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NEW IMMIGRANTS IN UKRAINIAN SPACE: PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION

Ethnic composition of Ukrainian space

First of all we have to speak about the ethno-national completeness of the Ukrainian social space. Representation of the features of this completeness can be obtained by analyzing the ethnic composition of the Ukrainian population. We are doing this based on the data of the first population census of independent States (2001) [*All-Ukrainian population census' 2001*]. According to it, the ethno-national structure of the Ukrainian society (in my own interpretation) is the following: the Ukrainian ethnos (Ukrainian ethno-nation); ethnic communities - among them there are people with indefinite status (indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities) and national minorities; representatives of different ethnic groups. It is worth mentioning the following moments:

- the Ukrainian ethnos is the most numerous ethnic community of Ukraine (more than 37.5 million);
- because of the lack of clear criteria for the definition of the notion «national minority» in the Ukrainian political and legal field and official practice (ethno-politics) I offer to use in the framework of this analysis, the criteria, which usually in Ukrainian practices are based on the well-known definition of the notion «national minority» by F. Capotorti [p. 96]: group of the population, which differs from the basic group of the population by their ethnic origin or whether their nationality, whether their own language, whether their religion; on its size inferior to the main group of the population; does not occupy a dominant position in the country, demonstrates the desire to preserve their identity and their culture, traditions, religion or language, is not composed of recent immigrants and refugees; and has deep roots in the country of residence (usually, the citizens of this country). Add to this, a group of the population, which has sufficient number of individuals who realize themselves as members of this group and are capable to reproduce their identity through participation in the activities of ethnic organizations, artistic collectives, creation of conditions for preservation and development of their language and etc., i.e. have the internal reserves to achieve, as R. Breton [1964], «institutional completeness» of the structures as a national minorities. Considering aforementioned, national minorities in Ukraine are the reason, in my

opinion, to enlist such ethnic groups: Russkiye (more than 8.3 million), Byelorussians (more than 275 thousand); Moldovans (more than 258 thousand); Bulgarians (over 204 thousand); Hungarians (over 156 thousand); Romanians (more than 150 thousand); Poles (more than 144 thousand); Jews (more than 100 thousand); Armenians (about 100 thousand); the Greeks (over 91 thousand), Tatars (more than 73 thousand); Roma (more than 47 thousand); the Azerbaijanians (about 45 thousand), Georgians (about 34 thousand); the Germans (more than 33 thousand); Lithuanians (more than 7 thousand); Slovaks (more than 6 thousand); Czechs (about 6 thousand); Estonians (more than 2.8 thousand);

- as ethnic communities with indefinite status Gagauz (about 32 thousand), Karaites (around 1,200), Crimean Tatars (about 250 thousand), Krymchaks (406) can be interpreted;
- immigrants from Asian and Arab countries.

All of these communities can be considered as objects, which have their configuration in the context of geographical interaction, arranged in definite order. Their configuration and the order of arrangement are determined by their number and characteristics of the distribution on the territory of Ukraine. Modern data (first of all, the population census of Ukraine in its ethnic composition) give grounds to distinguish several groups of regions in context of the settlement of different ethnic groups. Speaking about the settlement structure of the Ukrainian population and, to a certain extent its modern dynamics in the regional dimension, we mention few markers: 1) the existence of the autochthonous and allochthonous population (their descendants). The first are those who permanently reside on the territory of present-day Ukraine, in fact Slavic tribes that formed the ground for the formation of the Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian peoples. In this case, the Ukrainian ethnos almost completely is concentrated on the territory of Ukraine in its present dimension, and as to the Russkiye and Belarusians, the only small part of them remained in Ukraine. The second group are those who, in different times came to the territory of Ukraine (Jews, Poles, Armenians, etc.) and those who, due to changes of the state borders found themselves on the territory of present-day Ukraine. They usually live dispersed in Ukraine; compact settlements of ethnic communities were formed only in several regions: the Hungarians in Transcarpathia, Romanians in Chernivtsi region, Russkiye in the eastern part of the country and in the Crimea, the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea, the Gagauz, Bulgarians in the Odessa region, the Poles in Lviv and Zhytomyr regions. A relatively new immigrants, they do not represent either in one of the regions of Ukraine noticeable share in the composition of the population, over time, however, their influence upon the ethno-national situation is becoming more perceptible.

Immigrants - new component of the ethno-national structure of Ukrainian population

Actually, the last component of the ethnic structure of the Ukrainian society (new immigrants from Asia and Africa) is the object of our analysis. I see them as «new ethnicities». For the understanding of the term «new ethnicities», it is important to take into account three aspects: 1) association with the purely quantitative temporary dimension - short-term stay of the carriers of those ethnicities on the territory of Ukraine, usually immigrants from Asian and African countries, which to a certain time were not characteristic for Ukrainian ethno-national landscape; 2) the quality parameters of the phenomenon (immigrants as a social community) - cultural elements, traditions, customs, the ability of the perception of otherness² and functioning under the conditions of other ethnic environment, particularity of behavioral patterns; 3) from the pool of «new ethnicities» in our case, immigrants from the territories of the former Soviet Union are excluded. The motivation of this step is the fact that in Ukraine there were traditional communities originated from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan (migration still continues today), and their ethnic status differs from the status of new immigrant communities, and, most importantly, they, as well as *vice versa* have a long experience of interaction with representatives of the titular ethnic community (Ukrainians) and representatives of other communities, which have become stable components of the ethnic structure of the Ukraine's population. By the way, the latter refers to the titular ethnic community – Ukrainians - too.

Thus, the history of stay of immigrants from Asian and Arab countries on the territory of Ukraine is not long enough and they today comprise a small proportion of its population. In the first part of the presented statement we can measure the story by a little more than two dozens of years - more or less intensively they began to immigrate to Ukraine after getting its state independence. This applies to the immigrant status of immigrants from the mentioned regions. However, as bearers of their ethnicities a certain part of the citizens of the countries of Asia and Africa are temporarily located in the territory of Ukraine, studied in the higher educational institutions. If, according to the World Bank, in 2011 in Ukraine all immigrant pool consisted of 5.3 million immigrants [*Migration in Ukraine, 2011, p. 3*] (about 9 % of the total population of the country), all categories of immigrants, referred to in our analysis, according to my estimates are up to 300 thousand (less than one percent of the population of Ukraine).

Sources of replenishment of this part of the immigrant pool are such countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Jordan, India, Iraq, Iran, China, Kurdistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Sri Lanka - a total of about

forty countries. If you take into account only the quantitative parameters of the Asian and Arab immigration, you may get the impression that the latter is not a significant factor of Ukrainian social and cultural development. However, this significance is determined not only by quantitative parameters, but also by other moments, first of all, by an intensification of migration processes in general and active involvement of Ukraine to them. It means that in the future, it might have more than a tangible effect on the ratio between the different components of the population, on the nature of the immigrants resettlement on the territory of our country, on changes in the balance of ethnic composition of the population at the regional and especially at the local level, and on the problems of their social and ethno-cultural integration into Ukrainian society, or, at least, on adaptation to new conditions of their stay and their interaction with representatives of traditional ethnic communities of Ukraine.

One more thing is to be mentioned in the context of analysis of the situation with «new ethnicities»: social and economic (labor) migration is the most perceptible among all kinds of migrations. The massive internal and external displacement of human resources was inherent for Ukraine during all historical periods. For example, migration increase of the Ukraine's population in January-July 2010 in comparison to this period 2009 was 0.3 to 0.4 per 1000. Immigrants from CIS countries consisted in the time January-July 2010 77.8 %, from other countries – 22.2 % [*Electronnyi resurs*]. Among immigrants, which were coming to Ukraine in recent ten years the overwhelming majority were the immigrants from Asian and African countries. Thus, in 2007 it was fixed that there were 55.5 % of this pool Asians and 9.3% - Africans [*Artemenko, 2008, p. 41*]. The general Asian and African immigrant pool consists of such categories: legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees. In the period (2003 -2007), for instance, 4119 Chinese, 2398 Indians, 1843 Pakistani, 1390 Vietnamese, 926 Bangladeshi, 776 Afghans, 430 Turks, 290 Nigerians, 246 immigrants from Jordan, 227 Sri Lankans, 223 from Syria, 186 Iraqi, 171 Iranians, 138 Palestinians came to Ukraine [*Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 14*]. Analyzing the immigrant flows to Ukraine we can say that recently the increase of Chinese, Turks, Iranians and Immigrant from Syria is obvious [*Kazmierkiewicz, 2011, p. 26*]. It is to point out that in recently the tendency of decrease of illegal immigrants is quite evident. But among the categories concerning regime of crossing the Ukraine's frontier (legal/illegal) the amount of illegal immigrants from Asia and Africa 2012 increased by 10 % - these were, first of all, people from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somali [*V Ukrayini*].

The settlement structure of new immigrants in Ukraine

To develop an understanding on the settlement of this kind of minorities on the territory of Ukraine one can use the data of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine concerning the distribution of all immigrants in regions. According to P. Kazmierkiewicz [2011, p. 24], «from the beginning of 2007, almost two-thirds of the foreigners coming to Ukraine, are concentrated in nine regions, among them the fifth part settle in four regions of the Black Sea coast, namely: in the Odessa region, the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, Sevastopol, and Nikolayev region. Other regions with a significant influx of migrants are the capital city of Kyiv and the largest industrial cities in the Centre and in the East (Donetsk, Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk region)». Regional migration dynamics (2007 - January-August 2010). can be traced on the example of the following table [Kazmierkiewicz, 2011, p. 25]:

Region	2007		2008		2009		January-August 2010	
	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase
Odessa region	12 420	10 981	4852	3966	3793	2951	2338	1890
AR Crimea	4798	2421	4239	2535	3354	2132	2122	1473
Kyiv	3776	2170	3618	2055	3970	2716	2119	1395
Donetsk region	4698	902	3962	986	3118	709	1872	669
Kharkiv region	3563	1311	4018	1733	2490	523	988	427
Dnipropetrovsk region	1943	115	1789	476	1580	351	1295	623
Zaporizhzhya region	1535	243	1557	591	1482	602	851	443
Vinnytsya region	1299	506	1196	644	1376	790	707	403
Sevastopol agglomeration	1028	541	1054	682	772	453	554	400
Mykolayivska region	877	245	868	443	927	498	485	239
Other regions	10 570	-2597	10 128	768	10 055	1722	6692	3197
Ukraine	46 507	16 838	37 281	14 879	32 917	13 447	20 024	10 520

This settlement structure of immigrants is determined by several factors: 1) the mentioned regions, according to the assessment of Ukrainian economists, are the regions, which in today's socio-economic conditions are developing more dynamically than others [Krupka, Dorosh, 2009]; 2) in these regions there are social networks of immigrants (sometimes established ethnic businesses), that

gives hope to the expectation of assistance on the part of immigrants from the same country for a more or less acceptable settlement and employment security; 3 the population of these regions has already certain experience in interaction with immigrants, including those from Asian and African countries, since the last throughout the years lived here, often since Soviet times, when they were studying in the universities of the country.

These figures compared with the European context may not seem as impressive. However, if to take into account such, at least, two points (the strengthening, in the period of ethno-political Renaissance, of existing in Ukraine ethnic communities, disposed to realization; the increase of non-traditional for Ukraine immigrants with different from Ukrainian tradition ethnicities), the migration causes ethno-political problems, first of all, in the regions of newcomers settlement, both in terms of shifts in the local labor market (small and medium business), as in inter-ethnic interaction.

The content of this dynamics is clearly evident when considering the following two factors: resettlement of those who come to Ukraine, and their socio-occupational and educational characteristics. The examples are specific categories of migrants - refugees, illegal immigrants, forced immigrants. Note that they are coming from more than forty countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. The largest number of refugees settled in Kyiv, because here there are leading Ukrainian universities, where previously a considerable part of the present refugees studied. In addition, in the capital it is easier to find dwelling, get a job, here there is broader access to cultural and social benefits. However, the distribution of refugees by region was not constant. If in 1996 in Kyiv lived 70% of all refugees in Ukraine, today it is the third. The second place with 20% of refugees takes Odessa region. A significant number of refugees live in Lviv, Kyiv, Kharkiv regions, of around 6% in each [*Etnosotsiologiya*, 2010, p. 315].

The analysis of migration flows in Ukraine showed some tendencies of their connection with the dynamics of regional ethno-political contexts, which clearly emerged in processes of socio-economic development of the regions: a) distribution of flows of migrants took place in accordance with the level of socio-economic development of the latter; b) in these regions ethnicities were created or strengthened, which before independence in many cases was not typical for Ukraine; c) one could not observe (at least, there is no specific data, which would confirm this) the desire to intensive interaction with the representatives of other ethnic communities; d) such attitudes of newcomers concerning interaction increase the fragmentation of regional identities; e) in their environment the most obvious was the latest trend (it is distinctive during long time of poly-ethnic countries of the European space) - formation of the «entrepreneurship

(consolidation and promotion) of own ethnic identity» [Hansen, 2009]. The essence of this phenomenon can be explained in following way: since ethnicity can serve as the cultural capital, this kind of cultural capital can be successfully used for access to resources, which strengthens the position of the community in the social and cultural environment [Pluess, 2005, p. 202], first of all, at the regional level. This phenomenon is not yet the case of deep study by the Ukrainian researchers of ethnicity, but it already begins to manifest themselves in the everyday practices, however, in limited areas (for example, «ethnic business», some types of cultural and social activities of immigrants, repatriates).

Some socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants

The Ukrainian researchers have identified three main groups of immigrants: students, workers and business people. A characteristic feature of all of them is that that they are in their overwhelming majority on the territory temporarily [Malynovs'ka, 2012, p. 27]. They tend to link their destiny to return to their homelands, or to the search for the ways of penetration into Western European countries. By the way, this trend is sustainable in the immigrant environment. A study conducted in the 1990s by scientists of Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University on behalf of an International Organization of Migration (Geneva), has found that the vast majority of migrants, first of all, from Asian and African countries, has sought to move to Western countries, considering Ukraine as a transit country [Yevtukh, 1994]. The citizenship of Ukraine are getting few immigrants, mainly those, who form families here. Although based on the data, which is available today, the most numerous is the first group (students), followed by workers and from time to time occur businessmen - representatives of ethnic businesses. According to the Ukrainian ethnosociologists, the category of refugees (their share in the whole pool of immigrants from the countries that are the subject of my analysis, is quite visible) is characterized as follows: age - of 71 % of the ablebodied, 25 % of children up to 16 years, and about 3 % of the elderly; education - 40 % of persons with higher education, and 36 % of the persons with incomplete higher education; professional composition - a significant percentage of them are engineers, teachers, economists, physicians [Etnosotsiologiya, 2010, p. 314] More information about the education level of immigrants, the representatives of «visible minorities» can be obtained by analyzing a sociological study conducted in the framework of the project «Make the voices of those who do not have voting rights: survey of ethnic groups (non-traditional) of minorities in Ukraine with the aim to study their needs». They, by the way, confirm previous findings about the high level of education among members of «visible minorities»: persons with incomplete and complete higher education comprised in Kyiv 42 %,

in Kharkiv 57 %, in Odessa, 54 % [*Nepochuti golosy*, 2008, p. 47]. The researchers note that the educational level of the refugees is relatively high. So, for example, among the foreigners who applied for refugee status in Kyiv, secondary and incomplete higher education had 36%, higher education - 40%. Among men, people with higher education accounted for more than 50%. 1.6% of the submitted applications were statements from people who have academic degree. Really high educational level corresponded with their professional training. Among them there were 13.6% engineers, 9.2% the teachers, 6.9% economists, 6.9% physicians [*Etnosotsiologiya*, 2010, p. 314]. However, although a significant proportion of refugees of highly educated individuals, their work is somehow connected with trade in the markets of [*Etnosotsiologiya*, 2010, p. 314-315], which confirms the concentration of immigrants in middle-size and small businesses.

The problems associated with being new immigrants in Ukraine

Analysis of statistical data, the socio-demographic status, their perception by Ukrainian population, the process of their adaptation to the new conditions of vital activities allows to distinguish several groups of problems: 1) social problems; 2) problems of ethno-cultural adaptation; 3) problems of psychological/behavioral nature; 4) problems, arising in the course of the interaction of immigrants with the local population. Let's consider, at least briefly, the essence of the problems of each of these groups.

Social problems are related, first of all, to the socio-economic situation of development of the regions and localities, where newcomers arrive, and the composition of immigrants: the activity of the labor market; employment opportunities, the possibility of creating and maintaining the ethnic business; the possibilities to transfer obtained professional and general knowledge into practical activity; socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant population. We noted earlier that immigrants, in particular from Asian and African countries went to the regions, where economic activities hypothetically create employment opportunities. However, studies of Ukrainian researchers show: to realize the potential for immigrants, is extremely difficult and as a result these opportunities come true in too narrow corridor, which is formed to a greater extent in the private sector (for example, here is from 85 to 98 % of those who find a job [*Nepochuti golosy*, 2008, p. 30]). Such a corridor, usually, are the markets in the major cities - Kyiv, Odessa, Kharkiv. Immigrants are mostly vendors, loaders, rarely have their own small business. From this corridor Ukrainian entrepreneurs are gradually superseded by immigrants: in the largest market of Kharkiv «Barabashovo» five years ago 75 % of the Ukrainian and 25 foreign entrepreneurs worked and in 2012 it is the ratio 50 on 50 % [*Udovychenko*, 2012]. The first category of employees is

the largest group, those among them, who has a work permit, they work full working day, others are working part-time. The ethnic structure of the employed in the markets (on the level of saturation of those or other ethnicity bearers) is the following: the entrepreneur - immigrant, the composition of employed workers - a) first of all, of one and the same ethnic origin, b) of mixed ethnic (and immigrant) origin; c) of mixed ethnic (immigrant and local) origin.

Actually, in this context there are, at least, three obvious problems for immigrants: 1) limited access to the labor market (we can assume that because of the worsening of the socio-economic situation in the country and to some extent because of the discriminatory contexts - the level of unemployment among immigrants is considerably higher than the average in the country - from 12 % in Kiev to 43 % in Kharkiv [*Nepochuti golosy*, 2008, p. 30]). Human rights organizations note that in recent years the government of Ukraine is gradually introduces measures, which complicate the employment of labor immigrants (for example, the need to provide additional documents, increase of the size of the fee for examining the application for issuance of a work permit, additional requirements for obtaining a temporary residence, etc.) [*Prava lyudyny*, 2011, p. 9]; 2) a discrepancy between the type of employment and the level of professional training (according to the mentioned survey, by 74 % of respondents-immigrants in Kyiv the profession did not correspond with a specialty, in which they worked; in Kharkiv - 49 %, in Odessa - 58 % [*Nepochuti golosy*, 2008, p. 48]); 3) low level of satisfaction with their housing conditions (in Kyiv - only 16 % of them are satisfied, in Kharkiv - 32 %, in Odessa - 20 % [*Nepochuti golosy*, 2008, p. 40]).

The problems of ethno-cultural adaptation are determined by various factors, but, first of all, by those, which determine the possibilities of perception and understanding of a culture (cultural elements) of other, which gives ground for the interaction of their bearers. Note that the axiom is that cultures are formed under the influence of several factors, an important role among which, in particular, plays social. The meaningfulness of these factors and their contents are different by different ethnophores, which predetermines the ethno-cultural diversification of the modern world, which is manifested in the ethno-cultural differences of human communities. Especially noticeable it is in the conditions of the coexistence of ethno-cultural communities within one and the same ethno-political organism [*Etnichnyi dovidnyk*, 1997, p.60] or ethno-social organism [*Yevtukh*, 2011, p. 62-63]. In this context, it is logical to agree with the assertion of researchers that «cultural differences, compound by socio-economic differences that give children majority and minority backgrounds such different life experiences that they find it very difficult to relate to one another in mixed classes» [*Janmaat*, 2010, p. 9]. In fact, this situation is typical for the adult ethnically diverse environment too,

according to my observations is even more pronounced (say, more hopeless), than in the school environment, since the latter has at its disposal a huge arsenal to overcome many of the misunderstandings in the process of inter-ethnic and inter-cultural interaction. In all of this context we are talking about the level of cross-cultural distance bearers of different traditions (cultural, customary, in the end, ritual), which for various reasons are in contextual interaction (communication) with each other. The ethno-cultural distance is defined as «the difference in the level of development and differences between the cultures of human communities, which is based on such factors as ethnic origin, ethnic customs, traditions. Ethno-cultural distance is emphasized (consciously or subconsciously), first of all, in the process of interethnic dialogue and it especially visible under the circumstances of Ethnic Renaissance, when the representatives of one or another community attach much importance to its ethnic origin, actively allocate themselves in the system of inter-ethnic relations. Excessive accentuation of the differences in the culture of an ethnic group from another under unfavorable conditions may determine (especially when it is carried out purposefully and consciously programmed) the opposition of ethnic groups» [Yevtukh, 2012, p. 84-85]. Differences, which are now being discussed, are recorded using the method of participant observation by comparing local and immigrant population. They form one of the problematic situations as for the representatives of «new ethnicities », as well as for the local population. Its solution depends on several circumstances, including how long (or short) immigrants plan to stay in Ukraine, and on their interest to «master» the language, culture, traditions, customs, typical for the Ukrainian society. To the first question the answer is partly given by data of aforementioned survey: 27 % of immigrants who have settled in Kyiv, would stay here forever; such in Kharkiv were 51 %, in Odessa - 31 %, but does not clarify their answer, respectively, 70, 46 and 68 % [Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 32]. As to the second question, some parameters can be set indirectly by analyzing the survey responses to such questions: for example, among the answers to the question «What foreign languages do you and your children want to know or study?» the preference, is usually given to English, German, French [Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 55]. In my opinion, the statement of the respondents about their desire to teach children the Ukrainian language, is rather declarative, since using the method of participant observation, at least in Kyiv, you can come to the conclusion that such cases are not very frequent. These factors slow down the process of inclusion of representatives of «new ethnicities» in the Ukrainian ethno-cultural mainstream (the context).

Problems of psychological and behavioral character are rooted in the mentality of immigrants, in particular in the possibilities of the perception of «otherness». These possibilities are determined by the traditions of vital activities

of ethnic groups (ethnic communities), from which immigrants are descended, and behavioral patterns established in these communities. Ethno-psychological distance (differences in the perception of the environment and the response of individuals to its challenges, which are to a large extent determined by ethnic factors [*Etnichnyi dovidnyk, 1997, p. 61*]) between people from Asian and African countries and, say, Ukrainians or Ruskiye (ethnic Russians in Ukraine), whether representatives of other ethnic communities is clearly visible and it can cause at the present day more problems than to be seen as mobilize of their rapprochement.

The problems, arising in the course of the interaction of immigrants with the local population, can be divided into two types: 1) those that are connected with the interaction with those who live nearby, and is a product of everyday communication with one another; 2) those related to the communication of immigrants with the authorities.

Regarding the first case, the basis for the statement about problems in inter-ethnic cooperation is the existence of quite tangible social (national) distance in the relations between the members of «visible minorities» and the Ukrainians (inhabitants of Ukraine), recorded in sociological monitoring «Ukrainian society. 1992 - 2012». Sources of information about the discrepancy of the immigrant component in inter-ethnic cooperation is, first of all, the mass media, which from time to time report on the aggravation of these relations, the rise of xenophobic sentiments among the local population (for instance, in such cities as Kyiv, Lugansk, Kharkiv, etc.); specific facts systematized presented in a monthly newsletter of the East European Development Institute «In one boat», which is published in Ukrainian, Russian and English languages. The main forms of demonstration of xenophobic attitudes, negative attitude of Ukrainian citizens to the representatives of «new ethnicities » are: the language of enmity (hate speech), the charges of immigrants in violation of moral norms of coexistence in the Ukrainian society, limitation of access to entertainment establishments; extreme form of negative attitude is the use of force, attacks, murders. The existence of such cases confirmed repeatedly cited poll: in Kyiv, for example, 17 % (34 persons) of those surveyed (and members of their families) suffered from the attacks, in Kharkiv - 16 % (22 persons), in Odessa - 21 % (29 persons) [*Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 70*]. In Ukraine in the end of the XX-th – the beginning of the XXI-th century there were frankly xenophobic organizations, as a rule, youth. Their activity program is directed to fight with the members of «visible minorities», the limitation of their admission in Ukraine, for tough anti-immigrant legislation. The facts collected in the study «Racism and Xenophobia in Ukraine. Monitoring of Racism and Xenophobia Cases in the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea, Slobozhanshchyna, Galicia in 2008 - beginning of 2009», prepared by the

Kharkiv Human Rights Group, the Committee for Monitoring of Press Freedom in the Crimea and the Independent Culturological Magazine with the support of the Embassy of the USA in Ukraine [*Problemy*]. Paying attention to the presence of xenophobic moods among a certain part of the Ukrainian population, even taking into account the fact of their intensification from time to time there are no reason to assert that such phenomena are in Ukraine widely spread. As, by the way, the fact that immigrants seriously affect the situation in Ukraine too: for example, according to human rights organizations, various kinds of crimes during the January-September 2011 committed 0.01 % foreigners, who were at that time in Ukraine [*Prava lyudyny, 2011, p. 2-3*].

More difficult, in my opinion (and the data from the mentioned sources confirm this thesis), the situation of relations of immigrants with authorities is. In the same poll there is an indisputable belief that the representatives of «new ethnicities» are object of abuse and discrimination by the authorities: the index of answers to the question of how do the local authorities treat immigrants, in the range of «rude and hostile - indifferently » is considerably greater than the index in the range of «neutral - very positive»: in Kyiv the ratio was 63 % vs. 37 % (of them neutral 20 %), in Kharkiv - the same (one of them neutral - 19 %), in Odessa - 64 % against 36 % (of them neutral - 18 %) [*Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 68*]. As for the relations with the Ukrainian police, the situation here is hopelessly negative: 85 % of respondents in Kyiv have suffered from abuse of police (inspection of documents without any reason, extortion, refusal to register complaints, the groundless accusations of committing crimes), 73 % in Kharkiv, 71 % - in Odessa [*Nepochuti golosy, 2008, p. 66-67*]. In fact, such actions of the police towards «visible minorities» are to be seen as «ethnic profiling», which is gradually becoming a characteristic and for the Ukrainian ethnically diverse landscape⁹. About the problems in the relations of immigrants with authorities, including the police, routinely report the human rights organizations [*Prava lyudyny, 2011, p. 3, 7*].

The perception of new immigrants in the Ukrainian society

To clarify this issue, I suggest using a technique developed by Professor Roger Jowell (Center for Comparative Social Surveys, United Kingdom) and successfully applied by the Ukrainian sociologists, who take part in an international comparative project «European Social Research». To do so, I propose to choose four questions of the questionnaire : 1) Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries? 2) Is [country] becomes worse or better place to live because of people coming to live here from other countries? 3) Would you say that [country]’s cultural life is

generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? 4) to what extent, do you think [country] should allow people of the same race or ethnic group as most [country]' people to come and live here? Answers of the respondents give the opportunity to understand: a) socio-economic factors of the perception of the other (the first and the second question); b) the role of socio-cultural contexts in shaping the perception of the otherness (third question); C) the value of ethnic and racial factors in relation to other (third question). In the first case we have the following results of the survey (scale 0-10, where 0 is bad for the economy, 10 - good for the economy): the first question, 2005. - 4.81; 2007. - 4.42; 2009. - 4.43; 2011. - 4.43; the second question, 2005. - 4.85; 2007. - 4.23; 2009. - 4.14; 2011. - 4.27. The second block is characterized by the following indicators (0 - destroys cultural life, a 10 - enriches the cultural life): 2005 g. - 4.90; 2007. - 4.55; 2009. - 4.60; 2011. - 4.47 [*Golovakha, Gorbachyk, 2012, p. 106-107*].

Concerning the third block, we have to look at more detailed the gradation of the answers: 1) Allow many people to come and live here (in %): 2005. - 51.8, 2007. - 51.7, 2009. - 41.7, 2011. - 46.3; 2) Allow some: 2005. - 25.3, 2007. - 21.4, 2009. - 26.5, 2011. - 28.0; 3) Allow a few: 2005. - 11.2, 2007. - 13.4, 2009. - 17.1, 2011. - 12.0; 4) Allow none: 2005. - 5.2, 2007. - 7.2, 2009. - 6.4, 2011. - 6.6; 5) Don't know: 2005. - 6.4, 2007. - 6.2, 2009. - 8.2, 2011. - 6.6 [*Golovakha, Gorbachyk, 2012, p. 110*]. Based on the above data, we can conclude that the population of Ukraine in the overwhelming majority is for resettlement to the country of representatives of other races and peoples.

The Monitoring of the status and dynamics of the changes of the Ukrainian society in different spheres of the life, which is carried out by the Institute of Sociology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine since 1992 (for this discussion the basic section «International relations and language of communication» is used), gives the possibility to define a platform for diagnosing problems in interaction with the representatives of traditional ethnic communities of Ukraine and the members of «visible minorities». This platform I partially recreate using effective enough for such cases, the E. Bogardus scale. Dynamics of the measurement of the residents' attitudes of Ukraine to the bearers of new ethnicities («visible minorities»), in particular, Arabs, Afghans, Chinese, Blacks, Turks - they are included in the mentioned monitoring - on the basis of the consent of admitting them as: 1) members of their families; 2) close friends; 3) neighbors); 4) colleagues at work; 5) the citizens of Ukraine; 6) visitors of Ukraine; 7) did not allow gives such a picture (in %):

- for the Arabs - 1. from 0.4 (2004) up to 3.1 (1992); 0.6 (2012); 2. from 1.0 (2012) up to 5.5 (1992); 1.0 (2012); 3. from 1.5 (2010) to 5.1 (1992); 1.9 (2012);

4. from 1.5 (2012) up to 6.4 (1992); 1.5 (2012); 5. from 5.1 (2010) to 10.4 (1992); 5.8 (2012); 6. from 42.6 (2002) up to 61.2 (2012); 61.2 (2012); 7. from 16.0 (1992). up to 41.3 (2002); 27.3 (2012);

- for Afghans - 1. from 0.4 (2004) up to 0.9 (2005); 0.6 (2012); 2. from 1.1 (2004). up to 1.7 (2002); 1.2 (2012); 3. from 1.5 (2006) up to 2.2 (2005); 2.2 (2012); 4. from 1.1 (2008) up to 1.9 (2005); 1.6 (2012); 5. from 5.6 (2008) up to 7.3 (2004); 7.0 (2012); 6. from 37.3 (2002) up to 54.9 (2012); 54.9 (2012); 7. from 31.2 (2012) up to 47.6 (2002); 31.2 (2012);

- for Chinese - 1. from 0.4 (2004) up to 1.3 (2005); 0.7 (2012); 2. from 1.2 (2012.) up to 2.4 (2002); 1.2 (2012); 3. from 1.8 (2008) up to 3.2 (2002); 2.2 (2012); 4. from 2.7 (2004) up to 4.1 (2002); 3.7 (2012); 5. from 7.1 (2008) to 8.8 (2002); 7.7 (2012); 6. from 52.5 (2002) up to 65.0 (2006); 64.8 (2012); 7. from 19.1 (2006) up to 25.3 (2002); 18.9 (2012);

- for Blacks - 1. from 0.5 (2008) up to 1.8 (1992); 0.7 (2012); 2. from 1.1 (2012) to 5.4 (1992); 1.1 (2012); 3. 1.9 (2006) up to 5.0 (1992); 1.9 (2012); 4. from 1.8 (2008) up to 6.0 (1992); 1.9 (2012); 5. from 6.8 (2010) up to 10.0 (1992); 7.3 (2012); 6. from 47.9 (1992) up to 64.9 (2012); 64.9 (2012); 7. from 18.9 (1992) up to 29.2 (2002); 21.1 (2012);

- for Turks - 1. from 0.5 (2004) up to 6.3 (1996); 1.1 (2012); 2. from 1.1 (2006). up to 7.1 (1994); 1.4 (2012); 3. from 3.3 (2006) up to 6.5 (1994); 5.1 (2012); 4. from 1.9 (2004) up to 3.7 (2005); 2.8 (2012); 5. from 6.7 (2010) up to 16.3 (1994); 8.5 (2012); 6. from 35.6 (1994) up to 65.4 (2010); 64.8 (2012); 7. from 8.6 (1994) up to 27.0 (2002); 14.5 (2012) [Ukrayins'ke sypil'stvo, 2012, p. 567-577].

For ranking the level of tolerance of Ukraine's population towards the listed representatives of «new ethnicities» one can take advantage of the scale of the national distance indexes (from 1 to 7 points) of Ukraine's population of one or another ethnic community. It is built based on the same E. Bogardus scale. I would like to mention that the Bogardus Social Distance Scale is a psychological testing scale created by American sociologists Emory S. Bogardus to measure willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups, among them ethnic groups. The scale asks people the extent to which they would be accepting of each group (a score of 1.00 for a group is taken to indicate no social distance): As close relatives by marriage (score 1.00); As my close personal friends (2.00); As neighbors on the same street (3.00); As co-workers in the same occupation (4.00); As citizens in my country (5.00); As only visitors in my country (6.00); Would exclude from my country (7.00). I will consider the indicators for the period from 2002 to 2012 because it is in these years all the above-mentioned immigrant group came to the pool. Therefore, in

accordance with 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 years this distance ranged from: Arabs - 6.1, 6.1, 6.0, 6.1, 6.1, 6.0, 6.1; Afghans - 6.2, 6.2, 6.1, 6.1, 6.1, 6.1, 6.1; Chinese - 5.9, 5.9, 5.8, 5.9, 5.9, 5.9, 5.9; Blacks - 6.0, 5.9, 5.9, 5.9, 6.0, 5.9, 6.0; Turks - 5.9, 5.9, 5.7, 5.8, 5.8, 5.7, 5.7. Note that these indicators are higher than those of the integral index of the national distance (IIND), which in above mentioned years amounted to: in 2002 - 5.3, 2004 - 5.3, 2005 - 5.1, 2006 - 5.3, 2008 - 5.2, 2010. - 5.2, 2012 - 5.2.

If we compare the indices of the scale concerning immigrants with those which characterize the attitude of Ukraine's population towards the representatives of other ethnic communities, in particular of Slavic origin, and those who live on the territory of Ukraine, there is the following pattern: the population of Ukraine in their perception and attitudes are more tolerant to the second than to the first. Confirmation of this thesis can be found in the aforementioned sociological monitoring, first of all in the integral index of the national distance. Last, let's say, for the Ukrainians ranged from 1.4 to 2.2, for Russians - from 2.0 to 3.3, for Poles - from 4.4 to 5.0, for Slovaks - from 4.6 to 5.1, for Czechs - from 5.1 to 5.3 of [*Ukrayins'ke sypil'stvo, 2012, p. 578*]. Such situation is fixed by other studies of Ukrainian sociologists too, in particular, by the survey «Regional Tolerance, Xenophobia and Human Rights in 2012», conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) to the order of the Institute of Human Rights to Combat Extremism and Xenophobia (IHRPEX). The largest social and national distance remains as to Roma, Blacks, immigrants from Asian and African countries [*Ukraintsy, 2013*].

Possibilities to overcome problems

Based on the analysis of the situation of immigrants, first of all, the members of «new ethnicities», it becomes clear that the problems of new immigrants and with new immigrants form a specific problem in the field of ethno-national development of the Ukrainian society. This field is filling up with such problems: insufficient level of satisfaction with the social needs of the immigrants from Asia and Africa, the high level of unemployment, the discrepancy between the level of professional training and the nature of the employment, the presence of an appreciable ethno-cultural and ethno-psychological distance in the relations with the local population, noticeable social and national distance between immigrants and local inhabitants; the appearance of tensions, sometimes hostility and xenophobia, open ethnic conflicts; crimes; while a small proportion of the representatives of «new ethnicities» in the ethnic structure of Ukrainian society the problems field does not have a decisive influence upon ethno-national development, and upon formation of situations in interethnic interaction neither at the national nor regional, or local

levels. However, the trend of constant decrease of the total quantity of Ukrainian population and increase of the inflow of immigrants, the problems, which we discussed, can expand and deepen, what will strengthen existing and create new challenges for Ukrainian society. Therefore, it is important in this context to think about being beforehand about these challenges and to work out models of conflict-free development of an ethnically diverse society in our country. Of course, first of all, you should think over improvement of the legal base for regulating of these challenges. Further efforts should be concentrated on their good implementation in accordance with European and American practices and on the basis of democratic principles and basic human values, the question is an ethno-political management, which should include not only the activities, related to the role of the state in this sphere, but also a number of activities at the community level, which provide for the creation of the foundation for inter-ethnic tolerance and active participation in this process both immigrants and other components of the ethnic structure of Ukrainian society.

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