

DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY.

Immigration

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UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE EU COUNTRIES AND RUSSION FEDERATION: VECTORS OF VALUE AND SPACE ORIENTATION

Title:	UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE EU COUNTRIES AND RUSSION FEDERATION: VECTORS OF VALUE AND SPACE ORIENTATION
Abstract:	<i>The article presents the results of a study of modern Ukrainian migrant's vectors of value and space orientation. The author of the publication views Ukrainian labour migrants as a special social group of residence in society, with special plans, needs and social behaviour. Attention is focused on the problem of life choice in the conditions of labour migration and on the integration models of Ukrainians into the society of EU countries and Russia. The author focuses on the issue of the migrant's prospects on returning home, too. Conclusions are based on the results of in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants.</i>
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Introduction

The end of the 20th – beginning 21st century is known for changes in the system of social relation in Ukraine. In particular, the processes of external labour migration became more active and involvement in them was for many of our fellow countrymen the only possible way of response to the challenges of the Ukrainian society which was in a permanent crisis at the time. In such a way

they tried to realize their economic and social rights¹.

Migration processes which intensified especially in the last few decades cause the «fluctuation» of the social structure and rise of a separate, special social group of migrants coming

¹ *Access to Social Rights in Europe: Report prepared by Mary Day Queen's University, MDQU, Belfast, 2002, pp. 33-35.*

from the same places in the homeland. This social group is characterized by its heterogeneous character, unstable social-cultural identity, unbalanced system of values and vague plans. The «poly-vector» character of prospects offered by a town provides a wide space for the realization of life choice in the context of the completion of the urbanization processes and as the result of re-orientation of modern Ukrainians from the internal migration to the external one. Clearly, their scenarios of integration are significantly between different countries of residence. That's why token the vast array of «singularities» attached to any personal experience, has warranted flexible creative approach.

The topic of external labour migration is taking on popularity among the modern Ukrainian researches. Most of them (E. Libanova, O. Malinovska, O. Poznyak, I. Prybytkova, U. Sadova and others) concentrate in their studies on the macro level of analysis of the problem of labour migration and, therefore, do not focus on the special futures of scenarios of integration, specifically do not pay attention to vectors of migrants' value and space orientation. This situation don't allow to form the single image of modern Ukrainian labour migration and (as a result) lay structural conditions for examining the dynamics of Ukrainian migrations against the background of migration processes.

In view of the above, the purpose of this article was exposing specific personal experiences of Ukrainian citizens involved in labour migration to EU countries, from one side, and Russia, from another side. Research was conducted with special attention to studying individual life strategies of Ukrainian labour migrants.

Empirical basis and research methods

Our ideas will be based on the results of sociological investigation carried out within the frameworks of several projects, which were fulfilled by the participation of the author.

1. Complex Research of Labour Migration from Ukraine to the Countries

of European Union and the Russian Federation. The project was carried out in 2007-2008 by Caritas Ukraine International Charitable Fund in cooperation with employees of the ethnic and social research sector of the Institute of Ethnology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, in assistance with Renovabis Fund. The research involved 7 EU countries. Republic of Poland, Czech Republic, Italian Republic, Greek Republic, Kingdom of Spain, Portuguese Republic, Republic of Ireland. The project aimed at examining scales, directions and trends of modern labour migration from Ukraine to the mentioned countries. The project implementation was based on the combination of various methods and included interviewing of Ukrainian labour migrants in the countries of residence with the help of in-depth semi-structured interviews (approximately 30 in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants in the countries selected for research were conducted)¹.

2. Aeneas Programme «BrainNetworking Project». This project was aimed at studying the possibilities and temporary qualified work under the official labour agreement for the specialist with medium - and high-level skills coming from Ukraine, Russia and Moldova to EU countries. Partners in the project: La Sapienza Universita di Roma (main partner), Caritas Ukraine International Charitable Fund, Caritas Diocesana di Roma, Fundeun (Spain), Moldavian International University (Moldova), Equilibre-Solidarity (Russia) and others. Sociological investigation was carried out in Ukraine during December 2008 – June 2009 by means of in-depth interview with 30 people having the experience in labour migration in Italy and Spain; similar interviews were held by our partners in Moldova and Russia. The interviews were conducted according to a standardised

¹ Ihor Markov (Ed.) *Ukrainian Labour Migration in Europe. Findings of the complex research of the processes of Ukrainian labour immigration (the EU countries and Russian Federation)*, Papuha, Lviv, 2009, pp. 5-6.

interview pattern. Interview groups' gender ratios were made to match those recorded in the host country. Interviews with migrants from the three communities were conducted along biographical lines, addressing experiences immediately prior to emigration, the initial stay, subsequent developments and current outlooks¹.

3. *Ukrainian Labour Migration Processes in Russia: Social and Gender Aspects*. The project was carried out in 2010 by research group of Ethnic and Social Studies Department of the Institute of Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Laboratory for Social Studies, Centre for Private Initiative Support, in assistance with Heimatgarden foundation. Sociological investigation (15 in-depth interview with people having the experience in labour migration in Russia) was carried out in Ukraine during June-September 2010. The purpose of sociological research was exposing specific personal experiences of Ukrainian citizens involved in labour migration to Russia, taking into account its "swinging" quality and gender properties².

All projects were conducted with special attention to study individual life strategies of Ukrainian labour migrants. For this purpose, the following tasks were solved: clarifying basic conditions and circumstances of Ukrainian migrants' inclusion into the society of residence; defining current practices of keeping social and cultural connections with the environment of origin of Ukrainian labour migrants; estimating the labour migrants' interests, necessities, and aspirations in the context of their simultaneous inclusion in life of two societies; defining current models of migration behaviour of

Ukrainian labour migrants in country of residence.

Data was collected through in-depth (semi-structured) focused interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants who have work experience in EU country vs Russia. The number of cases was chosen by theoretical sampling – selection of cases (individuals) based on their qualities. Selection began with considering homogeneous cases in order to additionally select and study opposite or varying cases and concentrate on their differences when constructing an analytical concept. The focus of the interviews is the story of changes in the life of an individual as a result of his migration. In each story, there is an objective socio-cultural context of processes the migrant was involved with. The necessity to understand main migrants' value and space orientation emphasised the need to apply the theoretical method to data analysis.

Generally, the types of experiences by Ukrainian labour migrants in EU countries and Russia coming out of the instability, selected by us in the process of conceptualising information from in-depth interviews, is, in its own way, a version of simplifying social reality.

Models of integration of Ukrainian Immigrants into the societies of EU countries of residence

Sociological research of Ukrainian labour immigrants in European countries led to the singling out of six models of integration of Ukrainian into societies of countries of residence. They form two sorted groups.

Active integration models

Model 1: *Conventional name:* ASSIMILATION

General description: this model reflects the strongest link between a migrant with the country of residence. It characterized by the labor immigrant's desire to somewhat more quickly «dissolve» into «another» society, converting it into «his own». First and foremost, it is expressed in plunging deep into foreign language surrounding

¹ Maria Antonietta Battista, *Methodological Appendix*, published in Arianna Montanari (Ed.), *Brain-Net Circular Migration. Volume 1. Migrants Flows Feeding in Business Internationalization*, Rubbetino Universita, Rome, 2010, pp. 335-344.

² Volker Tegeler, Olga Cherkez (Eds.), *Ukrainian Labour Migration Processes in Russia: Social and Gender Aspects. Materials of Comprehensive Sociological Study*, Awo Heimatgarten Foundation, Odesa, 2011, pp. 46-48.

(learning the language of the country of residence), improving personal qualifications, forming actively new communication environments and gradual legalization of his presence in a country until admission to citizenship.

Model 2: *Conventional name:*
DIASPORA

General description: a model reflecting a rather high grade of relations between an immigrant and the society of residence. This model is characterized by the labor immigrant's desire to become a full member of «another» society (mainly, through personal qualification improvement and getting an «adequate» job), while trying, at the same time, support «local connections»¹ to preserve his national (ethnic) identity (traditional cultural practices, keeping family traditions, close contacts with countrymen, etc.).

Model 3: *Conventional name:*
TRANSIT

General description: a model reflecting a low degree of the migrant's integration into the society of the recipient country. It is characteristic by seeking for better working conditions. In this case a migrant is unwilling to return home, in his turn, trying to improve his life. As a result, a migrant periodically changes countries of residence and takes reasonable steps to achieve his or her goal. While doing this, he or she maintains contacts with various international social networks (a large number of migrant's keep contact with a wide variety of acquaintances, embraced by the «industry» of new labour seeking, including contacts with semi-legal structures; as a result, a migrant is well aware of the life and working conditions of labour migrants in both the country of residence and other countries).

Typical example of active integration
(model DIASPORA)

T. was born in a big town of regional subordination, graduated from the Trade Institute. After graduation she failed to find

a job. In the early 1990's together with her husband they set up own business - outlets on the market, then a small store. At that same time T's mother went to Italy to make money.

In the late 1990's T. visited her mother and stayed with her for 15 days. She attempted to find out whether it would be possible to start business in Italy. She examined everything and returned home. With the lapse of time trading activity brought almost no profit, and T. gave birth to her third son. So in some time, T. went to Italy again, but this time to work there. Her mother found her first job in Italy. It was a wealthy family, where T. worked nearly a year, and then returned home.

At home T. offered her husband to bring their whole family to Italy. As private entrepreneurs they obtained three-month German visa for themselves and their children. T. and her eldest son were first to go there. She found a job at the sanatorium for people with Down syndrome. She worked the whole day: cleaning up, ironing, etc. After a while, her husband brought the second, and then the third child to Italy by his own car.

Her husband found a job: he was delivering bread from the bakery by his own car, later on he got employed at the factory. They gave children to the boarding establishment, where they could stay overnight. They set up a small household, kept fowls. Shortly their dwelling was robbed by the drug addicts. Though the thieves were caught and the landlord promised that would not happen again, T. and her family shifted their place of residence.

T. got pregnant with the fourth child in Italy and obtained the official permission to residence: Six months before the birth and six months afterwards; her husband was given such permission as well, since he was responsible for supporting three underage children. In April 2002, T. had a daughter, and in September the Law on Legalization of foreign workers was passed, and T. immediately executed the documents. Thus, she stayed illegally in Italy only

¹ Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, p. 144.

several months. Since the girl was born in Italy, she has the same rights to medical care as Italian children, while other three children have to pay for it. But it is possible to bribe a doctor and he will prescribe medicines for eldest child as if it were the youngest. At present the girl is attending kindergarten and boys are going to school.

As far as the legal assistance is concerned, T. once turned to the Ukrainian Embassy, but was told that they served only those citizens from Ukraine who stayed in Italy on the legal basis, and T. did not have any documents at that time. T. says there is no point to turn to Italian police without documents as well. And if Indians and Pakistanis have their own lawyer in Italy, who will protect their interests, Ukrainians do not have. However T. has got an experience of “advocacy”: once she organized a strike at the factory, where her husband worked; employees demanded money from the owner and threatened with Finance Police (Guardia di Finanza). After that the owner called T. and her husband communists, paid them, yet fired the man.

At the moment T. is attending the evening school, she is eager to have Italian education and defence her diploma. She is dreaming to open a canteen serving Ukrainian food, but she has no initial capital.

Passive integration models

Model 4: *Conventional name:* PENDULUM

General description: this model is characterized by an absence of almost all aspects of the migrant’s integration potential. Despite some stabilizing into the social strata of the country of residence (long term availability of permanent place of employment, legal status of residence, etc.), a labour migrant at times returns home only to leave again, seeking for work.

Model 5: *Conventional name:* GHETTO

General description: the model of migrant’s «non-integration» into the society of the country of residence. This is

characterized by migrant’s permanent dissatisfactions with the relations between donor and recipient societies; at the same time, the possibilities of final return home as a real option is not viewed. The migrant belonging to this type of model is usually of illegal status, has a low level of qualification, limited social contacts and ignores his countrymen. In that case the migrant’s life is of «highest» illegality¹.

Model 6: *Conventional name:* RETURN

General description: this model demonstrates a migrant’s unwillingness to accept for «his or her own» a «foreign» social strata. The migrant would rather return to his country as soon as possible. The return may take place either as a result of deep frustration or because of achievement of a certain goal. Hence, the returning-oriented immigrants are concentrated on the solution of formally formulated task; at the same time, they are for the most part non-enterprising while establishing new contacts and possibilities; the contacts with mother country are close. Labour migrants usually became “homecomers” in two ways – “forced return” or “voluntary return”². In the second case they do not need any help, and they do not consider their mother (father) to be a mentor or adviser³.

Typical example of passive integration (model RETURN)

I. is peasant by origin. He apprenticed with the masters of joinery and became a good specialist. Now he is living in a big city. He is married. He has got a daughter and a son, and grandchildren. Children

¹ Alt, Josef, *Leben in der Schattenwelt. Problemkomplex illegale Migration. Neue Erkenntnisse zur lebenssituation ‘illegaler’ Migranten aus München und anderen Orten Deutschlands*, Loeper Literaturverlag, Karlsruhe, 2003, pp. 163-173.

² *Return Migration: The Italian Case: Italian contribution to the third European pilot study “Return Migration in the EU Member States”*, Rome, 2006, pp. 43-48.

³ Weber, Serge, *Exploring Some East-West Migrant Networks and Their Distant Local Dynamics, Ukrainian, Polish and Romanian Migrants in Rome*, in *New Waves: Migration from Eastern to Southern Europe*, Lisbon, 2004, pp. 41-71.

graduated from higher education establishments, they do not make much money, but are in no haste to go abroad to work there. Last 40 years I. has been working as a master of industrial training in the Academy of Arts. In 1991, upon the request of the Rector of the Academy of Arts he went to Rome to take part in decoration works in the museum of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj. Nothing came of the matter, because Ukrainian project did not consider the Italian realities. The climate in Italia is different and it is required to use Italian timber. The project developed in Ukraine with use of Ukrainian timber is useless for Rome.

Spanish entrepreneur came to Lviv once. He needed ten people to perform decoration works. I. found himself amongst those people and took the unpaid leave for the period of one year. He and the rest ten people were given one-year work visas. I. coped with his work faster, thus he stayed in Spain only 8 months. I. is still uncertain why the trip was important for him – because of Spain, which was of interest to him, or because of money.

Those ten employees with I. in their midst were provided with good lodging by the ordering company. I. was making good money at that time. The biggest part of the earnings he immediately sent home. Though his children were grown-ups already and did not need any help, I. believed that he had to support them. He kept \$ 50 a week, and it was enough since he cooked himself. He did not speak a word in Spanish and did not learn it, since there was no need. He spoke Ukrainian to Ukrainians, and there was an interpreter to communicate with the Spaniards. He called home almost every week. He was satisfied with his work and life in Spain, since being an invitee he had no problems. While other labour migrants experienced difficulties in finding a job. The Poles mostly acted as intermediaries. It was easier for women to get a job as a maid, while getting a job at construction sites for men was even more difficult than for emigrants from the former Spanish colonies. I. saw migrant women gathering at the square on Sunday.

He sympathized with them, because while they were working hard as servants in Spain, their husbands were drinking hard in Ukraine.

According to I., Ukrainians in Spain cling to the church. In his opinion, it is because church in Ukraine was forbidden over a long period of time, and in Spain there is more freedom. So the Spaniards do not rush to go to church, though a divine service lasts only 45 minutes and everybody can sit, which is opposite to what we have at home – standing for two hours. At one church I. would attend was a room for the Ukrainians. Spanish priest held a service in Spanish, and Ukrainian deacon assisted him. After the service, everybody would gather in the street, the priest would have a smoke with all the rest and discuss different topics. Except the room for divine service, there was a special hall at the church, where Ukrainians would come. Various questions were settled in that hall. The priest helped people with a great number of problems, although there were no Ukrainian priests in Spain at that time (late 1990's) yet. Spanish priest assisted in resolving the problems related to employment, food, different complaints. I. went to the Ukrainian Consulate only once, when he wanted to vote in presidential elections. He saw the Ukrainian flag rolling on the floor in the Consulate.

When all works under the contract were fulfilled, youngsters, who were with I., remained in Spain to work, while I. did not because of his age. Though Spanish employer, who hired I., visited Ukraine in several years; he was planning to set up a company producing stained-glass windows and offered I. to work there. However, having met the local mafia he hardly managed to flee home through the Consulate.

I. does not find it possible to advise young people to go abroad or dissuade them against it, since he is certain that everyone has a mind of his own. His children are not eager to become labour migrants, I. is happy about it, because he

understands that there is “no money from fallen heaven” abroad.

Generally, sociological researches demonstrate that migrants go home less frequently and as a consequence the ties with the homeland are weakening¹ and try to stay in EU countries as long as possible.

Ukrainian Labour Migrants in Russia: Life Experiences

Currently, six models of the labour migrants' integration in the Russian society are considered to be topical. They form two sorted groups, too.

Active integration models

Model 1: *Conventional name:* PROTODIASPORA

General description: successful integration in the Russian society, inclination to stay for a long time (indefinitely). Basic features of this model are: prestigious work in a Russian megalopolis; staying in Russia together with the whole family; children going to elite schools and prestigious universities, etc.; categorical dissociation from the Ukrainian «side-work, earnings» community.

Model 2: *Conventional name:* TRANCITIZENSHIP

General description: active integration into Russian society, inclination to stay and work in Russia for a long (but finite) time. Basic features of this model are: moving to Russia (of the migrant themselves or the “agent” of their migration) in search of earnings in Soviet times; Russian citizenship after the disintegration of the Soviet Union; steady work with social benefits, including a pension; working in rotating shifts in the industrial area of Russia (Siberia, Northern regions); comfortable social environment in the country of living.

Model 3: *Conventional name:* GUESTS

General description: active integration into the Russian society, sporadic short-term (seasonal) trips for work to Russia. Basic features of this model are: relatives (close acquaintances) are main agents for active integration into the receiving society; short-term (seasonal) working trips determined by personal factors; cognitive (educational) expectations from migration.

Typical example of active integration (model TRANCITIZENSHIP)

N., a son of a worker and a housewife, was born and grew up in a large family. Later, he obviously reproduced this model in his own family: N. like his father, has three children. He is very responsible about providing financial support for his family. He chose the same profession as his father (worked as a railway electrician for a long time).

N's life stance is constant and reasonable. His primary motivation for moving to Russia for money was caused by the desire to improve the young family's financial situation. A business trip was the impulse to the decision. It is worth saying that this move took place still in Soviet conditions, when internal migration “to the North” was a wide spread method of solving financial problems. The new work was within the same (Soviet) state, which in every way encouraged social movements of this type. So N's first labour migration experience was favourable: legal protection, certainty about the workplace and accommodation, a high salary. In addition, the move was supported and accompanied by his wife. This positive experience of labour migration was secondary motivation to move: financial support and better conditions for the family.

N. lived and worked in the North together with his family and children for a long time, and was successfully integrated in the new environment. He is still convinced that employment opportunities in Russian industrial regions are not related to gender, but only to the prestige of a profession and the individual's personal

¹ *What and who is waiting for migrants after returning to Ukraine? A survey on the situation and needs of returnees in Ukraine. Results of ERSO II subproject «Solidarity net Ukraine», Caritas Austria, Lviv, 2009, p.15.*

qualities. Among situations that made him move for work abroad, he names the unsatisfactory financial position due to the necessity to pay the instalments for their apartment, and the birth of three children.

The changing socio-political situation in early 90ies became an impulse to N's decision to get Russian citizenship. Thus, he protected himself against potential legal risks and did not lose any social benefits (health insurance, high wages, and prospects of receiving a good pension in the future). He considers this step justified and does not see elements of "treachery" in it. In his opinion, a treachery could have been a change of religion.

At the same time, the family did not dare to break with the Ukraine completely; it was therefore decided that his wife and children would become Ukrainian citizens and return home, while N. would work in Russia until retirement and then reunite with the family. Then N. started to work in rotating shifts, with working trips «two months work, two months vacation». To earn the same as before on this schedule, he has to work 12 hours daily, but N. is fully content with this. He satisfies his leisure needs between working shifts in the family circle, raising his grand children. He spends his earnings on family necessities and current expenses. He sees his financial needs in accordance with his income, and does not try to save money. N. cannot recall any stressful situations related to separation from his family, as his wife and children were by his side for a long time.

Now the family needs for social and psychological support are covered by mobile communications. He does not think separation from his family for two months is a factor in the family relationship. He has positive experience of socialising both with Russian citizens (friends and colleagues) and with Ukrainian migrants (he points out to a sufficient number of their associations in the cities of the region, although he is not personally a member with any, which he explains by his busy schedule). N. thinks such structures enable

Ukrainians to exercise their civil rights (for example, voting during elections in the Ukraine) and help realise their spiritual and cultural necessities (celebration of religious holidays, keeping of Ukrainian traditions).

N. is a working pensioner in Russia and a Russian citizen. He sees his future in returning to the Ukraine only after his has been dismissed by the employer. He sees his socio-economic and psychological situation as satisfactory and comfortable. He considers his physical health the biggest value. Among his valuable personal qualities, he sees honesty, decency, faith, need for freedom and self-fulfilment.

Passive integration models

Model 4: *Conventional name:* GHETTO

General description: passive integration in the Russian society, unclear time of return to Ukraine. Basic features of this model are: shadow employment (mostly as housekeepers); insufficient circle of daily communications; no contacts with the ethnic community; no prospects of life and work in Ukraine.

Model 5: *Conventional name:* LONG-HAUL TRUCK DRIVERS

General description: passive integration in the Russian society, inclination to stay and work in Russia for a long time. Basic features of this model are: permanent employment without a contract (the employer settles the problems with law enforcement authorities); a job that requires average or good qualification (mostly in construction); minimum contacts with the receiving society; steady professional environment (Ukrainian).

Model 6: *Conventional name:* EPISODNIKS

General description: minimum contacts with the society, inclination to return after a short time. Basic features of this model are: illegality (without registration); tense relationships with the receiving society (including fear of law enforcement agencies); working to earn some money within intervals between other kinds of work.

Typical example of passive integration (model LONG-HAUL TRUCK DRIVERS)

O. is from a working-class family. He is married and has a little son. He has higher education in Arts. After university and military service, he worked at restoration workshops. An official salary was not enough to live, and in the mid-90ies they practically stopped to pay. He had to search one-time additional jobs: he drew wall newspapers at schools, signboards for shops, designed stands, etc. Therefore, O. did not hesitate long before making his decision, when a former colleague called O. and offered him work in Moscow region practically in his profession (painting, gilding and moulding in construction), even more so as he was not yet married.

As he moved to Russia, O. planned to work three months only. However, a three months journey was "extended" for ten years. The schedule of working trips during all his time abroad remained the same: two to three months in Moscow, a month of rest at home, again to Moscow. During one of his visits home he married, but continued to work in Moscow (O. was by then the main bread-winner of his family), and his wife visited her husband regularly. Although they could not meet regularly, they decided to wait with birth of children (their son was born already after O. finally returned home after seven years of marriage).

The first place where O. worked with his colleagues was a private house which their customer, a rich Armenian, reconstructed for himself. They found this job purely by chance and without «intermediaries» who usually require about 10-15% of pay for their services. O's colleagues working in common construction (plastering) and once offered a customer their services in artistic stucco mouldering, whereupon they were offered to collect a team, and invited O. About 40 people worked at the construction site, relatives of the customer, several Muscovites and O's team from the Ukraine. O's next site was similar, he

worked about five years there, and the works on the site last till this day.

At the same time, during his stay in Russia. O. happened to work at the Lavra in Sergiev Posad. During his work in Russia, O. together with his colleagues lived directly at the site. Conditions were relatively OK: beds, a shower, a kitchen. After several years of work, his even hired a cook, a woman from Ukraine who prepared breakfast, dinner and supper. So O. thinks not only men but also women can find a job in Russia, and even at a construction site, the main thing is to have a will to work. The agreements with the Ukrainian workers were «gentlemen's agreements», i.e. verbal only. However, there were virtually no problems with authorities. O. is convinced that if you have no criminal record, there is no problem. When a man walks calmly, even without a residence permit, is dressed normally and clean-shaven, nobody takes notice of him (though they can pay attention if he speaks broken Russian). However, there was a certain fear in the beginning of his stay. And unfortunately, it was not always unfounded. In fact, as O. observed, in Russia a person with militia uniform has unlimited rights and can even break into the apartment with an automatic. But, despite regular security checks, they ended with nothing special. The worst thing that could happen was that the Ukrainian team was taken to a militia department, where they had to clean up the territory while their boss «settled» the problems with the law enforcement agents. O. resolved his social issues (for example, the need of medical assistance) without problems with money, and his psychological issues (stress removal) through socialising with colleagues (with a drink). His salary was paid on time, and as to the cases of non-payment known to him, he thinks these were situations where "it would have been be a sin not to rob that Ukrainian, if he himself looks for trouble" (first he works hard, earns some money, and then spends it on alcohol and is looking for a fight, creates conflicts and drunken riots). O. came across such cases

at every step; it even happened that sometimes people came to Russia and kept on drinking for three weeks because they were finally away from their families' control, and did not work until all the vodka was drunk. O. happened to meet his countrymen just in the street (they had a beer, talked and went their own ways), yet he knows nothing about existence of Ukrainians migrants' communities. True, O. together with his colleagues once visited the Ukrainian centre in the Old Arbat in Moscow: they offered their services in moulding, but did not get a contract. During his stay in Russia, O. went to a Russian Orthodox Church with colleagues, for lack of a Ukrainian church, but this is not a matter of principle for him. During holidays, they tried to show their ethnic origin (when they walked to bless their Easter cakes, they decorated their baskets accordingly). An impulse to decide on returning was his strong nostalgia which increased after marriage: O. realised that people create a family to live and work together. Now he is successful: he has a good job in the Ukraine that allows a high enough standard of living. However, he consciously did his first work for a low payment, considering it self-advertising. He works with the same team he worked with in Russia. He considers his experience abroad simply priceless, and the period of his work in Russia, a school of life. He thinks there are no grounds to regret his going there in search of earnings.

So we can see that the so-called early life circumstances, previous (still from Soviet times) social ties of potential migrants (friends, colleagues, or relatives) have considerable influence on the life trajectories of Ukrainian labour migrants in Russia.

Conclusion

The materials of the in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants show the next.

1. Ukrainians in the conditions of labour migration emerge not as a definite social group with distinct features and perspectives of development, but rather as

the community of individuals in similar socio-cultural environments. Their behavior, starting from the moment they resolve to go abroad to work, is, to a considerable extent, irrational.

2. The degree of integration / non-integration of the individual into a new social stratum can be high, average and low, and each of the described models has its characteristic features.

3. Models of integration of Ukrainian migrants into the societies of EU countries are characterized by considerable variability, one of the crucial factors of their actualization being the international policy of the EU states in the sphere of migration.

4. The "eastwards" labour migration is substantially different from "westwards" migration Ukrainian. First of all, it is swinging (and so, changeable, in continuous and unstable). This, in particular, is represented in the emigration procedure of Ukrainians, or ways of keeping in contact with their environment of origin, and the integration into the receiving society.

5. Vectors of value and space orientation of Ukrainian labour migrants can be viewed, on the one hand, as a result of policy in the sphere of labour migration adhered to by a particular residence state, and on the other hand, as the basis for forming pursuing a certain courses based on certain groups of labour migrants.

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