

Reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy: a sole interplay of the economic benefits and social networks?

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Master's thesis  
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FILEVA, DARIA: Reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy: a sole interplay of economic benefits and social networks?

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The aim of this study is to research the reasons causing the Ukrainian emigration to Italy.

Ukrainian emigration to Italy is a phenomenon with two distinctive features: it developed extremely fast and it is unprecedentedly gender unbalanced - female migrants constitute up to 90 per cent of the flows. I will attempt to investigate whether migration of the Ukrainian women to Italy is determined only by economic factors and social networks, as it is stated in previous researches. I will suggest and discuss the possible existence of the previously unspoken reasons. The purpose of my work is to present a more complex overview of the reasons causing this phenomenon than it is dominating in the previous research. This paper, however, is a contribution to the ongoing discussions about the phenomenon, rather than final explicit depiction of the "truth".

In order to reach my goal of widening the spectrum of possible factors influencing the migration flows in question, I will produce a documental analysis (comparison of the normative acts), followed by the analysis of the three sets of interviews. Interviews were collected by face-to-face interviewing (the transcripts of these semi-structured interviews were obtained from the CeSPI research centre in Rome, Italy), a self-designed questionnaire with a large share of open questions and a thematic inquiry. For the analysis of the interview sets I will use the qualitative content analysis varying and combining positivist, emotionalist and constructionist approaches. My research has a qualitative nature and the results can be generalized theoretically.

The research findings show the consistency with the results of the previous research, claiming that the severe financial hardships combined with an existence of the social networks are the decisive factors for Ukrainian migration to Italy. My research, however, has also shown that the element of the lifestyle migration takes place in this phenomenon. I came to the conclusion, that for at least a part of Ukrainian emigrants, migration can be seen as a way to a more fulfilling lifestyle and not simply to money earning.

Key words and terms: Ukraine, migration, Italy, reasons, economic benefit, social networks, lifestyle migration

# CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. THEORETICAL PART.....	4
2.1 Historical overview of the Ukrainian emigration .....	5
2.2 The main characteristics of the modern Ukrainian emigration.....	8
2.3 The economic context of the phenomenon .....	10
2.4 Legislative conditions for the migration of the third-country nationals in selected countries.....	14
2.4.1 Integration of the third-country nationals in EU: how to estimate?.....	15
2.4.2 Labor market access for third-country nationals .....	17
2.4.3 Family reunification for third-country nationals.....	22
2.4.4 Long-term residence for third-country nationals .....	25
2.4.5 Conditions for naturalization for third-country nationals .....	27
2.4.6 Anti-discrimination protection for third-country nationals.....	28
2.4.7 Conclusions on the comparison of the migration legislative conditions for third-country nationals in selected countries .....	29
2.5 Social networks & gender.....	34
2.6 The “other” migration: Lifestyle.....	39
3. OBJECTIVES, DATA DESCRIPTION AND METHODS .....	43
3.1 First discovering step .....	44
3.2 Second discovering step.....	45
3.3 Third discovering step.....	49
3.4 The methodological alternatives to read and interpret the interviews .....	50
4. ANALYSIS.....	53
4.1 First discovering step .....	53
4.2 Second discovering step.....	58
4.3 Third discovering step.....	61
CONCLUSIONS .....	73
REFERENCES.....	77
ATTACHMENTS .....	81

# 1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to research the reasons of the Ukrainian emigration to Italy.

I got interested in studying the imperatives driving the Ukrainian migration to Italy because of the several reasons. First of all, I learned about this phenomenon while working at the migration research centre in the city of Trento, Italy. In the discussions about major modern migration trends in Italy, the researchers were very keen to share their knowledge about the Ukrainian case. This phenomenon has two features, which make it outstanding among other migration flows to Italy, say from Morocco, Albany or Algeria. Ukrainian migration to Italy developed extremely fast: in the first decade of the 21st century the number of immigrants has grown from almost none to the stock of about 500 000 people (estimated number includes both regular and irregular migrants). Another distinctive feature is that the migration flow is unprecedentedly gender unbalanced: according to different estimations (different because of the inclusion or exclusion of irregular migrants) women constitute 80-90% of the whole stock of Ukrainian migrants in Italy. Already the first characteristics made me interested in studying this phenomenon deeper.

When I started to do the first steps of my research by searching for the data, I came to the conclusion, that there are not much of the researches done so far and those which exist, might be in my opinion somewhat simplistic: I will discuss this more in the Theoretical part of this paper.

That was the starting point for this work. Gradually collecting the data from Italian, Ukrainian and international academic literature, research centers and NGOs I started to have a vision of the structure of my paper.

I start from the general overview of the Ukrainian emigration with a brief introduction of its history, the main emigration waves, and give characteristics of the modern movements to EU. I continue with introducing the economic situation in Ukraine, which is named in frequent researches as a main reason causing the migration phenomenon in question. After that, I will proceed to the comparison of the legislative conditions for the migration of the third-country nationals among the EU countries where Ukrainians constitute one of the biggest minorities. For the comparison, I will do a document analysis of the respective laws and regulations to

see if Italian migration policies can be qualified as favorable ones for the Ukrainian citizens (favorable migration policies can be an important reason encouraging a migration). Based on the results of this normative comparison I question the reliability of the purely economic explanations of this phenomenon.

Next I will analyze the social networks, which are believed by previous research to be second influential factor in determining Ukrainian migration to Italy. When studying the theoretical background, I learned how highly connected this concept is with gender: men and women might use the information from social networks differently and therefore men's migration motivations might differ tremendously from women's – that is why two of these aspects are united in one chapter. This aspect is highly relevant and important for my study on migration which has a “female face”.

From this point on I will be attempting to broaden the traditional perception about the reasons causing this migration, which is interplay of economic benefits and social networks, by analyzing the phenomenon on micro level in qualitative manner.

While living in Italy and observing individuals in question, my curiosity about this phenomenon grew: I started to have an idea about other than above-mentioned factors affecting the migration decision-making in case of Ukrainian women. The idea of the specific imperatives for the Ukrainian emigration to Italy I found also in the interviews of the social workers in Ukraine, such as Kolping Family and municipal woman's organization in Kiev, which has been cited in the works of CeSPI research centre in Rome, Italy. I will introduce the theory of lifestyle migration.

Based on the results of my theoretical investigation I move on to the empirical part. My research has a qualitative nature. I am not trying to make a generalization to population like in quantitative research; however the results of my work can be generalized theoretically. In order to shape my theory and hear the voices of the respondents I was guided by the principles of the Grounded theory. My data was collected in three main stages. Depending on the results of each stage, my research naturally turned in different directions and took various forms. I start from the first discovery set of interviews with the Ukrainian workers in Italy and their closest relatives, after that I create my own questionnaire and based on its results I introduce the thematic inquiry. As a method of analysis I will use qualitative content analysis

varying and combining positivist, emotionalist and constructionist approaches. The objectives, data and methods will be discussed in a great detail in the Objectives, data and methods chapter. I produce the analysis of data from all three stages in one common chapter.

Migration determinants, as well as determinants for any other serious decision in life for a human being, might be a sensitive ethical issue, which won't be discussed with everyone. I take this into consideration and do not expect direct answers in my research, I would rather raise the discussion, suggest ideas, suggest a deeper insight concerning this phenomenon by looking at the same things with a different angle, and support it by collecting hints and impressions. Reflections on the results of my research will be found in Conclusions chapter.

Before proceeding to the paper, I formulate my research question: is Ukrainian migration to Italy a sole interplay of the economic benefits and social networks?

## 2. THEORETICAL PART

Ukrainian migration to Italy “has been recent and rapid, and warrants reason for further investigation” (Montefusco & Gulla, 2006: 16). In 2003, the number of the residence permits, which Italy granted to the Ukrainian citizens numbered 14,802: Ukraine was not in the first twenty countries where migrants originated from. However, in the next four years the number grew 800%: 118,524 residence permits granted in 2007 and Ukraine became one of the top five countries. (Istat.)

National and international news agencies often mention the Ukrainian emigration: they discuss the effect migration causes to the economies of the sending and receiving states; they talk about related crime and human trafficking problems; about law and policies; and, rarer, describe the life of migrants in the destination countries. Despite the frequent appearance of the term “Ukrainian migration” in media, the character of this kind of data is mostly a news report alike: brief and with a high bias probability.

Many researchers, primarily from Ukraine, Italy and international organizations have paid their attention as well towards this relatively new phenomenon. My profound search of the academic sources demonstrated that they are primarily concentrated on two aspects of Ukrainian migration: economic effects which migration causes to the Ukraine and receiving states; or ways Ukrainians come and get employed in a foreign country - those focusing on the reasons for migration are little.

Taking into consideration that Ukrainian migration to Italy is an interesting, very women centered phenomenon, relative scientific silence is in my opinion unjustified. Iryna Kyzyma notes: “in spite the fact that this is a hot-button issue, a little has been done to explore it (...) the majority of the existent studies analyze migration processes in a whole without taking into consideration gender perspective” (Kyzyma, 2008: 2).

As a red thread throughout the vast majority of researches I read that economic imperatives and social networks are the only ones in migration decision-making in case of Ukrainian migration to Italy. However, what does make this migration phenomenon so gender disproportional?

In my work, I will attempt to tackle the gender issue and investigate whether migration of the

Ukrainian women to Italy is determined only by economic factors and social networks.

In order to narrow the focus of my research I will be following two rules. First of all, I am going to use the statistical data only concerning Ukrainian migrants legally residing on the territory of Italy and other European Union states, I do not include the issues of illegality. The estimates of the numbers of illegal migrants vary tremendously among sources, making comparisons unreliable. Secondly, I narrow down the destination countries of Ukrainian migrants to the European Union. The majority of Ukrainians migrate exactly there and by doing so, I exclude, for example, Russia from my analysis, which might have biased my research due to the visa-free regime for Ukrainian citizens; common use of the Russian language; the large size and population of this country. Also, European Union can be considered to be a socio-political organism with a relative proximity among its states, which provides me even better contextualization for the comparisons.

## **2.1 Historical overview of the Ukrainian emigration**

Ukraine has been historically connected to Russia and several European countries: Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania. The foreign governments over Ukrainian territories and policies of nationalization have influenced the population of Ukraine and the modern migration flows dramatically. I will briefly introduce the history of Ukraine's historical connections with other countries.

The Ukrainian bond with Poland and Lithuania dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when as a result of wars against Mongol invaders most of the Ukraine was passed to Poland and Lithuania. Ukraine partially stayed under Poland and Lithuania (which in the 16<sup>th</sup> century united as a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) up till the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Snyder, 2003.)

Ukrainian nationalistic movement in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, known as a Kozak rebellion, shook the stability of the Commonwealth union and resulted in war between Poland and Russia. According to the Treaty of Andrusovo which finished this war in 1667, Ukrainian territory was divided between the Commonwealth and Russia. (Snyder, 2003.)



The very west of Ukraine fell under control of Austrians at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Snyder, 2003).

The end of 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was known for a rising nationalistic spirit of Ukrainian people, willing to revive the Ukrainian linguistic and cultural traditions lost during the years of foreign invasion. Russia, however, fearing the possible Ukrainian separatism, imposed strict limits on the use of Ukrainian language and cultural expressions. The Ems Decree banned the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire from 1876 to 1905. Hostility of the Russian liberal elite distressed Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainians were assimilating among Russians. Many Russian painters and writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had Ukrainian roots. (Prizel, 1998.)

After the First World War, in 1920 Ukraine became a part of Czechoslovakia. However on 30 December 1922 Ukraine, along with Russian, Belorussian and Transcaucasian Republics formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Ukraine was a part of USSR until its collapse in 1991.

It is remarkable, how the population of several territories of the present Ukraine, namely Carpatho-Ruthenian territory, Galicia, Volynia and Bukovina had especially tight contacts with the other countries, because these territories were continuously annexed and ceded from one state to another.

Carpathian-Ruthenia belonged to Czechoslovakia before the World War II. In 1938, it declared autonomy within Czechoslovakia and changed its name to Carpatho-Ukraine. In 1939, however, Adolf Hitler annexes the Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. In 1945, Carpatho-Ukraine was ceded to Soviet Union and became a part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as the Zakarpattia Oblast. (Snyder, 2003.)

Galicia and Volhynia territories have a strong historical connection to Poland. In 1918, Western Galicia became a part of the Republic Of Poland. Despite Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Soviet wars for an Eastern Galicia (which was former Austrian territory) and Volynia (former Russian territory), the whole province was captured by Poles and divided into voivodeships with centres in Krakow, Lviv, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv and Wolyn. These territories are considered by both Poles and Ukrainians as their historical parts. People of

these lands were primarily Ukrainians, governed however by Polish authorities. Many Polish settlers were granted lands on these territories, especially in Volynia. Polish rule over the provinces ended in 1939. After Battle of Lviv, both Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were annexed by the Soviet Union, leaving Western Galicia to Poland. (Snyder, 2003.)

Bukovina is the third region, which had a particularly strong foreign influence. Bukovina is a territory of the northern Carpathian Mountains and the adjoining valleys. Throughout centuries, it belonged to Kiev Rus, Ottoman Empire, Moldavia and Austria. This territory fell under Romanian control in 1919. In between the World Wars Romania declared a policy of Romanization over Ukrainian population. By 1926 all Ukrainian schools were closed and Romanians made up the majority of the population on this territory. In 1940, following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Soviet Union demanded the Northern Bukovina, a part bordering with Galicia, annexed by Soviet Union earlier. In 1947, the northern Bukovina became a part of the Ukrainian SSR as Chernivitsi Oblast. (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2006.)

From the history described it is visible what kind of and how strong foreign influence Ukrainian people experienced during past centuries and decades. Influence from Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary and Slovak Republic resulted also in specific linguistic knowledge in certain parts of the country.

Important to mention that migration movements within USSR were strongly encouraged, for example for work or military service (annual migration turnover between Ukraine and other parts of the USSR constituted an average 1.5 million people), leading, according to Malinowska to the specific “heritage” which influences modern migration flows significantly (Malinowska, 2004: 4).

Researchers from the EUMAGINE project, studying how people from Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine relate to the possibility of migration, underline the importance of the foreign influence on Ukraine:

“The history of Ukraine is characterized by foreign rulers, i.e. by colonial powers. An almost non-intermittent rule by dominant powers at the time can be observed: first by Lithuania and Poland, parts of today’s Ukraine were ruled by the Ottoman Empire, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, later Tsarist Russia and subsequently the Soviet Union before its independence in 1991. These conditions also shaped the migration history of the country. Throughout the years, population movements made Ukraine a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population”. (EUMAGINE home web

page.)

Speaking about massive emigration flows from Ukraine, there generally can be distinguished three waves.

The first wave occurred at the end of nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth century, when rural poverty increased substantially and cities couldn't provide many people from the rural areas with a job. Part of this population decided to leave the country and around 470.000 people went to the United States and 170.000 to Canada. (Pawliczko, 1994.)

The second wave was mainly connected with Soviet deportations and resettlement, it happened especially drastically during the Stalin period, when hundreds of thousands of people from rural areas were resettled to less populated areas. In 1939-1941 approximately a million of people, mainly politically or religiously engaged intellectuals and workers from rural areas, were deported from western Ukraine to other Soviet Republics. (Pawliczko, 1994.)

The third wave was mainly caused by the Perestroika, which has liberated international migration for Soviet people. Restrictions to leave the country, especially for a purpose of family reunification, were reduced. The migrating group primarily consisted of the members of ethnic minorities such as Germans, Greeks, Jews and Poles. (Pawliczko, 1994.)

The main reasons for emigration for each wave were different: lack of working places in the country of origin, forced migration due to political or religious views, family reunification. Current emigration trends of Ukrainians have different characteristics and one remarkable particularity: rapidly developed and extremely voluminous, female migration to Italy – what are the imperatives for this new emigration wave?

In the next chapter, I will give key characteristics of the modern trends of the Ukrainian emigration.

## **2.2 The main characteristics of the modern Ukrainian emigration**

For the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the main destination countries for the Ukrainian migrants in EU were Italy, Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Slovak

Republic. Ukrainian migrants are one of the three biggest minorities in these countries. Data in Table 1 demonstrates the stock of Ukrainian migrants in these countries, gender segregation and amount of people migrated for the last available period (2008).

Table 1. The stock of regular Ukrainian migrants, the stock of regular migrant Ukrainian women and the number of people migrated to selected countries in 2008.

	The total stock of regular Ukrainian migrants in 2008 (thousands)	The stock of regular migrant Ukrainian women in 2008 (thousands and % from the total stock)	The number of people migrated in 2008 (thousands)
Italy	154	123 (80%)	23,2
Czech Republic	131,9	53,9 (41%)	18,7
Lithuania	22 (EuroStat data for 2005)	data unavailable	data unavailable
Hungary	17,6	8,8 (50%)	4,1
Poland	7,2	4,9 (68%)	10,3
Slovak Republic	4,7	2,3 (50%)	1,8

Source: OECD Migration Outlook 2010 and EuroStat

The stock of regular Ukrainian citizens in 2008 accounted to 154 thousands in Italy, 123 out of which are women; 131,9 thousands in Czech Republic, 53,9 are women; 17,6 thousands in Hungary, 8,8 out of which are women; 7,2 in Poland, 4,9 are women; 4,7 in Slovak Republic, 2,3 are women (OECD International Migration Outlook 2010: 314-323). The OECD report does not contain information on Lithuania. The newest available data concerning the stock of Ukrainian migrants in Lithuania is dated 2005 and, according to EuroStat, accounts to 22 thousands of people; no data available concerning the number of Ukrainians migrated in 2008. Data on gender distinction is also not available, however the fact that no discussions arose around this question allows us to assume that there is no substantial difference between numbers of male and female Ukrainian migrants in Lithuania.

In 2008, 18,7 thousands of Ukrainian citizens migrated in Czech Republic, 4,1 in Hungary, 23,2 in Italy (available data for year 2007), 10,3 in Poland, 1,8 in Slovak Republic.

As regards gender segregation in the destination countries Ukrainian women constitute approximately half in the total amount, bigger half in Poland and the vast majority in Italy. To be precise in terms of statistical estimates for legal migration in Czech Republic women constitute 41% out of the total number of Ukrainian migrants, 50% in Hungary and Slovak Republic, 68% in Poland and 80% in Italy.

The data above however describes the volume of the regular migration. According to different, local and international, data sources' and reports' information concerning the volume of irregular emigration from Ukraine varies considerably. As it says in the Ukraine country report prepared by the European Training Foundation within "Black Sea Labor Market Reviews" project in 2009 the number of Ukrainians working abroad is incomplete and unreliable: it ranges from 2 million to 4.5 million and even 7 million people (European Training Foundation, 2009: 115).

Reliable (even if very incomplete) information on labor migration is provided by the Ukraine Public Employment Service (PES). The PES statistics show that Ukrainian migrant (data is true for legal, registered migrants) are high-skilled: 47.2% of them possess higher education and 36.1% have vocational secondary education, only 14.7% have general secondary education. (European Training Foundation, 2009: 119.)

While the educational level of migrants is quite high, most of them take jobs that are not intellectually demanding (such as agriculture, services and construction) (European Training Foundation, 2008: 9).

Ukrainian women work in Italy primarily in the domestic and care sectors as housekeepers, baby-sitters and care workers mainly of elderly and ill persons (Montefusco & Gulla, 2006: 16).

### **2.3 The economic context of the phenomenon**

Based on the major researches done on a topic of Ukrainian migration to Italy (such as by Tolstokorova, Pirozhkov, Malinovskaya, Cipko, Homra, IOM, World Bank and other), the main reason causing this migration flow is the Ukrainian economic and welfare system crisis causing financial hardships on the families. The research report prepared by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) concludes well on the concrete reasons driving Ukrainian

migration to Italy, they can be seen in the papers of all above-mentioned researchers: “goal is firstly to pay debts (...), to save money to buy a house, ensure education for their children and lastly invest in some small personally-owned firm activity” (Montefusco & Gulla, 2006: 17).

Next I suggest having a closer look at the economic situation in Ukraine during past decades and at present time.

Based on IMF, World Bank, UN, OECD data collected by Economy Watch portal the Ukrainian SR was the most important economic component of the USSR after Russia. Ukrainian fertile black soils, gas, diversified heavy industry produced more than one-fourth of agricultural, agrarian, fisheries and farming output of the whole Soviet Union. After the independence of Ukraine in December 1991 most prices were liberalized and privatization began. Lack of marked structural reforms, corruption and Ukraine’s dependence on Russian energy sources has caused Ukraine tremendous losses in output: in 1999, the level of production was less than 40% of the 1991 level. (Economy Watch portal.)

Five years after the “Orange Revolution,” which brought Ukrainian oligarch politician Viktor Yushchenko to power in January 2005, the Ukrainian economy stays in the deepest crisis since the collapse of the USSR. Despite the promises to create anti-corruption policies and prosperity of the former Soviet Republic economic and social conditions for Ukrainian workers remained lower than what they were under the Soviet Union and still are worsening. In 2006-2007, the situation temporarily improved due to high global prices for steel, the top Ukrainian export product. However the short period of growth was stopped by the financial crisis in 2008 and country’s financial system faced default. Ukraine was saved from bankruptcy by the emergency loan from the International Monetary Fund. Financial crisis affected badly the employment: people got fired, working hours were cut or workers were sent on unpaid leave. Growing prices for gas have added additional pressure on the average people. Inflation stays higher than 16%; the national currency hryvna has shrunk against the euro and dollar remarkably. Fearing the currency collapse Ukrainian Central Bank froze the savings deposits in 2009: millions of working class savers suffered from their money being locked up in banks. Economists have calculated that the standard of living for the average Ukrainian has fallen by 50 percent since the liquidation of the USSR, mainly due to inflation, cuts in social welfare and increased number of unemployed and working poor. (Green, 2009.)

According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, the median salary for 2009 was 1964 UAH, which corresponds to 180e (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine: Wages and Salaries).

Global Competitiveness Index ranks Ukraine 89<sup>th</sup> in 2010-2011, it lost seven positions in comparison to 2009-2010 report, where Ukraine held 82<sup>nd</sup> place among 139 world economies (Schwab, 2010: 15).

Taking the economic approach in order to study migration presupposes that people act rationally oriented by a single purpose: to maximize their income. This means, that the basic law of migration in regional economics is that people migrate to areas with a higher wage level or because of unemployment. (Blotevogel et.al., 1997.)

From the data displayed in the table 2, it is visible that the median earnings in Ukraine are substantially lower than in the selected countries. Countries for comparison were chosen based on the fact that Ukrainian citizens constitute one of the biggest minorities there. For a reliable comparison, I include the data for Ukraine for a year 2008.

Table 2. Median earnings per month in the national currencies and in euro in selected countries.

Country	Median earnings per month in the national currency in 2008	Median earnings per month in euro in 2008
Ukraine	1 806 hryvna	155 euro
Czech Republic	22 623 Czech koruna	940 euro
Poland	2 944 zloty	745 euro
Lithuania	2 174 litas	630 euro
Hungary	198 942 forint	751 euro
Slovak Republic	21 782 Slovak koruna	723 euro
Italy	1 155 euro	1 155 euro

Source: ILO, LABORASTA Internet

Economic instability with low salaries is obviously a powerful factor driving migrations. Meanwhile, weak economic conditions do not explain why in our case of Ukrainian migration to Italy flows are so gender unbalanced. Closer look at the main trends in the economic restructuring during past decades, meanwhile, might prompt us an answer to this question.

It is important to take into consideration the relationship between socio-spatial mobility of the population and the process of economic restructuring for better understanding about the factors causing and influencing migration.

The main trends in the economic restructuring include: internationalization and globalization of the economy (enabling the use of countries' differentials more efficiently); the decline of traditional large-scale manufacturing and the growth of high-tech industries; the domination of the service industries. For population it is believed that there has been a fundamental shift of values towards individualism, self-fulfillment, single households and unmarried cohabitation, which resulted in tremendous fertility decline. A persistent trend of increasing life expectancy combined with decline in fertility rates creates a different age structure of population, which is called ageing. (Blotevogel et al., 1997.)

One aspect of the population ageing seems to be particularly relevant to my study on the reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy: a significant improvement of the economic situation of the elderly. Blotevogel explains on the example of Europe: “several decades of peace and economic prosperity permitted a historically unique accumulation of savings and wealth (...) the income situation of retired people has roughly become similar to households with salaries from active employment” (Blotevogel et.al., 1997: 18-19).

The greater purchasing power of the elderly people boosted the elderly-specific services and old-age assistance. A new niche of the labor market has emerged and offered new employment opportunities for “unskilled females, including immigrant women with otherwise very poor chances on the labor market”. (Blotevogel et.al., 1997: 19.)

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) the role of the family networks has a strong role in the provision of basic care services within Italian society. Loosening of the family ties, shrinking of families and increased female participation in the labour markets during past decade made the roles of housekeepers, baby-sitters and care-workers on the large demand for millions of Italian families. (Montefusco & Gulla, 2006: 19.)

EUMAGINE migration project researchers support the idea of the market structure as a factor causing migration (EUMAGINE home web page).



This might mean that Ukrainian women (who are mostly middle and highly educated) stream to Italy because of the job availability in domestic services sector. Meanwhile, if the prospective migrants are mainly middle and highly educated why do they choose the precarious (insecure) employment in the domestic service sector? Is their choice based on the easy access to the Italian labor market?

Before moving on to the documental analysis of the legislation regulating migration, I would like to specify the term *third-country national*, which is widely used in the law literature. In this paper, *third-country national* means a citizen of the country which is not a member of European Union.

#### **2.4 Legislative conditions for the migration of the third-country nationals in selected countries.**

When analyzing the behavior of groups and individuals it is not enough to speak about their imperatives, because the picture wouldn't be full without considering normative settings. Normative settings - migration laws in our case – are the factors, which set specific frames on migration intentions; they form “the rules of the game”.

The potential migrant is encouraged to leave by certain stimuli and then institutional forces influence the outcome of the process (Blotevogel et.al., 1997: 39).

Economists and political scientists, when speaking about the connection and interdependency between behavior of individuals and normative settings refer to the term “institutionalism”. Institutions may create such normative settings, when migration flows can even become independent of the factors that originally caused it. (Massey et.al., 1993: 451.)

Chad C. Haddal, analyst in immigration policy, formulated the mitigating role of laws and regulations on migratory behavior like that:

“Despite there being several possible motivations to migrate, the range of choices available for an individual to migrate is limited. Policy makers can actively modify a number of institutions to both deter some forms of

migration and facilitate others, thereby mitigating the impact of push/pull factors to the policy maker's advantage. Consequently, institutional manipulation plays a key role in addressing numerous immigration-related policy challenges, because it can be used to facilitate the migration of some potential migrants and deter the migration of others." (Haddal, 2009: Summary.)

Taking into consideration the addressed importance of legislation when studying the migration flows, I am going to produce a comparison. I will compare conditions for the legal migration for the third-country nationals to Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary Slovak Republic and Italy; as well as outline favoring legislative conditions for particularly Ukrainian migrants in these countries.

The purpose of this analysis is to seek a possible explanation of the voluminous migration flows to the selected countries by favoring legislative conditions there. I will check if legislative conditions and any preferential treatment of the Ukrainian citizens in Italy can be a reason influencing the decision of Ukrainian migrants to migrate exactly there.

The countries for comparison have been selected on the basis of fact, that Ukrainian migrants in these countries constitute one of the biggest minorities.

Before doing an actual comparison, which will be a document analysis, I will explain how to produce a reliable complex comparison of the legislation regulating migrant's integration.

#### **2.4.1 Integration of the third-country nationals in EU: how to estimate?**

Migration conditions and all major odds of migrant settlement can be united under the common term "integration". What exactly should be studied and how - in order to estimate migration and settlement processes in complex – these questions will be discussed in this part of the paper. Integration of the third-country nationals in EU: how to estimate?

Anna and Giovanni Di Bartolomeo specify the importance of correct understanding about the term "integration": "The national policies often reflect different definitions of what is meant by integration (...) and connotation may vary considerably: assimilation as well as

multicultural society may be considered synonyms of (successful) integration (...) requirements for success in assimilation are much more difficult to meet than requirements for multicultural coexistence in a society” (Di Bartolomeo, 2007: 3).

Generally, integration can be seen from three major dimensions. *Cultural and sociological dimension* reveals whether country’s integration goal is assimilation or multiculturalism; in *legislative dimension* one can distinguish negative (market, liberal nature) and positive (has a restrictive, selective nature as for example asylum policy) integration; in *economic dimension*: active and proactive (aiming at strengthening the European social model e.g. protecting old and new residents from all kinds of discrimination).

How, however, one can unite all these dimensions and produce the complex analysis of integration in certain country?

Anna and Giovanni Di Bartolomeo suggest following major fields for measuring the integration in the host country taking into account above-mentioned dimensions: labor market access, family reunion, residence, naturalization, discrimination – to make it as general as possible and still objective.

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) estimates the integration policies in EU member-states and three other countries deeper: based on more than one hundred indicators. The Index, however, still evaluates the integration of the third-country nationals (residing on the legal basis in EU) within similar policy areas: labor market access, family reunion, long-term residence, political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. (MIPEX home web page.)

Therefore, there is an agreement among researchers about aspects, which need to be studied in order to estimate conditions for legal migration and settlement, i.e. integration.

For my comparison, I will primarily use the data from the latest report MIPEX II issued in 2007 (the next edition is expected to be released only in February 2011) and newest IOM report on International migration law #16 (2009).

In order to sum up the key findings, I will construct comparative tables in the conclusions to this chapter.

## **2.4.2 Labor market access for third-country nationals**

### **Czech Republic**

The Czech legislation complies with the majority of the EU migration legislation and in many cases it provides for more favorable treatment than that is required by the EU norms (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 206).

The procedure for employing third-country national includes three rather standard for EU steps: employer must obtain permission for hiring the foreigner (The Labor Office will issue permission only after the vacant position has been listed under the available job openings offered by the Labor Office to unemployed Czech residents and wasn't filled); the foreign employee must be granted a work permit; the foreigner must be granted a stay permit (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 204).

Ukraine, together with some other countries, enjoys the favorable migration conditions due to bilateral agreements and various Projects participation.

One of the pilot projects connecting Czech Republic and Ukraine is managed by NGO Czech Catholic Caritas, "which handles the recruitment of immigrants and facilitates the obtaining of visas and work permits (...) it also organizes immigrants' accommodation, health insurance and other necessary issues in the Czech Republic, as well as their return" (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 209).

Ukraine is one of the participating countries in the Pilot Project Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers. This is a point-based system (similar to the one currently existing in the UK): education, working practice, previous stay in the Czech Republic and knowledge of Czech, Slovak, English, French or German language – and other minor aspects are transferred into points. Depending on the amount of points (which corresponds to qualification) one enjoys support and preferential employment conditions in Czech Republic. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 205.)

Bilateral agreement allows Ukraine an access to the social security of Czech Republic. Also, there is agreement concerning pension transfers (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 208).

## **Poland**

Apart from a standard three-step scheme (with just minor differences among member states) for labor migration in EU (the permission to hire the foreigner – work permit – stay permit), Poland has a separate procedure for seasonal employment of foreigners.

Ukraine, along with Belarus, Russian Federation and Moldova are the countries of higher priority for Polish foreign and neighbourhood policy (Polish National Contact Point, 2009: 2).

Poland simplified access to its labor market for seasonal workers in February 2009: a new one-step work permit system was introduced. Duration of seasonal employment for the citizens of Ukraine has been extended to six months within a 12-months period without the need for a work permit (with a condition that the employer has documented its plans to employ the foreign person to the local labor office). The issuance fees have been reduced. (OECD International Migration Outlook 2010: 55.) For Ukrainian migrants, who are primarily employed in the agriculture sector (in 2008 Ukrainians constituted 96%) exemption from the obligation to obtain the work permit is a sufficient improvement (OECD International Migration Outlook 2010: 231).

Special regulations were introduced to Ukrainian nationals who could prove Polish descent. According to this provision, a person of Polish origin is a person who proves that at least one of his/her parents or grandparents (or two great-grandparents) were Polish citizens. This fact, including the declaration of affinity to the Polish nation and at least passive command of the Polish language will allow obtaining a special “Polish Card” (Karta Polaka) granting preferential treatment in access to employment, education and social security in Poland. “Polish Card” holders can work in Poland without restriction. (European Commission 2009: 31.)

In order to facilitate the contacts with Eastern neighbors, Poland signed the agreement with Ukraine, which entered in force from July 2009, granting the citizens of both countries who live in borderlands (up to 30 kilometers from the state border) multiple-entry permits instead of visas (OECD International Migration Outlook 2010: 73).

## **Lithuania**

In order to obtain a work permit, foreigners must provide the official letter from an employer. The employer must submit the application for a work permit with any other relevant documents to the territorial Labor Exchange, which in turn submits it to the Lithuanian Labor Exchange, where the final decision on the granting of a work permit is taken. This decision must be taken within two months. Applications for work permits and residence permits may be examined at the same time. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 374.)

For seasonal employment, a temporary work permit can be issued, which is valid for six months per year under the general employment requirements (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 375).

Lithuania has signed an agreement with Ukraine and Belorussia on social security. Also, along with other neighboring states, Lithuania made an agreement with Ukraine (1995) concerning the temporary employment, according to which a quota of migrant workers is to be established every year. As a result of this cooperation, the biggest number of foreign workers in 2005 came from Ukraine (31 per cent). Lithuania has extensive cooperation with the third countries, particularly in the industrial fields such as construction and ship construction (navigation) with Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 377.)

Some measures simplifying the residence permit procedures were introduced to Ukrainian citizens in 2007. Those citizens of Ukraine with fix job contracts (with a work permit) in Lithuania are eligible for a long-term multi-entry visa valid until they receive a temporary residence permit. This means that a person willing to work in Lithuania who has received a work permit can immediately travel to Lithuania after the seven-day period needed for issuing a visa. Previously, applicants had to wait for up to six months until the application for a temporary residence permit was processed. (European Commission, 2009: 29-30.)

In 2008 The Government of the Republic of Lithuania adopted the Lithuanian Immigration Policy Guidelines, stating that it is essential to forecast the demand for the labour force and to conduct an active policy for attracting the labour force, especially of highly qualified workers giving priority to highly qualified professionals from Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and South Caucasus countries (National contact point for the Republic of Lithuania, 2010: 45).

## **Hungary**

The Minister of Employment Policy and Labor in agreement with other Ministers may create a decree that specifies: the preconditions and procedure of labor permit authorization for third-country nationals; the highest number of foreigners to be employed in individual occupations in any county, the capital city and in Hungary as a whole at any one time; and the occupations where no foreigner may be employed due to the current trends and structure of unemployment (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 316).

Hungary follows similar to above-mentioned three-step scheme for hiring a foreigner. A work permit can be issued if the employer reports his willingness for a foreign worker and if no Hungarian worker was available for the position in question, nor any nationals of the European Economic Area or any relatives of such nationals who are registered as job-seekers. These conditions, however, in some cases (depending on the labor market situation) can be set aside. After being granted a work permit, the foreigner has to apply for a long-term visa for the purpose of gainful employment. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 317.)

The Hungarian Parliament established the Homeland Fund in 2004, covering small investments, loans, infrastructure development, entrepreneurship and other economic training and co-operation in Ukraine and Serbia (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 319).

As another important tool facilitating the migration in Hungary is a settlement permit category for ex-nationals or descendants of an (ex-) national of Hungary as a continuation of the former national settlement permit (or ethnic permit), under which ethnic Hungarians abroad enjoy preferential treatment in admission to Hungary (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 311).

## **Slovak Republic**

Following the EU's wide-spread practice on the residence permit for gainful employment, Slovak Republic also has a rather standard procedure. In most cases, a temporary residence permit for the purpose of employment may be granted to a foreigner only upon the presentation of a work permit, or confirmation from the employer that the alien will execute activities for which a work permit is not required. A foreigner may apply personally for a work permit, or the application may be submitted by a future employer. The main condition for the work permit is that the work place wasn't taken by Slovak national. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 466.)

Meanwhile, no working permit is needed for foreigner who:

”... is an alien with Slovak origin; whose employment on the territory of the Slovak Republic has not exceeded seven consecutive calendar days or a total of 30 calendar days in a calendar year and who is a pedagogical employee, an academic employee at university, a scientist, a researcher or a developer taking part in a special profession-related event, an artist actively taking part in an artistic event or a person ensuring in the Slovak Republic delivering goods and services based on the commercial contract or warranties for repair; who are employed based on a binding international treaty stipulating that a work permit is not required to employ an alien; or who is undertaking his work within continuous training for a profession and the training is organized by recognized schools or school facilities...” (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 467).

A temporary residence permit for the purpose of seasonal employment may be granted for a maximum of 180 days per calendar year with the same precondition of the working permit (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 468).

## **Italy**

Gainful employment on the territory of Italy for the third-country nationals is regulated by annual quotas. Quotas are produced based on the labor needs of the regions and supposed to match actual needs of Italian employers and families. Quotas are country-based with the distinction among professions.



Giuseppe Sciortino in his paper “Fortunes and miseries of Italian labor migration policy” describes the application procedure:

”Once the contingent (meaning quotas - author) is set, the employers may fill an application declaring their intention to hire a specific worker living abroad. To do so, employers have to satisfy a set of pre-requisites covering both their honorability and their credibility as prospective employers. Employers have also to commit themselves to hire the requested worker according to the national pay scale and have to certify the availability of an adequate lodging. If the application falls within the amount set by the contingent, embassies are instructed to grant a long-term visa to the prospective workers that may enter the Italian territory. Upon arrival, and following the signature of the employment contract, the worker receives a residence permit (*permesso di soggiorno*) for purposes of work”. (Sciortino, 2009: 4.)

The work permit obtaining in Italy seems to be rather demanding because of the substantial difficulties of bureaucratic nature. Quotas for foreigner labor force are often established with a delay, not allowing the applicant enough of the time for filing the documents and obtaining a permit before, for example, season starts. Working permit issuance can take around a year.

This justifies employers’ unwillingness to deal with bureaucracy connected with the invitation and official hiring of the foreigners. Sciortino highlights, that employers are “not particularly worried of the consequences of hiring *undocumented* foreigners and sure new amnesties would have arrived sooner or later; and those who were keen on having workers with proper papers could still hire somebody already present on the territory, choosing either from the newly regularized immigrants or from the refugees under humanitarian protection” (Sciortino, 2009: 5).

Italy does not have any direct agreements with Ukraine regulating migration and employment.

### **2.4.3 Family reunification for third-country nationals**

#### **Czech Republic**

Regarding family reunification family members of the Ukrainian immigrant can meet relatively easy criteria in Czech Republic. As a third-country national, one (hereafter will be called sponsor) has to stay continuously in the country for 15 months (on the long-term visa

or on permanent status). After that family members of the sponsor may be granted a renewable residence permit in Czech Republic for one or two years. Family members include: “the spouse of the sponsor; minor children or dependent adult children of the sponsor or his spouse; a minor placed in the care of the sponsor; and any solitary parent (older than 65 years, or without regard to age if the said immigrant cannot care for himself due to health reasons) of the sponsor” (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 203). Family members automatically have the right to be employed and set up their own enterprise.

After one year of stay reunited family members have the right to claim the benefits of the State Social Support. Children of the migrant can attend public schools free of charge. The newly born children of migrant are normally granted a permanent residence without the necessity to reside in the country for five years, which immediately opens the door to the Public Health Insurance. (Szczepanikova, 2008: 32.)

Foreigners can immediately apply for the permanent residence permit, which grants them rights comparable to the rights of Czech citizens, if marrying a Czech citizen or proclaiming the fatherhood of a Czech child (Szczepanikova, 2008: 33-34).

The described list of the family members who are eligible for the family reunion is common among all EU member-states, hereby is fully applicable to every other country taken into comparison. If the list of eligible family members is common, the social and political rights associated differ substantially.

## **Poland**

Family reunion policy in Poland is the third best practice in EU after Sweden and Ireland: migrants must wait two years before they are eligible to sponsor their relatives to join them in Poland. Sufficient accommodation and income for their family are the only conditions for family reunion. Family members can stay in Poland for the same time as their sponsor and do not need to obtain a work permit. (MIPEX 2007: 142.)

## **Lithuania**

Normally, the family members have to wait two years to become eligible for the family

reunion in Lithuania. However in 2008-2009, several amendments to the Law of the legal status of aliens were adopted, simplifying this procedure: since August 2009, highly qualified third-country nationals (including those paid triple the average national monthly salary, researchers and stagiaires) can bring their family members immediately. (OECD International Migration Outlook 2010: 219.)

Reunited family members enjoy the same access as their sponsor to employment, training, education, social security, social assistance, healthcare and housing (MIPEX 2007: 112).

### **Hungary**

Eligibility requirements for the family reunion are one of the best in EU. Migrants can reunite with their relatives with the condition of proving the income assets. However family members do not necessarily enjoy the same rights in Hungary as their sponsor. (MIPEX 2007: 88.)

### **Slovak Republic**

A migrant becomes eligible for the family reunion after obtaining a long-term residence permit, which means five years of the awaiting period (MIPEX 2007: 154). An alien being legal on the territory of the Slovak Republic based on family reunification purposes may study and/or be employed without the need to be granted a work permit (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 466).

### **Italy**

Paola Bonizzoni & Alina Cibebe describe Italian reunification policy with remarkable gaps and as highly vague, which allows administration to apply its own interpretation in controversial cases. They highlight, that even when legislation is supportive, “social-economic reality in which migrants are inserted can jeopardize the outcome” (Bonizzoni & Cibebe, 2009: 29).

Family reunification is possible if the migrant (sponsor) is holding a residence permit for more than one year. Reunited family members do not need work permission. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 343.)

The sponsor must provide “suitable housing” declaration, which is considered “the most troublesome part of the whole process” (Bonizzoni & Cibea, 2009: 31). This declaration must certify that there is proper accommodation at migrant’s disposal (municipality sets the requirements). This is particularly difficult to meet, because migrants often do not sign the official rent contract with land lords, live on sub-renting (meaning that the name on official contract papers differs from the person’s actually living there) or in case of domestic workers live at the house of employer.

The sponsor must provide an income certificate, showing that his/her income exceeds the annual social allowance (according to Bonizzoni & Cibea (2009) in 2007 it was 5,061 EUR). This sum must be multiplied depending on the number of people to be reunited. Depending on municipality, officials ask to demonstrate that amount earned during the last year; or to show the possession of that amount on account without a time limit; or to prove that they will earn that income with the present job. Absence of single coherent policy brings confusion and misinterpretation to foreigners, as well as inability to meet criteria in case of any unregistered shadow income. (Bonizzoni & Cibea, 2009).

#### **2.4.4 Long-term residence for third-country nationals**

##### **Czech Republic**

The long-term (permanent) status grants its holder the social rights close to the nationals. Ukrainian citizens, as the participants of the Pilot Project Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers have a right for special support from the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and have an exclusive right to apply for a long-term (permanent) residency in Czech Republic already after two and a half years (standard requirement is five years) (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 205).

## **Poland**

Migrants gain the eligibility for a long-term residence after five years, which entails the same rights as Poles to access employment, social security, healthcare and housing. Applicants do not have to undergo an integration test, but need to provide proof of economic assets. (MIPEX 2007: 143.)

## **Lithuania**

In order to enjoy equal rights to employment, self-employment, working conditions, social security, social assistance, healthcare and housing as Lithuanians, one has to wait five years, pass a Lithuanian language test and pass an examination on the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 372).

## **Hungary**

Hungarian law distinguishes between the national long-term residence permit and EC one. A national permanent residence permit may be issued when the applicant has lawfully and continuously resided in Hungary for at least three years. An EC long-term permanent residence permit may be issued when an applicant has lawfully and continuously resided in Hungary for at least five years. (IOM, International migration law, 2009: 315.)

After rather long and costly procedure of obtaining long-term residence permit migrants have the same rights as Hungarians to employment, self-employment, social security, health care, housing (MIPEX 2007 : 89).

## **Slovak Republic**

An applicant must wait five years to be eligible for a long-term residence permit. Migrants must meet such conditions as: proof of sufficient income, insurance and an integration assessment. Long-term residents have equal rights as Slovaks to employment, welfare benefits, housing and healthcare. (MIPEX 2007: 155.)

## **Italy**

The EC Directive on long-term residence in Law n. 3 of 8 January 2007, migrants need to wait five years before applying. Applicants do not have the integration test, however need to provide proof of financial means and insurance. (MIPEx 2007: 101.)

### **2.4.5 Conditions for naturalization for third-country nationals**

#### **Czech Republic**

Applicant possessing the long-term residence permit can apply after 5 years, which means that one has to wait 10 years in total. However the participants of the Pilot Project Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers enjoy preferential treatment: their awaiting time has been reduced to 7.5 years in total.

#### **Poland**

Eligibility requirements to become a Polish national are unfavorable: they must live in Poland for at least five years as the permanent resident, which means waiting at least ten years before becoming eligible for Polish nationality (MIPEx 2007: 144).

#### **Lithuania**

Migrants are only eligible for nationality after ten years of permanent residence, which mean fifteen years of residence. An applicant must pass oral and written tests on basic Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian constitution, history, and national anthem. (MIPEx 2007: 114.)

#### **Hungary**

The conditions for naturalization include eight years of residence, meeting income and criminal record requirements, as well as a basic oral test on the Hungarian language, history and literature (MIPEx 2007: 90).

## **Slovak Republic**

Migrants must be long-term residents for five years to be eligible for Slovak citizenship, which means waiting for at least 10 years. Conditions for applying the Slovak nationality include also high criminal records' check and a simple language interview. (MIPEX 2007: 156.)

## **Italy**

Eligibility requirements to become an Italian national are unfavorable. The Migrant Integration Policy Index estimates it to be one of the worst in EU (MIPEX 2007: 102). 10 years of legal residence is required for third-country nationals to become eligible to apply for naturalization.

### **2.4.6 Anti-discrimination protection for third-country nationals**

#### **Czech Republic**

The Czech Republic almost reaches best practice on definitions and concepts against discrimination; however the law doesn't protect from discrimination in such fields as housing, health, social protection and social advantages (MIPEX 2007: 48). The mechanism of protection is in force only in case of discrimination in employment or vocational training: "legal procedures, protection from victimization and sanctions to punish the perpetrator" (MIPEX 2007: 48).

#### **Poland**

Polish anti-discrimination law covers many forms of ethnic, racial, religious, and nationality discrimination, but has is rather weak in implementation: an applicant cannot rely on any explicit antidiscrimination clause, only on vague constitutional provisions (MIPEX 2007: 144).

## **Lithuania**

Lithuania has the wide-ranging definitions and concepts of ethnic, racial, religious, and nationality discrimination that are applied in the fields of employment, vocational training, and employment, but not in social protection, social advantages, and access to housing and health. Enforcement mechanisms are rather weak. (MIPEX 2007: 114.)

## **Hungary**

According to MIPEX Hungarian anti-discrimination law is an outstanding area of strength: the fields of application cover discrimination in employment, training, education, housing and healthcare; good enforcement mechanisms provide a full range of sanctions for perpetrators and those in need can rely on legal aid or free interpreters (MIPEX 2007: 90).

## **Slovak Republic**

Definitions of discrimination are only applied to limited areas of life, while in nationality discrimination, religious discrimination, access to housing, social protection and social advantages migrants are not protected. Slovak Republic has rather weak enforcement mechanisms. (MIPEX 2007: 156.)

## **Italy**

Italy almost meets best practice on definitions and concepts against discrimination in EU and Italy already meets best practice in the fields of application by punishing racial, ethnic, religious and nationality discrimination. A discriminated person has an access to “various procedures, legal aid, and a wide range of possible sanctions”. (MIPEX 2007: 102.)

### **2.4.7 Conclusions on the comparison of the migration legislative conditions for third-country nationals in selected countries**

Evaluation of the migration legislation in certain areas in Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Slovak Republic and Italy demonstrates conditions for migration for the third-



country nationals as well as their rights and responsibilities in connection with it.

As regards access to the employment in the above-mentioned countries where Ukrainians constitute one of the biggest minorities the general rule is the three-step scheme: the permission to hire the foreigner – work permit – stay permit (see Table 3). This rule, however, is not fully applicable to Italy, where the three-step system is preceded by the highly bureaucratized quota procedure.

Table 3. Labor market access for the third-country nationals and bilateral agreements with Ukraine for selected countries.

Country	Labor market access for the third-country nationals	Bilateral agreements with Ukraine
Czech Republic	standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NGO Czech Catholic Caritas dealing with recruitment and obtaining the permissions</li> <li>• Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers Project</li> <li>• access to social security</li> </ul>
Poland	standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exemption from the obligation to obtain the work permit in agriculture</li> <li>• preferential access for ethnic returnees</li> </ul>
Lithuania	standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reserved amount of working places among other migrants</li> <li>• access to social security</li> <li>• measures simplifying the residence permit procedures</li> </ul>
Hungary	standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurship, loans, economic trainings cooperation</li> <li>• preferential access for ethnic returnees</li> </ul>
Slovak Republic	standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	Work permit exemption for people of Slovak origin
Italy	quota system followed by standard EU three step procedure with a minor national differences	no

Almost all, except Italy and Slovak Republic, among considered countries have bilateral agreements with Ukraine in migration area: Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania and Hungary.

These agreements provide preferential treatment for Ukrainian migrants in access to the seasonal, high-skilled or employment in certain professions, as well as in social security.

Family reunification (see Table 4) policies in Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary are considered one of the best in EU due to eligibility requirements and the rights associated. The access to family reunion in Slovak Republic is stricter because of the awaiting period; in Hungary family members do not necessarily enjoy the same rights as sponsor after reunification; the procedure of family reunification in Italy is relatively complicated because of highly bureaucratized system.

Table 4. Waiting period for the family reunification access for the third-country nationals and associated rights for reunited family members in selected countries.

Country	Waiting period for the family reunification access for the third-country nationals	Associated rights for reunited family members
Czech Republic	continuous stay for 15 months (on the long-term visa or on permanent status)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to be employed and set up their own enterprise</li> <li>• right to claim the benefits of the State Social Support (after a year from reunification)</li> </ul>
Poland	continuous stay of 2 years	no need to obtain work permit
Lithuania	continuous stay of 2 years or immediately for highly qualified third-country nationals	same access as their sponsor to employment, training, education, social security, social assistance, healthcare and housing
Hungary	immediately	family members do not necessarily enjoy the same rights as their sponsor
Slovak Republic	continuous stay of 5 years	may study and/or be employed without the need to be granted a work permit
Italy	more than a year of holding residence permit	no need to obtain work permit

The long-term residence policy (see Table 5), when migrants are granted the same (or nearly same) rights as nationals, is the best (among considered in the comparison countries) in Czech Republic, to the large extent owing to preferential agreement with Ukraine. Lithuania Slovak Republic and Hungary meanwhile have comparatively the worst policies because of the waiting period for eligibility, either/and high requirements on financial means, insurance or integration test. Polish and Italian policies could be ranked in between, with five years of waiting for eligibility and no integration test.

Table 5. Waiting period for the long-term residence permit for the third-country nationals in the selected countries.

Country	Waiting period for the long-term residence permit for the third-country nationals
Czech Republic	2,5 years
Poland	5 years
Lithuania	5 years
Hungary	3 or 5 years depending on the type of permit
Slovak Republic	5 years
Italy	5 years

The conditions for naturalization (see Table 6) are considered unfavorable in Lithuania (15 years of waiting), Poland (10 years), Slovak Republic (10 years), and Italy (10 years). Nationality policies in Hungary and Czech Republic are less strict: 8 and 7.5 years respectively.

Table 6. Waiting period for naturalization for the third-country nationals in the selected countries.

Country	Waiting period for naturalization for the third-country nationals
Czech Republic	7,5 years
Poland	10 years
Lithuania	15 years
Hungary	8 years
Slovak Republic	10 years
Italy	10 years

Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania and Slovak Republic have ranging anti-discrimination law coverage, however commonly weak implementation mechanisms. Hungarian and Italian anti-discrimination law is a well-developed area of expertise.

Study of the national policies in many areas related to migrant's admission and settlement (labor market access, family reunion, long-term residence, access to nationality, anti-discrimination) in complex demonstrates that Czech Republic and Poland have friendly policies for the migration of the third-country nationals and particularly Ukrainian citizens.

I argue, however, that potential migrants do not consider all above-mentioned factors equally: labor market access most likely affects the decision-making more than anti-discrimination policies in the destination country. Still, Czech Republic and Poland offer the most

preferential treatment of Ukrainians than any other country among considered: they offer simplified conditions for both high-skilled and seasonal employment.

Even though this chapter doesn't have a purpose to study migration to other states than Italy, migration there does seem quite clear at the first glance: higher incomes, the geographical position (Ukraine has a common border with Poland, Slovak Republic and Hungary), strong historical connections (which were discussed in the chapter "Historical overview of the Ukrainian emigration"), in many cases simplified migration legislation. Often Ukrainians refer to the citizens of these countries as "Slavic brothers", meaning the similarity of the mentality and friendly relations. Migration flows are gender-balanced.

European Commission (2009), in discussion about Ukrainian migration to the selected countries refers to the above-mentioned arguments:

"Since the beginning of the 1990s, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and the Slovak Republic have attracted migrants from WNIS (Author: Western Newly Independent States). Traditional incentives for migration, such as higher income, cultural and geographic proximity and relatively low administrative barriers were enhanced by additional factors at the time when these Baltic and Central European states joined the European Union." (European Commission, 2009: 7.)

The same report highlights the proximity of languages, for example in cases of Hungary and Poland (European Commission, 2009: 37).

In these settings, massive migration flows with a great gender imbalance to Italy look rather outstanding. Italy is geographically situated far, does not have historical connections with Ukraine and, most importantly, doesn't provide Ukrainians with the easy access.

Still, as Iryna Kyzyma states: "among the main possible countries of destination Ukrainian women mention European countries, first of all Italy" (Kyzyma, 2008: 11). What are those decisive factors for Ukrainian female migrants to choose Italy, if legislative conditions (in addition to other arguments discussed in the previous chapters) for migrants there seem to be relatively harsh and hardly can be considered as a supporting reason to migrate? Why do Ukrainian migrant women choose the precarious (insecure) care employment in the country with an unfavorable migration legislation instead of skilled employment possibilities in a country (for example Czech Republic) supporting and encouraging Ukrainian migrants to

come?

The answer to this question I will look for in discussion about this phenomenon on micro level, in a qualitative rather than quantitative economic manner. In the next chapters, including empirical part I will try to tackle the gender issue and perhaps widen the spectrum of possible reasons for Ukrainian migration to Italy.

## **2.5 Social networks & gender**

Social networks are often named in the previous researches concerning reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy as the most influential factor in the decision-making after economic reasons. According to the research of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) “migration paths and modalities are in the majority of cases known by word of mouth (...) new emigrants have always a friend or a connection in Italy who organize their arrival in the country and (...) support in identifying initial accommodation and employment (Montefusco & Gulla, 2006: 18).

Social networks do increase the likelihood of migration because, according to Massey “the sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas (...) lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration” (Massey et.al., 1993: 448).

Meanwhile, the common among previous researches argument stating that *existence* of the social networks in Italy is the factor determining Ukrainian prospective emigrants to choose exactly Italy as a destination country seems to me rather superficial. The reason for these doubts is grounded on the data describing the stock of Ukrainian migrants in the countries I used for comparison: Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Slovak Republic. As I discussed in the chapter “The main characteristics of the modern Ukrainian emigration” the stock of the legally residing Ukrainian migrants in Czech Republic reaches 131,9 thousand of people, 22 thousand in Lithuania, 17,6 thousand in Hungary, 7,2 in Poland and 4,7 in Slovak Republic. It is appropriate also to refer to the estimates for the irregular migration: according to expert estimates the number of irregular Ukrainian migrants for example in Poland and

Czech Republic reaches 450 and 150 thousand of people respectively (European Training Foundation, 2009: 116). The number of the actually residing Ukrainian citizens in the above-mentioned countries allows me to assume that social networks of Ukrainians do exist also in these states. This means, that the sole existence of the social networks hardly can be claimed to be an independent reason determining the migration decision towards exactly Italy.

Thousands of the highly-educated Ukrainian migrant women do choose precarious employment in Italy instead of skilled employment possibilities in the countries attracting Ukrainian migrants; they choose Italy despite relatively harsh legislative conditions for migrants – but do they do that solely because of the social networks' *existence*?

Ukrainian migration to Italy has a “female face”, that is why I suggest including gender in the discussion of the social networks as a factor which influences the migration decision-making.

Sarah R. Curran and Abigail C. Saguy argue that social networks and gender are essential and interdependent elements for understanding migration, they suggest three key concepts to be considered when studying gender and migration: “social embeddedness” (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993), “circular and cumulative causation” (Massey 1990), and “relative deprivation” (Stark 1991) (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 55).

Massey challenges in his theory of “circular and cumulative causation” the individual cost-benefit model of migration, according to which the migration decision is regulated by expected gains (e.g. higher salary) against possible losses (e.g. deportation). He argues that prospective migrant does not act as an isolated rational agent, but social networks crucially affect his/her behavior. Individuals in one's network may provide assistance in migration by helping with settlement in the destination country substantially increasing the chance to migrate. (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 59-60.)

According to Portes and Sensenbrenner's theory of “social embeddedness” same as prospective migrants expect their member's of the network to help with odds connected to migration, the family members expect the prospective migrant to remit some part of his/her earnings, which leads to encouraging for migration (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 60). Social embeddedness is about a connection of the individual to his roots, to his relatives and social circles, which shapes to a large extent the perceptions of the individual what is “good”, what

is “bad” or what is acceptable or not. Individual, a migrant in our case, even after changing the surroundings (migrating), retains those at least partially.

Either Massey's or Portes and Sensenbrenner's theories however do not explain why men's and women's migration behavior differs. Theory of “relative deprivation” helps to understand changes in gender identity resulting from migration processes. (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 61.)

Stark's relative deprivation is

“an explicit reference to the movement of ideas and shifting value schemes, in that it is only relevant when people’s needs and desires change and can no longer be met by resources in the place of origin (...) the feelings of relative deprivation involve contrasting habitual lifestyles at the place of origin with new ones at the place of destination and coming to desire the latter” (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 62-63).

Gender, being one of the central issues for people's identity, might be strongly reinforced and challenged by migration, therefore must be taken into consideration when studying migration behavior. Men’s and women’s identities motivate migration differently. (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 71). Also, gender identity formation reinforced by embeddedness in migrant networks, may commit them to their families in places of origin differently, even shaping the remittance behavior (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 72).

Sarah R. Curran and Abigail C. Saguy provide interesting pieces of evidence demonstrating how gender affects and shapes the migration decision-making from the previous studies. Studies from Latin America and Southeast Asia have shown how cultural expectations and economic opportunity associated with gender shape migration and how migration experience can actually challenge gender roles (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 57).

Deere (1978) shows how in Peru, when the male head of household leaves abroad to work, his wife and children construct a new family structure, where women and children gain increased decision-making power and responsibility within the household. Upon man's return women often refuse to compromise their newly acquired gender position which results in the high rate of divorce or separation. (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 57.)

Grasmuck and Pessar (1991) in their examination of the family migration from the

Dominican Republic to the U.S. find out how principally different migration is taken by men and women: “men view migration as temporary and are eager to return home, thereby regaining traditional gender privileges. In contrast, women often hope to postpone or avoid return because they realize it entails retirement from work and the loss of newfound freedoms”. (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 58.)

An interesting impression comes from the interviews made with migrated Thai women: “the motivation to migrate is explicitly stated as to save money for the household, the appeal is more to the woman’s identity as an individual and freedom from patriarchal constraints” (Curran & Saguy, 2001: 68). This statement demonstrates the conflict between women's social embeddedness and newly acquired lifestyle freedoms.

According to the information from NGO Kolping Family in Kiev (Ukraine), which originally started as a non-profit establishment to help families with “difficult” children and later also began dealing with women who experienced psychological difficulties after migratory experience, the existence of the social networks is the important factor influencing migration decision-making in case of Ukrainians.

People, who came back from jobs abroad, spread the word about their past experience encouraging or discouraging others to follow their path. Women, according to Kolping Family, are believed to be strongly influenced by their female compatriots, who came back to Ukraine with stories about different (improved) life abroad. In the vast majority of cases women who decide to migrate do it if somebody among their friends has already done that and can help in organization, as well as provide moral support.

One interesting characterization of Ukrainian migration particularly to Italy was given by NGO Kolping Family, representatives state, that psychology of migrated women often changes dramatically (Piperno et.al., 2009: 58). Most of all it is connected with life-work balance, gender issues and power relationships within family.

Ukraine is a traditional male bread-winner model country, where difficult to talk about gender equality in a European meaning. Women are traditionally carers for children, as well as for elderly family members. The welfare system is still in a development stage and does not provide for domestic carers. Men do not usually participate in care, considering it to be a



“woman's job”. Ukraine is the country with strong patriarchal traditions, especially in rural areas.

Solomea Pavlychko stresses the fact that “patriarchal values and attitudes have not yet been challenged by the Ukrainian women’s movement” and that women continue to bear “traditional double burden” (Pavlychko, 1996: 309).

Pavlychko continues: “despite all the political changes in the official understanding of the role of women, nothing has changed”. In order to demonstrate how deep-rooted the perception of the women’s role is in Ukrainian patriarchal society she gives the example of a typical governmental program in relation to women: “the government’s policy can be clearly understood from the title “A long-term Program for the Improvement of the Position of Women, the Family, the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood” – women’s problems are motherhood, child care, home and family”. (Pavlychko, 1996: 307.)

Interestingly, according to the gender-related development index (2007 data) Ukraine is ranked 69<sup>th</sup> out of 155 countries, which is below Armenia and Saudi Arabia and just above Turkey (Human Development Report 2009: 185). According to gender empowerment measure Ukraine is 86<sup>th</sup> out of 109, placed between Ethiopia and Oman (Human Development Report 2009: 187).

Eventually, woman, who is tired of a domestic burden and being encouraged by her acquaintances for “other life” decides to “escape”.

The traditional scenario is that after women had an experience being a major family provider and her husband had to take a lot of care and domestic responsibilities (usually sharing with other family members), she doesn’t want to accept a former subordinate position upon arrival.

Misunderstandings bring serious argues in family and often woman takes a decision to go back. With the time passing by, often it accounts to several years, argues are followed up by the divorce and emotional barrier with children.

Galina Gonchruk, the former director of municipal women's organization in Kiev, verifies that mentality of those women changes and they are not willing to continue living according to Ukrainian patriarchal traditions: women "want to feel free". (Piperno et.al, 2009: 59.)

In this chapter I tried to demonstrate that social networks as a factor influencing the migration decision-making must be studied in a tight interconnection with gender. Especially when the phenomenon in question is so gender unbalanced. The evidence from the previous studies shows that men and women might use the information from the social networks very differently. Similarly, Ukrainian women might use the information from the social networks in Italy in a specific way, which encourages them to choose it as a destination country against of all odds.

In the next chapter, I suggest having a look at another factor, which causes migrations and might be relevant in case of Ukrainian migration to Italy.

## **2.6 The "other" migration: Lifestyle**

Stark's and Taylor's (1989) theory of "relative deprivation" is very close to the "value-expectancy theory of migration decision-making" and theory of "migration behavior" – all these theories have a common feature, they concentrate on socio-psychological factors as the ones causing or influencing the migration.

The value-expectancy theory of migration decision-making was developed by De Jong and Fawcett in 1981. According to them this approach "calls for a specification of the individually valued goals that might be met by moving (or staying) and the perceived linkage, in terms of expectancy, between migration behavior and the attainment of these goals in alternative locations" (De Jong, 1983: 473).

Migration behavior according to Pribytkova is "the whole complex of interconnected actions and relations, aimed at the realization of the migration plans of the individuals or giving these prospects up (...) the migration behavior, socio-psychological aspects of individual, group and mass attitudes towards changing the place of residence are examined" (Pribytkova, 2007:

258).

With the time, above-mentioned concepts became more and more united in one, bringing up a new term of lifestyle migration.

Lifestyle migration theory stands for migration “as a route to a better and more fulfilling way of life (...) migration for these migrants is often an antimodern, escapist, a self-realization project, a search for the intangible ‘good life’ (...) lifestyle migration offers the potential of a better quality of life” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 1). Lifestyle migration involves the “(re)negotiation of the work–life balance, the pursuit of a good quality of life and freedom from prior constraints” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 2). Migration is seen as a way of routine escape, making a new start. The reasons are often dissatisfaction about socio-political situation in the country of residence, uncertainty in future, problems in family relations or just unsatisfactory climatic conditions. (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009.)

Migrants’ colorful comparisons between life before and after migration rationalize “this form of migration extending beyond the discussion about the economic privilege (...) migrants challenge their depiction as consumers, emphasizing instead their substantial, personal reasons for migrating” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009: 3).

Goals believed to reach with migration are connected with the quality of life. Quality of life includes the “opinion of individuals and their estimates of the aggregate conditions of physical, mental and social well-being in the comprehension of each taken individual or social group” (Pribytkova, 2007: 258).

Lifestyle migration highlights the importance of non-material values for prospective migrants when choosing destination country. These non-material values can generally be called “satisfaction”. Stark and Taylor’s (1989) mention in their theory of the “relative deprivation” that one can feel dissatisfied, deprived or lacking about very different areas of life: freedom for spiritual, religious development; gender relationships; freedom for exercising the political rights; sexual orientation acceptance etc. - one might seek the feeling of satisfaction in these or other areas of life by migrating.

Irina Pribytkova in her article “Migration behavior and quality of life of population in

conceptual and empirical dimensions” interprets the data of sociological monitoring of the Institute of Sociology, the National Academy of Science of Ukraine “The Ukrainian Society: 2004-2006”: at the beginning of 2006 almost half of the Ukrainian population (44.0%) was in some way or other dissatisfied with their own lives: they experience psychological discomfort, feeling tension, irritation, fears and depression. Each fifth inhabitant of Ukraine (19.9%) lost the belief that the situation in the country will improve. Interestingly, those people who had working experience abroad differ much with their distinctive social optimism. (Pribytkova, 2007: 267.)

Italy, in the mentality of Ukrainian people, is often associated with some kind of paradise, which is very notable in personal communication.

Existence of this feature (applicable generally to the “Western” lifestyle) was also revealed in one recent sociological project “Study of labor migration on the basis of Ukrainian households – 2008”. This project was the first such large research devoted to the problem of mass migrations abroad. Experts interviewed more than 48 thousand of Ukrainians (which represented 22 thousand of families) in the age from 15 up to 59 in three years: from January 2005 to June 2008. This research project was supported by the International Organization of Migration (IOM), International Bank of Development, Ukrainian Forum of Social Reforms, State Statistical Centre and Fond “Open Ukraine”.

An article of Oksana Mikolyuk (2008) published on informational portal УКРПУДІПРОМ based on this research has pointed out that job abroad for many migrants not simply an opportunity to earn more money, but a life style, something they cannot imagine their life without. Monitoring has shown that in Western Ukraine there is a whole new generation of migrants’ children who dream about living outside of Ukraine. (Mikolyuk, 2008.)

Finalizing this part, I would like to give one more relevant fact: according to State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine, approximately 20% of the whole population would be ready to change their country of residence for better climate and environmental conditions.

The previous “Social networks & gender” chapter demonstrates how gender and social networks influence one's migration behavior. Tightly interconnected theories on gender, social networks and lifestyle migration, as well as some theoretical evidence about Ukrainian

migration to Italy bring me up following questions: is it the non-material, but socio-psychological goals that are crucial for Ukrainian women that they seek to reach in Italy that cannot be pursued in the homeland? Are they escaping from the constraints or are there dreams they hope to meet?

Willing to broaden my knowledge on this topic and pursue my own research in order to investigate possible existence of other than economic factors influencing Ukrainian women-centered migration to Italy, I will proceed to the empirical part of this work.

### **3. OBJECTIVES, DATA DESCRIPTION AND METHODS**

In order to answer my research question: is Ukrainian migration to Italy a sole interplay of the economic benefits and social networks? - I have undergone several steps in my empirical research.

The path of my research was guided by the principles of the Grounded theory. The Grounded theory was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s (Ezzy, 2002: 7).

Grounded theory searches for dimensions of the experience not covered by pre-existing theory and generates new theory through careful and repeated observation. According to the methods of the Grounded theory, concepts, categories and themes are identified and developed while the research is being conducted. (Ezzy, 2002: 12.)

Ezzy states:

“During data analysis the researcher will typically discover and notice unanticipated issues that have arisen early in the data collection. If data analysis is left until afterwards these issues will not be noticed during data collection; they will therefore not be pursued during the data collection and cannot be pursued in any depth during the data analysis”. (Ezzy, 2002: 61.)

A simultaneous, multi-staged collection and data analysis allows, according to the Grounded theory “to be shaped by the participants in a more fundamental way than if analysis is left until after the data collection has been finished” (Ezzy, 2002: 61). One of the central principles of the Grounded theory is that “data collection and data analysis are interrelated processes; and data collected early in the research process are used to guide the questions that are asked as the research progresses (Ezzy, 2002: 62-63).

Following the purpose to reach an in-depth understanding of the imperatives setting Ukrainian women on the move to Italy, be sensitive to the voices of the respondents and take into consideration the ethical issues, the principles of the Grounded theory is of a great use for my research.

I collected the data in three stages and depending on the results of each stage, my research

naturally turned in the different directions and demanded different methods of obtaining the data.

Next I will describe three main steps I made in order to demonstrate the progress of the research and development of my thinking. I will describe the objectives of each stage and speak briefly about results, so that the reader may understand the logic even not having yet read the analysis part.

### **3.1 First discovering step**

My first objective was to get the prime, fist-handed grasp of the phenomenon I am studying. For this purpose, I have obtained the transcripts of 5 semi-structured interviews from the CeSPI (Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale) research centre in Rome, Italy. Flavia Piperno, a member of the CeSPI research team has provided me with this data and gave me permission to use it.

Interviewees, Ukrainian women working in Italy as domestic workers (as well as their close relatives), were asked about the reasons of their migration to Italy and other questions (which will be discussed in more detail in the Analysis chapter) about their life in Italy including effects migration has caused on families back in Ukraine.

Among 5 transcripts of the semi-structured interviews there was one with the Ukrainian woman working in Italy as domestic worker, three with the migrated women' daughters and one interview with the sister. The original purpose of these interviews was to look at the migration projects not only from the migrant women's perspective, but more from their closest relative's. Interviewing of the closest relatives was believed to bring up some sensitive issues related to migration more likely than interviews with the person in question.

Interviews were held in Ukrainian; however one interviewee asked to do it in Italian. Later on all interviews were transcribed and translated into Italian. I received them in Italian and got it translated into English.

As the result of the analysis, these interviews clearly demonstrated the consistency with the conclusions of the major researches done concerning the factors influencing Ukrainian migration to Italy: economic needs are proclaimed to be the only factor which has influenced their decision to migrate, while social networks are believed to have helped.

Taking into consideration some level of controversy in the interviewees' speeches discovered from these interviews, the structure of these interviews and bearing in mind in my opinion just superficial knowledge produced from it I decided to design my own questionnaire – this is the second step in my research. The design of my in-depth questionnaire: questions I ask, their sequence, the form of the answers – is planned with a single purpose, to avoid the simplicity of the phenomenon's overview.

### **3.2 Second discovering step**

The questionnaire has been designed with a purpose to avoid the simplicity in studying the reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy – this was my objective on the second stage of the data collection. The results of the first interview produce some knowledge, while my questionnaire's purpose was to deepen it.

Before handing in my questionnaire to the respondents I have made a pilot test: I asked two respondents to answer. Based on this test, I confirmed the final version of the questionnaire, correcting the formulation of the several questions.

My questionnaire had a large share of open-ended, not too binding questions, because it was made to serve qualitative aims, rather than quantitative. The questionnaire has been translated into Russian and Ukrainian to ensure the comfortable linguistic conditions for respondents. Whole 2 languages package (introduction, questionnaire and additional list), a total 11 pages, has been distributed in the envelopes to 20 respondents. All respondents were given a week to answer the questionnaire and return it to the coordinator.

I used the non-probability accidental sampling method. All respondents might know each other, because all of them are members of Ukrainian association in Verona, Italy. I am not



trying to make a generalization to population like in quantitative research, because my sample size is not big enough, respondents were not chosen randomly according to statistical science and it wasn't initially the purpose of my work. I am doing qualitative research, aimed at discovering new areas and expressing the complexity of the phenomenon. Results of my work can be generalized theoretically.

The full version of my questionnaire is available as an attachment 2 at the end of this paper. I additionally translated it into English (originally it was only in Russian and Ukrainian) to ensure understanding to the large audience.

The questionnaire consists of introduction, 21 questions and an additional list.

In the introduction, I introduce myself as a Master degree social policy student, who is interested in studying migration and currently working on a thesis which is about Ukrainian migration to Italy. I thank respondents for participation and promise them anonymity in their answers. I also give instructions on how to fill in the questionnaire and suggest the source where they can find the results of my study. Along with all above-mentioned details, I provide my contact details.

Before starting to answer the questions of the questionnaire I make a general inquiry about the respondent: nationality, age, relationship status and professional education – these parameters were needed firstly to ensure that all respondents are from my targeted group of study and secondly, to gain a basic information about them

Now I will explain the purpose of the questions.

The first two questions are general: “what was the reason for migration” and “please explain why did you choose exactly Italy to migrate”. After the general questions, I suggest evaluating some other factors, which might have influenced migrant's migration decision-making: the climate, image of the country and others. Respondents are asked to evaluate these factors on the scale from one to five: 1=didn't affect at all, 2= affected a little, 3=affected, but wasn't the main reason, 4=affected a lot, 5=affected the most. Respondents' evaluation of these factors is believed to unveil the importance of lifestyle migration in their experiences at least partially.

The next question is “how long have you lived in Italy” will provide us with the information on the length of the respondent’s stay. 5<sup>th</sup> question is “have you reached your target of migration” I consider very important. This question is directly connected with a question #13: “if you answered yes to the question #5, please, specify the reasons of your stay until now”. I created these questions and placed them on different pages so in case interviewee answers “yes”, he has to answer cross question. Creation of these two questions has a background: I saw cases when the respondent claims the payment of children’s education at University as the only purpose of her migration to Italy, however, later on interviewer finds out that the respondent lives in Italy for more than 10 years, and children have completed their education long time ago. Questions #5 and 13 will possibly reveal other reasons for stay in Italy apart from “the main” one.

The purpose of the question #6 is to find out which languages the respondent spoke before moving to Italy. It is important to know, because knowledge of the Italian language can be a serious decisive factor in the choice of the destination country.

Questions 7 and 8 will contribute in discovering the importance of lifestyle migration in our case. These questions ask to describe the image and associations with Italy before migration and, similarly, associations connected to Czech Republic. These questions might give me valuable information about prejudices respondents possibly had about these countries, and prejudices are the important influential aspect of lifestyle migration.

Following two questions make an inquiry about the job of interviewees: 9<sup>th</sup> asks about the type of job respondent is doing and 10<sup>th</sup> asks opinion about the job. The purpose of these is to verify on one hand that I reach the targeted audience (domestic workers) and on another hand learn how respondents feel about working as a domestic worker.

Next questions asking about relatives back in Ukraine and intentions to come back on a permanent basis.

Question #14 is situational: I suggest imagining the situation in which the respondent is suggested a job in Czech Republic according to her profession with a salary on the level received at the moment in Italy, but with a growth perspective in both, career and money

aspects , and ask whether the interviewee would take it or not. First of all, this question is in line with the comparison I made at the beginning of this work and would possibly strengthen or weaken my argument about legislation as a influential factor; secondly, I expected interesting explanations from respondents explaining their choice (question #15).

Question #16 asks where respondent feels more protected, in Ukraine or in Italy.

Question #17 asks if the relationship status has changed during her stay in Italy and asks to specify how.

Question #18 asks where the respondent feels more life satisfaction, in Ukraine or in Italy.

Question #19 asks if the respondent thinks that she has changed after working abroad and how.

Question 20 and 21 are gender sensitive: first I ask to compare the position of a woman in Ukrainian and Italian societies, second, I ask a subjective opinion of the respondent where she feels more appreciated as a woman in Ukraine or in Italy. Formulation of the second question has brought up passionate arguments among my fellow classmates. Some argued that it is not ethical to specify the gender in this question and recommended using more neutral “person” instead of “woman”. Despite these comments, I consciously left this question unchanged, bearing in mind the gender centrality of the phenomena as a whole. These open-ended questions just suggest a topic for reflection, and I believe they do not restrict respondents in their answers.

At the end of the questionnaire, I allocated some space where respondents may leave their email address in case they agree to participate in similar research and/or in case they just want to receive the results of my study by email.

As an addition to the questionnaire I attach a list, where interviewees can freely express their opinion about this questionnaire or write in case there wasn't enough of the space in the main part.

The data eventually produced by this questionnaire was not satisfying to me enough due to

the modest volume of answers to the open-ended questions and due to common misunderstanding among respondents concerning one question. However I mentioned that the interviewees were much more responsive to the particular questions that the other – what kind of questions, was the key finding for this set of data.

Taking into consideration, that my multi-staged data collection is targeted at hearing the voices of the respondents, these questions brought me the idea of my next stage. I will speak in a great detail about the results of this questionnaire in the Analysis chapter.

The questionnaire's results have directed me to produce thematic inquiry: four simple questions about people's migration intentions and experiences with a request to write free speech-like text as long and rich in detail as possible.

### **3.3 Third discovering step**

When formulating the questions and defining the approximate expected length of the responses for my thematic inquiry I was guided by Gillham's rules-of-thumb: that “a total length of three A4 pages is a not-too-daunting requirement (...) that is to say, three questions with a page each, or six with half-a-page for each response” (Gillham, 2005: 114).

My choice fell on the option of four questions, which were:

1. Please, tell us the reasons of your migration
2. Why did you choose Italy as your destination
3. Please, describe how you feel yourself now here, in Italy
4. What do you think about coming back to Ukraine or staying here.

The respondents participating in this stage of interviewing were given the instructions, including information about the expected length of their answers.

Similarly to the second stage of my data collection I used the accidental non-probability sampling method. Eight respondents, who participated in this stage of my research, were women aged from 29 to 47, three married, five single, some of them know each other.

The analysis of the rich data, received on this final stage will be described in detail in the analysis chapter.

### **3.4 The methodological alternatives to read and interpret the interviews**

All my data sets can be classified as the interviews. Qualitative content analysis, which is often referred as a thematic analysis, was the best methodological choice for all three sets of my data.

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). Thematic analysis concentrates on the content of the text: what was said rather than how.

I will use the qualitative type of the content analysis, because “qualitative content analysis sets the focus on unique themes which illustrates the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts” (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2007: 2). My data sets are not large enough for seeking the statistical significance; and the purpose of my research is to reach the in-depth understanding of the phenomenon’s complexity from the personal experiences.

The first set of data included the semi-structured interviews received in the transcribed text from the research centre. Qualitative content analysis had a potential to make the biggest use of this data. This type of data already includes pre-constructed by the researcher themes: through the common questions which are being asked from the interviewees. Semi-structured interviews in comparison with the structured ones have an advantage that the researcher is free to continue qualitative coding beyond the pre-existing themes. I will base my analysis on the pre-constructed themes and simultaneously allow the other themes to emerge.

The data of the first stage has also undergone several linguistic transformations (for example some important rhetoric structures might have disappeared) which restricted me to some extent in choices for the method of the analysis.

The data from the second stage also favored the thematic analysis, minding the analysis only

of the selected questions (topics).

The third stage, the thematic inquiry, was initially designed for the thematic analysis.

One more reason for choosing the qualitative content analysis was the fact, that this method could take various forms: it can work in positivist, emotionalist or constructivist traditions. When doing the analysis I attempt to combine three approaches: positivism, emotionalism and constructionism.

Based on the positivist approach

“interview data gives access to “facts” about the world (...) these facts include both biographical information and statements about beliefs, all are to be treated as accounts whose sense derives from their correspondence to a factual reality. Where that reality is imperfectly represented by an account, checks and remedies are to be encouraged in order to get a truer or more complete picture of how things stand”. (Silverman, 2006: 119.)

Emotionalism’s “concern is not with obtaining objective “facts” but with the eliciting authentic accounts of subjective experience” (Silverman, 2006: 123). Emotionalists aim to access emotions and “the open-ended interviews apparently offer the opportunity for an authentic gaze into the soul of another” (Silverman, 2006: 128).

Constructionism draws attention that described experience is never isolated, but it is always embedded in the social web of interpretation and re-interpretation. Constructionists are concerned with a fact that interviewees assemble socially-embedded meaning to their experiences. Interviews represent a “culturally available way of packing experience”. (Silverman, 2006: 129-130.)

For the first set of data, I will adopt more positivist direction: facts versus reality constructed by the interviewees. Second set of data presupposes a combination of positivist and emotionalist elements in its analysis. Third set of data will be analysed in the emotionalist manner of qualitative content analysis. Throughout all sets of data I will keep in mind constructionist ideas. In this way, I am trying to approach the phenomenon using different methodological traditions in order to avoid simplicity in its discovery.

My qualitative research is aimed at raising the discussion, discovering new dimensions and expressing the complexity of the phenomenon. My research attempts to make a contribution to the ongoing academic conversations rather than to present the final “truth”. Results of my work can be generalized theoretically.

## **4. ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, I will discuss each step of my research and analyze its data in detail.

### **4.1 First discovering step**

Among 5 transcripts of the semi-structured interviews there was one with Ukrainian woman working in Italy as domestic worker, with a three daughters of the migrated women and one interview with sister. The purpose of these interviews was to look at the migration projects not only from the woman-migrant's perspective, but more from their closest relative's.

Interviewees are not relatives between each other, except two sisters Marja and Natalja. Marja and Natalja are daughters of Olga, who has migrated to Italy in 2001. The third interviewee, Olga, is a sister of a woman who migrated to Italy more than ten years ago. The forth is Luba, migrant herself, she left in 2000. The fifth is Oxhana, whose parents left to Italy about five years ago.

The questions asked from interviewees are related to the main themes: what were the reasons/circumstances to leave; how did this decision affect the life of family members after; come back plans; suggestions for migrants' and their families' situation improvement.

I will produce the following analysis based on the above-mentioned themes, allowing some other topics to emerge from data at the same time.

#### **The reasons to leave**

The first glance at the interviews allowed me to see a certain pattern of migration experiences. First of all, all interviewees name the economic factor to be the only incentive for decision of migrating.

“...I grew up two children without a husband, at certain time there was no money, for this reason, only for this one I left home, came to Italy without money”(Luba).

She says that she needed half a year of work in Italy to pay back the debts.



Next interviewee also speaks about financial hardships that drove her mother to migrate:

“earning money is very difficult now (Author: meaning in Ukraine). Have you seen prices? Did you go around the city?” (Oxhana)

Respondent explains that she is a student and University is for rich people:

“...imagine that an apartment here costs \$100 per month and \$450 is the tuition fee at University per year, then there are other costs (...) must pay to pass an exam/test \$40-50 and for a student it is a lot of money (...) Things you cannot pay by selling the potatoes in the village... that is why people leave” (Oxhana).

Daughter of a migrant woman, a PhD student explains reasons in case of her mother:

“everyone knew she was the only person who could go abroad, the only one who could do something for the family” (Marja).

When her mother migrated she was on the fifth (final) year at University. Her younger sister was finishing high school and going to enter University, she confirms the idea that her mother migrated solely for economic reasons and recollects her saying:

“...how do we go on like this? (Author: meaning the financial situation)” (Natalja).

She also mentions her aged grandparents in need for care.

One interviewee, a social worker, whose sister left to work in Italy more than ten years ago and delegated the care for her young children of 8 and 15 years old to her, explains that the reason for her sister to leave to Italy was

“the desire to have children studying at Universities” (Olga).

### **The effect migration causes on the families**

The second common feature I mentioned among all interviews is the bad effect they believe migration has caused for the families back in Ukraine.

The mother of two children says that she felt concerned that she was away, because she could

“just give advice and money, nothing more (...) I see they feel lack of mother” (Luba).

She shares the experience of her friends:

“I had friends who abandoned children alone here in Ukraine. It is difficult. So many bad things, because if a son is 15 years old remains alone he is not able to manage his life and not always does things in a right way”.

However, she thinks that she avoided these possible problems thanks to her sister and brother.

She says that the separation with children is very difficult on the emotional level:

“you can never divide your life and the lives of children, always missing them” (Luba).

The relationship with her sons changed remarkably because she was away for six years.

The daughter of a migrant woman remembers her pain of separation with mother and admits that she became used to be in touch with mother only by phone. Over the years their relationship has changed and now mother's desire to caress her daughter when she comes back home bothers her. Concluding about the effect of migration on Ukrainian families she says:

“the character of the child gets spoiled. When parents come back children do not recognize them, parents are like foreigners. Most children who are without parents during the school period live alone, school goes wrong, then they go to University and neglect their studies (...) they believe that there is always mom helping them” (Oxhana).

Respondents commonly shared their pain of separation with a close relative:

“I cried a lot” (Oxhana)

“children always miss their mother and feel the lack of love” (Olga)

“migration is a failure of family's values” (Marja).

### **Suggestions for migrants' and their families' situation improvement**

As regards special measures that might help migrants and their families, interviewees name

two main desired areas for reformation: the family reunion and protection of migrant's labor. I have drawn the attention to this problem at the beginning of this paper, mentioning that the family reunion and protection of migrant's labor are unfavorable in Italy for the third-country nationals.

### **“Changed personality” after migration experience**

Two interviewees mention crucial changes that happen in their opinion to the person who has migrated:

“Now I do not understand the life here (Author: meaning in Ukraine). How to say... migration has changed me much” (Luba).

“I believe that she will return as a person of European Union, a different person. Here is not best for her (Author: meaning in Ukraine)” (Olga about her sister).

What stands behind this changed personality? How does the “person of European Union” differ from a Ukrainian one? One interviewee implies a better life quality in Italy rather than Ukraine, she mentions that being in Italy her sister

“had time to live” (Olga).

### **Plans to return**

One respondent describes that the elder son already has a job and the younger one is finishing the university in one month. Family financial situation seems to be improved; she mentions that they managed to buy a studio apartment without taking a loan from a bank. She says she couldn't get used to be apart from them after six years away, she always misses them and

“they feel lack of mother” (Luba).

One of her sons says:

“I don't want that mom does those sacrifices”.

Meanwhile, this respondent is not sure to come back; she expects a lot of difficulties in

Ukraine:

“...start a work, start with a new home. Everything starts from zero, from zero”.

She describes her feeling about life in Italy:

“I go there because I have friends, I have everything (...) I feel myself connected there” (Luba).

One interviewee, whose sister migrated with a purpose to enable her children to study at university (at that time they were 15 and 8 years old) expresses confusion in regards her sister's migration project. She says that the eldest son is already working and

“the youngest son finishes the university. However I do not know what she is thinking exactly. Maybe she wants to buy a house. I don't know” (Olga about her sister).

Olga's sister visited her children in Ukraine three times in ten years.

Another interviewee, whose mother also left in order to help two daughters to study, says:

“...we earn our salaries that are enough for us” (Marja).

Meanwhile, her mother still stays in Italy because of daughters. Her sister says:

“I do not think she will be back soon” (Natalja).

The adopted positivist approach (facts versus constructed reality) for analyzing this set of data raises a set of contradictions. From all interviews it follows that: first of all, all closest family members (children in our case) are suffering from separation with their parent, the migrant herself as well; the project of giving the children the university education, which was the reason to migrate, is accomplished; in many cases children have already reached the financial independence by being employed – however, mothers continue to stay in Italy and the plans concerning coming back are rather unidentified.

## **Reflections**

The impression I have after analyzing these interviews is that people are indeed leaving due

to severe financial difficulties. People, being absolutely socially unprotected in the hazardous life situations such as aging/sick parents, parenthood without a spouse, continuous unemployment, are forced to leave and seek employment abroad.

Broken families, difficulties in relationships with children are two major negative effects that migration causes on migrants and their families in Ukraine.

Meanwhile, what prevents the migrants from coming back home? A certain level of controversy discovered in this set of interviews has drawn my attention. Maybe it is the effect of “social embeddedness” (which should be addressed minding constructivist approach for analysis) that prevents interviewees telling the complete story? Or, perhaps, there are other than financial factors which influence these migrants?

In order to know more, get deeper insight knowledge, I created a questionnaire with a large share of open questions. The logic of the questions I ask, their sequence I explain in a detail in the “Objectives, data description and methods” chapter. This set of data was constructed specifically to enable analysis combining positivist and emotionalist approaches.

## **4.2 Second discovering step**

As this stage of my research, I faced difficulties with interviewees.

I have contacted the coordinator of the Ukrainian association in Verona, Italy. Ukrainian association in Verona is NGO, which brings together Ukrainian migrants who moved to Italy and helps with different causalities connected with living in Italy as well as organizes social events. Members of this association gather every Sunday.

The coordinator has spread envelopes with a questionnaire and instructed all respondents that they have a week for filling it out. It was explained that this questionnaire requires as extensive replies as possible, the same was also mentioned in the introduction (instruction) to the questionnaire. Despite a given time extension, all respondents chose to complete the questionnaire straight away.

When afterward reading the questionnaires I unfortunately got a serious impression that the respondents were in a hurry to finalize it. In the majority of them, I did not find thoughtful answers, very often respondents answered “yes”, “no” or “I don't know” despite the request to specify their answer.

Approximately quarter of the respondents didn't fill in question number 3 correctly. In this question, they were asked to estimate how strongly (on the scale from 1 to 5) the suggested factors have influenced their decision of migrating. The instruction clearly indicated to “mark a digit corresponding to your answer *to each factor*”, however it didn't prevent respondents from mass misinterpretation. Many interviewees marked only one factor.

Questions which demanded descriptive answers were mostly answered very shortly.

All these details arose for me a question of validity for the results of this questionnaire. Respondents turned out to be much more reluctant to answer than I expected when planning this stage of the research. Even though this questionnaire was made to serve qualitative rather than quantitative purposes and the results can only be generalized theoretically, I consider the amount of “successfully” fulfilled questionnaires (under this term I understand the ones where the descriptive part was *relatively* rich and all questions were answered) insufficient for reliable analysis. Only five out of ten can be considered “successful” while the text is still quite poor.

Despite the difficulties occurred on this stage of my research, I still would like to bring up some interesting points carried out of this part, “filleting” them out.

First of all, none of the respondents knew the Italian language prior to the arrival, which means that most likely the language didn't serve as an influential reason in the migration decision-making.

Two questions in the questionnaire seemed to be more appealing to the respondents than the others: they were answered quite extensively. One of them was number seven, which asked to describe the respondent's vision of Italy before migration; and the second one number twenty, asking to compare the position of a woman in Ukrainian and Italian societies.

Answers to the question number seven provide us with valuable information about possible prejudices respondents had about Italy. This question was asked in order to contribute to the discovery of possible lifestyle migration aspect. Below I will provide the answers from five “successful” questionnaires.

Respondent A: “Wonderful, sunny country with olives, football fans and ... mafia!”

Respondent B: “I knew that Italy is one of the countries with democratic laws and where you receive a salary according to your contribution (payment for factually worked hours)”.

Respondent C: “Sunny country”.

Respondent D: “I knew history, culture, started studying the language. The ancient state, rich traditions, developed economy and the strong state. Rich country.”

Respondent E: “As a geography teacher knowledge was quite wide: climate, geographical position, the level of economy in comparison to other European countries. Less: cuisine, everyday life, intercultural relations”.

The following answers respondents provided for the question number twenty.

Respondent A: “Italian women are “nezhenki” (Author: this Ukrainian word stands for somebody very feminine, fragile, in need for care), if only give them 30 acres of land and working tool in the hands, and 30 cows without a milking machine, very likely they would become “stanki and stufi”(Author: this interviewee uses quite sarcastic intonations to describe Italian women. Expression “stanki and stufi” comes from Italian “stanco” meaning tired, exhausted; “stufi” means bored, fed-up).

Respondent B: “Rights of the woman in Ukraine are more than in Italy, however at the moment they are just not working”

Respondent C: “Italian women love themselves, while Ukrainian women are sacrificing themselves because of their children, can't spare an hour for themselves!”

Respondent D: “Italian woman is protected from all sides. A Ukrainian woman has difficult life and has to work till the very old age”.

Respondent E: “Incomparable. Woman in Italian society is like on the throne, and in Ukraine woman - maid of the family”.

From the answers to the first question, we clearly see appraisals about Italy. The answers to

the second question are more factual, all respondents claim that woman in Italy is more protected and, seems, live better. It is not easy however to identify respondent's emotions in relation to this fact: do they like how it is in Italy or not.

Migration determinants, as well as determinants for any other serious decision in life for a human being, might be an ethical question, which won't be discussed with everyone. I am acknowledged with this fact and do not expect direct answers in my research, I would rather just suggest ideas, suggest a deeper insight concerning this phenomenon by looking at the same things with a different angle, and support it by collecting hints and impressions.

The analysis of these questionnaires brought me the question: why did the respondents choose to answer extensively to exactly these questions, questions concerning gender and prejudices about Italy prior arrival – and almost disregarded other?

#### **4.3 Third discovering step**

In order to receive more knowledge I have initiated one more step in a data collecting. Trying to avoid the mistake of the second stage and attempting to give more freedom to the respondents, I created a simple thematic inquiry: four questions about people's migration intentions and experiences with a request to write free speech-like text as long and rich in detail as possible.

My choice fell on the following questions:

1. Please, tell us the reasons of your migration
2. Why did you choose Italy as your destination
3. Please, describe how you feel yourself now here, in Italy
4. What do you think about coming back to Ukraine or staying here?

Questions number one, two and four are general; question number three was created (in the very general, not-binding formulation) under influence of the previous interview stages.

I will produce the analysis under above-mentioned themes. The open-ended questions or



topics encourage the emotionalist approach in the qualitative content analysis.

### **The reasons for migration**

Financial was the main reason for migration for all the respondents. The concrete reasons varied.

Cuts in the working hours was one of the reasons listed by the factory worker.

Respondent A: “The working hours at my factory were cut in three times, instead of five normal working days I worked two. My salary wasn’t enough for anything.”

She also needed to help financially her mother to buy medication.

Respondent A: “I needed to feed myself and help my mother who is a pensioner and needs money for medication. After eight months, I left my factory and went to Italy.”

A math and geometry school teacher referred to the continuous lack of money and problems entailed by that such as health and depression as a reason of her migration.

Respondent B: “Constant lack of money caused stress, attempts to save on food brought health problems and overall work with teenagers isn’t the easiest one. I felt depressed and emotionally exhausted.”

Another respondent, who is a nurse, named a perspective of a higher salary as a reason of her migration. She describes enthusiastically the difference in her earnings between Italy and Ukraine.

Respondent C: “I came to Italy to earn some money. I was suggested not “some”, but 500e. At home I will never earn this money! Even if I will be working 24 hours per day without a single free day in a month in order to receive such a sum in my hospital I need to work approximately 10 months (or a bit less)!”

A real estate agent named a financial crisis as a reason of her migration. She implies that the financial crisis has changed the real estate market leaving her without a work.

Respondent D: “...when this crisis crashed all the markets, there was no work anymore and, therefore, no money. The earnings of my husband are not enough to support all family.”

She additionally mentions that she couldn't get a better paid job than she already had in Ukraine, that is why she went abroad.

Respondent D: "I didn't have any special skills to find a better-paid job at home so I went abroad."

A professional dancer, who complains about a necessity of her family to live in a very small flat, targets her migration project at earning money for a different, bigger, apartment. She implies that five years of working abroad would be enough to purchase it, while in Ukraine it is impossible.

Respondent E: "Money that I will earn here for maybe 5 years I will spend on solving my housing problem back at home. And this is absolutely real. At the moment, we are five of us living in one room apartment (...). And I am tired to live together with my husband's mother."

For the next respondent, who is a farmer, sickness of a relative and money need for treatment caused her migration.

Respondent F: "Back in Ukraine we have a small farm with my husband. Lots of physical work and very little money. (...) After my husband's sister got seriously sick and we needed to pay her treatment I made a decision of going abroad"

A kinder garden teacher also refers to the lack of money as a decisive factor for her migration. She sees major lack in inability to possess some goods, which constitute a good look for a female identity.

Respondent G: "I was working as a teacher in the kinder garden (...). With my little salary, I could never afford to buy something except the most necessary, and as any woman, I wanted to look good, but I couldn't even buy myself a proper dress with shoes! I thought that I was not losing anything if trying to go to work abroad"

Debts were named as a reason to migrate by another interviewee. The interviewee has specified that the major difficulty for her was to pay the education of her daughter at University.

Respondent H: "Money. I started to be afraid that if I continue to borrow money (my salary wasn't enough for the University fees of my daughters and all kinds of related expenses) I will never be able to pay it back"

All of the respondents referred to the different sorts of financial difficulties: job loss or low salary in the home country, the debts or plans to acquire a real estate.

### **Why exactly Italy was chosen as a destination country**

Five respondents out of eight explained their choice of Italy as a destination country because they knew somebody who went there before.

One respondent had a colleague who left to work in Italy.

Respondent A: “Because of my working partner, she left the factory three months earlier than me and she went to Italy.”

Another respondent described how she got knowledge about work in Italy through the parents of the pupils in her class.

Respondent B: “I actually started thinking about going exactly to Italy because of the parents of my pupils. In the class I lead, a parent or even both of at least four kids are working abroad, in Russia and Italy. They come to school when they visit home to ask how their children are doing and we talked usually about life a bit, I asked some questions...”

Next interviewees have a relative, neighbor or acquaintance with an experience of work in Italy.

Respondent D: “My aunt worked in Italy for two years”

Respondent F: “My neighbor is working there and we chat on the phone sometimes”

Respondent H: “the mother of my eldest daughter’s best friend was working there for many years at that time and she was very satisfied with her job”

Three respondents out of eight, however, named different reasons for choosing exactly Italy for their migration project. They highlighted what they like about Italy that influenced their decision.

One respondent made her choice based on the comparison. She had two options: work according to her profession (she is a nurse) in Saint-Petersburg, Russia or as a domestic worker in Italy. She didn’t choose Saint-Petersburg, because suggested job was difficult and connected with contagious diseases. This is, however, not the only factor which influenced

her decision. She explains that with the same living expenses in Saint-Petersburg and Italy, she chose Italy because of good climate, affordable fruits and enjoyable attention from men.

Respondent C: “I heard a lot about jobs in Italy, where I live this country is rather popular (...) I was considering one more variant: the job in Russia, in Saint-Petersburg in the hospital of contagious diseases (...) I eventually chose Italy, because hospital is dealing with contagious diseases, lots of infections, job is difficult. Life in Saint-Petersburg is the same expensive as in Italy and no perspectives! So I went to Napoli! There at least climate is good. It's warm and fruits are cheap, I can eat only fruits and vegetables, it saves money well! And here is also fun: handsome, tanned men are very interested in me. They like blonds!”

She expects Italy to have more perspectives than Russia, however she doesn't explain what kind of perspectives. This respondent complains about the quality of life in Ukraine:

“I am watching TV and seeing how people, even simple people, live abroad, when in our country, excuse me, some still use the newspapers in the toilet (Author: meaning instead of toilet paper). I don't want!!!”

The next respondent based her choice of Italy on the familiarity and attraction to this country beforehand. She associates many things she likes with Italy: from shoes to favorite actors. Therefore, she chose Italy.

Respondent E: “Everybody goes to Italy: those who are richer go there for shopping, those without money – for earning them. The Italian language is not very difficult, I even speak a bit. Plus that, I had love for Italy in advance. My favorite actors are Italians, favorite singers are also Italians. At home in Ukraine in shops, everything is Italian: from shoes to kitchen ware. How not to go to Italy?”

Next respondent also speaks about the feeling of familiarity with Italy before arriving there, primarily thought movies. She associated Italy with a dream.

Respondent G: “I chose Italy because I felt I knew this country, especially through movies... For me it was a dream to go there, but never had money to travel. Eventually, I combined work with my dream!”

Opinions of the respondents concerning the reasons why they chose exactly Italy to migrate fell under two main categories.

Part of the respondents, five out of eight, said they chose Italy because of the social networks: they knew somebody who already has a working experience there - colleague, acquaintance,

neighbor or relative. Meanwhile, respondents do not explain what exactly knowing of those people gave them.

Another part of the respondents, three out of eight, explained their decision to migrate exactly to Italy based on the subjective positive feelings. Interviewees used such words as “love”, “dream”, and “fun” to describe what Italy means to them. One interviewee highlighted warm climate, cheap fruits and welcomed feeling (“they like blondes!”).

Answers for this question have shown the partial consistence with the previous research, according to which the existence of the social networks is the factor which influences Ukrainian migrants to choose Italy for their migration project. Also, the answers have shown that part of the interviewees chose Italy based on the subjective feelings of attraction to this country: their descriptions throw some light on the previously unspoken decisive factor – lifestyle.

### **Migrants’ subjective feelings about their stay in Italy**

Under this theme, interviewees were referring to their feelings concerning their life in Italy. The openness granted by this form of interviewing allows interviewees to write about what they think important.

Four respondents shared primarily what they think about their jobs. There are interesting details addressed in their descriptions.

Respondent A: “My job pays mine and my mother’s living and that is the main! Yes, it is a hard job, but who has easy life nowadays? I am just trying on concentrate on working and earning money. I can say that generally I like to be here: people are easy-going, very smiley, it is beautiful here, and I love mountains!

This respondent is satisfied with the present state of affaires: she is successfully fulfilling her migration project – she has earnings enough for her and her mother’s living. She admits that her job is hard, but these conditions seem to be smoothed by surroundings: she highlights positive characteristics of the local people and beautiful nature.

Next respondent also describes her job as difficult. She contrasts her free from work day as

something always exciting.

Respondent D: “My job is hard physically (I am taking care of a paralyzed woman), I am not used to this kind of work (...) but thinking how much money I make I feel better. On Sundays, I regularly meet my friends and we are taking the best out of it!”

The next respondent describes what kind of job she does and the story behind it. She does not provide information on her feelings concerning work and life in Italy, she highlights instead the relative financial freedom she received.

Respondent G: “I have two jobs. From Monday to Friday I am coming in one family to take care of an old man, he is almost blind. I help him in whatever he does, I cook for him, take him for walks etc. while his relatives are at work. As I couldn't live in this house (many of my friends who do similar work live in the house they work) I had to rent myself a room and it took almost half of my salary away. So I found a second job: every Sunday I come to clean one big house and do the laundry, it takes all day, but they pay well. These jobs give me money I could never have in Ukraine and I am grateful for this opportunity.”

The following interviewee shares about negative feelings she has towards her job: she complains about lack of respect from her employer and hopes to find another working place. On another hand, she contrasts two things: she is glad to reach relative financial stability and she enjoys being in Italy. Her main concern seems to be that her daughters are not with her.

Respondent H: “I have very mixed feelings... I don't like my job, family I am working in is not very nice to me, they think that I am their slave (...) I became very nervous. I will change it as soon as I find something else. On another hand, I am pleased to think that my daughters are receiving good education and I almost do not owe money anymore to other people. Italy is a very nice place to be, it is cheerful. I just wish my daughters could be here with me. ”

She likes to be in Italy, she says “I just wish my daughters could be here with me” implying perhaps that in this case her life there would be complete.

All of the following four respondents spoke very little about their job. Their answers were concentrated on the description of their feelings of being in Italy, focused on the depiction of the everyday life elements and leisure time. Answers of these interviewees were quite extensive and emotional.

One interviewee openly admires Italy, she lists some things that she dislikes about Ukraine to highlight what Italy means to her now.

Respondent B: “it is whole another world here... no rudeness, no everyday grey subway crowds, no alcoholics, the sea. I was first stunned by all these... People are LIVING here! We in Ukraine are MAKING our living! I don't know how I will get used to our things and problems when I come back”.

This respondent has obviously met in Italy her individually valued goals, which form for her a subjective “good life”. Her description lays beyond the financial advancement. This kind of descriptions of a personal tangible perceptions of a “good life” reached by migration play very important role. I discussed this phenomenon in the chapter “The “other” migration: Lifestyle”.

The next respondent gives a short comparison between her home city and the city of Napoli, where she migrated to. She finds the advantage in Napoli and interestingly motivates it.

Respondent C: “I sure like to be in Italy in Napoli, even though Italians themselves don't like this place very much, they say it's not safe here and lots of dirt, but I can say it is not scarier or dirtier than in my Simferopol. People around are with a healthy color of the face, well dressed – I like to watch them. In the evening, when it's a free day, I don't have many of those; I take care of myself and go to a cafeteria. I meet there other women like me, drink coffee, I am happy if get to know some Italian man.”

This interviewee alike the previous one describes what is important and personally enjoyable for her in Italy in comparison with Ukraine.

The following interviewee positively depicts her life in Italy, leisure time. She mentions the feeling of security provided by the social connections with other Ukrainians. She also shortly, but emotionally highlights the absence of the alcoholism in Italy in comparison with Ukraine, which is personally important to her.

Respondent E: “It is already two years that I am in Italy. I am very glad: it is warm and beautiful. My job is not boring. I don't feel myself lonely here, there are a lot of “our” people and Italians behave nicely. When we have time, we try with girls to travel somewhere, to watch local sights, to take photos. If we need to buy something, we go to local villages to the markets. You can dress yourself and your family for the very modest amount of money. Living in Italy I even started enjoying macaroni, there are plenty of

dishes made of them here. Their spaghetti reminds me our galushki. Also, I mentioned that Italians drink very little of alcohol, despite great and inexpensive wines. I like this very much, because I am tired to step over our drunkards on the streets. I have never seen such a thing here, hurray!”

The last respondent’s descriptions of her subjective feelings about Italy go beyond the financial improvement: migration for her was a key to a more fulfilling life and gender empowerment.

Respondent F: “Italy introduced me a new lifestyle. First of all, I am glad to work in a city, it is more interesting than life in our village. I am nowadays a bread-winner in our family, which made my husband respect me more. I enjoy that I finally have possibility to see something new.”

In this section interviewees were free to describe their subjective feelings regarding their stay in Italy. Some of them paid more attention to the depiction of the work-related issues, while some extended the descriptions to other areas of life. The large share of the descriptions including colorful comparisons of the life before and after migration, raise the question of the lifestyle importance in their migration experiences.

### **Discussion about returning to Ukraine**

A part of respondents associates their return to Ukraine with the family reunification.

It is clear from several interviews that some respondents would like to stay in Italy, however elderly family members or bureaucratic procedures cause substantial obstacles.

Respondent A: “I feel that if I were 20 years younger than I am now, this whole move to Italy would be more fun. At the moment all I worry is my old mother, I wish to come back sooner...”

Respondent B: “I don’t know what to do. I would like to stay here, but I don’t know what to do with my family. How my son can go to school here, how my husband would find a work here... It seems too hard to arrange, so I think I will come back, but don’t know when”

Respondent H: “If I get lucky and I change for a better job, I think I stay here for some more time. Otherwise I’ll come back very soon, because it is too hard to be apart from my children for so long. ”

One respondent connects her return to the home country with the improved situation on the



financial and labor markets.

Respondent D: “When moving here we made an agreement with my family that I come back as soon as the situation on markets will stabilize and people start again buying and selling their houses. At the moment there is still silence there, so we are waiting...”

Respondent E plans to return to Ukraine as soon as she saves enough of money for fulfilling her migration project: purchasing a flat.

“Before I earn enough of money, I am not coming back home. However, when I save a necessary sum of money to buy a new flat I will go with pleasure. Children are waiting.”

Her answer implies that family is the factor which makes her come back. She presents her subjective opinion in regards why women migrate and stay in Italy.

“Girls told that some people stayed in Italy for 12-15 years, they live here, earn money, send to their families and they are not hurry to go back home. Life in Italy is much easier, more interesting and stable. But I cannot be for so long without mine (Author: meaning her relatives), I miss them.”

Answer of one more respondent supports this idea.

Respondent G: “I am not planning to come back soon. As soon as I can have a job here, I will stay. Italy gave me new better and interesting life!”

Respondent C expresses sad feelings and unwillingness concerning her come back to Ukraine:

“Of course, I will come back. Very unlikely I will find a man here. They have their own beautiful girls here. But I will try to stay here as long as possible, because I have all chances for that, I am a good nurse and just a care for sick people is not hard for me. I hope I will have more job offers and while I have them I won't go away.”

For the respondent F work in Italy opened new possibilities, including paid employment, which allowed her to gain more respect from her husband. She doesn't want to accept her former position in the family business upon return.

Respondent F: “At the moment we are discussing with my husband if I would stay here some more time to earn more money so we could enlarge

our farm and pay somebody to work for us. I don't really want to do that myself anymore.”

## **Reflections**

The third set of interviews undoubtedly supported the conclusion of the previous research: the main reason for the migration of Ukrainian women to Italy is financial. Small salaries, redundancies, debts – these and other similar reasons have pushed them to go abroad.

These interviews, however, have thrown some light on the unspoken in the previous research details. The answers of some respondents have shown me the escapist nature of their migration. Escape from the obligation to hard and unpaid physical work, escape from the surrounding alcoholism, routine “grey subway crowds”, rudeness – reasons which are very different and personal to every individual. Escape to “easier, more interesting and stable” life, where is warm and beautiful, where people are with a “healthy color of the face, well dressed”, or to the world depicted by the favorite movies.

Analyzing these interviews I come to the conclusion that at least for some part (this might be dependent on age) of Ukrainian emigrants, migration is a way to a more fulfilling lifestyle and not simply to money earning. Apart from the increased purchasing power respondents spoke a lot about lifestyle aspects which they wouldn't be able to reach in their home country, as one interviewee mentions: “combining work with dream”. Money need for some migrants could serve perhaps a socially-accepted reason for escape.

The respondents spoke about their return to Ukraine only in the context of family reunification. Respondents who didn't have families back in Ukraine stated their intentions to stay in Italy as long as they have a job, one respondent expressed willingness to found family in Italy.

The migration intentions might be dependent on the age: the older respondent (47 years old, in comparison to other respondents in their 20s and 30s) shared about difficulty to change life permanently in this age, suggesting, however, that “if I were 20 years younger than I am now, this whole move to Italy would be more fun”.

Gender issues were tackled by two interviewees. For one interviewee, the migration has changed the power relationships within the family. For the second interviewee migration was seen as a better chance to find a life partner.

The type of interviewing I used on this stage of my research encouraged the respondents to share about those things, which concern them most and that are important to them, rather than to the researcher. The thematic inquiry brought much more information about studied phenomenon in comparison with the questionnaire which I used on the second stage. The questionnaire with the large share of the open-ended questions still requires an answer, rather than reflections on the topic. As I am not looking for the direct answers to my research question, but collecting hints, details and impressions, the data produced by the thematic inquiry and analyzed with an emotionalist approach had a potential to serve this purpose best.

## CONCLUSIONS

The path of my research lies through the combination of the analysis of the historical and theoretical backgrounds, secondary data, statistics, data collected by the migration research centre and data produced by myself.

I started my work from presenting the historical background. I discussed what kind of and how strong foreign influence Ukraine experienced during past decades and centuries from Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary and Slovak Republic linking it to the migration behavior of the Ukrainian people at present time. I gave the description of the main emigration waves from Ukraine in order to highlight the large scale of the phenomenon I am studying. I gave characteristics of the modern movements from Ukraine to EU.

I introduced the economic situation in the modern Ukraine with a purpose of supporting the main argument of the previous researches that the financial hardship is the main reason driving Ukrainian migration to Italy. For the question why the migration flow in question is strongly gender unbalanced I suggest seeking the possible explanation in the concept of population and economic restructuring. I suggest that one of the possible reasons for the dominance of the female migrants above male in this phenomenon is connected to the results of the ageing, relative accumulated wealth of the elderly and disabled people, increased female participation in the labor market and, therefore increased demand for the old age assistance services, in Italy.

I am searching for the explanation of the fact why Ukrainian migrants despite being in the vast majority middle and highly educated are persistently looking for the unskilled employment in Italy. Suspecting that Italy might be granting the easy access to its labor markets, which would encourage potential migrants to come there, I tried to find the answer in the documental analysis of the legislation regulating migration. After producing the analysis, I came to the conclusion that Italy does not have any favoring conditions for the Ukrainian migrants which would encourage them to come.

I continue to search for the explanations of the voluminous female migrations in the existence of the social networks of support in Italy as it is stated in the previous researches. I argue that the sole existence of the social networks is not likely to be an independent factor influencing

migrations. I argue that gender is extremely important when studying the migration behavior and suggest that Ukrainian female migrants might be using information from the social networks in Italy in the specific way which would at least partially explain their neglect of the negative odds connected with migrating to Italy.

The starting point of my research was questioning the completeness of the results of past researches concerning the reasons for this migration phenomenon. While living in Italy and observing individuals in question, I started to have an idea about other than economic and social networks factors affecting the migration decision-making in case of Ukrainians. This is where the research question “is Ukrainian migration to Italy a sole interplay of economic benefits and social networks” came from.

I introduced the concept of lifestyle migration and suggested that it might be applicable to Ukrainian emigrants. I based my assumption on the results of the sociological polls in Ukraine and personal impressions.

Eventually, based on the normative analysis I made earlier and the evidence I collected from the Italian, Ukrainian and international sources, research centers and NGOs I came to the conclusion that element of lifestyle might be unfairly omitted in the previous study of the Ukrainian migration to Italy. However, I needed more empirical evidence of that.

My qualitative empirical study was guided by the principles of the Grounded theory and, therefore, data has been obtained by different methods and questions asked in the interviews had variations. In my research, I had three sets of data.

The first set included 5 semi-structured interviews received from the CeSPI (Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale) research centre in Rome, Italy. These interviews clearly demonstrate the consistency with the results of major researches done concerning the factors influencing Ukrainian migration to Italy: economic needs are proclaimed to be the only factor which has influenced their decision of migrating, while social networks are believed to have helped. However, the adopted positivist approach (facts versus constructed reality) for analyzing this set of data raised a set of contradictions. One of the biggest contradictions was that despite a fully reached purpose of migration and strong home-sick feeling, migrants continue to stay in Italy. This brought me a stronger feeling that there might be other than financial factors

driving this process.

For the second stage, I designed the questionnaire with a purpose to avoid the simplicity studying the reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy. The results of the first interview produce some knowledge, while my questionnaire's purpose was to deepen it.

I, unfortunately, received very short answers in the questionnaire and one question, despite the precise instructions, was incorrectly answered by the majority of the interviewees. In these terms, I decided to use the data selectively, based on the popularity of the questions. Two questions seemed to be more appealing to the respondents than the others: they were answered quite extensively. One of them was number seven, which asked to describe the respondent's vision of Italy before migration. This question was asked in order to contribute to the discovery of possible lifestyle migration aspect by providing us with valuable information about the possible prejudices of the respondents. The second question was asking to compare the position of a woman in Ukrainian and Italian societies. The bright comparisons between the position of woman in Italy and Ukraine, as well as the prejudices migrants had before moving strengthened my theory about the importance of the lifestyle element in the studied migration.

In order to fulfill more my knowledge I have initiated one more step in a data collecting. I created a simple thematic inquiry: four questions about people's migration intentions and experiences. The idea behind this type of interviewing was that respondents are free and they will write about issues which concern them, rather than about issues predetermined by the researcher. Part of the respondents who participated in this stage shared their colorful comparisons between life before the migration and life after; shared about new life possibilities; talked about new gender relationships migration brought in their family. The way respondents attached the meaning to their experiences is in a full compliance with the theory of lifestyle migration.

In my research about the reasons of the Ukrainian migration to Italy I attempted to raise a discussion. I do not reject the results of previous researches, claiming that financial reasons are the decisive ones for this phenomenon. The opposite, I agree with them: severe financial difficulties push people to migrate. Social networks, meanwhile, seem to have an extremely close tie with gender issues in this phenomenon: Ukrainian prospective female migrants are

likely to use information from the social networks not only as a source for simplified job and accommodation search, but as a source of the information about lifestyle.

Some interviews, I believe, have thrown light on the unspoken in the previous research details. The answers of some respondents have shown me the escapist nature of their migration. Escape from the obligation to hard and unpaid physical work, escape from the surrounding alcoholism, routine “grey subway crowds”, rudeness, gender inequality – reasons which are very different and personal to every individual. I came to the conclusion, that for at least a part of Ukrainian emigrants, migration is a way to a more fulfilling lifestyle and not simply to money earning.

The Ukrainian migration to Italy is the complex and complicated interplay of the economic benefits, social networks and lifestyle.

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## **ATTACHMENTS**

### Attachment 1: Tables

Table 1. The stock of regular Ukrainian migrants, the stock of regular migrant Ukrainian women and the number of people migrated to selected countries in 2008.

Table 2. Median earnings per month in the national currencies and in euro in selected countries.

Table 3. Labor market access for the third-country nationals and bilateral agreements with Ukraine for selected countries.

Table 4. Waiting period for the family reunification access for the third-country nationals and associated rights for reunited family members in selected countries.

Table 5. Waiting period for the long-term residence permit for the third-country nationals in the selected countries.

Table 6. Waiting period for naturalization for the third-country nationals in the selected countries.

Attachment 2: The questionnaire

Nationality  
Національність  
Национальность

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Age  
Вік  
Возраст

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Marital status (married/in a relationship/divorced/single/widow)  
Сімейний стан (одружена/у стабільних відносинах/розлучена/неодружена/вдова)  
Семейное положение (замужем/в стабильных отношениях /разведена/не замужем/вдова)

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Professional education (please, specify the level)  
Професійна освіта (також вкажіть, будь-ласка, рівень)  
Профессиональное образование (укажите, пожалуйста, уровень)

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1. What was the reason of your migration?

Що стало причиною Вашого переїзду?

Что послужило причиной Вашего переезда?

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2. Please explain, why did you choose exactly Italy to migrate?

Поясніть, будь ласка, чому Ви обрали саме Італію для міграції?

Поясните, пожалуйста, почему Вы выбрали именно Италию для миграции?

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3. Please, evaluate how strongly following factors influenced your decision to migrate exactly to Italy on the scale from one to five (1=didn't affect at all, 2=affected a little, 3=affected, but wasn't the main reason, 4=affected a lot, 5=affected the most). Please, circle the digit corresponding to your variant for each factor.

Оцініть, будь ласка, як сильно наступні фактори вплинули на Ваше рішення емігрувати до Італії за шкалою від 1 до 5 (1=зовсім не вплинули, 2=трошки вплинули, 3=вплинули, але не були основною причиною, 4=сильно вплинули, 5=вплинули більше всього). Будь ласка, обведіть цифру, яка відповідає Вашому варіанту відповіді.

Оцените, пожалуйста, как сильно следующие факторы повлияли на Ваше решение эмигрировать именно в Италию по шкале от 1 до 5 (1=совсем не повлияло, 2=повлияло немного, 3=повлияло, но не явилось главной причиной, 4=сильно повлияло, 5=повлияло больше всего). Пожалуйста, обведите цифру относящуюся к Вашему варианту ответа для каждого фактора.

Climate Климат Климат	1	2	3	4	5
Image of the country імідж країни имидж страны	1	2	3	4	5
Gender relationships гендерні відносини взаимоотношения между полами	1	2	3	4	5
Friends who had working experience in this country друзі, що мали досвід роботи в цій країні друзья имевшие опыт работы в этой стране	1	2	3	4	5
National cuisine національна кухня национальная кухня	1	2	3	4	5
Language of this country мова даної країни язык этой страны	1	2	3	4	5

4. How long have you been living in Italy?

Скільки часу загалом Ви проживаєте в Італії?

Как долго в сумме Вы проживаете в Италии?

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5. Have you reached your target of migration?

Чи досягли Ви на сьогодні поставленої мети?

Достигли ли Вы своей намеченной цели?

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6. Which languages did you speak before moving to Italy? Please, specify the level of knowledge (beginner, intermediate, advanced)

Якими мовами Ви володіли до того, як переїхали до Італії? Будь ласка, вкажіть мови та рівні володіння ними (початковий, середній, високий)

Какими языками Вы владели до того, как переехали в Италию? Пожалуйста, укажите уровень их владения (начальный, средний, высокий)

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7. What was your image of Italy before you moved? Please, describe.

Яке Ви мали уявлення про Італію до того, як Ви приїхали сюди? Будь ласка, опишіть.

Каково было Ваше представление об Италии до того, как Вы приехали сюда? Опишите, пожалуйста.

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8. Which image, associations do you have in relation to Czech Republic? Please, describe.

Які уявлення, асоціації Ви маєте про Чеську Республіку? Будь ласка, опишіть.

Какое представление, ассоциации Вы имеете по отношению к Чехии? Пожалуйста, попытайтесь описать даже если Вы там не были.

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9. Which kind of a work do you have in Italy?

Ким Ви працюєте в Італії (який вид роботи)?

Кем Вы работаете в Италии (какой вид работы выполняете)?

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10. What do you think about your job in Italy (satisfied, disappointed, other)?  
Please, describe.

Що Ви думаєте про свою роботу в Італії (Ви задоволені, розчаровані, ін.)?  
Будь ласка, опишіть.

Что Вы думаете о своей работе в Италии (Вы удовлетворены, разочарованы,  
проч.)? Пожалуйста, опишите.

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11. Do you have relatives back in Ukraine? Which?

Чи у Вас залишились родичі в Україні? Хто?

Остались ли у Вас родственники на Украине? Кто?

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12. Do you plan to return to Ukraine on a permanent basis? If yes, how soon?

Чи плануєте Ви скоро повернутись в Україну на постійній основі? Якщо так, то коли?

Планируете ли Вы в скором времени вернуться на Украину на постоянной основе? Если планируете, то как скоро?

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13. If you answered "yes" for the question #5, describe please the reasons why do you still stay in Italy?

Якщо Ви відповіли „Так” у питанні №5, то опишіть, будь ласка, причини, чому Ви залишились до сьогодні?

Если Вы ответили на вопрос №5 ”да”, опишите, пожалуйста, причины почему Вы по-прежнему остаетесь в Италии?

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14. Please, imagine the situation: you are suggested a job according your education in Czech Republic with a salary equal your present salary in Italy and with a perspective of both career and salary advancement- will you accept this offer?

Будь ласка, уявіть ситуацію: Вам пропонують роботу, що відповідає Вашій освіті у Чеській Республіці з оплатою на тому ж рівні, що Ви отримуєте зараз

в Італії, але з перспективою зростання (росту) як в кар'єрному плані, так і в грошовому- Чи Ви приймете пропозицію?

Пожалуйста, представьте себе ситуацию: Вам предлагают работу согласно Вашему образованию в Чехии с оплатой равной Вашему прежнему заработку в Италии, но с перспективой роста как в карьерном плане, так и в денежном- приняли бы Вы это предложение?

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15. Please, explain why would or wouldn't you accept this offer?

Будь ласка, поясніть чому Ви приймете або не приймете пропозицію?

Объясните, пожалуйста, почему Вы бы приняли или нет это предложение?

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16. Where do you feel yourself more protected in Ukraine or in Italy?

Ви відчуваєте себе більш надійно та захищено в Італії чи Україні?

Где Вы чувствуете себя более защищенной на Украине или в Италии?

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17. Did your marital status change during your stay in Italy? Please, specify (for example got married, divorced, started a relationship)

Чи змінився Ваш сімейний стан за час перебування в Італії? Будь ласка, уточніть (наприклад, вийшли заміж, розлучились, зустріли партнера).

Изменилось ли Ваше семейное положение за время пребывания в Италии? Пожалуйста, уточните (к примеру, вышли замуж, развелись, приобрели партнера)

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18. Please, estimate where do you have more life satisfaction in Italy or Ukraine?

Будь ласка, оцініть, де Ви отримуєте більше задоволення від життя: в Італії чи Україні?

Оцените, пожалуйста, где вы ощущаете наиболее высокое удовлетворение от жизни в Италии или на Украине?

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19. How do you think, have you changed after working abroad? If yes, what exactly has changed?

Як Ви вважаєте, чи змінились Ви після роботи закордоном? Якщо так, то що саме змінилось?

Как Вы думаете, изменились ли Вы после опыта работы за границей? Если да, то что именно изменилось?

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20. Please, compare position of woman in Ukrainian and Italian societies.

Будь ласка, порівняйте положення жінки в українському та італійському суспільстві.

Сравните, пожалуйста, позицию женщины в украинском и итальянском обществах.

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21. Where do you feel yourself more appreciated as a woman: in Italy or Ukraine?  
Please, explain why.

В якій країні Вас більше цінять як жінку: в Італії чи в Україні? Будь ласка,  
поясніть чому.

Где Вы чувствуете Вас больше ценят как женщину: в Италии или на Украине?  
Пожалуйста, объясните почему.

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Here you can leave your email address in case you would agree to participate again  
in a similar interview

Тут Ви можете вказати свою електронну адресу, в разі якщо Ви погоджуєтесь  
прийняти участь у схожих дослідженнях у майбутньому

Здесь Вы можете оставить свой электронный адрес в случае если Вы были бы  
согласны еще раз принять участие в подобном опросе

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Here you can leave your email address in case you would like to receive results of  
my research

Тут Ви можете вказати свою електронну адресу в разі якщо Ви б хотіли  
отримати результати цього дослідження на власну електронну скриньку

Здесь Вы можете оставить свой электронный адрес в случае если Вы хотите  
получить результаты моего исследования

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Thank you!

Спасибо!

Дякую!

### Attachment 3: The thematic inquiry

1. Please, tell us the reasons of your migration
2. Why did you choose Italy as your destination
3. Please, describe how you feel yourself now here, in Italy
4. What do you think about coming back to Ukraine or staying here.