave” of mass external migration of Ukrainians in the previous 150 years (the “fourth wave” began after the collapse of the Soviet Union and declaration of independence of Ukraine), while immigration and transit migration attract little attention.

Moving out of Ukraine to find work near and far abroad, predominantly to the EU in its current borders, and to Russia, became the most widespread type of migration of Ukrainian citizens. Starting from 1992–1993 (the beginning of mass labour migration of Ukrainians abroad) and up to now Ukrainian scientists and journalists are trying to trace the evolution of this process. We offer a short overview of research publications further.

In 1994 and in 2002 two ethnology researches of labour migration were carried out in the city of Chernivtsi and the village of Prylbychi (Lviv region) with the use of in-depth interview method. The results of research allowed making a comparative analysis for learning the scale and characteristics of labour migration from Ukraine during 8 years (Pyrozkov 2003). Comparative results show the development of migration from retail trade pendulum trips for several days (purchasing goods in one country and selling them in another) to seasonal and often even longer labour migrations; changes in educational level of the migrants (first they had university degrees, and later migrants had only high school education, and these were mostly young people). Also, the researchers noticed increase of the list of countries the migrants travel to: Italy, Spain, and Portugal were added to the neighbouring Poland and Russia, and socio-economic influence of migration on the improvement of life standards was also detected.

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3 See: <http://www.openukraine.org/en/programs/migration>

Labour migration is a form of self-organization of the society, and the migrants belong to the most socially active and entrepreneurial segment of society who abandoned paternalistic illusions. Researchers who participated in the mentioned research project are: S. Pyrozhev, O. Malynovska and O. Khomra (Pyrozhev, 2003: 127). They drew attention to the flaws and gaps in Ukrainian legislation, inability of the government to show relevant reaction to the new social phenomenon. Spontaneous nature of the labour migration and drawbacks of the legislation also resulted in criminalisation of migration: numerous breeches of law, corruption and racketeering.

The results of the survey were used for offering major governmental strategies for migration issues, aimed, first and foremost, at protection of interests of labour migrants during their stay abroad; giving better conditions for their return and creating opportunities for their self-realisation in their native country.

In 1990–2000, Ukrainian scientists carried out a range of researches on labour migration: migration potential of the regions of Ukraine, the influence of labour migration on political orientation of its participants, changes of migration behaviour of the residents of localities near the state border after visa regime was introduced for Ukrainian citizens to travel to neighbouring states, socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants, geography of their travel, employment procedures, employment abroad (Pribytkova, 2002; 2009; Khomra, 1993; 1996). A research on development of migration exchanges between Ukraine and Belarus was carried out under the supervision of E. Libanova, academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Libanova, 2002).

Summing up the survey conducted among the residents of western Ukrainian border, O. Malynovska came to a conclusion that the introduction of visa regime by the neighbouring states will have negative impact on “the level of trans-border cooperation, socio-economic situation in the regions close to the border, intensity, character and direction of migration movements of the population”. The researcher allowed for the migration to anyway take place in its distorted forms after visa regime is introduced, as soon as there is a need for workforce in European countries. The researcher offered several hypotheses which were proved later: due to a growing need for workforce in European countries, Ukrainians will enjoy an advantage of their high qualifications and minimal cultural differences comparing to migrants from other countries; transition of workforce from Central European countries to Western European countries will open a market niche in many industries, and the demand for both qualified workforce and labourers from Ukraine in the new EU member countries will increase (Malynovska, 2004: 151–152). O. Malynovska stated that state control measures from European countries aimed at holding immigration back, turned out to have low results. Their high costs and low effectiveness create the need in new approaches to regulation of migration, expressed by the term “controlled openness” (Malynovska, 2004: 83).

A monitoring research by Ternopil regional employment centre in 2001, 2004, and 2008 focused on migration in rural areas deserves special attention. The researchers extrapolated the results to all Ukrainian population, and having estimated the rate of migration in Ternopil region as an average, calculated that 2,000,000 of Ukrainians work abroad (Dovzhuk, 2007).

During last decade, a large number of researches on return and reintegration of migrants was carried out in Ukraine (*Social Indicators Centre*, 2008). Another field of interest is the studies of public opinion on labour migration in Ukraine. Studies on life of migrants’ children who stay in Ukraine raised a wide discussion. Another difficult issue related to labour migration is human trafficking.

Specialized all-Ukrainian research on labour migration and its consequences for Ukraine was conducted by State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. The first research was conducted in 2001, with 8,000 households surveyed in eight regions close to the state border of Ukraine. The results of research allowed estimating the size of labour migration as minimum of 1,000,000 of persons. In June 2008, the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine conducted and in 2012 repeated the national sampling research of the households on issues of labour migration. The research encompassed all regions of Ukraine and

was based upon territorial probability sample of the households (Libanova, 2009; 2013). The survey of 22,000 of the households all over Ukraine was carried out “with the purpose of evaluation of the scale, dispersion and geographical directions of the flows of external labour migration, socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants and their employment for formation of socio-economic policy regarding this social issue” (Libanova, 2009).

The researchers (academician E. Libanova, O. Poznyak et al.) claim that 1.5 million of Ukrainian citizens worked abroad between 1 January 2005 and 17 June 2008<sup>4</sup> and 1.2 between 1 January 2010 and 17 June 2012 (ILO, 2013)<sup>5</sup>. Supervised by E. Libanova, these two studies were the largest ever national researches carried out among Ukrainian households. The main destination countries of Ukrainian labour migrants were the Russian Federation (43.2%), Poland (14.3%), Italy (13.2%), the Czech Republic (12.9%), and Spain (4.5%) (ILO, 2013). The majority of labour migrants in the second SSCU survey (57.7 per cent of the total number of migrant workers) originated from the western regions of Ukraine: Volyn, Rivne, Khmelnytsky, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Transcarpathian and Lviv (Libanova, 2009). More than half (54.3%) of the total number of Ukrainian migrants came from rural areas. Western regions had the highest proportion of female migrants (38.3%), the South had the lowest (20.8%) and the Northern regions (20.4%) (ILO, 2013). In the 2009 Survey almost a third (31.8%) of migrants from the western regions worked in the Russian Federation during 2005–2008. Only every seven migrant worked abroad for more than 12 months between 1 January 2010 and 17 June 2012. There were more women (24.1%) than men (8.9%) in the category of long-term migration and it was also dominated by urban residents (18.1% urban migrants vs. 10.8% rural) (ILO, 2013).

At the same time (2006–2011), a research group of International Charity Foundation “Caritas Ukraine” in the cooperation with the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Laboratory for Social Research in Lviv conducted a comprehensive study of the processes of Ukrainian migration in the EU and the Russian Federation. In design, the study was to embrace a full range of relations of Ukrainians on earnings abroad: living and working conditions, especially the formation of immigrant environment in the host country, their relationships with migrant workers from other countries, with employers, citizens and authorities of the host countries, the motives and ways of leaving Ukraine for other states for work and employment there, the development of migrant networks involving Ukrainians and social partnerships in host countries, forms of self-organization of modern Ukrainian immigrants and their ties with homeland, the development of spiritual culture, changes of factors of social choices shaping life strategies, the formation of migration policy of Ukraine and host countries – the EU and Russian Federation.

The study covered seven EU countries, the most crowded of immigrants from Ukraine: Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Poland and the Czech Republic. The basis of the research is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Within the project the researches attempted to apply the methodical triangulation, i.e. the combination of information flows (including statistical analysis and all sorts of circumstantial evidence) obtained by different methods or, in a broader sense, all the information available. The main focus is the problem of changing social identities in the dynamics

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4 The first quantitative study “External Labour Migration of the Ukrainian Population” conducted by the State Statistics Committee in Ukraine in 2009 was the largest national survey on migration (Libanova, 2009). It was supported by Arseniy Yatseniuk Open Ukraine Foundation and the World Bank and carried out by a team of researchers of the Ptukha Demography Institute (NAS) led by Ella Libanova (Libanova, 2009). The main source of data was a questionnaire-based survey of working age members (women aged 15–54 years and men aged 15–59) of 22,000 Ukrainian households over three and a half years from 1 January 2005 to 1 June 2008.

5 The second quantitative study “External labour migration of the Ukrainian population” conducted by the State Statistics Committee in Ukraine in 2010–2012 provides an overview of the migration dynamics in different regions of Ukraine and shows the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants (age, social background, pre-migration skills, types of employment in host countries, and so on). The main source of data was a questionnaire-based survey of working age members (45.5 thousand people aged 15–70) of 23 500 Ukrainian households over two and half years from 1 January 2010 to 17 June 2012.

of the migration process. The results of research revealed the level of current external migrations of Ukrainians – approx. 4, 5 million persons. The majority of Ukrainian labour migrants travel to EU countries and Russia, less – to America, Asia and Australia. The new Ukrainian migration has encompassed dozens of countries, having become a part of global migration flows (Markov, 2009). The study of Ukrainian migration process in several host countries allowed forming a hypothesis regarding its development according to the principle of “horizontal circulation”, i.e., periodical movements of one migrant from one country (region) to another, including the country of origin, in search for better conditions of life and work, – and is based on self-renewal of migration despite its initial reasons (for example, low wages and unemployment in the country of origin) due to the inclusion of potential migrants into social networks and migration systems which link Ukraine with many host countries.

The migrants fill in such employment spheres without which social life and development of the host countries becomes impossible. They are often regarded as a threat to sociocultural identity and legal relations of host societies, but in fact, the main challenge both for the host countries and countries which are migration donors (in our research each country is both a donor and recipient at the same time, as Ukraine is) is the fact that new migrants and migration systems form a separate space of interpersonal communication – a social reality which exists *in parallel* to the states and host societies and is not controlled by their defining influence.

While the research was still carried out, Ukraine and Germany shared the first and second rank in Europe as for the number of emigrants and immigrants (according to Eurostat) (Gianpaolo Lauzieri, Population and social conditions EUROSTAT. Statistics in focus – <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>). Nevertheless, while for Germany this meant introducing harsh legal limitations for migration, for Ukraine this was an absence of defined migration policy and functioning of migration corridors across its territory according to their own “internal” rules. Therefore, the authors of the project recommended government officials to concentrate upon forming a prospective vision of modernizing economy and state which would mean adding up social capital at the crossroads of migration flows from Ukraine, via Ukraine and to Ukraine, not only creating ideological, institutional and legal bases for migration policy but using international legal instruments and efforts of the NGOs for legal protection of Ukrainian migrants in the host countries.

On the other hand, closing the borders from the side of EU will stimulate irregular migration and will not foster return migration. The “border filter” will not so much stop migration from outside, as hinder migration flow of returning migrants. Concentrating on the border as major instrument for regulating migration to the EU and between some EU countries deepens segregation of the host society and the migrants inside the country. Legal mechanisms for regulation of migration must *ensure* free movement of people. Modern regulation policy will not have a lasting effect if it establishes barriers on the way of horizontal circulation of the migrants and does not establish a constructive cooperation with the donor country in all spheres of implementation of rights and freedoms, self-realisation and protection for the migrants who return or move to “third” countries. According to the research, the most adequate regulatory influence on migration processes by the host countries is the formation of civilized ways of horizontal circulation of the migrants on the level of close cooperation with the host societies (in this case, the EU). This requires establishing legal forms of the dialogue between the host state and migrants regardless of their status and presupposes cooperation between the governments, independent experts, and employers, representatives of the civic society, the migrants, and donor and recipient societies. Alongside with liberalisation, an important condition for the success of this process is coordination and unification of migration rules on the EU level (Markov, 2012).

Another study of external labour migration of Ukrainians in the host countries was the one dedicated to Ukrainian labour migrants in Greece. This was the first research which led to better understanding of the influence of economic recession on Ukrainian migrants in Greece – the country which was the most affected by the recession. The research included not only interviewing migrants, but

also studying the situation in Ukraine and Greece, and surveys among Ukrainians on migration and intentions to migrate. Surprisingly, it turned out that mass return to Ukraine would not take place. The responses showed that most actively people were leaving Greece before the crisis, when there were hopes for economic development in Ukraine, chances for employment or starting one's own business. The major reasons for return were family and personal reasons: old age, health condition or nostalgia. Some migrants who lost their job in Greece and returned to Ukraine did not manage to re-settle and went back to Greece. The recession forces Ukrainian migrants to move to other EU countries where the recession was not so strong and wages for unqualified labour were higher (Levchenko, 2009).

## Feminisation of migration

Official Ukrainian statistics does not give a relevant estimation of the quantity of Ukrainian female migrants abroad, but according to the expert estimation, only from 2010 till 2012 at least 450,000 of females crossed the Ukrainian border at least once (Libanova, 2012). Nevertheless, this number does not provide an idea even of an approximate quantity of Ukrainian female migrants abroad: just to compare, there are 176,000 officially registered Ukrainian women working in Italy (Caritas, 2012).

Feminisation of external Ukrainian labour migration is one of the most essential phenomena, which describes the same global tendency: today, women constitute almost half of all international migrants worldwide – 95 million, or 49.6% of all migrants (UN, 2010) Ukrainian women started their migration abroad in the early 1990's. It was a short-term pendulum migration and retail trade cross-border migration<sup>6</sup>. After 1995, migration patterns of Ukrainians expand, and they start going to neighbouring countries – Poland, Czech Republic, Russia (Markov, 2009) in circular migration regime. Both patterns represent short-term migration which lasts less than 1 year. Still, starting from mid-1990's, Ukrainian female migrants start moving to the countries of Southern and Western Europe – Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal, crossing the border usually as tourists (Markov, 2009). There had never been a large Ukrainian diaspora in these countries before. Female migrants remain in the status of illegal migrants in recipient countries, and initiate creation of wide social networks, which made possible the mass migration of the early 2000's.

Despite rapid feminisation of Ukrainian migration and the large number of female migrants abroad who initiated serious transformations in their original social environment and in their host country (changes in the relationships with family, relatives, friends, and neighbours, lifestyle changes, etc.), the current research on Ukrainian female migration is still insufficient. Some Ukrainian studies of post-Soviet labour migration from Ukraine to the EU are discussed to provide a broader context for female migration to the EU countries. Among the first surveys of Ukrainian female migrants in this part of the world were surveys on change of family roles under the influence of migration (Volodko, 2011). Until recently (2008–2009), researchers were primarily interested in general causes and personal reasons for Ukrainian women's migration. In particular, the original study by Feduk (2011), who examines female migration “beyond the motherhood” and analyses many aspects of women's personal transformations getting not enough attention in public discourses in Ukraine and Italy, e.g., transnational families as “sites of conflicts”, the ways of personal and professional relationships with Italian men and so on.

While some Ukrainian scholars explain the reasons for the large scale female migration as a survival strategy (Tolstokorova, 2013; Malynovska, 2010), Western European researchers argue that economic reasons for migration are mixed with various personal motives; for example, to “escape alcoholic and violent husbands” – a consequence of the “crisis in masculinity” (Nare, 2008), or to escape professional devaluation and deterioration of family relationships (Vianello, 2009). Nare also

<sup>6</sup> Pendulum (cross-border, retail trade) migration is daily or weekly trips from the places of residence to work or study in institutions located in different places. A large segment of urban and rural population takes part in pendulum migrations. The radius of pendulum migration for cities is approx. 40–70 km, and 25–30 km for towns (Libanova, 2002).

points out that personal hope for changing one's life for better is a strong motif for Ukrainian women's migration for their comparably long-term stay in Italy. Many migrant women believe that migration could give them a chance for self-realisation and personal freedom which they lack in Ukraine. Thus, self-esteem is as important as higher income in their decision to migrate to work abroad (Nare, 2003).

Nare (2008) points the devaluation of the professional level of many Ukrainian women in Italy as important issue for future research. She considers the dichotomy between "low/high-skilled" which is especially relevant in the case of Ukrainian domestic workers in Italy, 18% of whom have a university degree. There are tensions between scholars' results, which often contradict each other, concerning the impact of migration on the changing roles of mother and father in the family. Some scholars (Yarova, 2006) argue that female migration changes family and gender roles and the institution of parenthood (as a whole) while others (Tolstokorova, 2009; Vianello, 2009) believe that the family roles actually remain the same. Public opinion stigmatizes Ukrainian migrant women, and it does so in a paradoxical way: on the one hand, the emphasis is put on self-sacrifice for the sake of their children and on the other – the Ukrainians are accused of family dissolution, child neglect and parental omissions (Fedyuk, 2012).

In general, scholarly discussion of Ukrainian female migrants in the EU is primarily concerned with:

- ties with the host country (and partly with the home country) including social networks of female migrants;
- the impact of labour migration on the transformation of family and gender roles and the experience of transnational parenting; and
- changing attitudes towards migration in the Ukrainian public discourse.

Likewise, some discussions concern the role of the Church and social networks on the personal choices and life strategies of female migrants: between emancipation and the reinforcement of traditional gender roles, which need to be studied further.

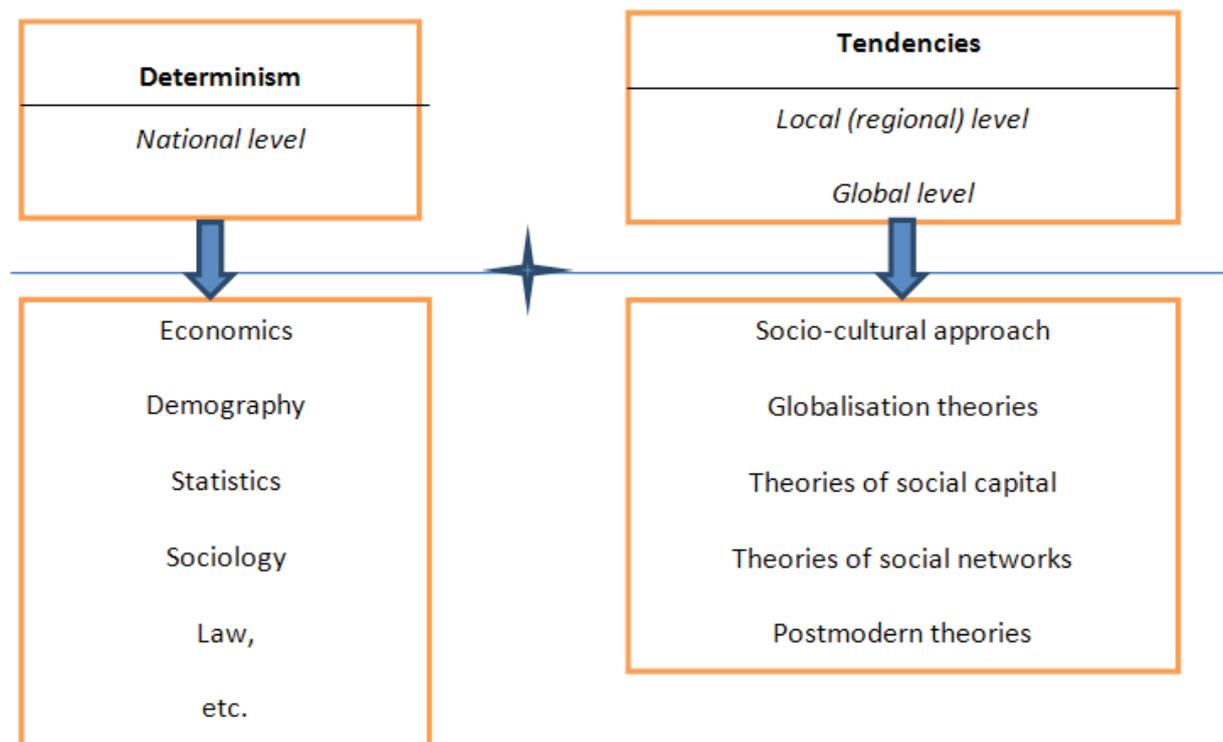
There is scarcity of in-depth research of complex processes of reconfiguration of transnational family roles (changes in family gender roles, childcare practices, new forms of interpersonal links and communication between migrants and other family members, etc.) associated with migration of women.

Future research should focus first of all on the changes in social identities of women and transformations in migrant system of values taking place at different levels of their social contacts, changes on the societal transformations caused by the large scale of female migration. Redistribution of control over money in a migrant family, the different forms of functioning of transnational migrants' networks and forming new social milieu in the host country; new careers of migrant women in a host country; cultural influences of migrants' new knowledge and experiences onto everyday practices and lifestyles in their home country (new habits and fashions, novelties in the food ways, upgrades and improvements in their households, increased sensitivity to the common communicative practices, etc.) are just few of many important aspects of Ukrainian female migration awaiting to be explored in future.

## The tendencies in external labour migration research

Today, the research of external labour migration from Ukraine is carried out on the so-called "point in between" – between the Soviet research approaches which cannot be applied to modern migration patterns and modern methodologies which overcome the limits of "container vision" of migration processes in the country of origin and destination country. On the one hand, migration is seen as national phenomenon in the context of socio-economic determinism (and this approach prevails).

On the other hand, scientific analysis leaves the limits of one-country focus and defines migration with local (regional) characteristics in interaction with global world due to socio-cultural approach, globalisation theories, social capital, social networks, postmodern theories, etc. Current distinctive features of the process of movement from the “IN BETWEEN” viewpoint will allow us to define certain further tendencies in external labour migration research. This is shown in the following chart:



So, the underlying feature of existing studies of external labour migration of Ukrainians is determinism, mostly a socio-economic determinism, which was characteristic for the researches in the times of Soviet Union. In fact, here we can see typical research and gathering statistical data on kinds and forms of migration (M. Ptukha Institute of Demography and Social Research of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine headed by E. Libanova, O. Poznyak, etc.), socio-demographic portrait of the migrants (I. Markov, I. Prybytkova et al.), reasons for migration (O. Ivaschenko-Stadnyk, O. Malynovska, E. Libanova, N. Parchomenko, O. Poznyak, I. Prybytkova et al.), influence of migrations on the socio-economic situation in Ukraine and migrants’ remittances channels (O. Malynovska, U. Sadova, O. Pyatkovska), etc.

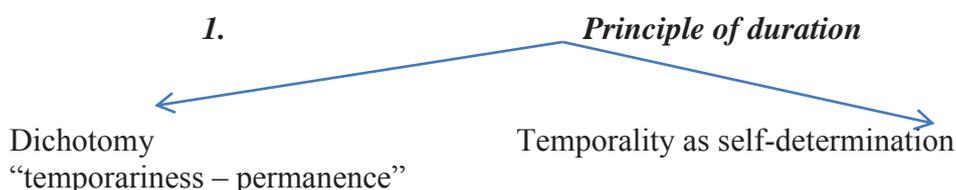
A characteristic feature here is the perception of a migrant as a member of a socio-professional group (I. Prybytkova), and of the process of migration as of inter-state exchange with members of this group. Also, the principle of duration of migration is interconnected, first of all, with socio-economic reasons for migration, socio-economic situation in the country of origin, thus ‘basing’ only on macro-level of research in this field – the national “container” (E. Libanova, O. Malynovska, O. Poznyak). In terms of duration, the researchers name such types of migrants: labour migrants, who returned to Ukraine; short-term labour migrants; employed emigrants. Therefore, the dominant principles for these categories of researchers are the principle of duration and geographical principle of spatiality with features of socio-economic determinism.

On the other hand, there exist an approaches that go beyond the limits of “container” cause-effect analysis of processes of external labour migration, and focus on personal and local levels: studies of transformation of the migrants’ identities (S. Odynets, O. Rovenchak), value systems of Ukrainian migrants (V. Volodko, O. Ivaschenko-Stadnyk), forming communication networks and social net-

working of Ukrainian migrants (O. Ivankova-Stetsyuk, I. Markov), feminization of Ukrainian migration (V. Volodko, S. Odynets', F. A. Vianello), intellectualization of migration (O. Abreu Bastos, V. Koshulko), migration in context of transformation of social mobility (I. Markov), the influence of migration on globalisation and vice versa (I. Markov, B. Yuskiv), and also, not only the research of the state and processes of migration, but also development of migration theories in the current dynamic conditions.

In this case, a migrant is a subject of permanent self-determination in globalised world (B. Yuskiv, I. Markov). This does not only broaden the former principle of spatiality, bringing in the role of communications, on the one hand, but on the other hand, dealing with mobility of values, etc. both in global and local conditions.

The understanding of temporality in the categories is linked to the territory of origin (stay): temporary – “circular” or those who left and returned, – temporality in the dimension of self-determination. Summarizing the state and specific features of scientific works on the topic of external labour migration of Ukrainians, we can distinguish the following main principles:

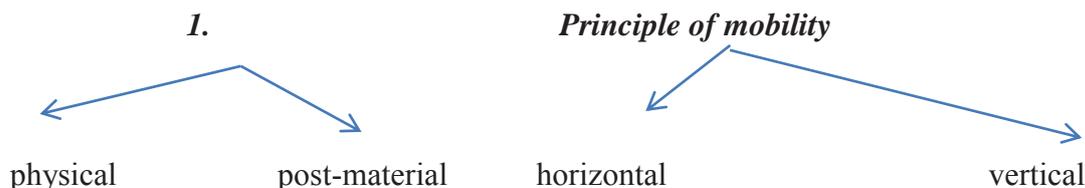


Participants of the session of the National Advisory Board (NAB) in Ukraine held on April 10, 2014 in Lviv, in particular, O. Malynovska clearly named the duration as a factor which determines migration, in particular, its forms and types. By its nature the duration is a dichotomy of “temporariness-permanence”, i.e., temporariness is a definition of duration. NAB members determine the passage from partial (circular, temporary) migration to moving into another country (permanent migration).

In other words, it is completely clear that the principle of temporariness gradually crystalizes into an independent principle of temporality.



Geographical principle of spatiality is characterized by “container” approach. According to this principle, the space is clearly concentrated in between the country of origin and the country of stay, and sometimes – transit countries, while the usage of communication principle of spatiality opens the global level of research of the processes of external labour migration with their local specific features, allowing to follow the permanence of communications, social networking development and connections between the migrants, next potential migrations, etc.



Principle of mobility is completely connected with the previously mentioned principle of spatiality.

Regarding the principle of physical mobility, here it is appropriate to use a term “movement”, the so-called physical relocation of a person, while the principle of post-material mobility of a person presupposes mobility of values, life strategies, symbolic capital, connections, possibilities, etc. The research of formation, transmittance, and transformation of post-material mobility in the modern fast-changing conditions gain current importance.

While vertical mobility is characterized by the principle of “container” inclusion, i.e., the analysis of formation and transformation of phenomena and processes in a space with clearly defined borders (the notion was first offered by U. Beck in his concept of the first and second Modern), then horizontal mobility is an example of de-territORIZATION of social relations, formation of horizontal space and communications.

To summarize, we would like to make an attempt and describe certain tendencies which relate to the research of migration processes:

- “De-territORIZATION” of migration research, leaving the confines of “container” research. The research space will be formed between locality and globality. Therefore, horizontal mobility of migrants becomes inter-connected with interdisciplinary approach.
- The retreat of temporality from the dichotomy is now determined by duration – “temporari-ness-permanence”. Temporality as self-determination is characterized by individual perception of time in global space. Thus, temporality as self-determination will be multiplex and variable depending on the type or form of migration.

## **Inventory of National Policies and Practices**

The issue of migration policy has probably been more deeply researched by scientists and much wider discussed by all interested in the subject than any other problem related to migration processes in Ukraine. Numerous monographs, theses, articles in scientific journals and the media, as well as the resolutions of numerous parliamentary hearings, governmental resolutions, international, national and local conferences give account of the current state and regulation of migration in Ukraine, including goals, tasks, ways and principles of migration policy, as well as legal, institutional, financial and informational means of provision. However, almost all of the studies for the last twenty years, as well as official government documents, ultimately read the following: there has not been any particular state migration policy in Ukraine so far.

### **The current state of migration policy**

Official migration policy of Ukraine is concentrated mostly on permanent migration and integration of migrants into Ukrainian society. An immigrant is seen as a foreigner or a person destitute of nationality who received a migration permit and came to Ukraine for permanent residence, or received such permit during legal stay in Ukraine, and resides in Ukraine permanently. A foreigner or a person destitute of nationality is given a long-term visa with a prospect of permanent residence in the future<sup>7</sup>.

Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who legally stay in Ukraine enjoy the same rights and freedoms as Ukrainian citizens, and also have the same obligations. Besides, those foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who stay under jurisdiction of Ukraine despite legality of their stay, have a right of recognition of their juridical personality and universal rights and freedoms of people<sup>8</sup>.

The understanding of permanent and temporary migration in Ukrainian legislation can be seen via the system of permits for temporary and permanent residence issued by the state institutions.

The first registration of a foreigner or a person destitute of citizenship entering Ukraine’s territory

<sup>7</sup> Law of Ukraine “On immigration”. – Online: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2491-14>

<sup>8</sup> Law of Ukraine “On legal status of the foreigners and persons destitute of nationality”. – see online: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3773-17>

is performed by the State Border Guard Service at the border crossing points. Citizens of the states who have the right of staying in Ukraine without a visa fill in the migration cards.

Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality, who legally arrived in Ukraine, can stay on its territory:

- during the term of visa validity if not provided otherwise by the international agreements of Ukraine;
- no more than 90 during 180 days since the date of first entrance for the states with visa-free entrance, if not provided otherwise by the international agreements of Ukraine;
- for the period of duration of visa, but no more than 90 days during 180 days from the date of first entrance with the visa issued before September 11, 2011<sup>9</sup>.

A longer duration of stay is guaranteed for students, persons who immigrate or have a status of a Ukrainian living abroad, or are family members of a Ukrainian living abroad and travel with them.

In order to stay in Ukraine on a legal basis, a migrant must receive a certificate of permanent or temporary residence regardless of the aim of his or her stay in Ukraine. The migrants coming from the countries with which Ukraine has bilateral or unilateral (on the right from their side) agreements on visa-free entry, have the right to arrive in Ukraine without visa. Still, if they wish their stay to be legal, they need to meet certain legal requirements – after their registration, they must receive a certificate of temporary or permanent residence. It is available to migrants who correspond to the following groups according to the purpose of their visit:

- persons who carry out economic activity and received a work permit;
- persons who need protection, political asylum, refugees or asylum seekers in Ukraine. The term of their regular temporary stay in Ukraine is three years since their status was conferred, and for those who were destitute of nationality when they arrived in Ukraine – for three years since the date of entrance;
- Representatives of religious organizations;
- employees of the branches of foreign NGOs;
- scientists, cultural and educational activists and volunteers;
- journalists;
- persons who visit Ukraine due to family matters (family reunion or in case of marriage before immigration permit was issued – up to two years);
- tourists.

First, all these categories of migrants receive a temporary residence permit. A permanent residence permit (an immigrant status with a possibility of receiving citizenship) can be given only in case of legal uninterrupted stay in Ukraine for five years. Citizenship can be granted after a shorter period of stay to those foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who are married to a citizen of Ukraine for a period longer than two years<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Regulation on the duration of stay and prolongation and reduction of term of temporary stay of the foreigners and persons destitute of nationality at the territory of Ukraine. Approved by the regulation of the cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. February 15, 2012 . № 150. – see online: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/150-2012-%D0%BF>

<sup>10</sup> Law of Ukraine “On the Citizenship of Ukraine” 07.06.2001. – Online: <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2235-14/page>

## Legislation

The list and a short summary of the major laws of Ukraine on external migration allow determining the following characteristics:

- The laws can be rather called a local reaction to current migration challenges than an attempt of regulation over migration processes.
- There are signs of democratization of migration laws, in particular, under the influence of ratified international conventions, however, it is not supported by the relevant regulatory mechanisms, and so the changes are rather declarative.
- Interests of national security and migration control prevail over understanding migration as a factor of development of the country<sup>11</sup>.

We can also identify such problems as corruption and low workability of the bureaucratic procedures for migration control, which mostly are a leftover from Soviet times. Shortcomings of the legal regulations of external migrations in Ukraine and a large number of gaps in the national legislation are shown in the following table:

**Table 27** Categories of migrants used in the Ukrainian legislation and international conventions ratified by Ukraine

Used in Ukrainian legislation	Used in international conventions ratified by Ukraine <sup>1</sup>
Immigrant: a foreigner or a person destitute of nationality who received an immigration permit and arrived in Ukraine for permanent residence, or received such permit while legal stay in Ukraine and has stayed in Ukraine for permanent residence.	Migrant worker: a person, who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national and in which he or she does not reside.
Foreigner: a person who does not have citizenship of Ukraine and is a citizen (a national) of any other state or other states.	Frontier worker: a migrant worker who works at the frontier territory of one Party and retains his or her permanent residence in a frontier territory of the other Party to which he or she normally returns every day or at least once a week.
Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who permanently reside in Ukraine: foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who received a permanent residence permit, unless otherwise provided by the law.	Seasonal migrant workers: persons who are citizens of a Party of the Agreement and carry out an activity which is dependent on seasonal conditions on the territory of the other Party of the Agreement, with a contract of employment or by fulfilling specific work (duty).
Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who lawfully stay in Ukraine: foreigners and persons destitute of nationality, who, in accordance with the legal demands established by the legislation or by an international agreement of Ukraine, entered the territory of Ukraine and temporarily or permanently reside on its territory, or are temporarily staying in Ukraine.	Seasonal worker: a migrant worker whose work by its character is dependent on seasonal conditions and is performed only during part of the year.

<sup>11</sup> Experts of the Institute for Strategic Studies note that immigration policy is still largely restrictive, the authorities consider external migration mainly as an issue of control and law enforcement tasks. Ukrainian government does not consider the immigration process as well as labour migration of Ukrainians to be a factor of economic development of the country— see <http://old.niss.gov.ua/monitor/march/13.htm>

<p>Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who temporarily stay in Ukraine: foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who are staying on the territory of Ukraine during the period of visa validity or the period, established by the legislation or an international treaty of Ukraine, or if duration of their stay was extended as required by the law.</p>	<p>Self-employed worker: refers to a migrant worker who is engaged in an individual remunerated work and according to the legislation each of the Parties of the international agreement is applicable to the state social insurance programmes.</p>
<p>Foreigners and persons destitute of nationality who temporarily reside in Ukraine: foreigners and persons destitute of nationality, who received a temporary residence permit, unless otherwise provided by the law.</p>	<p>Member of the family of a migrant worker: a person married to a migrant worker, as well as their dependent children and other persons who are recognized as members of the family by applicable legislation of the receiving State.</p>
<p>Illegal migrant: a foreigner or a person destitute of nationality, who had crossed the state border not at the established border crossing points or at a border crossing point but with avoidance of border control and did not immediately appeal for the status of a refugee or claim asylum in Ukraine, and also a foreigner or a person destitute of nationality who had legally arrived in Ukraine, but after expiration of the term lawfully established for their stay lost the legal grounds for further stay and evade leaving Ukraine.</p>	<p>Emigree: a person who has a right to acquire citizenship of Ukraine by attribution of citizenship of Ukraine or renewing the citizenship of Ukraine.</p>
<p>Person destitute of nationality: a person lawfully not considered a citizen by any state.</p>	<p>Members of the family of an emigree: the husband (wife) of a displaced person, dependent parents, the underage children thereof, and other relatives who belong to the household with the emigree, are dependent on the emigree, and have a joint household.</p>
<p>Family members of a foreigner or a person destitute of nationality: the husband (the wife), underage children, including underage children of the husband (the wife), dependent parents and other persons considered family members according to the law of the country of origin.</p>	
<p>A person who became a victim of human trafficking: any individual who became a victim of trafficking and was recognized as such as required by the law of Ukraine “On Counteracting Human Trafficking”.</p>	

As we can see from the table above, definition and categorization of temporary migration, formulated in accordance to current migration challenges, is not represented in the national legislation.

All emigration during the last ten years is mostly considered as temporary. This is proved by the key note of media discourse on mass migration of Ukrainians: are they going to return to their Motherland? Migration is often discussed in Ukrainian media through economic perspective only (as a chance for higher income), and therefore its duration is seen in linear perspective: leaving the country – work in the EU – and, necessarily, return to Ukraine. Personal experiences of those Ukrainians who moved to the EU countries, received citizenship, or intend to stay in the destination countries, rarely participate in public discourse. Educational migration which is often reviewed by journalists and researchers as a brain drain from Ukraine, as well as *return migration*, is much less featured in public discourse. *Transit migration* is analysed in perspective of illegal migration of refugees and asylum seekers to Ukraine as a potential national threat. All other types of migration do not receive enough attention in academic, media and social discourse.

Nevertheless, in the recent years public discourses have gradually been restructured, and new tendencies in establishing migration categories are met more often, including the media discourse. In particular, since mid-2000's, differences between men's and women's migration are being discussed, and this also activates the discussion on transformation of family life and social influences on the micro- and meso-levels of society. These discussions are carried out taking into account the factor of physical time, and also social transfers in which Ukraine is involved as a country of origin. The understanding of migration is being broadened, and is perceived not only through the perspective of economic activity, but also social and cultural global phenomenon. Not only labour migration, but also other types of migration are discussed more and more often, including short-term educational migration, or integration of Ukrainian-Italian families which migrated to Ukraine. Therefore, due to better understanding of migration types, the reception of its major characteristics also takes place. These tendencies are fixed, in particular, in the draft laws on labour migration of Ukrainians.

Attempts of adopting the tenets of migration policy in Ukraine on legislative level have taken place since 2004. Still, the suggested draft laws ("On the Tenets of State Migration Policy of Ukraine"<sup>12</sup>; "The Concept of State Migration Policy of Ukraine"<sup>13</sup>), aimed at regulating migration after 1991, including temporary migration, were declined by the Parliament. On May 30, 2011, "The Concept of State Migration Policy of Ukraine" was approved by the decree of the President. According to the experts, it is a set of general ideas and notions in the sphere of current migration regulations which do not offer any strategic goals or directions for migration policy in Ukraine, any legislative mechanisms or financial sources of its implementation. Three years after it was adopted, the Concept had no its continuation in migration laws, and amendments to the acting laws are quite fragmentary.

Three parliamentary hearings in the period from 2004 until 2014 were dedicated to migration issues, all pertaining external labour migration only<sup>14</sup>. Despite the time slot of ten years between the first and the last session, the approaches, topics, theses and even key recommendations of the hearings remained unchanged.

The major topics discussed were statistical estimation of the number of Ukrainian labour migrants abroad (3 to 5 million persons); regulating the rights of Ukrainian labour migrants abroad on the level of national legislation, and also by signing and ratifying international bilateral agreements with the destination countries, and also the relevant international conventions which would allow recognition of university diplomas, tenure record, social insurance, labour relations; creating relevant mechanism of legal involvement of remittances into the economy of Ukraine; financial support of cultural life of the migrants abroad; opening specialized social centres for the children and relatives of the migrants in Ukraine; improving the services given to the migrants by diplomatic institutions of Ukraine in the destination countries.

In 2013, though, a draft law of Ukraine "On External Labour Migration", prepared by Ukrainian NGOs and migrants' organizations in the host countries was presented<sup>15</sup>. Despite the above listed issues of social and legal protection of labour migrants and members of their families, the draft law also includes the ensuring of voting rights of the migrants who stay abroad, the migrants' reintegration after return to Ukraine; and introduction of the state standard of social services in external labour migration. The draft law gives the first definition of the notion "a labour migrant" and related notions:

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12 Draft laws of Ukraine "On the tenets of state migration policy of Ukraine". – see online: [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4\\_2?pf3516=4227-1&skl=5](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_2?pf3516=4227-1&skl=5); [http://search.ligazakon.ua/l\\_doc2.nsf/link1/JF56900A.html](http://search.ligazakon.ua/l_doc2.nsf/link1/JF56900A.html)

13 Comparative table to the draft law of Ukraine "The concept of state migration policy of Ukraine". – see online: <http://unhcr.org.ua/img/uploads/docs/ConsPaper07U.doc>

14 Parliamentary hearings: the state and problems of legal and social status of the modern Ukrainian labour migration (November 7, 2004); "Foreign Ukrainians: current situation and perspective for cooperation"(October 14, 2009); "Ukrainian labour migration: the current state, problems and solutions" ( July 3, 2013)

15 Draft Law of Ukraine on External Labour Migration [http://www.mlsp.gov.ua/labour/control/uk/publish/article?art\\_id=156583&-cat\\_id=34946](http://www.mlsp.gov.ua/labour/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=156583&-cat_id=34946)

“external labour migration”, “members of the family of Ukrainian labour migrant”, “country of origin”, “country of employment”, and “reintegration”. The draft law is the first in Ukrainian legislation which offers categories for temporariness of migration and defines temporary migration on the level of legislation.

Unfortunately, this draft law, similar to other draft laws on migration, is still not offered for consideration in Ukrainian parliament.

Despite the constant presence of migration, and Ukrainian external migration in particular, in public discourse of Ukrainian society, there is a continuity gap in political practices when the developed conceptual approaches and suggested draft laws do not proceed into legislation and institutional and legal mechanisms, but are delayed or nullified with the sequential presidential or parliamentary elections.

## State institutions

Main institutional departments implementing state policy on migration are the State Migration Service and Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine.

Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine is the main legislative body in the system of central institutions of executive power on forming and implementation of state policy on employment and labour migration. At the same time, State Migration Service of Ukraine is a central body of executive power with a task of implementing the state policy regarding migration (immigration and emigration), including counteraction illegal (unlawful) migration, citizenship, registration of private individuals, refugees and other categories of migrants named in the legislation of Ukraine”. State Migration Service is not an independent institution; it is directed and coordinated by the Cabinet of Ministers via the Minister of internal affairs. Meanwhile, the Ministry of social policy can directly regulate and implement the policy in the sphere of internal and external migration via State Employment Service of.

To summarise, the tasks of regulation and implementation of migration policy in Ukraine is shared by two governmental bodies: the Ministry of social policy deals with its major segment from Ukrainian side – labour migration, while the State Migration Service controls all other processes with a considerable accent on controlling and repressive functions.

The following institutions have a mediated influence on migration policy in Ukraine:

- Department of consular service of the Ministry of foreign affairs of Ukraine – coordinates the work of the Ministry in protecting legal rights and interests of the citizens of Ukraine abroad.
- State Border Guard Service of Ukraine combats organized crime and counteracts illegal migration at the state border of Ukraine and in the areas close to the border.

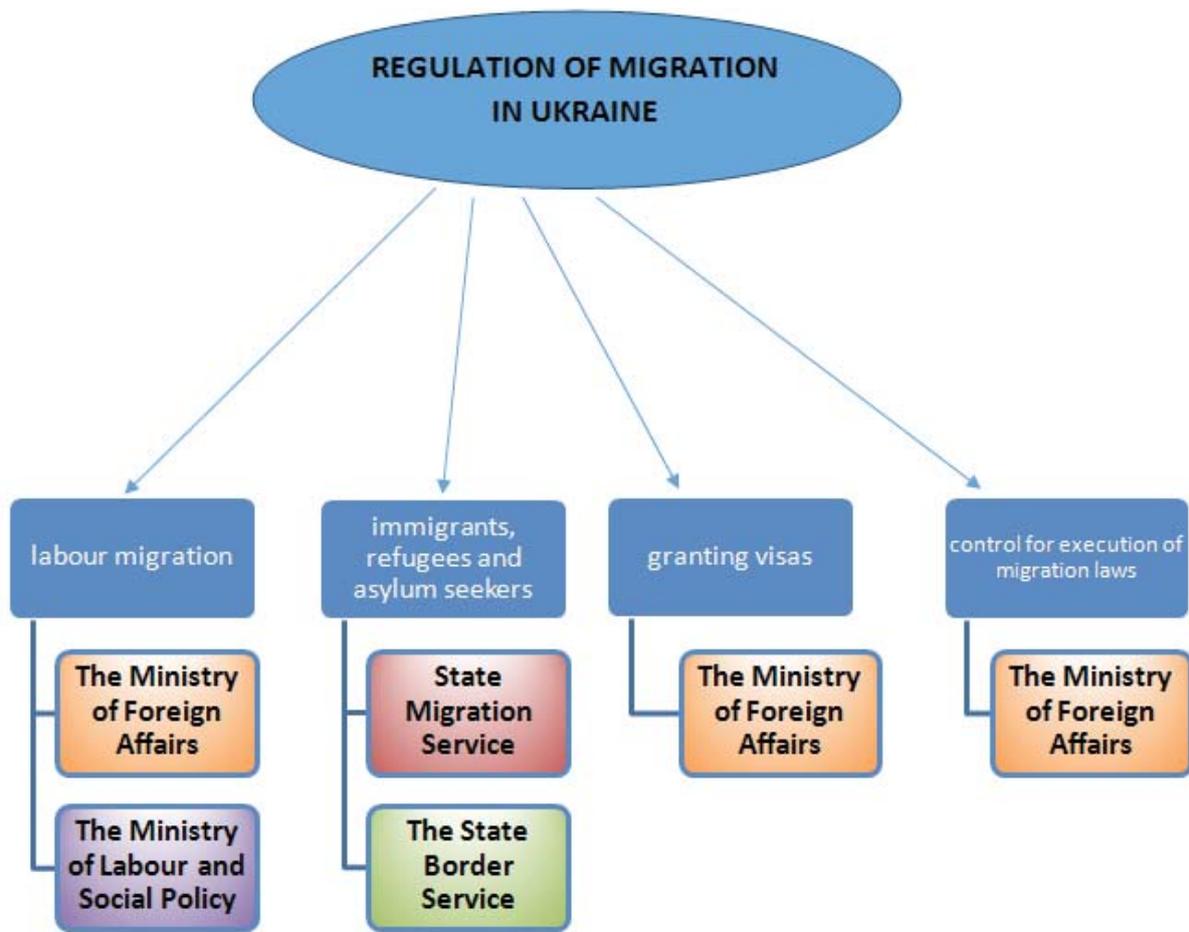


Figure 18 The chart of functions of institutions implementing state executive power regarding regulation of migration processes in Ukraine

## Non-governmental actors

Ukrainian governmental and non-governmental organizations, agencies and councils facilitating temporary transnational migration and mobility can be classified according to several directions of their work:

**Development of migration policy, lobbying migration legislation, advocacy.** At the national level, in 2010, the *Council for Labour Migration of the Citizens of Ukraine* was founded at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The Council deals with preparation of suggestions for state policies in social protection for labour migrants. Nevertheless, its activity today is quite formal.

Another influential centre is International Women's Rights Centre *La Strada*, employees of which takes part in developing international legislation regarding migration and also participates in improving national legislation.

*Civic Initiative Europe without Barriers* performs monitoring of issuing visas to the citizens of Ukraine by consulates of the EU countries. Experts of the initiative estimate the quality of implementation of the EU and Ukraine Agreement on the Facilitation of the Issuance of Visas and lobby internal reforms connected with the need of achieving criteria of visa-free country in the relations with EU. Geographically, member organizations represent cities (regions) where consulates of the EU countries are located: Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Donetsk, Uzhhorod, Lutsk, and Kharkiv.

**Counteracting human trafficking, social work with the refugees and asylum seekers.** *La Strada* Centre must be mentioned first in this respect, as it works with the victims of human trafficking, counteracts sexual exploitation of children, violence and discrimination in society, and monitors effectiveness of humans' rights protection. International Organization for Migration is another active participant in this field with an aim to manage border movements and migration processes, facilitate integration of the migrants, work with refugees, supplying medical services, and help with reintegration. It also offers the services of Ukrainian National Enquiry Telephone Line on the issues for migration and counteracting human trafficking.

*Caritas Ukraine* has now opened four specialized centres in Khmelnytsky, Ivano-Frankivsk, Drohobych, and Odesa which provide reintegration help to the victims of human trafficking. In 2012, such help was provided to approx. 300 persons who suffered from trafficking; over 7000 persons received consultations.

Starting from 2006, a civic project "Without Borders" deals with support and protection for asylum seekers in Ukraine, and counteracting xenophobia and racism in Ukrainian society. Legal advice for the refugees and asylum seekers, monitoring cases of xenophobia and racism, legal assistance for victims of hate crimes and discrimination, trainings and educational campaigns are the major directions of the project's work.

An individual project worth mentioning is a project which has been conducted for 14 years by Ukrainian activist Ihor Gnap, who has rescued 36 Ukrainian women from sexual slavery in different countries.

**Re-integration of returnees/repatriates.** There is no state programme in Ukraine which would work on this problem. Usually, the issue of reintegrating is left for charity organizations, and the largest projects for reintegrating labour migrants coming back from EU countries to Ukraine into Ukrainian society have been carried out by Caritas Ukraine for more than 10 years, and this activity is being constantly developed.

In September 2008, in the framework of ERSO (European Reintegration Support Organisations) project, Ukrainian Solidarity Network was created (which includes 30 partner organizations in 15 regions of Ukraine with coordination centre in Lviv), and the structure has facilitated the work of reintegration projects for providing social, informational, psychological, legal and financial assistance greatly. A person receives social support while still being in the country of stay with the help of a network of consultation centres in the countries of the European Union.

In 2011–2013, Caritas Ukraine implemented STAVR (Strengthening Tailor-made Assisted Voluntary Return) project in order to reintegrate migrants from Belgium. 40 migrants and their family members (13 children among them), received social support and legal consultations, business start-up consultations, financial help for a business start-up or improving their housing and living conditions, renting temporary residence and providing help in getting access to medical treatment was also provided.

STAVR project provided help, first of all, to such groups of migrants as children under 18, (providing for study courses or trainings), pregnant women (covering medical expenses and providing childcare goods), and victims of trafficking, other persons who needed help in paying for medical assistance. Another category of migrants who benefitted from the project were those who intended to launch their own business or find a job in Ukraine.

AWO Heimatgarten initiative in this sphere was one more project, which, with the EU support, implemented a large-scale project Saturn (Social Advise, Return and Support Networking Project for Ukraine) in 2007–2009. With the project's assistance, about 200 Ukrainians, aged from 20 to 89, returned from Poland, Romania, and Germany to Ukraine. Participating migrants received 450 euro for their reintegration expenses and their tuition aimed at improving qualification or receiving new

job was refunded. 72 Ukrainians received start-up capital for their business project ranging from 100 to 3000 euro.

**Social work with migrants.** A regional initiative Ukrainian-Italian fund “*Zaporuka*” runs an Information Centre for Migration Issues in Lviv where migrants can receive free legal and psychological assistance, communicate with their relatives’ migrants via Skype, and attend courses on business start-up management.

“Women’s Perspectives” Centre in Lviv is an organization dealing with preventing human trafficking, offering services for victims and potential victims of trafficking, and help to women migrants in host countries, the EU countries in particular. Other “Women’s Perspectives” Centre activities are aimed at promoting gender equality, women’s rights protection, drawing attention to women’s issues and uniting efforts for overcoming problems. This is also done by holding trainings, courses, round table discussions, conferences, etc. A 24-hour consultative telephone line is available. 5 thousand women attended the Centre’s study courses, and over 20 thousand women benefitted from consultations.

**Conducting research.** The most successful way of conducting migration research is cooperation of NGOs and academic establishments. In the latter decade, the largest migration research projects on migration in EU and Russian Federation were implemented due to such cooperation, among them the first quantitative study “External Labour Migration of the Ukrainian Population” conducted by the State Statistics Committee in Ukraine in cooperation with NGO “Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms” and N. V. Ptukha Institute of Demography and Social Research of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, comprehensive study of the Ukrainian migration processes in destination countries, conducted by the International Charitable Foundation “Caritas” in cooperation with Ethnology Institute of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (2009), Ukrainian Labour Migration Processes in Russia conducted by AWO “Heimatgarten” with EI NASU (2010).

## Summary

Ukrainian experts, public persons and politicians believe that Ukraine has no immigration policy and give three main arguments to support this claim:

- Ukraine lacks strategic vision of the migratory processes and their regulation. The version of the Concept of migration policy approved by the President’s decree resembles rather a set of slogans reflecting the concept of migration policy and a list of currently known instruments for its implementation than goal setting, objectives, mechanisms, results of migration policy and a presumed basis for its funding.
- Ukraine lacks necessary legislative support for migration policy. Analysts and community activists point out the lack of a single law on labour migration in Ukraine, the need to adopt a uniform law on immigration, which would unite the legal provisions scattered in many areas of current legislation. The necessity to adopt the Law of Ukraine on the legal status of Ukrainian labour migrants is also emphasized, as a clear demand of a law which would define both the legal status of Ukrainian migrant workers and their families and the legal and social guarantees during their stay abroad.
- Ukraine is to create a unique specialized central executive body with local subdivisions – the State Migration Service of Ukraine, which would perform a full range of administrative functions in the field of migration. “This has to be a civil service which would also control the entry and stay of foreigners, carry out constant monitoring of the migration situation, analyse its development, and, on the basis of this, define general and specific management tasks, develop im-

plementation mechanisms, its legal registration, provide financial and organizational resources for it. The Service must also perform management activities at all stages of the migration process – the formation of migration mobility, moving, adaptation to new living conditions. It must take care of all major external migration flows ...” (Malynovska, 2005).

- As there is no adequate migration policy, NGOs working with migrants usually operate due to financial support from the EU and other Western countries and only manage to fill in scarce number of segments in the vast sphere of assisting the migrants. Most initiatives aim at preventing human trafficking, facilitating reintegration of migrants, in some cases also providing social support for migrants and their family members. Assistance to women migrants, including victims of human trafficking, is a special sphere in NGOs activities, which are able to provide help only to a small percentage of migrants. Several organizations conduct their own migration research, and lobby migration legislation based on the results.

Experts agree that migration should become one of the factors of socio-economic development of Ukraine. From our viewpoint, prospects for the modernization of the Ukrainian economy and state under current globalization tendencies should be grounded on combining the social capital formed at the crossroad of migration streams from, through and to Ukraine. We can presume that modern-day Ukraine is an open field for external migration which, at the same time, seems to be closed for a foreign eye, and still regulated by internal grey rules, often spread onto the sphere of state controlling system.

## Conclusions

### Understanding temporariness of mobility

What is the relationship between temporary and permanent migration? When is the moment where temporary migration becomes permanent? To what extent the decision of the migrant plays a role here? And finally: What is the relationship between temporariness and inclusion-access to rights in the receiving country?

As we have mentioned before, among external migrations originating in Ukraine, having their destination here or going through Ukraine, eternal migrations are studied more thoroughly, while immigration and transit migration are very poorly researched. We have literally several major works on the subject reflecting only certain aspects of the process (Braichevska et al 2004; Malynovska 2003). Therefore, we will form our suggestions on understanding the principle of “temporariness” of external migration in Ukraine mostly basing on the experience of studying the “fourth wave” of Ukrainian migration in the host countries.

### Temporariness from the perspective of Ukrainian migration

The research of Ukrainians of the “fourth wave”, the so-called economic migration in the EU countries with the help of qualitative research methods (first of all, in-depth semi-structured interviews) brought us to conclusion that its dynamics and content will be predominantly determined not by labour market condition in host countries and donor countries, it is going to be determined primarily by transformation of the space of social mobility, which will shape the life strategies of many Ukrainian citizens.

The flows of new migrants and migration systems form a mobility space that exists in parallel with the recipient societies, donor communities and respective states and functions independently of these factors and their decisive influence. A key difference between the latest Ukrainian migrations and the previous ones we define within the concept of horizontal circular migration. It emphasizes the “autonomy” of modern transnational migrations that self-replicate and spread regardless of causes which

induce to migrate in sending and receiving countries. Contemporary migration is one of those threads that define social circulation in horizontal space of relations. We determine the Ukrainian transmigration by the term “horizontal circular migration” in the perspective of further transformations of the social mobility space. Therefore, the future of Ukrainian external migrations will be determined by the changes of the types of mobility and formation under these transformations models of social behavior of Ukrainian citizens.

The recipient societies, donor communities and states – the key notions in the migration studies – have an important relation to the concept of “time” and understanding “temporariness” in our project. For example, mass emigration of Ukrainians of the first, second and third “waves” in the nineteenth and twentieth century usually took place by moving from one socio-cultural space to another, often from one historical time into another. A migrant endured “environment of origin”, the basis of which was the family. Due to great physical and socio-cultural distance all further communication of the migrant was *synchronized* with the host environment and, conversely, *diacronized* with the environment of origin. The Diaspora, which was united in societies that cherish Ukrainian customs, traditions and rituals, became an integral part of host society and its cultural landscape.

Instead, current external Ukrainian migration is one of the alternatives to individual choice within the “space of co-existence” of a migrant: providing material needs of the family remains an important motive for migration, but in his heart a potential migrant makes personal decision whether to go to work abroad or not. His (her) way of self-determination can be described as being in correlation with family, home, colleagues and employers in other places and the host countries, which forms the potential for further self-realization. Building effective interpersonal networks that combine all these areas together with a reproduction of social and cultural forms of self-organization inherent in the traditional Diaspora (religious community, cultural, educational, student societies, women’s societies, and media), migrants indicate formation of another established area of social relations, for which migration is a constant feature.

On the other hand, Ukrainian workers are included in the migration system, connecting Ukraine to a number of host countries. Study of Ukrainian migration process in a number of host countries has allowed us to make a suggestion about its current development on a “horizontal circulation” basis, i. e. the periodic movement of migrants from one country (or region) to the other in search of better living and working conditions, in which the country of origin may be one of the “links” of movement. This means that even a return to the country of origin (return migration), as well as the specific time period of stay in the host country for more than a year / decade can not be considered by researchers the criterion of migration transition from “temporary” state to the state of “constancy” for migrations after 1991.

In fact, this establishes a parallel-horizontal, personified understanding of time, mediated by distances, which previously existed as territorial-community and vertically-historical understanding of time and temporariness. Modern media communications converts distance into the function of relations, fixed by the networks (Urry 2012: 50). Horizontal space of social co-existence implies that networks perform the function of social circulation.

Transformation of social limits of understanding of time and temporariness, in our opinion, explains the dynamics of the “fourth wave” of Ukrainian migration, which we mark with a paradigm of “three generations”. These generations of Ukrainians in the united Europe, differ not only by age, but, above all, by “space of co-existence”, the change of which is related to the degree of “attachment” to the “territory” – socio-cultural environment of origin or residence. The “three generations” embracing two decades reflects the transition from territorial migration “from one place to another” to transnational migration, and from there – to geographically off-centered global migration.

The representatives of the “first generation” stay in one of the EU countries, year after year for different reasons, considering migration an “addition” to life in Ukraine and believing they will return

home. The “world of co-existence” of the “second generation” still remains an addition to sustainable socio-cultural environment. Its representatives live in social space between Ukraine and the host country, i. e. “between the times”.

For the third generation of “migrants” children (who, financially supported by their parents, study in Ukraine or in their country of residence), education and training directly transfer into the “capital of mobility”, which leads to the need of obtaining new “parallel” educations (i.e., indirectly and mutually interconnected or previously acquired skills), and during their accumulation a space of the individual self-realization is formed by creation of supra-national and extra-territorial social communications and practices.

As research results reveal, the entry into new communication space is associated with changing the way of social self-determination of the representatives of the “third generation” of Ukrainian labour migrants.

Until now, the key to self-identification referred to the territorial and socio-cultural environment and (common) *past*. Reducing dependence on territorial socio-cultural environment of origin or stay means that the principle of referring to “common past” shifts towards “my here and now” – the key meaning of *articulating the ongoing relationships based on the formation of the of space of self-determination*, and in the direction of *social correlations in parallel “spaces of coexistence”*. An individual perceives the world not as a *palette* of cultural and historical *patterns* (and, as a result of the inevitability of arranging their own life in accordance with conditions of one of them as predefined environment of co-existence) but in the dynamics of self-fulfillment, and in this sense, as a permanently changing and non-realized *fields of alternatives*. The principle of “social correlations”, which replaces the traditional territorial socio-cultural environment patterns in shaping of the way of human social self-determination and life space, means changing types of social mobility.

The representatives of the third generation of migrants while maintaining contacts with their motherland (visits, exchange of information), live where at certain time there exist appropriate conditions (including employment, wages and social security). While migrating they carry the “world of co-existence” with them. The “third generation” lives in a parallel-horizontal time.

It is worth mentioning that the suggested approach to temporality of modern transnational migration does not consider this social phenomenon through the dilemma of temporary/permanent residence (which implies “pendulum” migration and those who “left and returned” versus those who “left for good”), permanently linked to the country of origin and country of stay. As we already have mentioned, an important trend of Ukrainian migration to the EU is horizontal circulation of migrants: the country of exit (return), countries of transit and recipient countries can be regarded as migrants’ “zones of transfers” defined by social networks. This means that all external migrations from Ukraine which we have analyzed, except the Ukrainian Diaspora from previous epochs, and also its new cases mostly from the 1990’s, can be considered temporary.

Therefore, we offer to look at the concept of time and temporariness not from the perspective of countries, recipient societies or donor societies, but through the prism of typology of social mobility and its transformation in European-Asian dimension. This means placing the consistent principle of temporality into the basis of classifying target groups – on the level of the whole project.

## Temporariness of mobility in European-Asian dimension

The notion of “temporariness” in relation to current trans-border migrations in European-Asian social space, in our opinion, can be articulated by:

- The concept of “time-and-space” (“spatial time”). The notion defines a transition from “vertical”, linear historical time of autonomous, historically and geographically distant realities to “horizontal” spatial time realities.

The transformation of traditional society into modern one is accompanied by the transition from the natural, cyclic to a linear historical time. The gradual transition from territorial-social and institutional-networking to media space of global communication in which the leading role is played by the network rather than institutions is the basis of the next period of “transformation” – the “linear” or “vertical” historical time to the “horizontal” time space. Here the past exists “in parallel” and is interconnected with the current self-realization as well as its “resource”. Switch from vertical to horizontal historical time of parallel realities means that time takes the meaning of “space” and becomes, in fact, a social time. The notion of time becomes personified, and gains the meaning of self-fulfillment space of a person. Z. Bauman puts the understanding of this time as a multitude of moments (Bauman, 2013).

Modern migration as a social movement is by definition temporary, as it state “temporality” as a principle of social relations. The next question is: how it will continue to alter them and change the social space and social identity? Research in social dynamics is the study of time relations, or, alternatively, the study of temporality.

In historical time social divisions are formed on the basis of belonging to groups, classes, strata, between which there are institutional-network “lifts” of mutual (Sorokin). In time space the criteria of social differentiation is the presence of “capital mobility” mutual transference (Bauman 2008: 6–7). The development of space mobility, inventory and identification of capital mobility we consider as one of the objectives of the study of transformational impact of temporary mobility.

Members of the Ukrainian project team are unanimous in “person-focused” definition of temporality in relation to contemporary migration: temporality is an organization of human’s time space (D. Sudyn); temporality is a personal perception of time, as well as the social organization of time (G. Zaremba); temporality (through the migration perspective) is one way of self-identification of a *person-in-motion*, action in time space (S. Odynets). As a result, social time is different from the linear and cyclical time because it is determined by eventfulness of personal space by which man estimates his self-existence and “implements” his past-future in it rather than by geographical (regional) factor, time of year, day, “status” or other external, “objective” criteria separated from it.

The ongoing transformation of the social time takes its place in the dynamics of migration relations in European and Asian space. Therefore, we offer to build the in-depth interview questionnaire based on forming of a life perspective by a respondent, staring from their “here and now”, but not on basis of life story.

It is important to consider and take into account the differences in structuring social space and social time in European and Asian societies and in relation to that – when and where “temporariness” is defined in the prospective of this interrelation, what are the differences in territorial identifications of communities and persons, approaches in classifying migration in European and Asian parts of the continent. In our research experience, “permanent temporariness” of migrants is viewed as a feature of their social self-determination in the recipient countries: from the time of departure with an intention to earn money and return home as soon as possible to the “temporariness” as a way of being, which is manifested in different ways in various ethnic groups of migrants.

- All the foregoing makes us repeat the offer to hypothetically consider all foreign workers from the early 90-ies of XX century as temporary ones. Our research of temporality of migration reveals a formal criterion by which modern foreign workers can be attributed to the constant – suppose, a worker lives in the host country for “three generations”. That is, children and grandchildren live with him (her) at the same time there. But even in this case, the types of relationships with the homeland and the host country, and forms of communication among workers who will be included in the results of our surveys, must be considered to identify the temporalities of migration (temporal or permanent). The survey results will allow revealing another criterion of the conversion of temporary migration to permanent one: virtual return of

the daily life of an immigrant to the framework of linear, vertical time of the host society.

- A possibility of considering different migrations in Europe and Asia in parallel. This allows making an assumption that migrations, common for European cultural and territorial, border and time dimensions, are determined and structured differently in Asian space.
- Gradual historical transition of “pendulum” and retail trade short-term trans-border migrations into more “permanent” forms, and the latter – into “horizontal circular migration”.
- The necessity of forming the definition of “border” and make the differences between them “parallel” in terms of further agreement of its sense in common European-Asian dimension.

Reaching consistency regarding the concept of border is seen as the key for creating a time-spatial “measuring system” for describing migration, and the way of determining “temporality” based on such differentiation: while for the Europeans “crossing the border” traditionally means a passage from one time and space to another (migration from one place to another), than what means crossing the border in Asia and which border would be a transition to “different time and space” for an Asian person?

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