



Project Paper 11

Within Country Analysis

Perceptions, imaginations, life-satisfaction and socio-demography: The case of Ukraine

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Introduction

Ukraine is a middle-income country sandwiched between Russia and the EU. It is characterised by a weak economy, severely hit by the recent economic crisis and an ageing and fast shrinking population, from 50 million in the 1990s to around 45 million in the late 2000s. Ukraine has a long tradition of migration; before WWII to Canada and the US, during Soviet times to other Soviet republics and since independence to Russia and the US. In recent decades Ukraine has been identified as a major sending countries for labour migrants, often irregular but also for students. Ukraine also receives immigrants, though in small numbers, notably international students and asylum seekers from many parts of the world. We found both a socially embedded culture of migration in some parts of the country, notably in Zbaraz, Western Ukraine, high levels of individualism in other parts and also a culture of sedenterism, often attributed to strong ties to family and friends.

The main and most striking findings are that (a) generally, migration aspirations are high in Ukraine, 49.3 percent; (b) that migration aspirations are also high amongst women and usually no significant gender differences can be identified; (c) with few exceptions the higher educated also display high or even very high migration aspiration, up to almost 80 percent in one research area; (d) respondents hold well-founded rather negative perceptions of Ukraine whilst 'Europe is almost perceived a 'dream land', (e) criteria are a mix of monetary and non-monetary aspects and (f) people dissatisfied with their life have higher migration aspiration (respondents are often dissatisfied with their financial situation but still satisfied with their social life.

1. Socio-demographic description of respondents

The research for the EUMAGINE Project in Ukraine was conducted in four research areas, Zbaraz, (research area with high emigration), Novovodolazka (research area with low emigration), Znamyanska (area specifically analysed for the human rights situation) and Solomyansky rayon/Kyiv (research area with immigration history). In each research area 500 survey interviews and 20 in-depth interviews were conducted, a total of 2000 survey interviews and 80 qualitative interviews. The section outlines the socio-demographic description of the respondents in Ukraine in order to display the background for the thematic analysis that will follow in the following sections. The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are given on three levels: of research area, gender, and migration aspiration. Accordingly, the main characteristics that are presented here are: age, education, family structure, economic status, migration experience and social networks.

Key findings

- Other than expected, significant level of people with the aspiration to migrate were found in the low emigration area too. Economic hardship and lack of opportunities are the main driving forces to go abroad. Particularly, the need to provide for the upbringing of dependent children was articulated a relevant incentive to migrate.
- In contrast to popular assumptions, peoples' dependence in high emigration areas on remittance is low, no more than 7 percent at the most.
- Internal migration between regions of Ukraine seems largely insignificant (80-90 percent of the respondents were born and live life long in the same localities), except in the capital where one third of surveyed people in Kyiv are from another region r abroad.
- Once having been abroad, people are reluctant to go back to the home country, as overall, insignificant number of people (the only exception is Western Ukraine with around 10 percent on average), whose relatives lived abroad for a while, but returned to Ukraine.

Otherwise, the research findings identified diverse acute problems the people in Ukraine are confronted with. These are high levels of unemployment, low salaries and unequal economic development of the regions², poor social services (education). This results in widespread pessimism with respect to future socio-politico-economic changes.

HH4 What is [name]'s year of birth?

This question analyses the age of those aspiring to migrate if they had the opportunity respectively to stay in Ukraine. In general, Table HH4 shows that 28-43 percent of younger men, 18-24, and 16-40 percent of younger women aspire going abroad, hence slightly less. It also shows that male migration aspiration decrease with age whereas women only develop higher migration aspirations once they are older, 24-29. think more or less alike in all four research areas as far as staying in Ukraine is concerned. This might signal a response to the difficult socio-economic situation in Ukraine, when migration is seen by men and women alike as a strategy to generate the household income. On the other hand, the proportion of those who are clear about their aspiration to stay in Ukraine is surprisingly low and ranges from 17-35 percent though results are more varied across gender and age groups.

There are however, some exceptions. Whilst normally the youngest men aspire going abroad in Novovodolaz'ka it is men age 25-29 and in Znamyanska it is men from the age group 35-39. With

² Gross Regional Product (GRP) demonstrates productivity and economic growth of each region. Data for 2004-2010 show how diverse regions of Ukraine are in their economic output with more developed regions and backward regions. For additional information see data provided by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine - <http://www.zt.ukrstat.gov.ua/StatInfo/Poiasn/nacpoasn.htm>

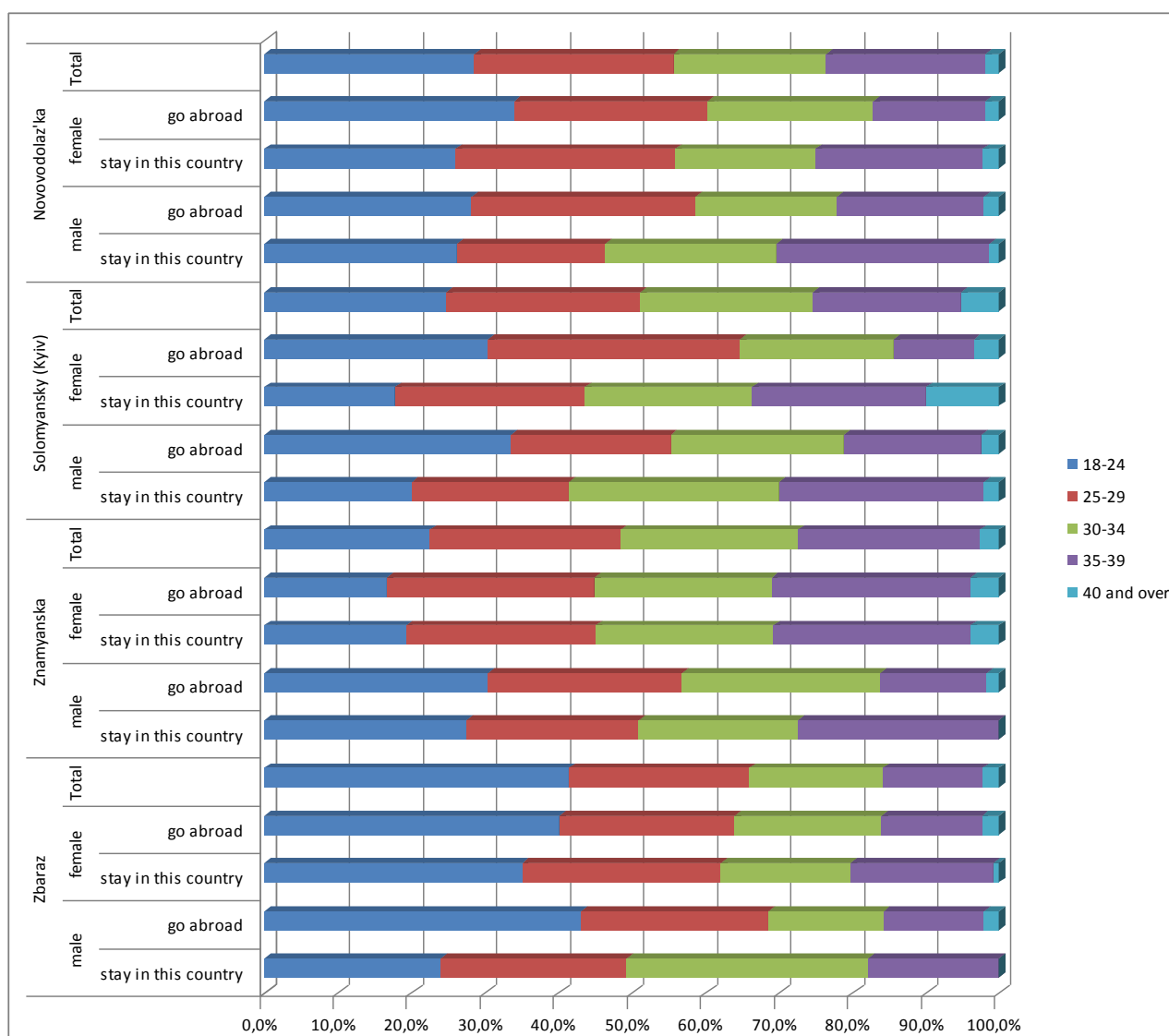
regards to women, they normally aspire going abroad when a little older, 25-29, with the exception of Zbaraz where 40.2 percent of the young women aspire to migrate.

In Solomyansky rayon, the research area with a high immigration rate migration aspirations are also high; about one third of women age 18-29 would like to leave Ukraine if possible. Men in the age group 18-24 years old account for over 43 percent in Zbaraz – the area with high emigration flow to the West. Another relevant issue is that young men of the same age from Novovodolaz'ka, a research area with a high eastward migration rate, display a 15 percent lower aspiration to migrate. It could thus be assumed that emigration to Western countries is more popular in Zbaraz for young men than for men in Novovodolaz'ka to go to Russia.

Table HH4 What is [name]'s year of birth?

			age groups				
			18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 and over
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	24,0%	25,3%	32,9%	17,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	43,2%	25,5%	15,7%	13,7%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	35,1%	27,1%	17,5%	19,5%	0,8%
		go abroad	40,2%	23,8%	20,1%	13,7%	2,3%
	Total		41,5%	24,6%	18,2%	13,7%	2,1%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	27,5%	23,5%	21,7%	27,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	30,5%	26,5%	26,9%	14,6%	1,6%
	female	stay in this country	19,3%	25,8%	24,2%	26,8%	3,8%
		go abroad	16,6%	28,4%	24,1%	27,1%	3,8%
	Total		22,6%	25,9%	24,1%	24,8%	2,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	20,1%	21,4%	28,5%	27,9%	2,0%
		go abroad	33,6%	21,7%	23,5%	18,7%	2,4%
	female	stay in this country	17,7%	26,0%	22,8%	23,6%	9,9%
		go abroad	30,5%	34,3%	20,8%	11,0%	3,4%
	Total		24,8%	26,4%	23,5%	20,2%	5,1%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	26,3%	20,1%	23,3%	29,1%	1,2%
		go abroad	28,2%	30,5%	19,3%	20,1%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	26,1%	29,9%	19,1%	22,8%	2,2%
		go abroad	34,0%	26,4%	22,5%	15,2%	1,9%
	Total		28,6%	27,1%	20,9%	21,6%	1,9%

Figure HH4 What is [name]'s year of birth?



HH7 If [name] goes to school or went to school: what was the last year [name] completed

Data in table HH7 illustrates the educational level of respondents and how it correlates with their migration or stay aspirations. Generally, literacy level is very high in Ukraine³ and high school education is free of charge and mandatory. Our findings show that amongst those who aspire to migration usually the better educated display a higher propensity to go abroad except women in Znamyanska and men in Novovorodolaz'ka. The less educated respondents display a higher propensity to stay in the country except women in Zbaraz and women and men in Solomyansky.

Table HH7 distinguishes between two categories, less than 12 years of schooling, usually high school, and more than 12 years implying a university degree. The figures in table HH7 illustrate that women are better educated than men except in Znamyanska. However, also in Znamyanska the percentage of female university graduates is 41.3 of those who want to stay in Ukraine vs. 38.5 percent of those who want to go abroad. Overall, women who expressed willingness to go abroad have predominantly graduated from universities. They constitute over 70 percent in the capital city (Solomyansky rayon) and thus rate it the most highly. The same trend is revealed also among men in

³ According to the World Bank Report "Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)" Ukraine had 100% literacy rate as of 2009. Online available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS>; accessed on 2 August 2012

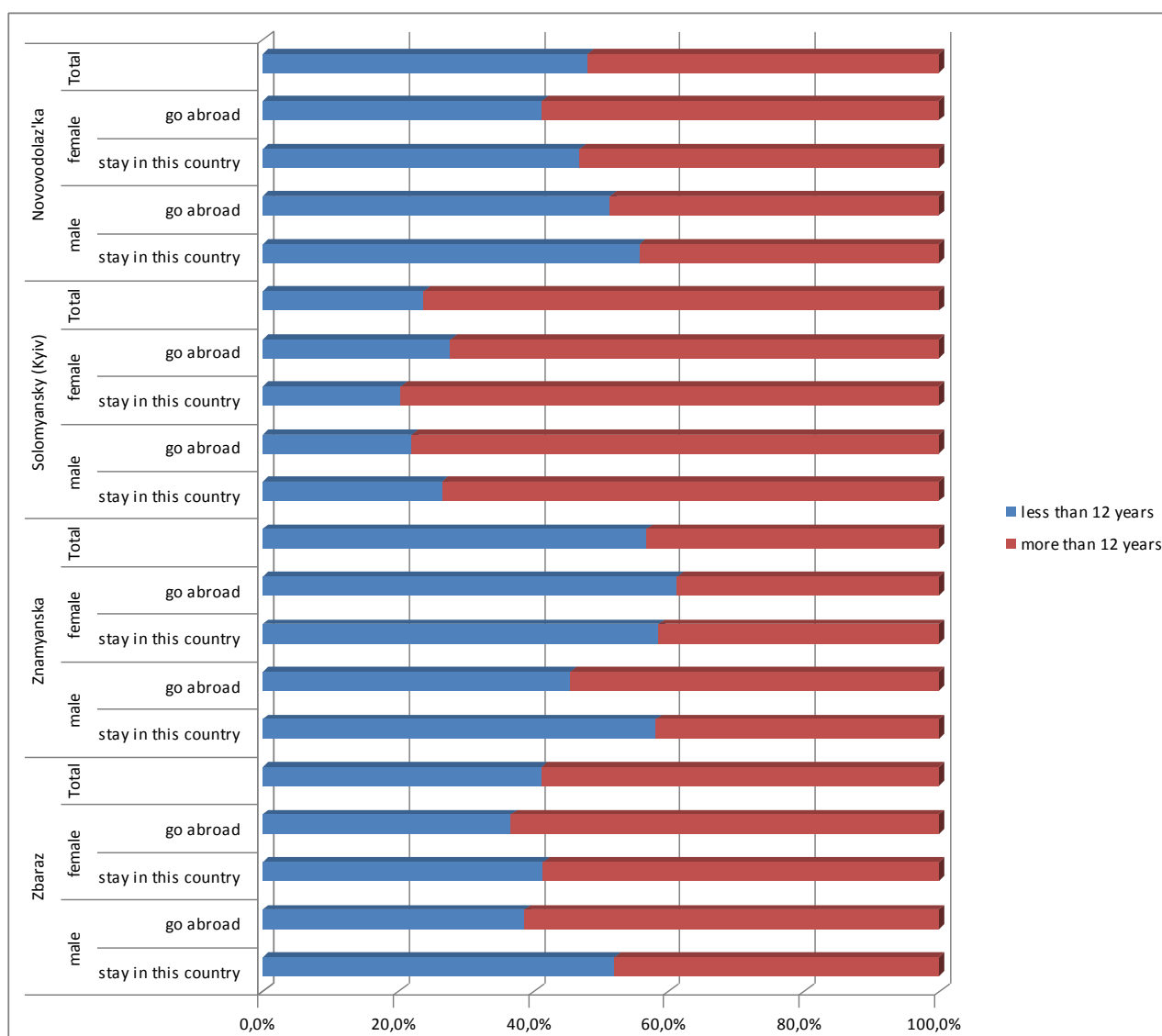
this area who aspire to go abroad, but the percentage is higher (77.9 percent to be exact). Unlike in all other areas, men in Novovodolaz'ka comprise less than half of the respondents who graduated from universities. This reflects the observation that economic migrants from Eastern Ukraine mostly go to Russia and are mainly (skilled) workers with no university background. Since Novovodolaz'ka is the research locality with a high emigration rate and generates many economic migrants to Russia, this might explain why emigration-oriented men are less numerous among university graduates. Figures on respondents who prefer staying in Ukraine also support the assumption that women are better educated than men with the exception of Znamyanska where more female respondents have no university diploma (58.7 percent – high schools vs. 41.3 percent – higher schools). At the same time, women and men who graduated from higher schools and want to stay in Ukraine are almost equal in numbers in Znamyanska (exceed 40 percent slightly). This is also true for male and female respondents, who finished high schools. They are up to 60 percent in both cases.

Such migration aspirations if the better educated could be considered problematic for the Ukrainian labour market as it could result in lower quality of available personnel countrywide. In the long term this might undermine the country's reform agenda and economic recovery as in general human capital index might decrease significantly.

Table HH7 If [name] goes to school or went to school: what was the last year [name] completed

			HH7 recoded	
			less than 12 years	more than 12 years
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	52,1%	47,9%
		go abroad	38,8%	61,2%
	female	stay in this country	41,6%	58,4%
		go abroad	36,8%	63,2%
	Total		41,3%	58,7%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	58,3%	41,7%
		go abroad	45,6%	54,4%
	female	stay in this country	58,7%	41,3%
		go abroad	61,5%	38,5%
	Total		56,9%	43,1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	26,6%	73,4%
		go abroad	22,1%	77,9%
	female	stay in this country	20,5%	79,5%
		go abroad	27,8%	72,2%
	Total		23,9%	76,1%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	55,8%	44,2%
		go abroad	51,5%	48,5%
	female	stay in this country	46,9%	53,1%
		go abroad	41,4%	58,6%
	Total		48,2%	51,8%

Figure HH7 If [name] goes to school or went to school: what was the last year [name] completed



HH8 What is the principal activity of [name]?

The data in table show the aspiration to stay respectively to go migrate across the various economic and non-economic activities - students, household keepers, unemployed individuals, skilled workers from the private sector, and teachers – and across both genders. The miscellaneous and thus unspecified category is the largest in all research areas. The second largest category are housewives, rarely men, (13-23 percent). The third largest category are skilled manual workers from the private sector, predominantly male. The third largest group are students; and on average about 10 percent are unemployed, though with significant differences across the regions.

The largest proportion of those who want to migrate are the male and female 'other' category in Solomyansky (Kyiv) (52.5 percent and 40.2 percent), male manual workers from Novovorodolaz'ka (35.3 percent), unemployed men (31.9 percent) and housewives from Zbaraz (30.3 percent), housewives from Solomyansky (24.5 percent) and female students from Zbaraz (22 percent). Generally, students constitute a significant part of respondents who want to go abroad (both males and females). In Zbaraz these are 18 percent and 22 percent; they even outnumber students with migration aspiration in Kyiv. This is even more remarkable as students there have various opportunities of going abroad, e.g. our ethnographic research found numerous advertisements offering migration advice or opportunities. In all research areas more unemployed; unskilled manual

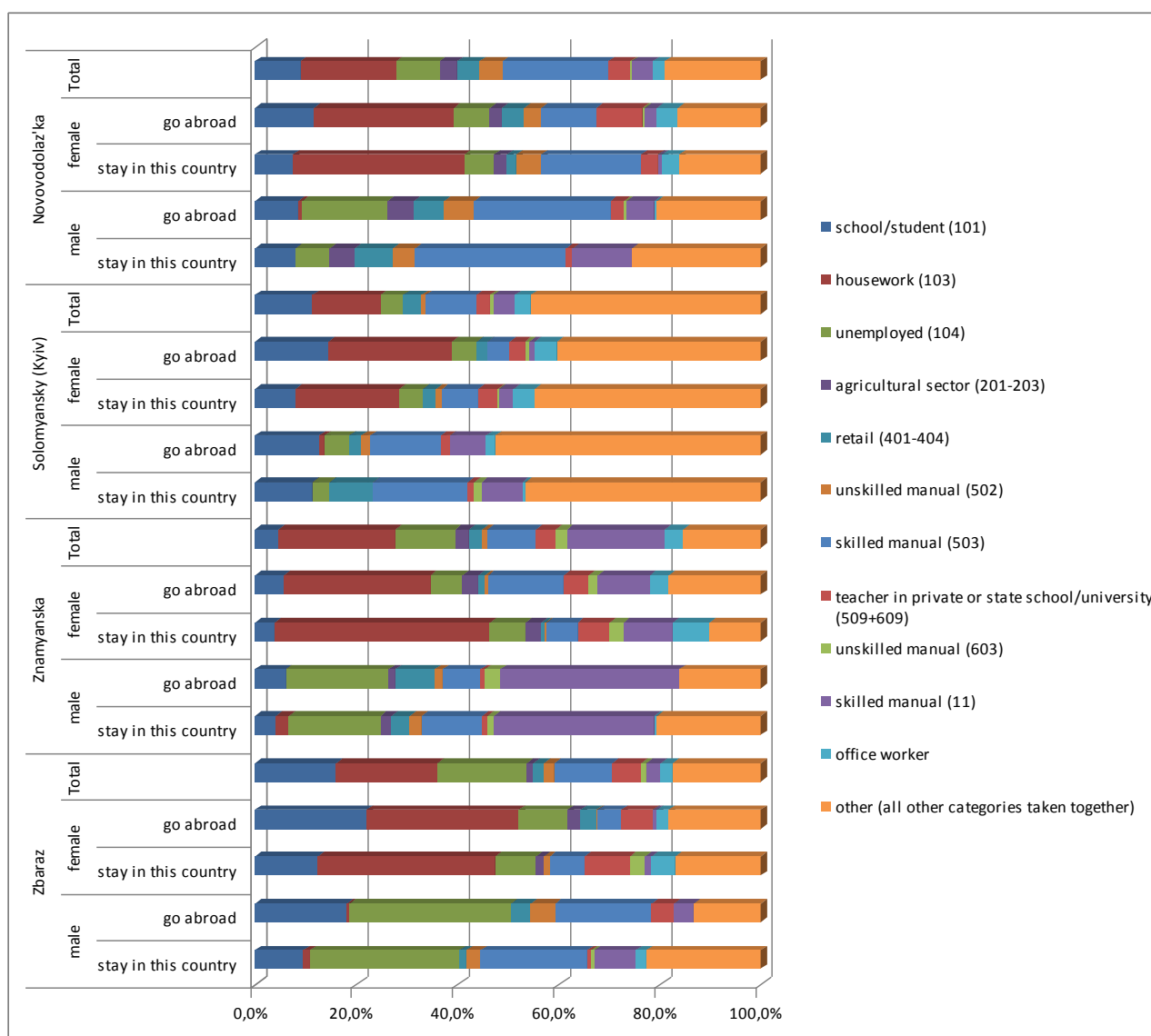
workers and in four cases teachers want to migrate rather than to stay though absolute figures are not high but significant compared to other activity categories.

The largest category of those who want to stay in Ukraine are housewives from Znamyanska, over 40 percent and thus standing out in the 'stay' category. Remarkably, men who are unemployed are still willing to stay in Ukraine, 29.5 percent of those who want to stay in Zbaraz are unemployed. Also the proportion of unemployed women who are willing to go abroad is generally below 10 percent, except in Novovodolaz'ka where it is 17 percent and lower than the proportion of male unemployed male. This implies that it is rather men than women in their role as main bread winners to migrate for to generating income by migration.

Table HH8 What is the principal activity of [name]?

			HH8 recoded											
			school/student (101)	housework (103)	unemployed (104)	agricultural sector (201-203)	retail (401-404)	unskilled manual (502)	skilled manual (503)	teacher in private or state school/university (509+609)	unskilled manual (603)	skilled manual (11)	office worker	other (all other categories taken together)
Zbaraz	Male	stay	9,6%	1,4%	29,5%	0,0%	1,4 %	2,7%	21,2 %	0,7%	0,7%	8,2%	2,0%	22,6%
		go	18,2%	0,5%	31,9%	0,0%	3,9 %	4,9%	19,1 %	4,4%	0,0%	3,9%	0,0%	13,2%
	female	stay	12,4%	35,1%	8,1%	1,5%	0,0 %	1,2%	6,9%	8,9%	3,1%	1,2%	4,6%	17,0%
		go	22,0%	30,3%	9,5%	2,7%	3,0 %	0,4%	4,5%	6,4%	0,0%	0,8%	2,3%	18,2%
	Total		16,2%	19,9%	17,7%	1,3%	2,1 %	2,1%	11,4 %	5,7%	1,0%	2,9%	2,4%	17,4%
Znamyanska	Male	stay	4,2%	2,5%	18,1%	2,3%	3,5 %	2,4%	11,9 %	1,2%	1,2%	31,8 %	0,6%	20,4%
		go	6,1%	0,0%	20,3%	1,5%	7,7 %	1,6%	7,5%	0,7%	3,1%	35,3 %	0,0%	16,1%
	female	stay	3,9%	42,7%	6,9%	3,2%	0,7 %	0,4%	6,1%	6,4%	2,7%	9,8%	7,1%	10,2%
		go	5,8%	28,9%	6,5%	3,1%	1,3 %	0,7%	14,9 %	4,9%	1,9%	10,3 %	3,8%	18,2%
	Total		4,7%	23,1%	11,7%	2,7%	2,7 %	1,1%	9,5%	3,9%	2,3%	19,4 %	3,7%	15,2%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	Male	stay	11,4%	0,0%	3,3%	0,0%	8,7 %	0,0%	18,7 %	1,3%	1,3%	8,0%	0,7%	46,5%
		go	12,6%	1,2%	4,8%	0,0%	2,4 %	1,8%	13,9 %	1,8%	0,0%	7,1%	1,8%	52,5%
	female	stay	8,1%	20,3%	4,8%	0,0%	2,6 %	1,1%	7,1%	4,0%	0,4%	2,8%	4,1%	44,7%
		go	14,5%	24,5%	5,0%	0,0%	2,0 %	0,0%	4,4%	3,0%	0,9%	1,0%	4,5%	40,2%
	Total		11,3%	13,5%	4,6%	0,0%	3,6 %	0,8%	10,0 %	2,8%	0,6%	4,2%	3,1%	45,6%
Novovodolaz'ka	Male	stay	8,1%	0,0%	6,7%	4,9%	7,6 %	4,3%	30,0 %	1,2%	0,0%	11,8 %	0,0%	25,4%
		go	8,7%	0,6%	17,0%	5,2%	5,9 %	5,9%	27,0 %	2,7%	0,7%	5,3%	0,7%	20,4%
	female	stay	7,5%	33,9%	6,0%	2,6%	1,8 %	4,8%	19,9 %	3,4%	0,0%	0,7%	3,4%	16,1%
		go	11,6%	27,8%	7,2%	2,4%	4,3 %	3,3%	11,0 %	9,0%	0,5%	2,4%	4,3%	16,3%
	Total		8,9%	19,0%	8,6%	3,5%	4,4 %	4,5%	20,9 %	4,3%	0,3%	4,3%	2,4%	18,9%

Figure HH8 What is the principal activity of [name]?



HH9 Marital status

Data in table HH9 indicate the interrelation between peoples' migration aspirations and their marital status. Generally, married men and women are more likely to say they want to stay in Ukraine whereas those never married are more likely to aspire going abroad.

Among all areas, Znamyanska is an interesting case in two aspects. Firstly, it provides the highest percentage (58.1 percent) of married respondents, who would like to go abroad whilst this area account for the highest divorce level (10.6 percent of respondents). At the same time, both Zbaraz and Novovodolaz'ka reveal the lowest number of divorced respondents (3.2 percent vs. 6.8 percent). Therefore, there might be two explanatory factors. Either decision about going abroad might be easier for this category of respondents as they have no family which they have to leave for a while; or it might be already a migration outcome for those who have migration experience.

With regard to gender criterion and preference to stay in the home country, Znamyanska also reveals two contradicting tendencies. It has the highest percentage of women who plan to stay in Ukraine (76.9 percent) and at the same time the lowest percentage of men (53.6 percent) with the same priority.

As one informant explains men are principally prepared to going abroad with their families but due to a difficulties might nevertheless decide against it:

'It is hard to go abroad with the family. Predominantly the husband goes abroad or a wife. In my case, for example, my friend had gone to Canada without his wife, then his wife has joined him there, two other friends went abroad alone – one to Germany, another one to Sweden' [41245, Zbaraz research area].

In particular, the same informant points to embassy regulations not to let all family members go abroad together, saying:

'Yes, it is very hard. In general it will be a 100 percent waiver at the embassy and to go abroad illegally will also be very difficult' [41245, Zbaraz research area].

It is noteworthy that the family issue is linked to the migration status:

'If you go abroad illegally, then it will be a problem to enrol your child to kindergarten.... If [you go abroad] legally, I think it will not be hard' [41127, Zbaraz research area].

As far as Znamyanska and Novovodolaz'ka are concerned, single men have less motivation to go abroad than married respondents and represent 35.8 percent vs. 52.1 percent in Znamyanska and 43.1 percent vs 45.3 percent in Novovodolaz'ka. It might be assumed that having to support a family is an incentive for married people to go abroad. In Zbaraz more respondents motivated to going abroad are single males.

In overall, women demonstrate a higher propensity to migrate than men. They are over 60 percent in all research areas except Solomyansky rayon. Remarkably, the number of migration-oriented women in Znamyanska (63.2 percent), an area with low emigration rate, appears to be even higher than in Zbaraz (62.5 percent) which produces many migrants to the EU countries. Novovodola'zka holds a leading position with its 68.3 percent. Noteworthy, men from Znamyanska are most numerous among those, aspired to go abroad, making up 52.1 percent. This might be due to an economic hardship which ordinary citizens face and lack of opportunities to maintain decent standard of living. To be noted, the region Znamyanska is located in is a region with low economic development compared to other regions of the country. In other localities the percentage of men from this category varies between 41-46 percent.

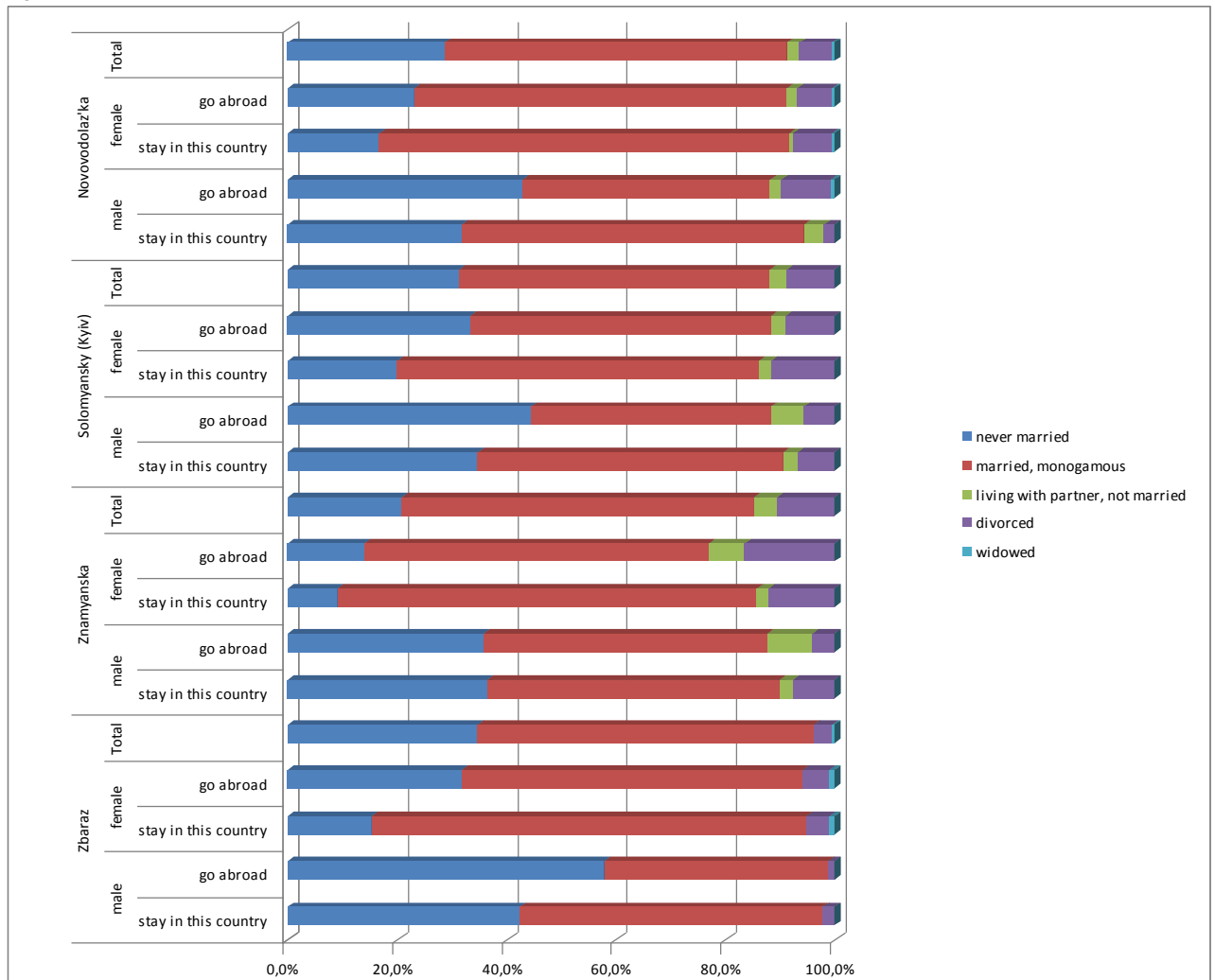
Generally speaking, migration-oriented respondents who are living with a partner, not being married are not significant in number compared to two first categories. This fact demonstrates the ongoing importance of the institution of marriage in the Ukrainian society. Remarkably, no respondents at all from this category were identified in Western Ukraine – in Zbaraz - which is generally considered more conservative in this respect.

Table HH9 Marital status

			marital status				
			never married	married, monogamous	living with partner, not married	divorced	widowed
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	42,5%	55,4%	0,0%	2,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	57,8%	41,2%	0,0%	1,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	15,3%	79,8%	0,0%	4,2%	0,8%
		go abroad	31,8%	62,5%	0,0%	4,9%	0,8%
	Total		34,7%	61,5%	0,0%	3,3%	0,5%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	36,5%	53,6%	2,5%	7,5%	0,0%
		go abroad	35,8%	52,1%	8,2%	3,9%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	9,0%	76,9%	2,0%	12,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	13,9%	63,2%	6,6%	16,3%	0,0%
	Total		21,0%	64,4%	4,2%	10,5%	0,0%
Solomyansky	male	stay in this	34,8%	55,9%	2,7%	6,6%	0,0%

(Kyiv)		country					
		go abroad	44,5%	44,1%	6,0%	5,4%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	20,0%	66,2%	2,2%	11,5%	0,0%
		go abroad	33,5%	55,1%	2,5%	8,9%	0,0%
	Total		31,4%	56,7%	3,2%	8,6%	0,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	31,9%	62,7%	3,6%	1,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	43,1%	45,3%	2,0%	9,0%	0,6%
	female	stay in this country	16,8%	75,0%	0,7%	7,2%	0,4%
		go abroad	23,1%	68,3%	1,9%	6,3%	0,4%
	Total		28,8%	62,7%	2,2%	5,9%	0,4%

Figure HH9 Marital status



HH11 Where was [name] born?

Table HH11 aims to establish a correlation between the place of birth and migration aspirations of respondents. Answers are grouped into three categories, born in region of survey; born elsewhere in country of residence; born in another country. By and large, the overwhelming proportion of our respondents were born in the survey region illustrating that internal mobility within Ukraine is low, except in the capital Kiev, a destination for internal and international migration, where one third was born elsewhere in the country or even abroad. The results imply that males and females respondents who want to go abroad were born predominantly in the research localities, well over 80 percent in

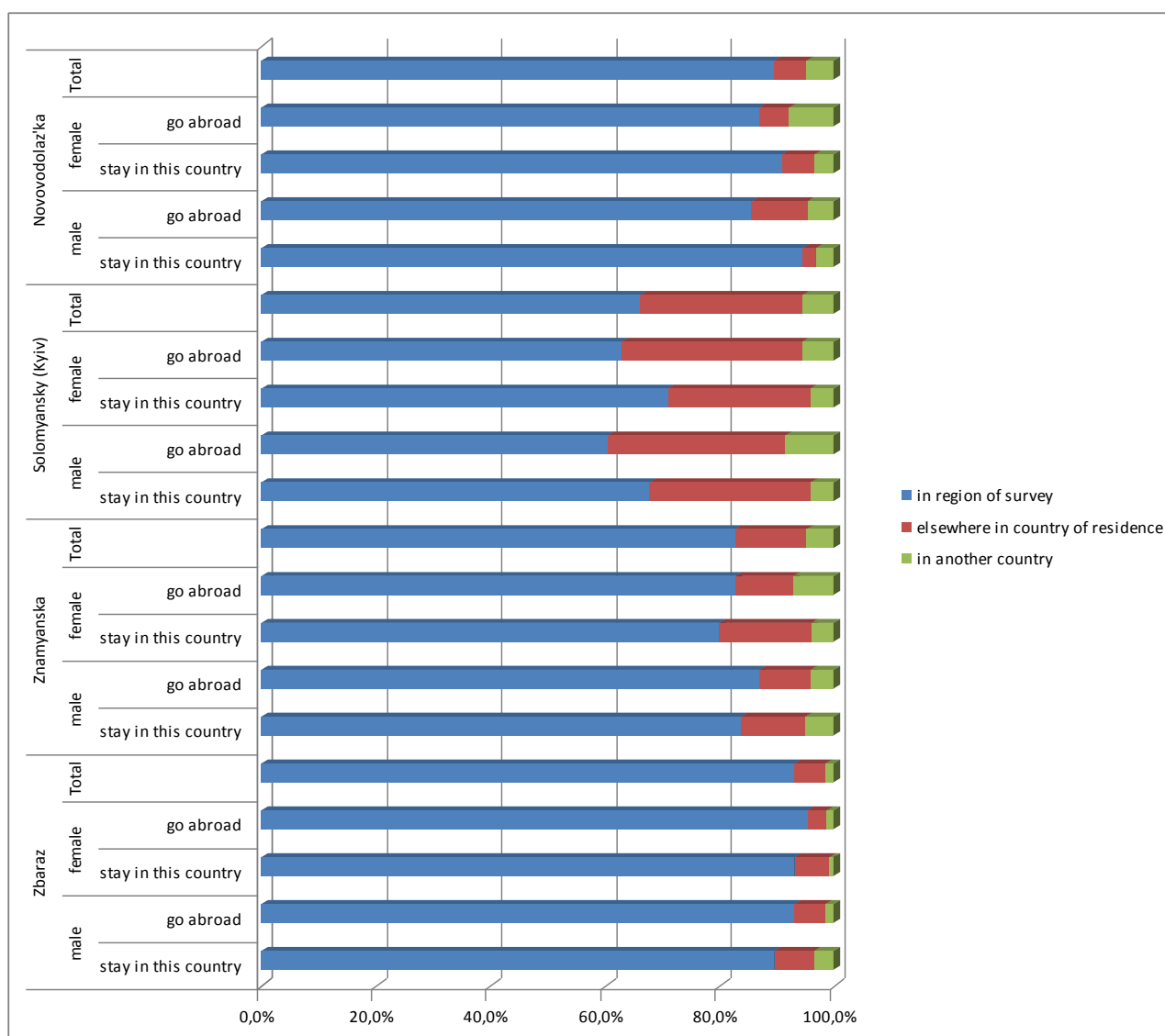
Znamyanska and in Novovodolaz'ka and over 90 percent in Zbaraz. Nevertheless, those who were born in another part of the country, hence who are internal migrants are slightly more likely to wanting to stay than to going abroad; thus for some people internal migration seems an alternative to international migration. The one exception is Solomyansky rayon in Kiev; there more people who were born in another part of the country still aspire to move on and go abroad. This implies that Kiev is kind of a hub for migration to and from Ukraine. Of those who were born abroad more want to go abroad than not revealing a certain trend to on-ward or transit migration.

Znamyanska reveals comparatively high percentage of women who are from another regions. They are 10 percent - those who want to stay in Ukraine and 16 percent - those who are intended to go abroad. Men are less numerous but still close to 10 percent (stayers in the home country) or a bit over that (migration-oriented males).

Table HH11 Where was [name] born?

			hh11_recoded		
			in region of survey	elsewhere in country of residence	in another country
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	89,7%	6,9%	3,4%
		go abroad	93,1%	5,4%	1,5%
	female	stay in this country	93,1%	6,1%	0,8%
		go abroad	95,4%	3,4%	1,1%
	Total		93,3%	5,3%	1,5%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	83,8%	11,3%	4,9%
		go abroad	87,2%	8,9%	3,9%
	female	stay in this country	80,2%	16,0%	3,9%
		go abroad	82,9%	10,1%	7,1%
	Total		82,8%	12,4%	4,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	68,0%	28,0%	4,0%
		go abroad	60,5%	31,0%	8,5%
	female	stay in this country	71,1%	24,8%	4,1%
		go abroad	63,1%	31,5%	5,5%
	Total		66,2%	28,4%	5,4%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	94,6%	2,4%	3,0%
		go abroad	85,8%	9,6%	4,6%
	female	stay in this country	91,0%	5,7%	3,4%
		go abroad	87,0%	5,3%	7,7%
	Total		89,7%	5,7%	4,7%

Figure HH11 Where was [name] born?



HH13 Has [name] ever lived at least 3 months somewhere other than their place of birth and their current place of residence?

HH18 Has [name] ever lived abroad for at least three months?

Table HH13 and HH18 combine two variables in order to look at migration aspirations in relation to previous and internal and international migration experiences. Our findings show that only 5.54 percent of our respondents have international migration, that 7 percent have internal migration experience and that 83 percent of those aspiring to go abroad have neither internal or international migration experiences. But of the people who aspire to go abroad more than the average, 9 percent, already have some international migration experience showing that people with migration experiences are more likely to migrate again, notably men and women from Zbaraz (12.8 and 7.6 percent), men in Novovodolaz'ka (13.8 percent) and men and women in Solomyansky, Kiev (9.7 and 6.4 percent) but also women in Znamyanska (8.3 percent).

In two interviews, the informant demonstrate how migration experiences, notably if these are perceived positive result in overall positive perceptions of migration and can thus contribute explaining how migration experiences can lead to increased or repeated migration :

'I remember that we were in Poznan' at night. Ordinary people came up to us and we communicated normally. ...They are not aloof, they are not against us and they don't think

that we are bad. ... Nowadays Europeans treat us also kindly in my opinion. I know it from my acquaintances' experience' [42106, Znamyanska research area].

This echoes the statement of another informant:

'Well, in Poland, ...I approached the woman and asked her and she had answered hospitable to me, she had showed me the bus stop and had helped. I was pleasantly surprised and I liked it' [41118, Zbaraz research area].

Unlike men, women from Zbaraz and from Novovodolaz'ka are not in the majority among female respondents who aspire to leave Ukraine. Thus it gives a ground to argue that men are the biggest target group among migrants from those areas. The figures with relation to women from these areas, who lived in other parts of Ukraine, demonstrate that they are more exposed to internal migration than men. As for the latter, this trend concerns only men from Novovodolaz'ka (12.1 percent).

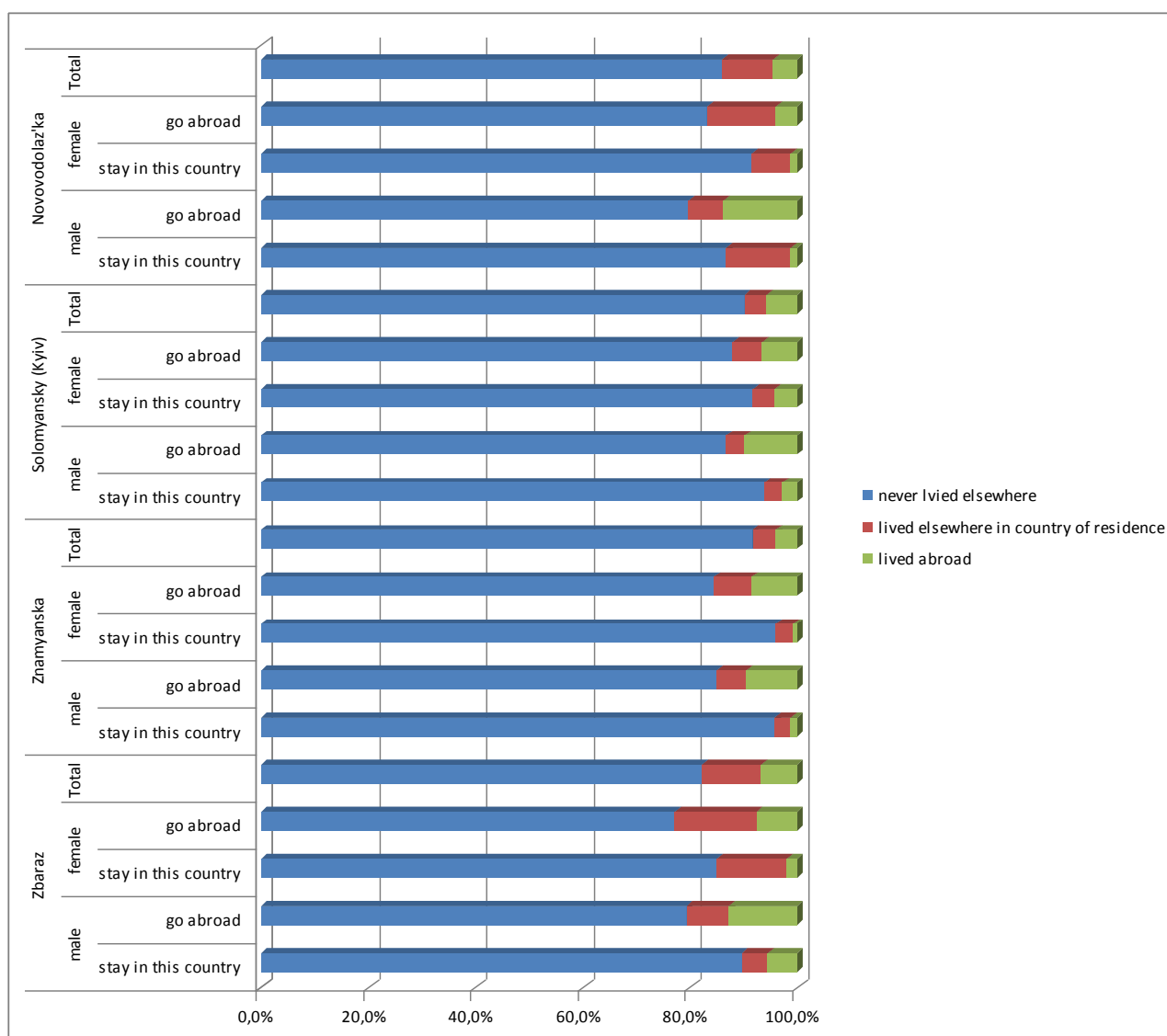
Table HH13 Has [name] ever lived at least 3 months somewhere other than their place of birth and their current place of residence?

Table HH18 Has [name] ever lived abroad for at least three months?

			Mig background HH13 and HH18		
			never lived elsewhere	lived elsewhere in country of residence	lived abroad
Zbaraz	Male	stay in this country	89,7%	4,8%	5,5%
		go abroad	79,4%	7,8%	12,8%
	female	stay in this country	85,1%	13,0%	1,9%
		go abroad	77,3%	15,2%	7,6%
	Total		82,2%	11,1%	6,7%
Znamyanska	Male	stay in this country	95,8%	3,0%	1,2%
		go abroad	85,1%	5,5%	9,4%
	female	stay in this country	96,2%	3,1%	0,7%
		go abroad	84,5%	7,2%	8,3%
	Total		91,7%	4,4%	4,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	Male	stay in this country	94,0%	3,3%	2,7%
		go abroad	86,7%	3,6%	9,7%
	female	stay in this country	91,8%	4,1%	4,1%
		go abroad	88,1%	5,5%	6,4%
	Total		90,2%	4,2%	5,6%
Novovodolaz'ka	Male	stay in this country	86,7%	12,1%	1,2%
		go abroad	79,8%	6,4%	13,8%
	female	stay in this country	91,5%	7,4%	1,1%
		go abroad	83,4%	12,8%	3,8%
	Total		86,1%	9,6%	4,3%

Figure HH13 Has [name] ever lived at least 3 months somewhere other than their place of birth and their current place of residence?

Figure HH18 Has [name] ever lived abroad for at least three months?



In addition, some qualitative data suggests that returning to Ukraine can be 'shocking' and thus inspire repeated migration

'...my friend has told me after she came here from Germany. She went there under the program, came here and took our bus to get home and just started crying because she was scared when she looked at that bus, at our people on our streets. The standard of living is much higher there than we have here' [41240, Zbaraz research area].

W27A Could you please tell me, what is the most important source of income for your household?

Table W27A shows what kind of sources of income our respondents have and how these correlate with their migration aspirations. As our findings show the main source of income for is a salary, around 80 percent, Solomyansky rayon, Kiev, stands out as salaries are the only source of income for more people (92.5 percent) than in any other region where there are alternatives. For instance, another significant source mentioned is agriculture though only in Zbaraz (16.4 percent) and Novovorodolaz'ka (11.2 percent). Also, some unspecified aid are the main source of income for people in Znamyanska (13.5 percent) and Zbaraz (7.4 percent). Finally, remittances are also mentioned as a

significant source of income though only in Zbaraz (7.1 percent), even more so for women (8.4 percent); in the other three research areas it is only an average 0.4 percent⁴.

'A lot of things base on the money sent from abroad, houses are built, ...many Ukrainians, I think there would be... if we take away all the people who work somewhere abroad, it would be much worse here [41112, Zbaraz research area].

Among the respondents whose salary is the major source of income the majority of the men and women from Zbaraz and men in Novovodolaz'ka and Solomyansky (Kyiv) would like to go abroad. This implies significant levels of dissatisfaction with the current wage levels. Also in most areas, except Zbaraz people, presumably peasants, whose main income stems from agriculture aspire to migration. Also women and men receiving remittances display higher aspirations to go abroad themselves, 11.4/6.4 percent, compared to 5.3/3.4 percent of people who prefer staying in Ukraine; thus, receiving remittances can increase the aspiration to migrate. Receiving other types of unspecified aid can both increase and decrease migration aspirations.

'Well, I think there is a small percentage of people in Zbaraz, who have pensions on which one could live with dignity. These pensions can cover expenses for medicines, enough to pay for heating, let's say so as not to freeze, and to eat... but how to eat, I think it is already a very big issue, pensioners cannot allow themselves something extra. If pensioners have help from their children, ...perhaps someone from the family members is abroad, and there are a lot abroad, if you take the street, there is a street where family in every house or in every next in one has a family member living abroad, ...a lot.' [41116, Zbaraz research area].

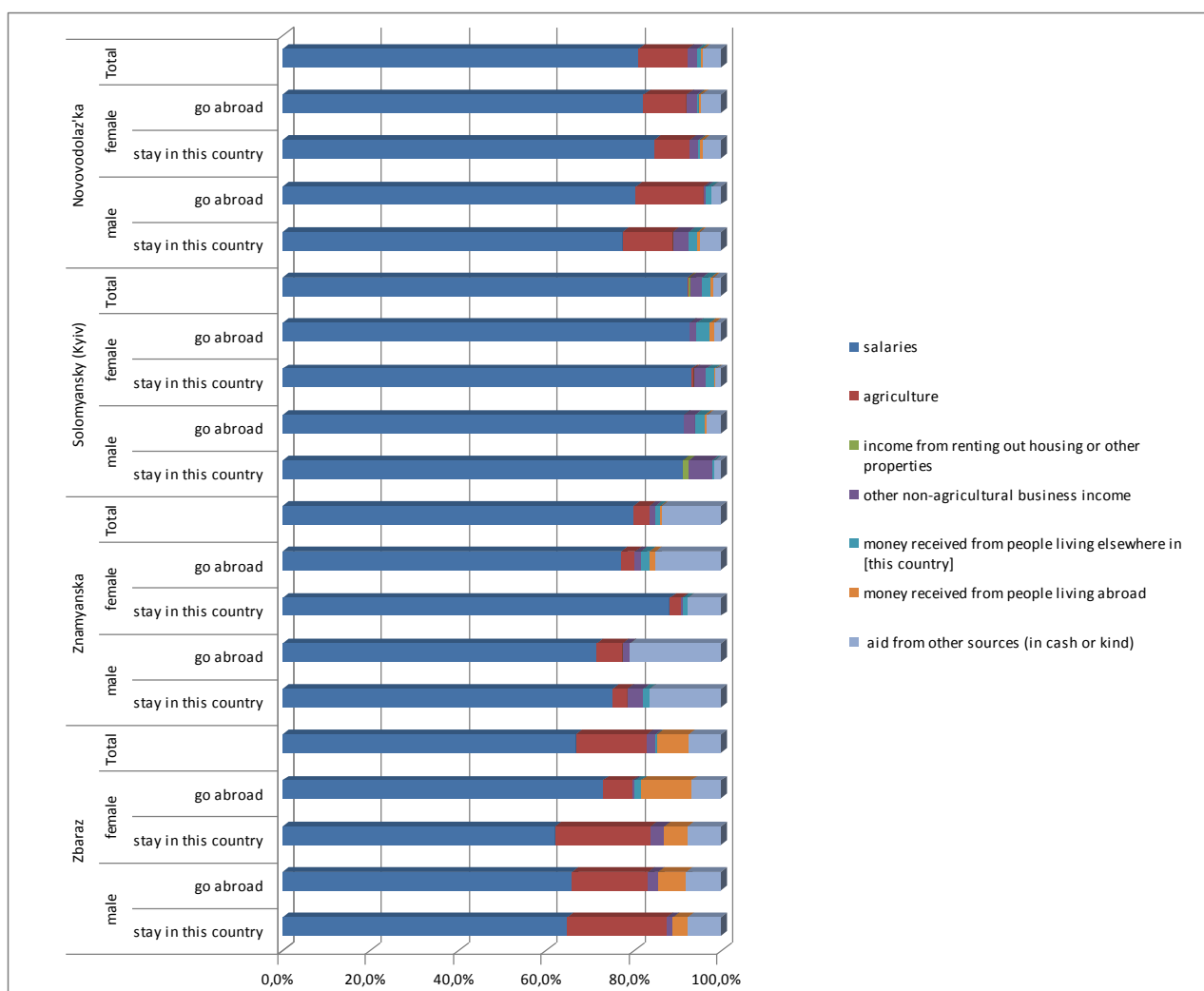
Table W27A Could you please tell me, what is the most important source of income for your household?

			could you please tell me, what is the most important source of income for your household?						
			salaries	Agri-culture	income from renting out housing or other properties	other non-agri cultural business income	money received from people living elsewhere in [this country]	money received from people living abroad	aid from other sources (in cash or kind)
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	65,0%	22,7%	0,0%	1,4%	0,0%	3,4%	7,6%
		go abroad	66,1%	17,2%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	6,4%	7,8%
	female	stay in this country	62,2%	21,8%	0,0%	3,0%	0,0%	5,3%	7,6%
		go abroad	73,1%	6,8%	0,0%	0,4%	1,5%	11,4%	6,8%
	Total		66,9%	16,4%	0,0%	1,8%	0,5%	7,1%	7,4%
Znanyanska	male	stay in this country	75,2%	3,5%	0,0%	3,6%	1,2%	0,0%	16,4%
		go abroad	71,7%	5,9%	0,0%	1,6%	0,0%	0,0%	20,8%

⁴ According to official figures, as of 2008 cash remittances from abroad constituted 2% of Ukrainian GDP. In 2009 the total sum had increased by 16%. Other evidence of how remittances from abroad improve living standards of relatives in Ukraine are to be found in the report "Women and Migration" (p. 23), produced by the Committee of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations, Committee on Migration of the Council of Europe and La Strada and published by Kharkiv "Prava lyudyny" 2010. However contrary data have been provided and namely the fact that labor migrants abroad do not change financial condition of their families in Ukraine. Further detailed are available in the report "External Labour Migration of the Ukrainian Population" (p. 54), prepared by Open Ukraine Foundation, Viktor Pintchuk Foundation and World Bank, at: <http://openukraine.org/doc/BK-MIGR-END.pdf>

	female	stay in this country	88,3%	2,7%	0,0%	0,4%	1,0%	0,0%	7,6%
		go abroad	77,4%	3,1%	0,0%	1,3%	2,0%	1,2%	15,0%
	Total		80,1%	3,5%	0,0%	1,5%	1,1%	0,2%	13,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	91,3%	0,0%	1,3%	5,4%	0,7%	0,0%	1,3%
		go abroad	91,6%	0,0%	0,0%	2,4%	2,4%	0,6%	3,0%
	female	stay in this country	93,3%	0,4%	0,0%	3,0%	1,9%	0,4%	1,1%
		go abroad	93,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,5%	3,0%	1,0%	1,5%
	Total		92,5%	0,1%	0,3%	2,9%	2,0%	0,5%	1,7%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	77,6%	11,5%	0,0%	3,6%	1,8%	0,6%	4,8%
		go abroad	80,7%	15,4%	0,0%	0,7%	1,3%	0,0%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	84,8%	8,1%	0,0%	1,8%	0,4%	0,7%	4,1%
		go abroad	82,5%	9,8%	0,0%	2,3%	0,4%	0,6%	4,4%
	Total		81,1%	11,2%	0,0%	2,3%	0,9%	0,5%	4,0%

Figure W27A Could you please tell me, what is the most important source of income for your household?



CF6 Do you have children who live in the household with you?

Table CF6 aims to find out about the impact of having children living in the respective household on the parents' motivation to going abroad or not. In Zbaraz, Znamyanska and Novovodolaz'ka more than half of the respondents have children in their household; nevertheless, their migration aspirations differ significantly. Analysing all figures from all areas generate mixed result.

About 38 percent of men who do aspire to migrate have children in their household whilst about 65 percent has no children in their household; 47 percent of those with children in their household do not aspire to migrate whilst 52 percent of those who do not aspire to migrate have no children in their household. Over 60 percent of all women who aspire to migrate have children in their household whilst 35 percent have no children; 70 percent of women who do not aspire to migrate have children in their household whilst only 27 percent of those not aspiring to migrate do not have children in their household. Thus, significantly fewer men with children aspire to migrate than men without children whilst more women with children aspire to migrate than women without children; hence, whilst for men having children seems to decrease migration aspiration for women having children seems to increase aspirations to migrate. Qualitative findings suggest that care for better future of children is a driving force for going abroad:

'I: Do you think care after children could be the reason for leaving?

R: [Nodding in agreement]. One of my relatives left for Israel together with his wife long ago. First they led a tough life there. They had to wash up, to wash the floors. Their children have a better life now, though' [43102, man, Solomyansky area].

'R: There is only one reason – the lack of money. Those who have family, whose children study in the university with the tuition fee, who have two children, who have small children, they do not have enough money' [41238, Zbaraz area].

Other studies too confirm overall difficult financial conditions for families with children in Ukraine. For instance, UNFPA (2009) points to a great percentage of families with children who have the financial capacities to cover basic needs (like food and clothing) only.⁵

The fact of having children in the household might be interpreted differently with regard to female respondents. Women who share their household with children and want to stay in Ukraine are in a great majority (over 60 percent). This way we can ascertain that care for dependent children is a factor that is responsible for women's preference to stay in Ukraine.

The capital (Solomyansky rayon) has the lowest score of people, willing to go abroad, who have children in their household. An assumption might be that, firstly, career-oriented people dominate in Kyiv, compared to family oriented respondents and to have a family is not a priority for many of them, at least for a certain time period. In particular, internal migration from regions of Ukraine to the capital city is obvious, as project findings show (Table HH11). Or if not career ambitions, then people simply seek better earning opportunities in the capital for the work that can be performed on the periphery but with much lower salary. Secondly, a great number of students in the capital aspired to go abroad, according to project results (Table HH8) is a rather convincing explanatory factor, too.

Unlike respondents from other areas, only men in Znamyanska are more than half (53.3 percent) among male parents with children living in the same household. Women from Znamyanska are also most numerous in this category. They reach 79 percent. In this respect as it could be expected, that the fact of having children keep both males and females from Znamyanska, an area with low emigration rate, away from going abroad.

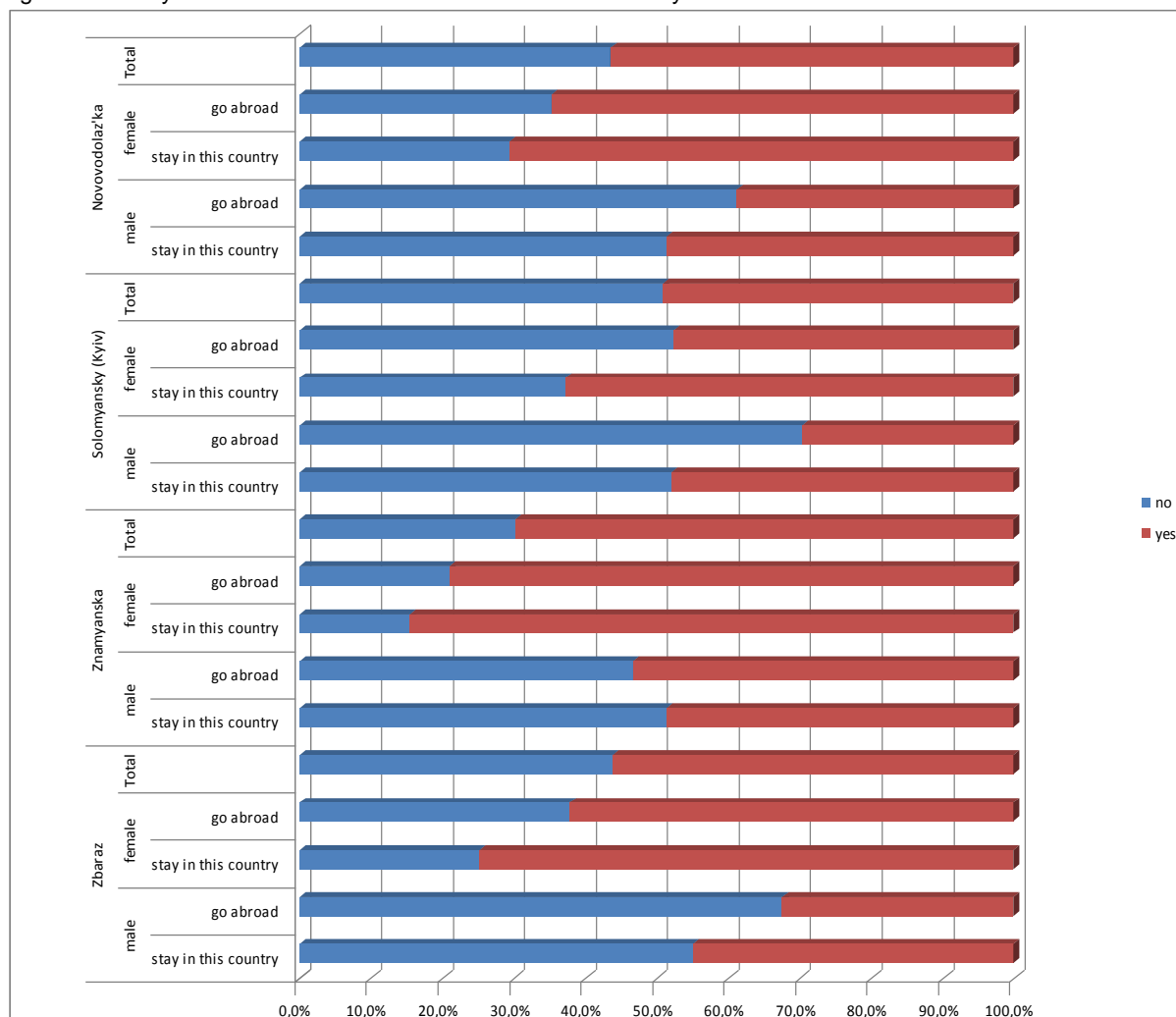
Table CF6 Do you have children who live in the household with you?

			do you have children who live in the household with you?	
			no	Yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	55,2%	44,8%
		go abroad	67,6%	32,4%
	female	stay in this country	25,2%	74,8%
		go abroad	37,9%	62,1%
	Total		43,9%	56,1%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	51,4%	48,6%
		go abroad	46,7%	53,3%
	female	stay in this country	15,5%	84,5%
		go abroad	21,0%	79,0%
	Total		30,3%	69,7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	52,0%	48,0%
		go abroad	70,4%	29,6%
	female	stay in this country	37,3%	62,7%
		go abroad	52,4%	47,6%
	Total		51,0%	49,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	51,4%	48,6%
		go abroad	61,3%	38,7%
	female	stay in this country	29,4%	70,6%

⁵ For more detailed information see the report "Family and Family values in Ukraine: present state and tendencies" of UN Population Fund, Institute for Demography and Social Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and Ukrainian Centre for Social Reforms (p. 87), accessible at: http://www.unfpa.org.ua/files/articles/1/75/Family-ukr-WEB_copy.pdf

	go abroad	35,3%	64,7%
	Total	43,6%	56,4%

Figure CF6 Do you have children who live in the household with you?



MG1 Do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who are currently living in another country, and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months?

Data in table MG1 depict whether family members living abroad is an incentive for respondents from Ukraine, who stay in contact with them, to go abroad as well. Generally seen, people who have family members living abroad are not numerous on average. The largest in number are those in Zbaraz (33 percent) whereas in Novovodolaz'ka, another high emigration area, only roughly 17 percent of the respondents have relatives abroad and are in contact. It gives a general idea about migration which appears to be not large-scale on average.

However, over a fifth of those aspiring to migrate have relatives abroad with whom they are in contact but about three quarters have no such contacts; about 16 percent of those not aspiring to migrate nevertheless have relatives abroad with whom they are in contact whilst the majority has no such contacts. There is almost no gender difference in either pattern.

Respondents from Zbaraz have the most family members residing abroad, 33 percent, also almost 40 percent of those aspiring to go abroad already have family contacts there. This confirms, as expected, a high migration potential of Zbaraz which target in particular EU member states.

'My mother is for about 10 years, [my] brother is there for about 7-8 years, for a long time. ...My mother helps a lot, helped from Italy, now I do not need anything. She bought me a house, helped with money sometimes. Well, in generally it is good on one hand to have someone abroad' [41112, Zbaraz research area].

In contrast, respondents from Solomyansky rayon, Kyiv have the lowest level of contacts with relatives abroad and are thus least likely to be inspired by examples of close relatives but still their level of aspiring to migrate is rather high and above average, 52,5 percent.

Our qualitative data gives some hint towards the migration or network effect such contacts can have:

"I.: Coming back to the fact whether you know somebody who lives abroad.

R.: My husband's sister went abroad, but she emigrated to the States. It's much better there..

I.: If you were invited go to the USA ... would you go?

R.: I would go" [42112, Znamyanska research area].

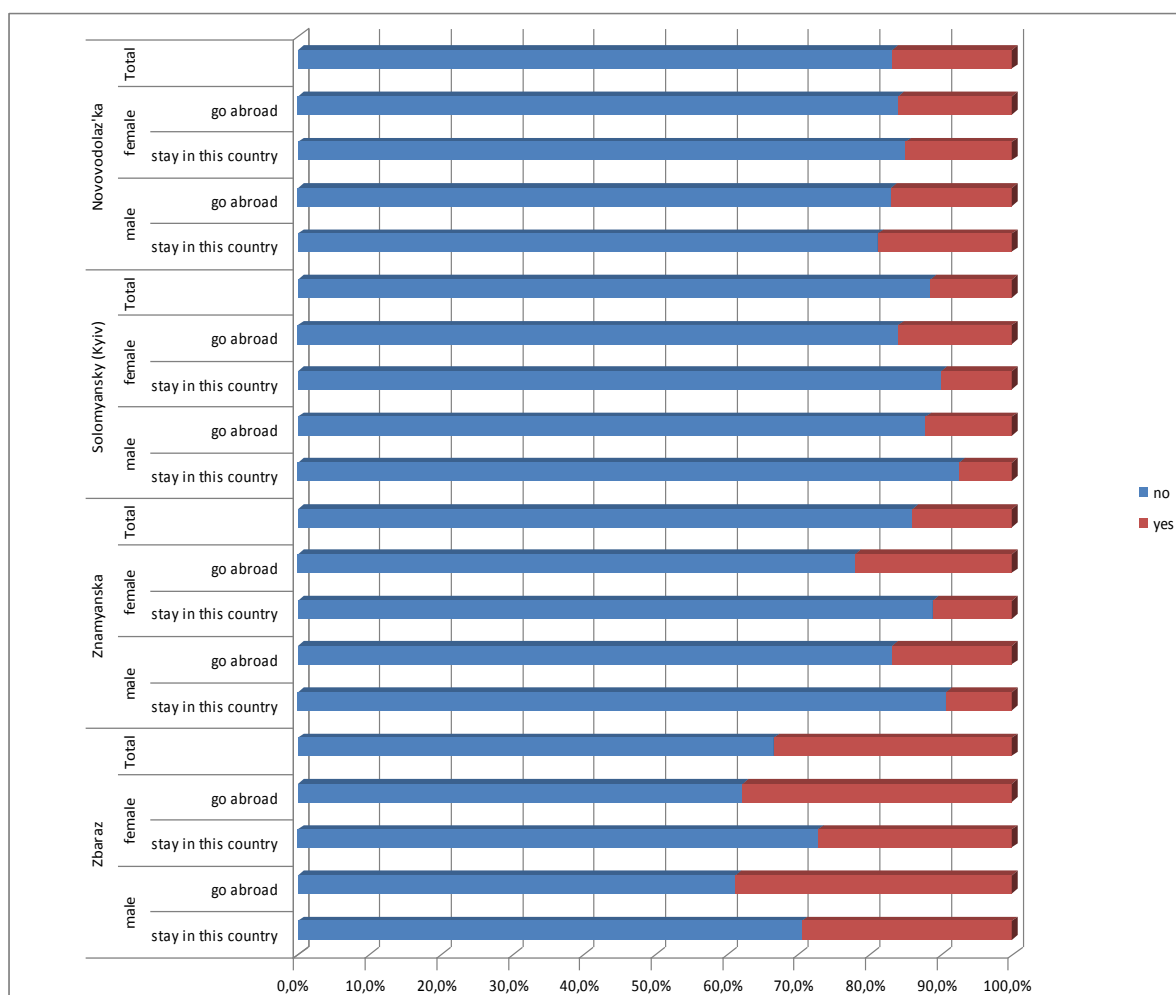
Differentiated by research results show that women in Znamyanska (22 percent) and in Novovodolaz'ka (17.3 percent) have a relatively more contacts with relatives abroad; this is less so in Solomaynsky rayon (16 percent). And more women from Znamyanska who express willingness to migrate have family members abroad, even though this is a low emigration area. Simultaneously, with regard to males willing to go abroad with and who have family members outside Ukraine, figures are almost the same in these two areas, 16.7 percent and 16.9 percent respectively.

However, the majority of those aspiring to migrate have no such contacts and thus developed their aspiration independent of such contacts. And vice versa, significant proportions of those who have contacts abroad still do not develop migration aspirations themselves.

Table MG1 Do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who are currently living in another country and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months?

			Do you have any family members above 16 years old who are currently living in an other country and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months?	
			no	yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	70,6%	29,4%
		go abroad	61,3%	38,7%
	female	stay in this country	72,9%	27,1%
		go abroad	62,4%	37,6%
	Total		66,7%	33,3%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	90,8%	9,2%
		go abroad	83,3%	16,7%
	female	stay in this country	88,9%	11,1%
		go abroad	78,0%	22,0%
	Total		86,1%	13,9%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	92,6%	7,4%
		go abroad	87,9%	12,1%
	female	stay in this country	90,0%	10,0%
		go abroad	84,0%	16,0%
	Total		88,6%	11,4%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	81,2%	18,8%
		go abroad	83,1%	16,9%
	female	stay in this country	85,1%	14,9%
		go abroad	84,1%	15,9%
	Total		83,3%	16,7%

Figure MG1 Do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who are currently living in another country, and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months?



MG10 Other than the members of your household, do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who have lived in another country for at least 3 months but are now living in [this country]?

Only 4 percent of respondents have relatives who lived abroad for a while but returned back to Ukraine; this is highest in Zbaraz, almost ten percent and lowest in Znamyanska, only 0.5 percent. Thus, whilst 18 percent have relatives abroad with whom they have contacts few seem to have yet returned. This implies that long-term migration is widespread.

Knowing someone who has been abroad but has since returned is most widespread amongst women from Zbaraz, 10 percent, men from Zbaraz, just over 8 percent and men and women from Solomyansky, just over 4 percent. Amongst those with migration aspiration it is 13 percent for men and women from Zbaraz and 6 percent in Solomyansky. Thus developing an aspiration to go abroad seems largely independent from knowing a returnee. But because results are very close, i.e. within statistical error margins, they enable no distinct conclusions as to whether migration experience of relatives impact migration aspirations of respondents.

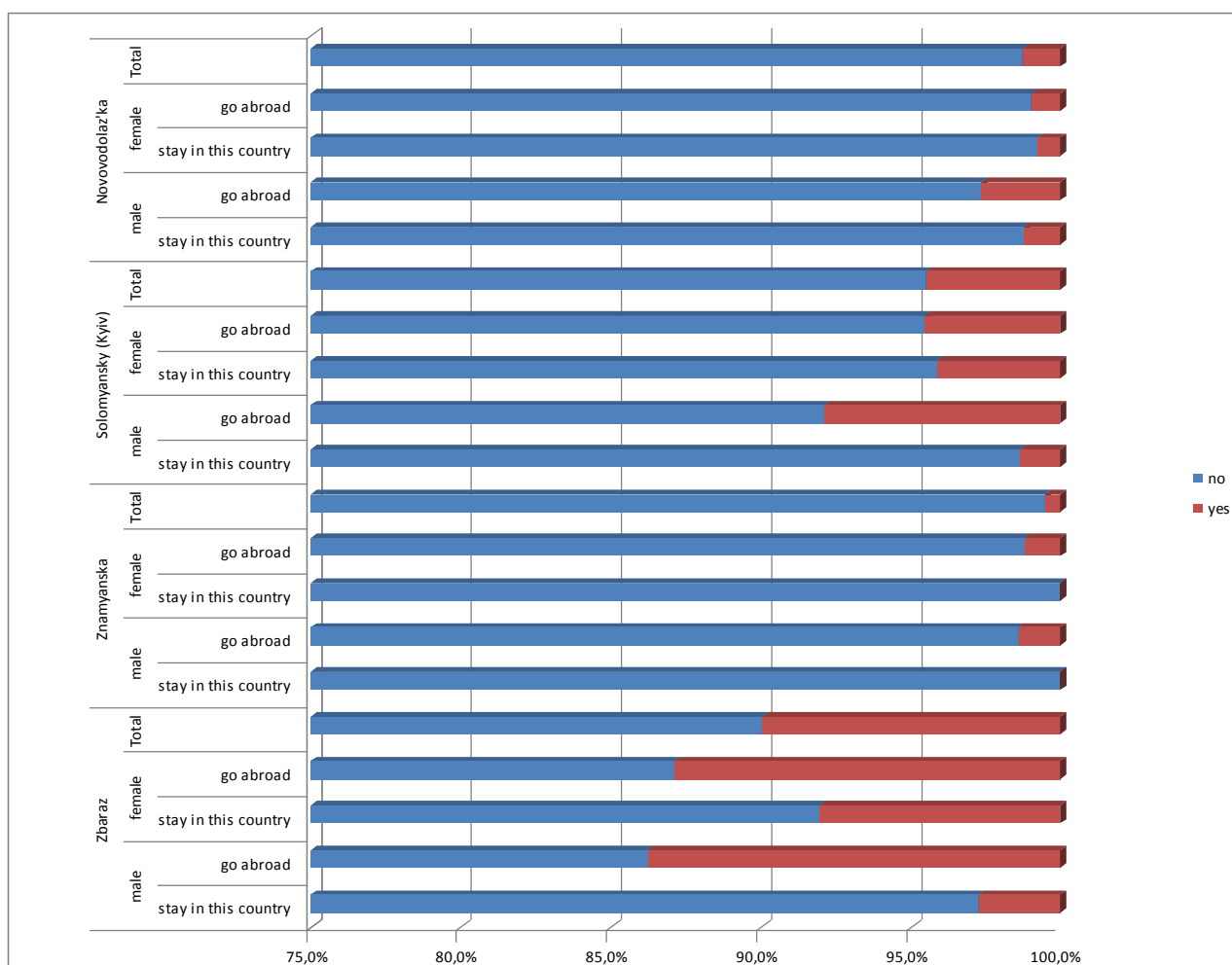
However, people 'telling' about their experiences abroad influence non-migrants' perceptions:

R.: My cousin lives and works in Germany. ...He has told me ...dentists' service is cheaper there, they give our people ...good discounts, and he has his medical insurance included in his contract' [44118, Novovorodolaz'ka research area].

Table MG10 Other than the members of your household, do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who have lived in another country for at least 3 months but are now living in [this country]?

			other than the members of your household, do you have any family members (see above)	
			no	yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	97,3%	2,7%
		go abroad	86,2%	13,8%
	female	stay in this country	92,0%	8,0%
		go abroad	87,1%	12,9%
	Total		90,1%	9,9%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	100,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	98,6%	1,4%
	female	stay in this country	100,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	98,8%	1,2%
	Total		99,5%	0,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	98,7%	1,3%
		go abroad	92,2%	7,8%
	female	stay in this country	95,9%	4,1%
		go abroad	95,5%	4,5%
	Total		95,5%	4,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	98,8%	1,2%
		go abroad	97,4%	2,6%
	female	stay in this country	99,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	99,1%	0,9%
	Total		98,7%	1,3%

Figure MG10 Other than the members of your household, do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who have lived in another country for at least 3 months but are now living in [this country]?



MG18 Other than your family members, do you know any people at least 16 years old who are currently living in another country and whose help you could count on if you needed it?

Less than 10 percent of the Ukrainian respondents, 6.8 percent of the men and 13.4 percent of women, have non-family contacts to someone who is living abroad and who might represent an inspiration or even facilitate migration of others. This is highest in Zbaraz, 14.1 percent, notably for men with migration aspirations, 19.6 and lowest in Novovodolaz'ka, 3.7 percent, notably for women with no migration aspirations, 1.1 percent.

'I have some acquaintances who have left for abroad altogether, but there are no ones, who had gone abroad and then came back. I have friends there, and recently they have written that they live there very good, just excellent, ...they have everything in order there, they are socially protected. They do not have such problems as we do. They have even boasted that they have their jobs there, and their own place. ...And here we have nothing like that what they have abroad. Of course, I would wish to go there to look how they live there' [44121, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

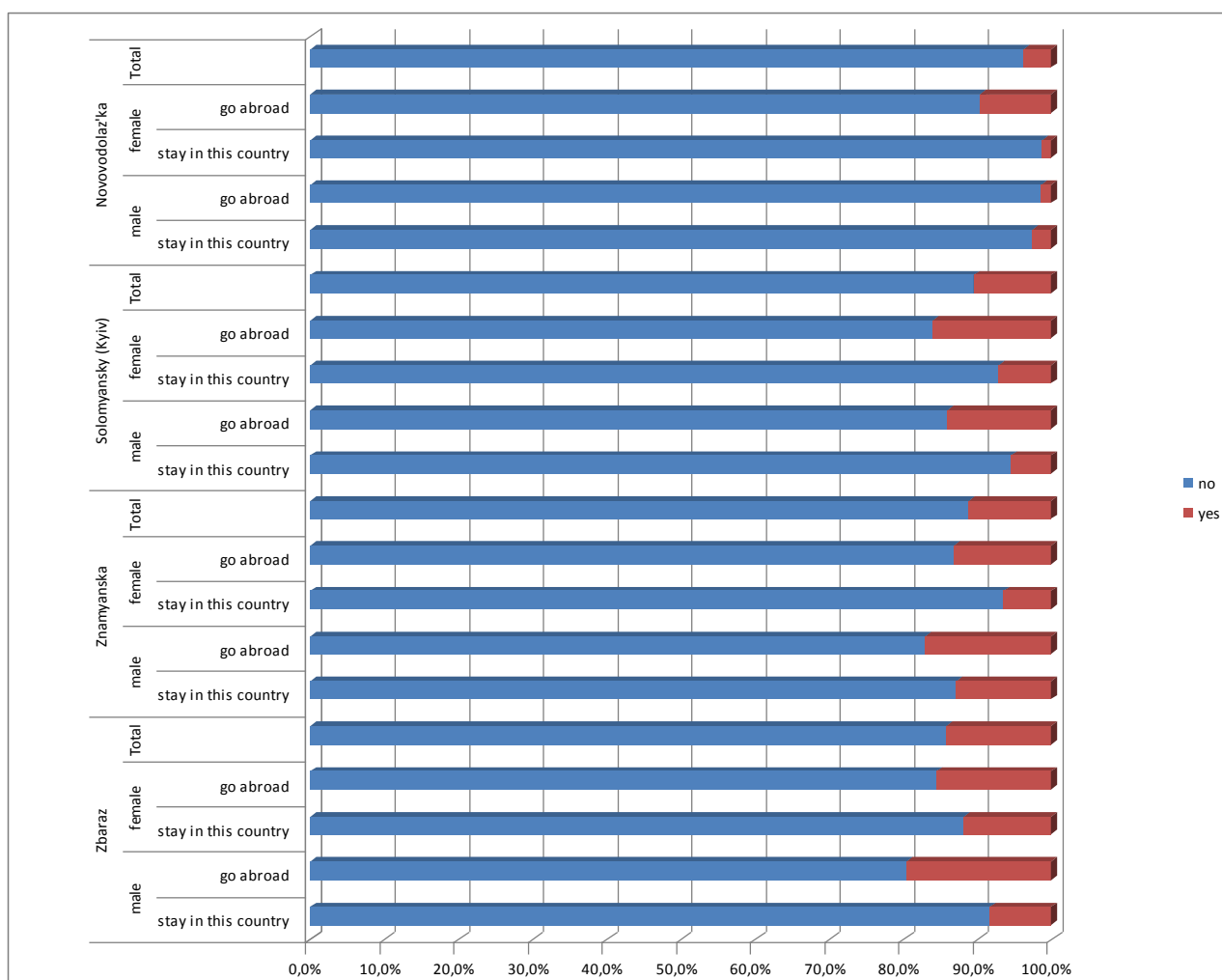
In all areas except Solomyansky men who aspire to go abroad have more such contacts than women and thus seem the better migration networker whereas women who do not aspire to migrate have usually more such contacts. But the overwhelming majority of the respondents could not count on such help. Thus, residents from Zbaraz, notably men are more likely to have some contacts in their social network that can help them migrating whilst residents from Novovodolaz'ka are least likely to have such social capital. Otherwise, these findings imply that knowing someone abroad who can help is no prerequisite for migration and vice versa, people who know someone abroad might nevertheless be less likely to wanting to migrate than people who don't know anybody abroad, as in Znamyanska.

In detail, unexpectedly, Novovodolaz'ka, the high emigration area nevertheless displays very low percent of respondents who might count on support of other people outside Ukraine (1.9 men percent, 4.8 percent women). Even in Znamyanska, the low emigration area, this rate is higher and accounts for almost 10 percent (15 percent men; 8.7 percent women). People from Znamyanska are similar to respondents from Zbaraz (men 17 percent vs. 19.6 percent and women 13 percent vs. 15.5 percent). And men in Znamyanska display the largest number of people who have such contacts \but nevertheless aspire to stay, 12.8 percent). Women from Solomyansky rayon, an area where immigrants are highly concentrated, have the most non-family contacts abroad, 16 percent, followed by women from Zbaraz, 15.5 percent and Novovodolaz'ka score 9.6 percent.

Table MG18 Other than your family members, do you know any people at least 16 years old who are currently living in another country and whose help you could count on if you needed it?

			beside your family and household members, do you know any people above 16 years	
			no	yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	91,8%	8,2%
		go abroad	80,4%	19,6%
	female	stay in this country	88,2%	11,8%
		go abroad	84,5%	15,5%
	Total		85,9%	14,1%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	87,2%	12,8%
		go abroad	83,0%	17,0%
	female	stay in this country	93,7%	6,3%
		go abroad	87,0%	13,0%
	Total		88,9%	11,1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	94,6%	5,4%
		go abroad	86,1%	13,9%
	female	stay in this country	92,9%	7,1%
		go abroad	84,0%	16,0%
	Total		89,5%	10,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	97,5%	2,5%
		go abroad	98,7%	1,3%
	female	stay in this country	98,9%	1,1%
		go abroad	90,4%	9,6%
	Total		96,3%	3,7%

Figure MG18 Other than your family members, do you know any people at least 16 years old who are currently living in another country and whose help you could count on if you needed it?



I9 Are you citizen of [country of residence]?

Only a very small minority of the respondents are not citizens of Ukraine, 1 percent in Solomyansky, Kyiv, 0.7 percent in Zbaraz and 0.8 percent in Novovodolaz'ka. Non-national men and women in Kyiv and women in Znamyanska are more likely to wanting to go aboard than staying, otherwise people intend to stay. For instance, an immigrant from Saudi Arabia, a foreign student explained:

'I.: Have you been to countries of the EU?

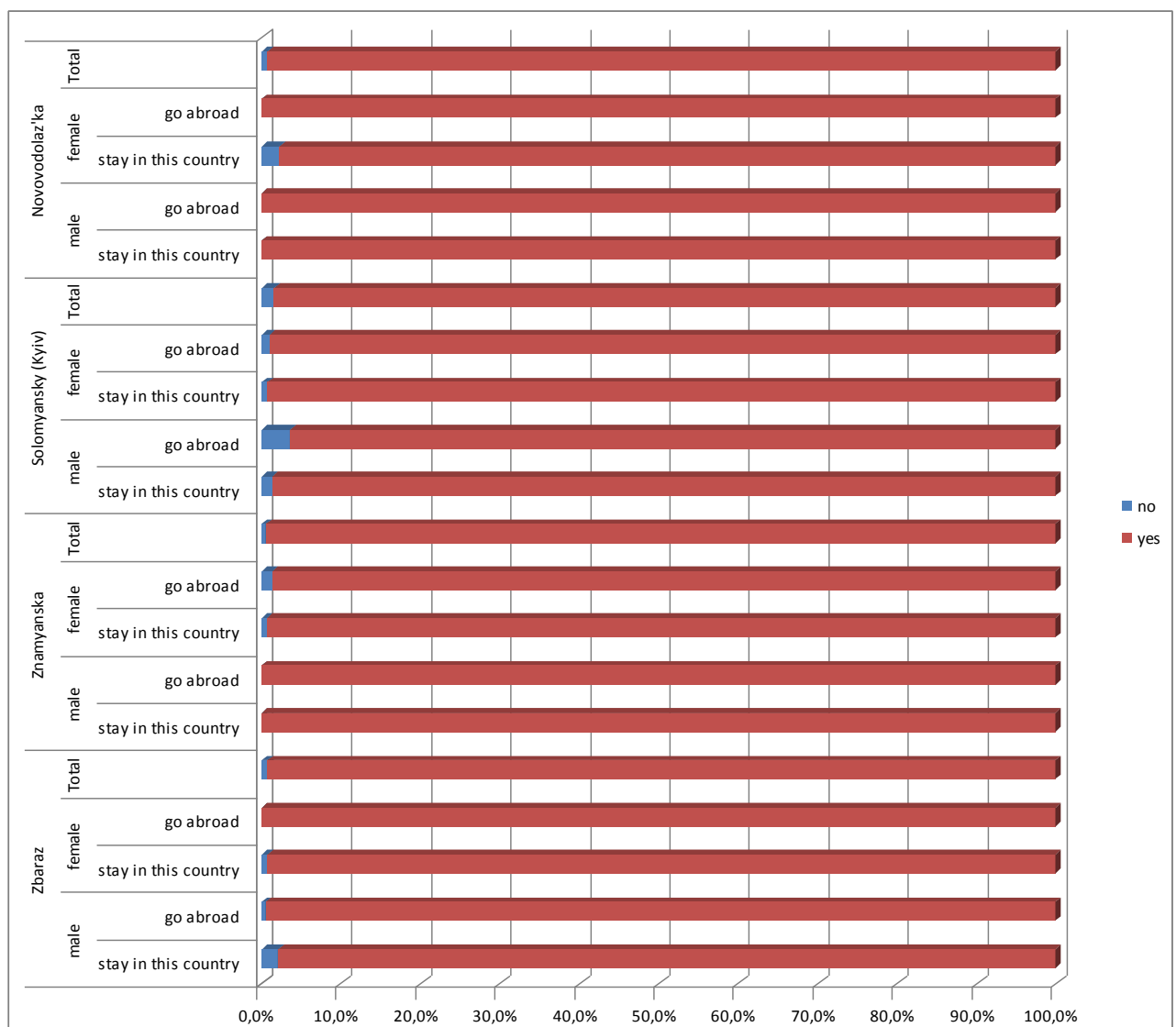
R: I wish I had. I just didn't manage it. ...I wanted to go to France, ...but I didn't manage. ...I did change my mind, because I want to finish studying. ...The good thing is that [in the EU] one can do whatever. You can find anything what you want to have. In the EU, ...nobody interferes with them' [43133, Solomyansky research area].

Table I9 Are you citizen of [country of residence]?

			are you citizen of [country of residence]?	
			no	yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	2,1%	97,9%
		go abroad	0,5%	99,5%
	female	stay in this country	0,8%	99,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	100,0%
	Total		0,7%	99,3%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	100,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	100,0%

	female	stay in this country	0,7%	99,3%
		go abroad	1,3%	98,7%
	Total		0,5%	99,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	1,3%	98,7%
		go abroad	3,6%	96,4%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	99,3%
		go abroad	1,0%	99,0%
	Total		1,5%	98,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	0,0%	100,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	100,0%
	female	stay in this country	2,3%	97,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	100,0%
	Total		0,8%	99,2%

Figure I9 Are you citizen of [country of residence]?



I12 Do you have a residence permit for another country?

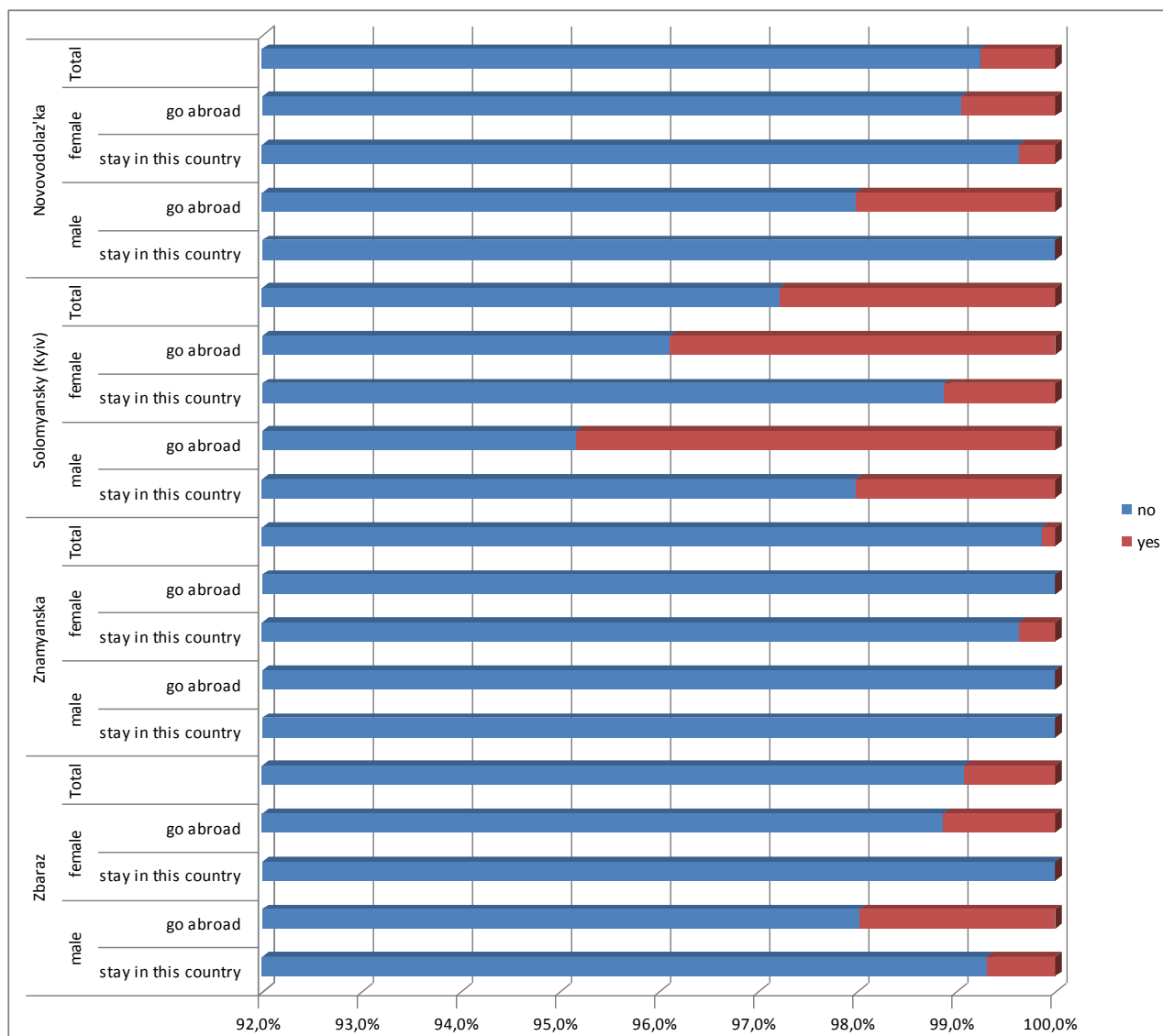
Table I12 reveals how having a residence permit for another country relates to migration aspirations of respondents. The main finding is that very few respondents, 1.4 percent, slightly more men than women, hold a residence permit for another country. In Solomyansky rayon, Kyiv, this is 2.8 percent

and thus above average. Men and women willing to migrate from Solomyansky rayon are most likely to have a foreign residence permit, 4.8 percent respectively 3.9 percent. These figures might be attributed to a high immigration rate of this area with many foreigners and Ukrainian people from other parts of the country residing in the capital.

Table I12 Do you have a residence permit for another country?

			do you have a residence permit for another country?	
			no	yes
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	99,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	98,0%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	100,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	98,9%	1,1%
	Total		99,1%	0,9%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	100,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	100,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	99,6%	0,4%
		go abroad	100,0%	0,0%
	Total		99,9%	0,1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	98,0%	2,0%
		go abroad	95,2%	4,8%
	female	stay in this country	98,9%	1,1%
		go abroad	96,1%	3,9%
	Total		97,2%	2,8%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	100,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	98,0%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	99,6%	0,4%
		go abroad	99,1%	0,9%
	Total		99,2%	0,8%

Figure I12 Do you have a residence permit for another country?



2. Perceptions of human rights and democracy in Europe and Ukraine

This section analysis how people in Ukraine perceive and compare human rights and democracy in Ukraine and in Europe.

Key findings

- Social infrastructure (education and healthcare) are greatly below the expectations of the Ukrainian people whereas perceived good education and medical service in Europe are incentives for Ukrainians to migrate.
- A large majority of Ukrainians do not trust their political representatives whilst performance of European politicians is rated high.
- Corruption is seen by over 70 percent as a tremendous problem to the country's development and prosperity⁶; in contrast corruption in the EU is thought to be generally low.
- The majority of Ukrainians considers chances to achieve by working hard in Ukraine much low than in Europe.
- Gender equality and freedom of speech are believed to be higher in the EU than in Ukraine.
- People in Ukraine do not seem to be well informed about conditions in Europe.

Ultimately, the findings demonstrate that access to and quality of school education and healthcare, political performance, the fight against corruption, gender equality and social justice⁷ and generally human rights and democracy are critical.

A12 People from Ukraine who live in Europe are treated badly there

Table A12 provides an understanding on how people in Ukraine imagine the treatment of Ukrainians living in Europe. In general terms, a scattered picture becomes evident when looking at the below results. However, the largest group of people, 16.9 percent, do not believe that people from Ukraine are treated badly in Europe (over 40 percent) whilst 15.3 percent believe Ukrainians are treated badly. All other respondents are undecided. Respondents from Solomyansky (and Novovodolaz'ka) disagree the most with this statement while in Zbaraz and Znamyanska peoples' opinion were less strong and ranging from 20-30 percent.

Some informants believe that treatment of Ukrainians depends upon individual behaviour:

"R.: Well, there were different cases, but generally the attitude was good depending on how one behaves...." [42112, Zbaraz research area].

"R.: Well, as they say migrants [literally "came heres" from Russian "ponayehali tut" used to describe migrants from the province or abroad]. Well, because our people probably spoil their cities, because Ukrainians are not that cultivated people, and because of it... and... there are different people... there are those that can steal, and it is a minus for our country" [42121, Zbaraz research area].

People who believe that Ukrainians are treated badly in Europe are significantly less likely to aspire migrating to Europe, respectively people who do not aspire to migrate to Europe believe that Ukrainians are treated badly there; however, what is cause and what is consequence is unclear. No significant gender differences could be found. The highest incident is in Novovodolaz'ka where 42,2 percent of women who have no intention to leave the country agree or strongly agree with the

⁶ In 2011 Ukraine was place 152 according to the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, accessible at: <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/>

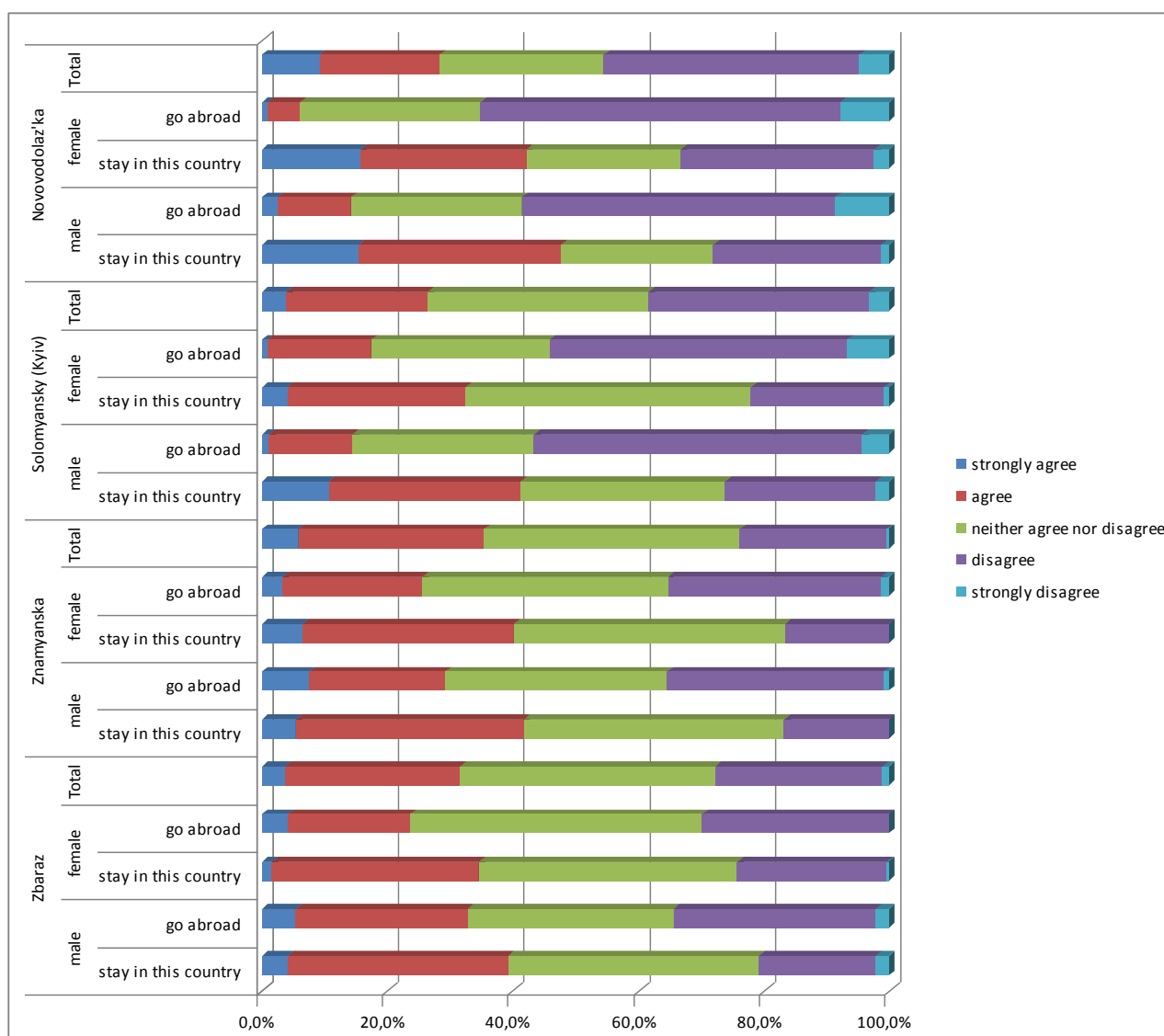
⁷ UNDP Report "National Human Development Report . Ukraine: Towards Social Inclusion" informs, in particular, about such issues as social exclusion, exclusion from education and the medical health care system in the country. The report is available at: http://www.undp.org.ua/files/en_95644NHDR_2011_eng.pdf

statement. This could point to perceptions of discriminatory or ill treatment of women in Europe. An explanation might be – as shown below – that in Novovodolaz'ka too gender inequality is an issue.

Table A12 People from Ukraine who live in Europe are treated badly there

			people from Ukraine who live in Europe are treated badly there				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	4,1%	35,1%	40,0%	18,7%	2,1%
		go abroad	5,4%	27,4%	32,8%	32,4%	2,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,6%	33,2%	41,0%	23,8%	0,4%
		go abroad	4,2%	19,5%	46,6%	29,8%	0,0%
	Total		3,7%	28,0%	40,6%	26,8%	0,9%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	5,4%	36,4%	41,5%	16,7%	0,0%
		go abroad	7,7%	21,6%	35,5%	34,5%	0,8%
	female	stay in this country	6,5%	33,6%	43,3%	16,5%	0,0%
		go abroad	3,3%	22,4%	39,1%	33,9%	1,3%
	Total		5,8%	29,8%	40,6%	23,4%	0,4%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	10,7%	30,7%	32,5%	24,0%	2,0%
		go abroad	1,2%	13,3%	29,0%	52,3%	4,2%
	female	stay in this country	4,1%	28,3%	45,5%	21,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	1,0%	16,5%	28,5%	47,6%	6,5%
	Total		4,0%	22,6%	35,2%	35,1%	3,2%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	15,5%	32,3%	24,3%	26,7%	1,2%
		go abroad	2,6%	11,6%	27,3%	50,0%	8,5%
	female	stay in this country	15,7%	26,5%	24,5%	30,9%	2,3%
		go abroad	0,9%	5,2%	28,6%	57,5%	7,7%
	Total		9,2%	19,2%	26,1%	40,8%	4,7%

Figure A12 People from Ukraine who live in Europe are treated badly there



P3 The schools in Ukraine are.../PEU3 The schools in Europe are...

Table P3 shows what people in the research areas think about schools in Ukraine. Overall, 36.5 percent of the respondents believe that schools are good or very good, whilst 27 percent think that they are bad or very bad.

Informants tend to explain poor quality of school education with low salaries of teachers who are therefore not motivated to invest much effort in their job:

'R.: The school education is horrible, that is, it's just an education of a kind. Teachers because of the lack of financing are not so eager to teach the kids properly – they teach just for the kids to get their school leaving certificate' [44128, Novovorodolaz'ka research area].

Commenting on the situation with school education, informants also pointed to a big gap between school education in cities and in villages saying that children in cities enjoy better quality of education. In informant's own words it is formulated as:

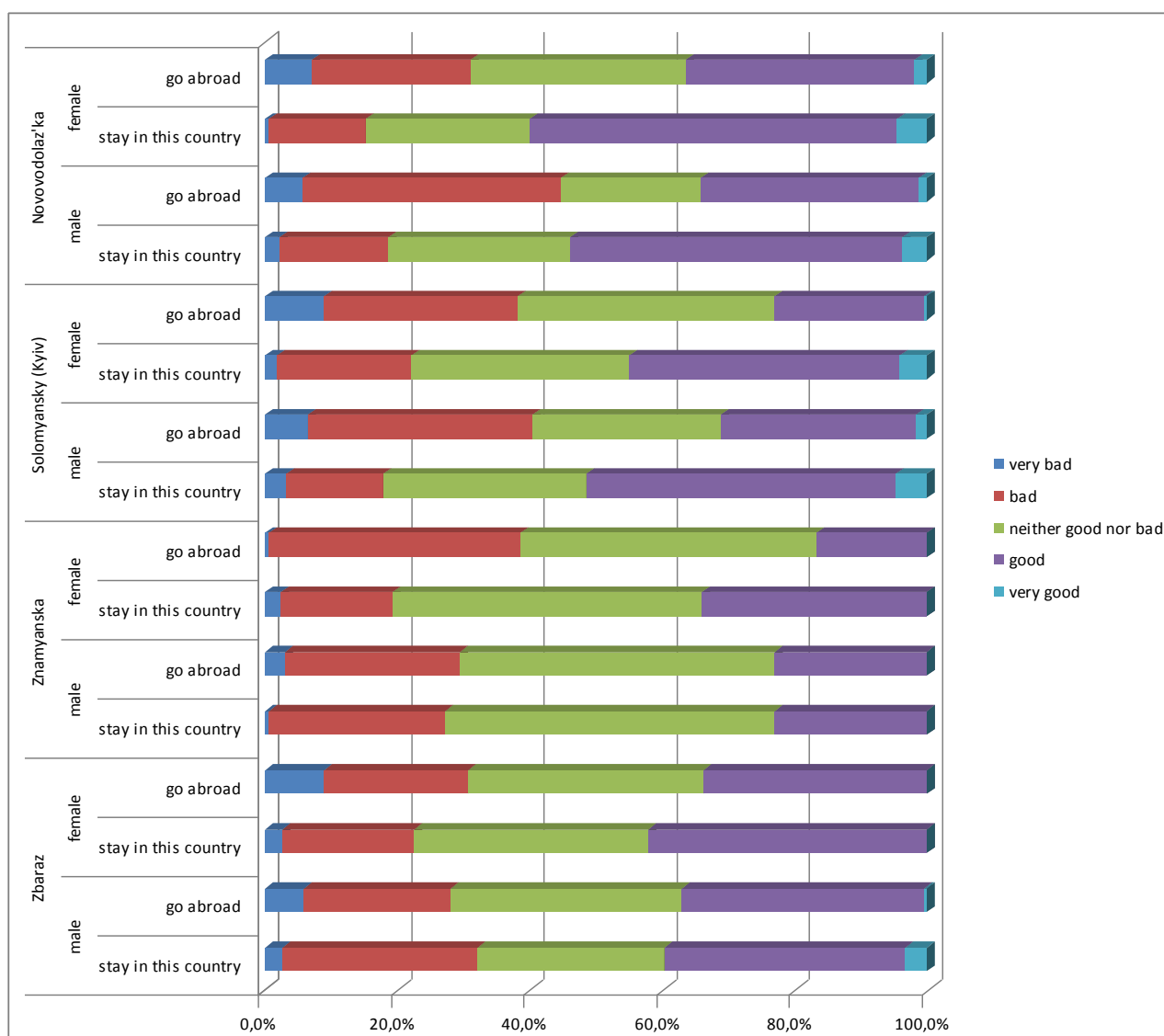
'R.: What is a village school? Even if we compare a village and a district school, the latter is at an upper stage. Kharkov and a village – it is just like heaven and earth' [44211, Novovorodolaz'ka research area].

There is a correlation among people who intend to migrate and those who believe that schools in Ukraine are bad *vice versa*. Highest shares can be found among men in Novovodolaz'ka and Solomyansky as well as female respondents from Znamyanska. The highest percentage accounts for 38,9 percent and these are male respondents from Novovodolaz'ka. Thus the role of education and the quality of schools in Ukraine seems to play a role in migration decision-making processes.

Table P3 The schools in Ukraine are...

			schools in this country are				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	Good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	2,7%	29,5%	28,1%	36,3%	3,4%
		go abroad	5,9%	22,2%	34,9%	36,5%	0,5%
	female	stay in this country	2,7%	19,8%	35,5%	42,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	9,1%	21,6%	35,6%	33,7%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,6%	26,7%	49,7%	23,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	3,0%	26,4%	47,5%	23,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	2,5%	16,8%	46,8%	33,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,7%	38,0%	44,5%	16,8%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	3,3%	14,6%	30,6%	46,8%	4,7%
		go abroad	6,6%	33,8%	28,4%	29,4%	1,8%
	female	stay in this country	1,9%	20,4%	32,8%	40,9%	4,1%
		go abroad	9,0%	29,3%	38,8%	22,5%	0,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	2,4%	16,3%	27,4%	50,1%	3,8%
		go abroad	5,8%	38,9%	21,2%	32,8%	1,3%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	14,5%	24,8%	55,5%	4,5%
		go abroad	7,2%	24,0%	32,4%	34,5%	1,9%

Figure P3 The schools in Ukraine are...



Mirroring table P3, PEU3 presents the Ukrainian respondents' perceptions of schools in Europe. The dominant view among respondents, 50-70 percent, is that schools in Europe are good or very good. In particular, the vast majority or almost 70 percent in the high emigration research area Zbaraz believe that schools in Europe are good. But also in the low emigration area Znamyanska a strong majority of respondents, 60 percent, share this view. Only around three percent of the respondents believe that European schools as bad. Around a fifth say they are 'neither good or bad' probably often suggesting they do not know.

Combined with the findings from P3 above, school education in Europe and the current situation of schools in Ukraine constitute a determinant of the attitude towards staying in Ukraine or leaving the country. However not all of the respondents who agree that schools in Europe are good or very good are eager to go abroad. This is particularly true for female respondents from Zbaraz where 72 percent intend to stay in the country but think that schools in Europe are good.

Table PEU3 The schools in Europe are

			schools in Europe are				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	3,7%	27,0%	62,0%	7,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	5,1%	16,8%	70,4%	7,7%

	female	stay in this country	0,0%	2,6%	20,7%	72,0%	4,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	2,8%	21,3%	65,1%	10,8%
	Total		0,0%	3,4%	21,0%	67,8%	7,7%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,5%	40,8%	51,0%	5,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,6%	23,9%	60,8%	13,7%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	1,4%	32,0%	54,8%	11,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	33,1%	59,4%	7,5%
	Total		0,0%	1,4%	32,8%	55,9%	9,9%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,7%	27,9%	61,4%	8,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,0%	14,4%	74,8%	7,8%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	3,6%	23,5%	60,9%	11,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,5%	14,5%	68,6%	15,4%
	Total		0,0%	2,8%	20,1%	65,9%	11,2%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	0,0%	4,3%	39,5%	50,7%	5,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,2%	14,9%	67,0%	15,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,4%	2,3%	30,1%	57,9%	9,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,8%	16,5%	65,2%	14,5%
	Total		0,1%	3,2%	25,5%	60,1%	11,0%

People generally believe that

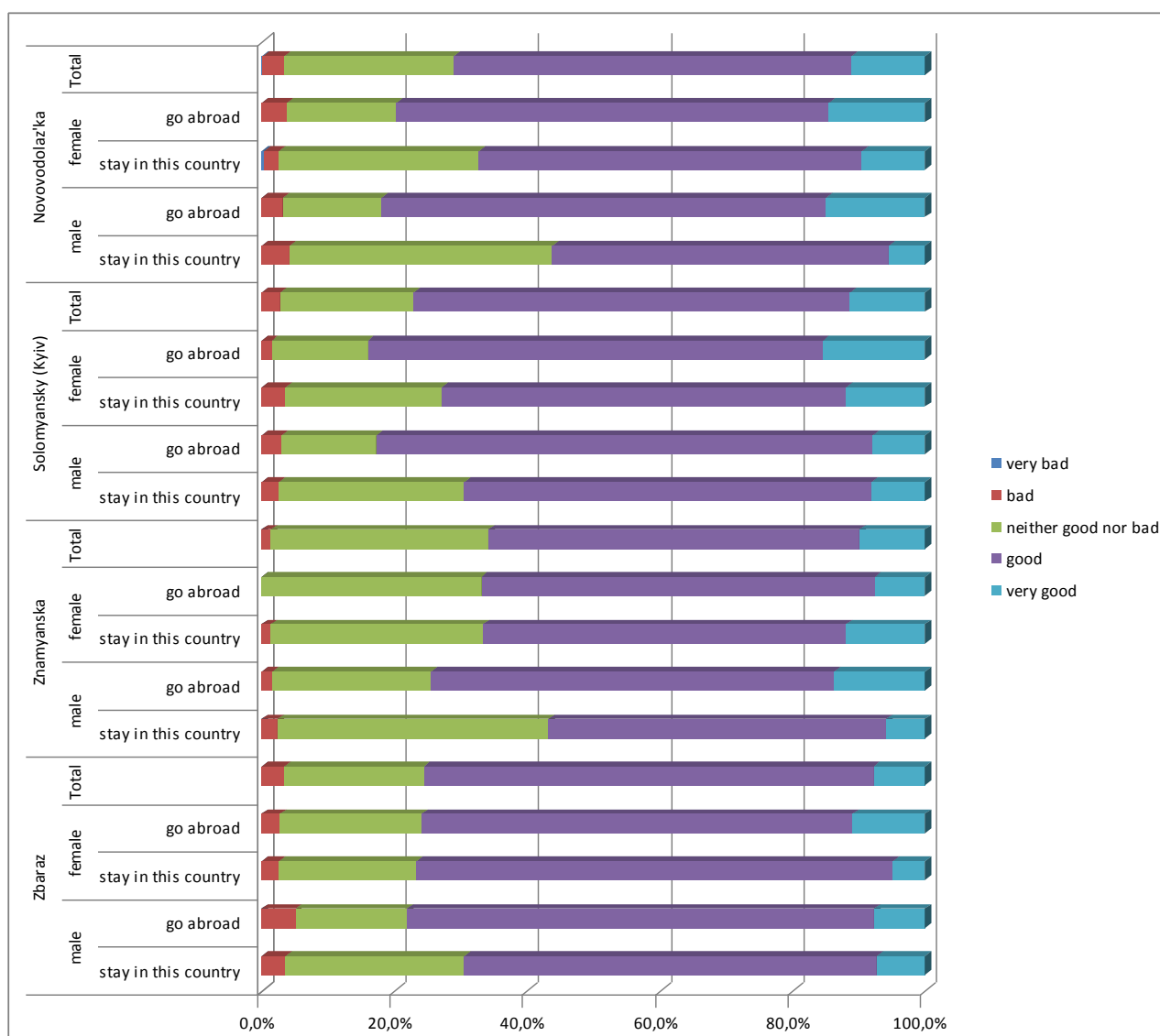
R.: ...education obtained in Europe, is more valued in most of Europe and in other cities than education obtained in Ukraine, in many educational institutions of Ukraine since most of the educational institutions have not reached the international level yet. [41130, Zbaraz research area].

'I don't know if [education in Europe] is better than ours and to what extent, but I consider it good. They don't come here to study. On the contrary, our students go there' [42103, Znamyanska research area].

Others, however, are still positive and almost proud about education in their own country:

'You know, I always knew and I know now that our education is at the very high level. Especially it was so, when I was in school. You can ask students of European schools some questions, from the same secondary schools as we have here, they do not know much more than our children know. I think the education we have here is at the good level, it is ok, and our children can compete with European children, because our kids are really smart'. [41238, Zbaraz research area].

Figure PEU3 The schools in Europe are



P4 The health care in Ukraine is.../ PEU4 The health care in Europe is...

An overwhelming majority of respondents shares the opinion that health care in Ukraine is bad or very bad 78,2 percent in Zbaraz, 77,3 percent in Novovodolaz'ka, 58,8 percent in Znamyanska and 64,5 percent in Solomyansky. Vice versa, the proportion of respondents who state that health care is good is very low, 4,8 percent in Zbaraz and 10 percent in Solomyansky, Kyiv. Once more the factor of public services seems to play a role in the formation of migration attitudes, is confirmed. Gender does not significantly affect the results.

'I know that the medical service should be of a high quality in Europe because there is a social program. They also have social insurance and it pays for the modern medical equipment' [44116, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

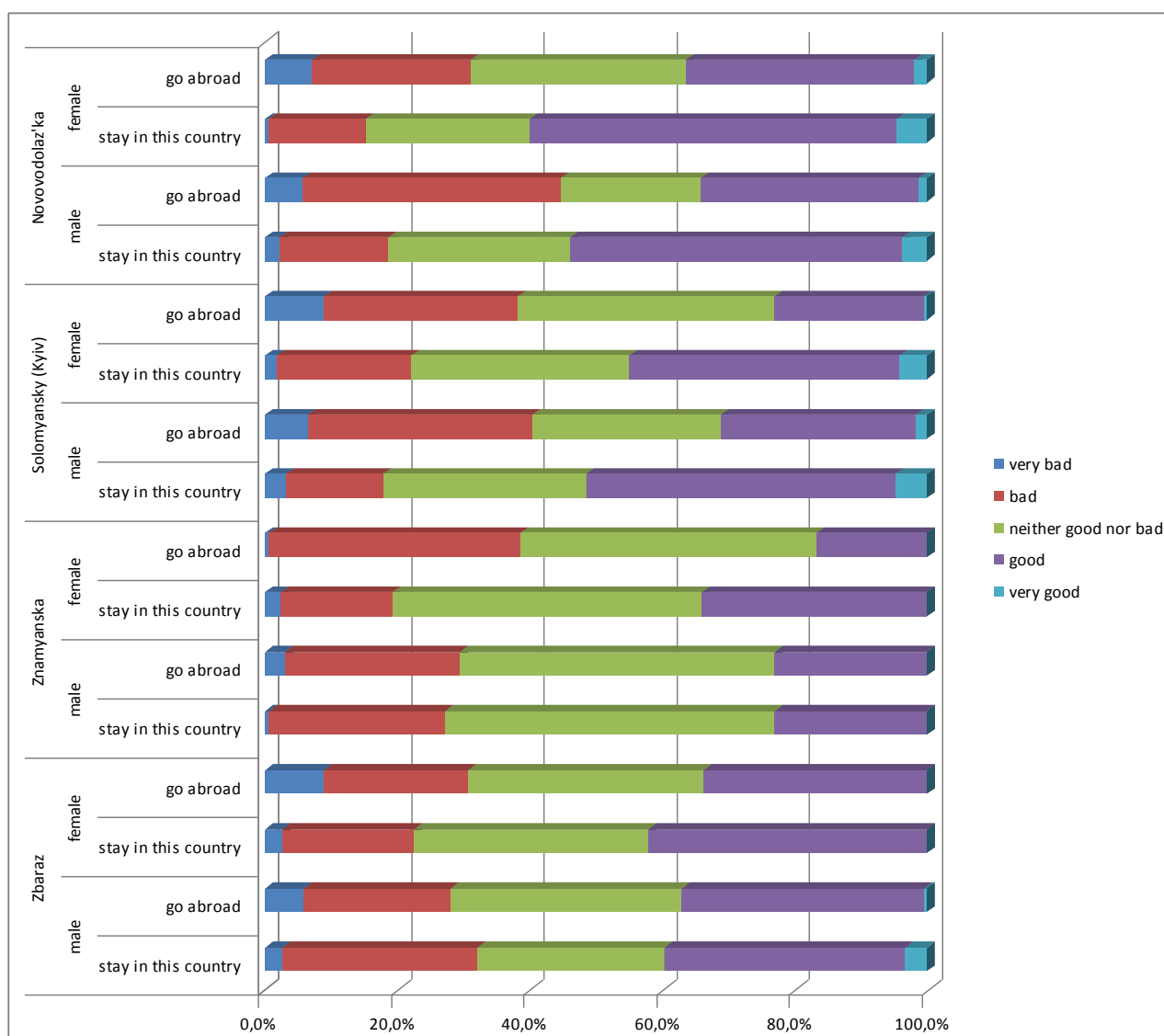
Additionally, the believe that Ukrainian businessmen prefer European hospitals is presented as a convincing argument of good quality of medical facilities in Europe.

'All our businessmen, 'new Ukrainians' are treated there and are satisfied. Apparently, their medicine is much better than ours. Though we have good experts, we lack support from the government and equipment first of all' [42207, Znamyanska research area].

Table P4 The health care in Ukraine is...

			health care in this country is...				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	19,2%	52,7%	22,6%	4,8%	0,7%
		go abroad	29,9%	53,4%	12,2%	4,4%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	21,8%	56,5%	15,6%	6,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	24,6%	53,0%	18,6%	3,8%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	10,8%	45,6%	33,4%	10,2%	0,0%
		go abroad	12,1%	43,5%	33,7%	9,9%	0,8%
	female	stay in this country	9,1%	47,7%	37,2%	6,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	13,1%	54,5%	27,2%	5,2%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	7,3%	36,6%	31,3%	22,1%	2,7%
		go abroad	16,9%	64,5%	17,4%	1,2%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	7,4%	46,3%	33,2%	12,7%	0,4%
		go abroad	28,3%	52,2%	17,0%	1,5%	1,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	37,3%	34,5%	14,7%	12,3%	1,2%
		go abroad	55,3%	27,0%	10,4%	6,7%	0,7%
	female	stay in this country	41,5%	33,5%	13,0%	11,7%	0,4%
		go abroad	59,0%	21,8%	12,4%	6,7%	0,0%

Figure P4 The health care in Ukraine is...



The above results are largely getting confirmed by table PEU4. Conversely, European health care was assessed as good or very good by between 75 (Znamyanska) to over 90 (Zbaraz) percent of the respondents. This is almost a 'protest vote, against health care in Ukraine. The number of respondents who think health care in Europe is bad or very ranges from 1.7 percent in Zbaraz and Solomyansky (Kyiv) to 5 percent in Novovodolaz'ka, only women from Novovodolaz'ka aspiring to stay in the country are more sceptical, 7 percent believe it is bad or very bad.

The quality of health care appears to be a very important and emotional issue for respondents. For some of them it may constitute one of the reasons for leaving the country, but at the same time, the percentage of respondents who are going to stay in Ukraine also assess European health care as good or very good (over 80 percent), over 80 percent of men from Zbaraz and Solomyansky and over 90 percent of women from Zbaraz.

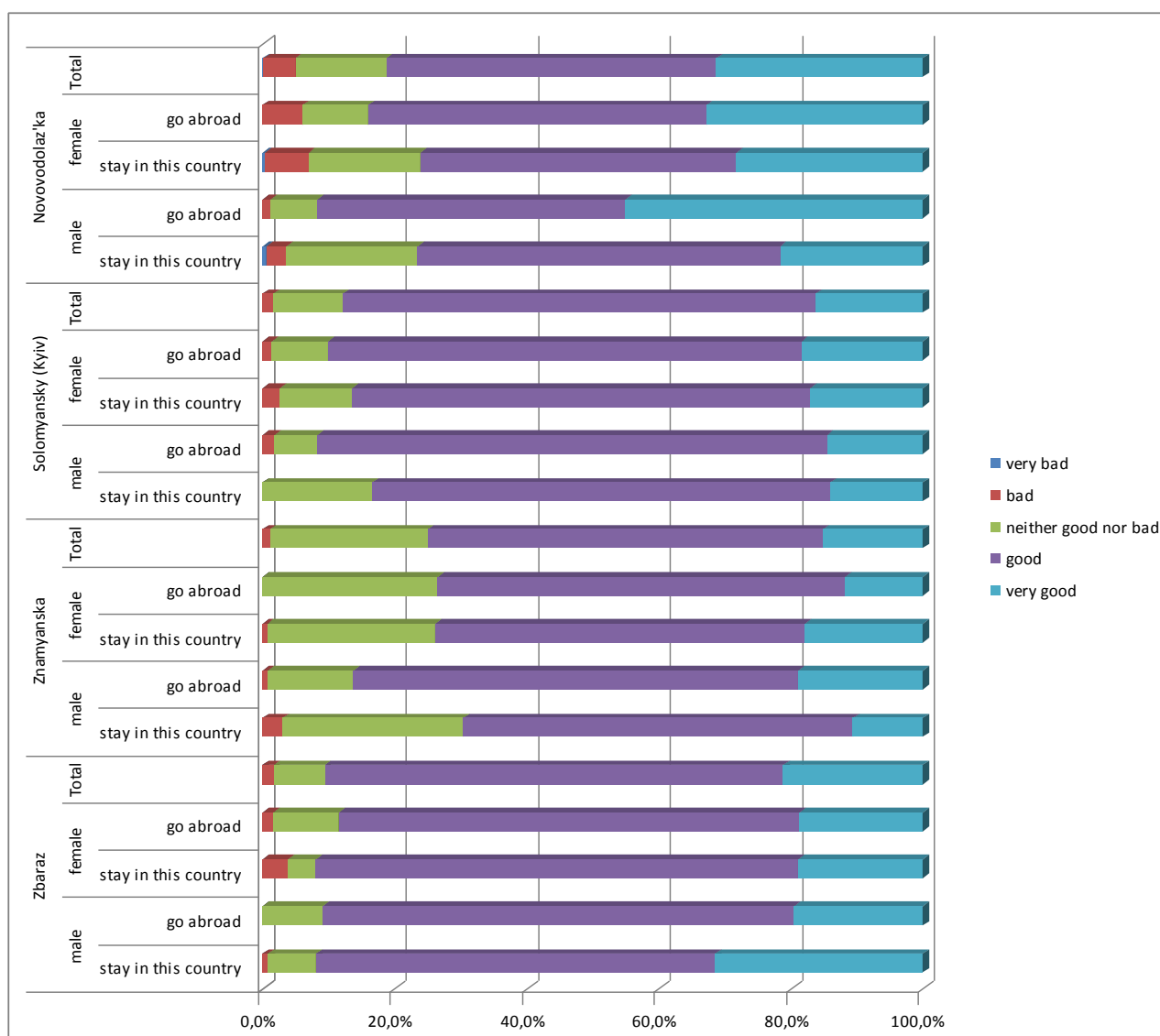
'My cousin lives and works in Germany, ...he has told me [the health system] is on a higher level, dentists' service is cheaper there, ...he has his medical insurance included in his contract' [44118, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

Table PEU4 The health care in Europe is...

	health care in Europe is...				
	very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good

Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	0,7%	7,3%	60,6%	31,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	9,2%	71,4%	19,4%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	3,9%	4,3%	73,0%	18,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,6%	10,0%	69,7%	18,7%
	Total		0,0%	1,7%	7,7%	69,5%	21,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	3,1%	27,4%	59,0%	10,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,8%	13,1%	67,3%	18,9%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	0,7%	25,5%	56,0%	17,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	26,6%	61,6%	11,8%
	Total		0,0%	1,1%	23,9%	59,8%	15,1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	0,0%	16,6%	69,3%	14,1%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,8%	6,5%	77,2%	14,5%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	2,6%	10,9%	69,4%	17,1%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,5%	8,5%	71,6%	18,4%
	Total		0,0%	1,7%	10,4%	71,6%	16,3%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	0,6%	3,0%	19,9%	54,9%	21,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,3%	7,0%	46,6%	45,1%
	female	stay in this country	0,4%	6,6%	16,9%	47,9%	28,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	6,1%	9,9%	51,2%	32,8%
	Total		0,3%	4,7%	13,8%	49,9%	31,3%

Figure PEU4 The health care in Europe is...



P6 There is a lot of corruption in Ukraine/ PEU6 There is a lot of corruption in Europe

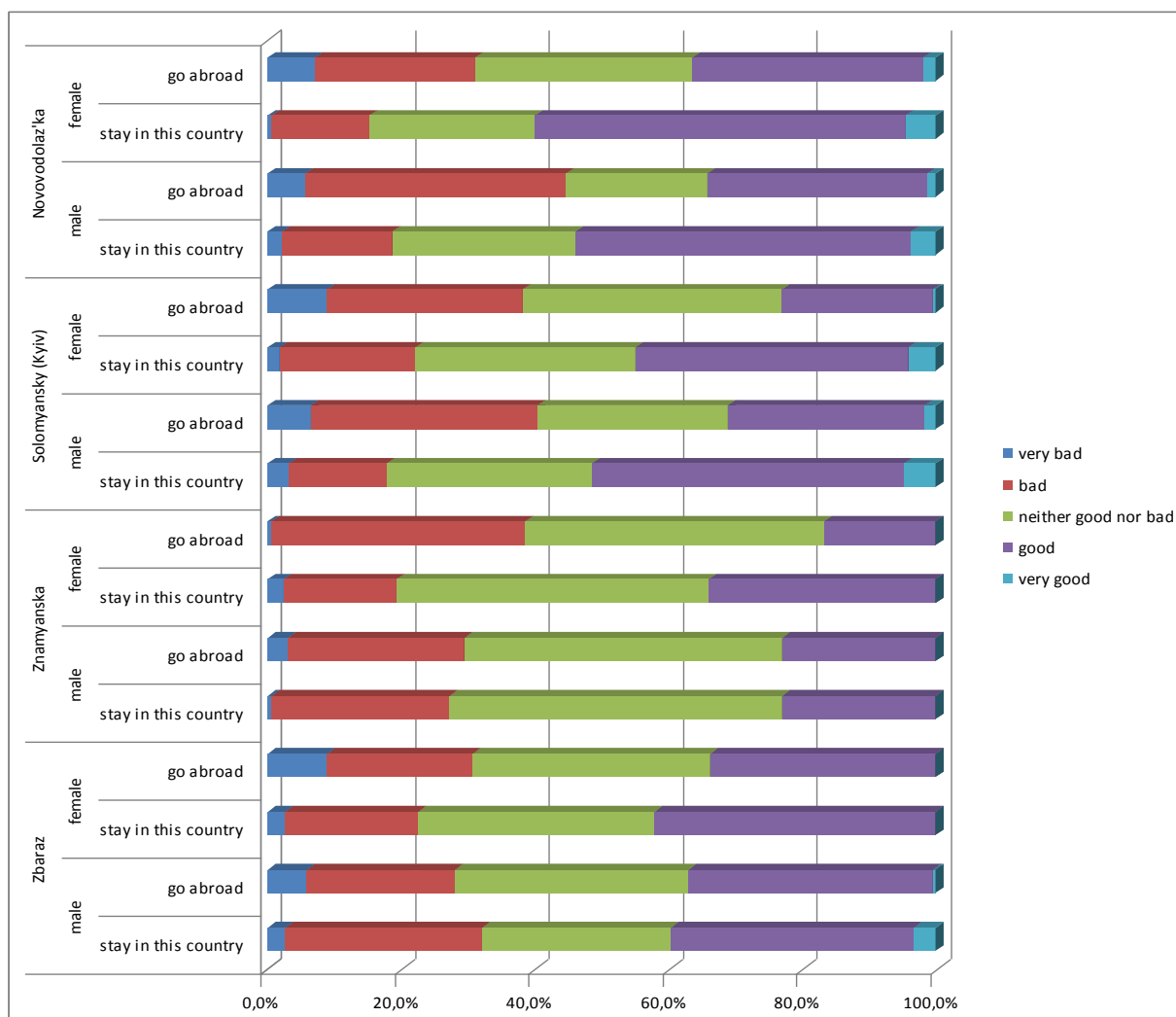
Table P6 provides figures on how corruption is perceived in Ukraine. The responses to the statement that 'there is a lot of corruption in Ukraine' is clear-cut. The categories 'strongly agree' and 'agree' are dominating the responses in all research areas and range from 68 percent in Znamyanska to 88.5 percent in Solomyansky (Kyiv). A correlation between the high percent of respondents who strongly agree that there is a lot of corruption in Ukraine and respondents who aspire to go abroad has been found throughout all research areas (except women in Zbaraz), most significantly in Novovodolaz'ka, for both male and female respondents (66,9 percent and 65,7 percent respectively) and Solomyansky (53,7 percent and 62,7 percent respectively). On the opposite end, a mere 3.7 percent in Solomyansky (Kyiv) to 8.6 percent in Novovodolaz'ka suggest there is no corruption in Ukraine.

Table P6 There is a lot of corruption in Ukraine

			there is a lot of corruption in [country]				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	30,6%	52,0%	14,6%	2,8%	0,0%

	female	go abroad	34,8%	51,4%	8,3%	5,4%	0,0%
		stay in this country	40,9%	41,9%	6,8%	9,6%	0,8%
Znamyanska	male	go abroad	38,9%	46,2%	10,7%	3,8%	0,4%
		stay in this country	8,0%	55,4%	35,4%	1,2%	0,0%
	female	go abroad	9,8%	70,4%	17,6%	0,7%	1,6%
		stay in this country	5,8%	58,2%	33,5%	1,8%	0,7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	go abroad	15,9%	58,4%	23,7%	2,0%	0,0%
		stay in this country	35,9%	44,8%	11,2%	7,4%	0,7%
	female	go abroad	53,7%	39,2%	4,1%	1,7%	1,2%
		stay in this country	27,2%	57,3%	12,9%	1,9%	0,7%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	go abroad	62,7%	33,0%	3,4%	1,0%	0,0%
		stay in this country	46,8%	30,0%	10,9%	12,3%	0,0%
	female	go abroad	66,9%	17,4%	8,3%	7,4%	0,0%
		stay in this country	46,9%	26,0%	19,3%	7,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	65,7%	21,3%	6,1%	5,9%	0,9%

Figure P6 There is a lot of corruption in Ukraine

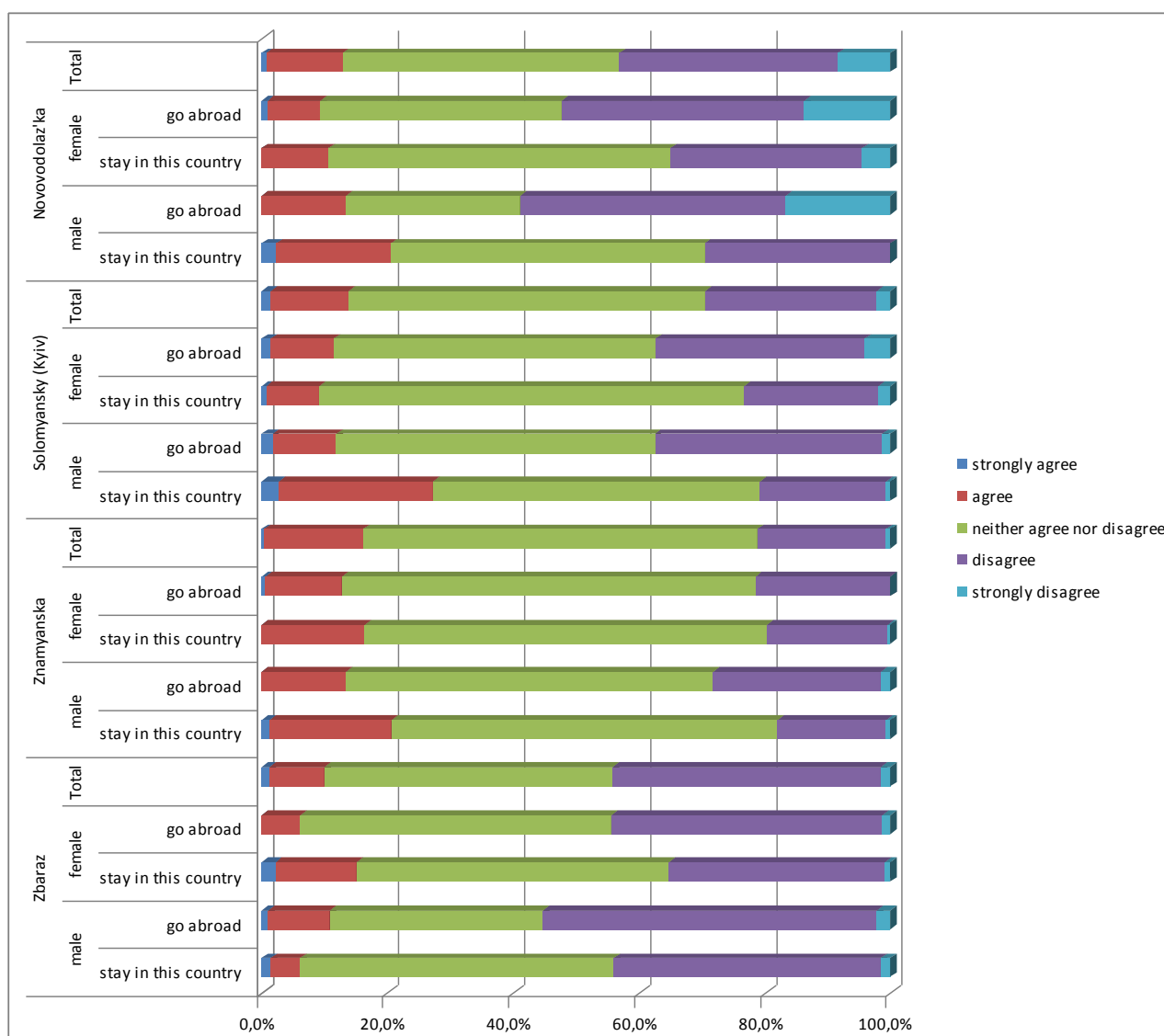


In contrast, table PEU6 demonstrates that people in Ukraine consider the level of corruption in Europe as low, only 13.2 percent “agree or strongly agree that there is a lot of corruption in Europe. ‘The first impression [of Europe] - ...order, ...a minimum of bribery’ (42107). However in Solomyansky and Novovodolaz’ka respondents showed a more critical view on corruption in Europe: they agreed in accord that there is a lot of corruption (12,3 percent and 12,2 percent respectively). This might be influenced by the countries they have in mind, and whether it is Russia and Greece or Germany and Denmark. A correlation is apparent between respondents who strongly agree/agree with the statement and respondents who intend to stay in the country (similarly strongly disagree/disagree and intend to go abroad except for men in Zbaraz) in all research areas (except for men in Zbaraz and women in Solomyansky). That is, respondents who imagine that there is a lot of corruption in Europe have lower aspirations to leave the country in contrast to respondents who think there is not much corruption to be found in Europe. In general, most respondents were not able to give a concrete answer to the question if there is a lot of corruption in Europe. The majority of them neither agrees nor disagrees with the statement (52,6 percent).

Table PEU6 There is a lot of corruption in Europe

			there is a lot of corruption in europe				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	1,5%	4,6%	50,0%	42,3%	1,5%
		go abroad	1,1%	9,9%	33,9%	53,0%	2,2%
	female	stay in this country	2,2%	13,0%	49,6%	34,3%	0,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	6,2%	49,3%	43,1%	1,3%
	Total		1,2%	8,8%	45,8%	42,8%	1,4%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,2%	19,5%	61,3%	17,4%	0,5%
		go abroad	0,0%	13,4%	58,4%	26,6%	1,6%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	16,5%	64,0%	19,2%	0,4%
		go abroad	0,7%	12,2%	65,7%	21,4%	0,0%
	Total		0,4%	15,7%	62,8%	20,6%	0,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	2,7%	24,6%	52,0%	20,0%	0,7%
		go abroad	1,8%	10,2%	50,6%	36,2%	1,2%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	8,5%	67,5%	21,4%	1,9%
		go abroad	1,5%	10,0%	51,2%	33,4%	4,0%
	Total		1,5%	12,3%	56,8%	27,3%	2,0%
Novovodolaz’ka	male	stay in this country	2,4%	18,1%	49,9%	29,5%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	13,4%	27,7%	42,3%	16,5%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	10,7%	54,3%	30,5%	4,5%
		go abroad	0,9%	8,5%	38,3%	38,6%	13,7%
	Total		0,7%	12,2%	44,0%	34,7%	8,3%

Figure PEU6 There is a lot of corruption in Europe



Qualitative data sets mirror these quantitative findings. A broad consensus exists among informants that the phenomenon of corruption is horizontally and vertically widespread in Ukraine. “It is everywhere”,⁸ “it [...] is all over Ukraine”⁹ as informants bluntly point out.¹⁰ “I know not a single sphere which would be not infected with corruption.”¹¹ Informants guaranteed its omnipresence and at the same time elaborated on cases of corruption in the sectors of:

- Education: in schools and universities, entry to the institutions or the exam grades are paid for, i.e. bribes are usual business¹²
- Labour/job market: candidates ‘pay’ in order to be successful on a job application¹³
- Health/medical sector: patients have to bribe the reception or the doctor in order to get an appointment, or depending on the amount of the bribe the waiting time can be reduced substantially¹⁴
- National/regional/local government and administrations¹⁵

⁸ E.g. 41118, 41244, 44128

⁹ 41244

¹⁰ It confirms hypotheses made in the country report on Ukraine by Vollmer et al. (2010).

¹¹ 43135

¹² E.g. 41240, 41242

¹³ 41242, 41125, 41127

¹⁴ E.g. 42104, 41240, 42105, 43131, 41242

- Enforcement authorities/judiciary¹⁶

For instance in the police force/enforcement authorities (e.g. the Ukrainian militia) practices of bribes as well as *de facto* human rights violation is part of the everyday business.¹⁷ This is in stark contrast to the European practices of law enforcement – and therefore underpinning the above quantitative findings-, informants ensured, where the police

“work for the people’s benefit, but not for the benefit of some distinguished rich population groups [...]; [...] in Europe (the) police tries to fight it [criminality] somehow, they try to catch some concrete criminals, and in our case the criminals can pay some money off to be left in peace; [...] our police can catch some criminal and then just let his go’ (44121).

P7 Politicians in Ukraine do what is best for the people in Ukraine/ PEU7 Politicians in Europe do what is best for the people in Europe

Table P7 shows respondents' view on politicians and their actions in Ukraine. In total over 70 percent of respondents disagree or strongly disagree that politicians in Ukraine do what is best for the people. Undecided respondents make up 20,8 percent in total. The most numerous (over 40 percent in every subcategory) are respondents from Znamyanska.

Respondents who constitute the overwhelming majority among those who strongly disagree with the given statement are men from Novovodolaz'ka (60 percent) who aspire to go abroad. The same intention have women from Novovodolaz'ka (54,9 percent) as well as women from Solomyansky (47,3 percent).

Remarkably, over 90 percent of respondents in Zbaraz either disagree or strongly disagree that politicians meet the interests of the Ukrainian people. More than 85 percent of them from Solomyansky share the same opinion. Strikingly that 63 percent of men from Zbaraz who disagree that politicians do what is best for the people in Ukraine do not want to go abroad but are willing to stay in their home country.

Table P7 Politicians in Ukraine do what is best for the people in Ukraine

			politicians in [country] do what is best for the people in this country				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,1%	5,5%	63,7%	28,8%
		go abroad	0,5%	2,4%	8,8%	55,8%	32,4%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	0,0%	9,6%	54,1%	36,3%
		go abroad	0,8%	0,0%	9,1%	52,6%	37,6%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	11,3%	43,2%	32,3%	13,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	6,5%	41,6%	41,3%	10,6%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	5,2%	44,6%	38,9%	11,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,3%	43,1%	42,4%	13,2%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	8,7%	9,2%	45,3%	36,7%
		go abroad	1,2%	1,2%	3,0%	55,5%	39,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	4,8%	18,3%	53,7%	23,3%

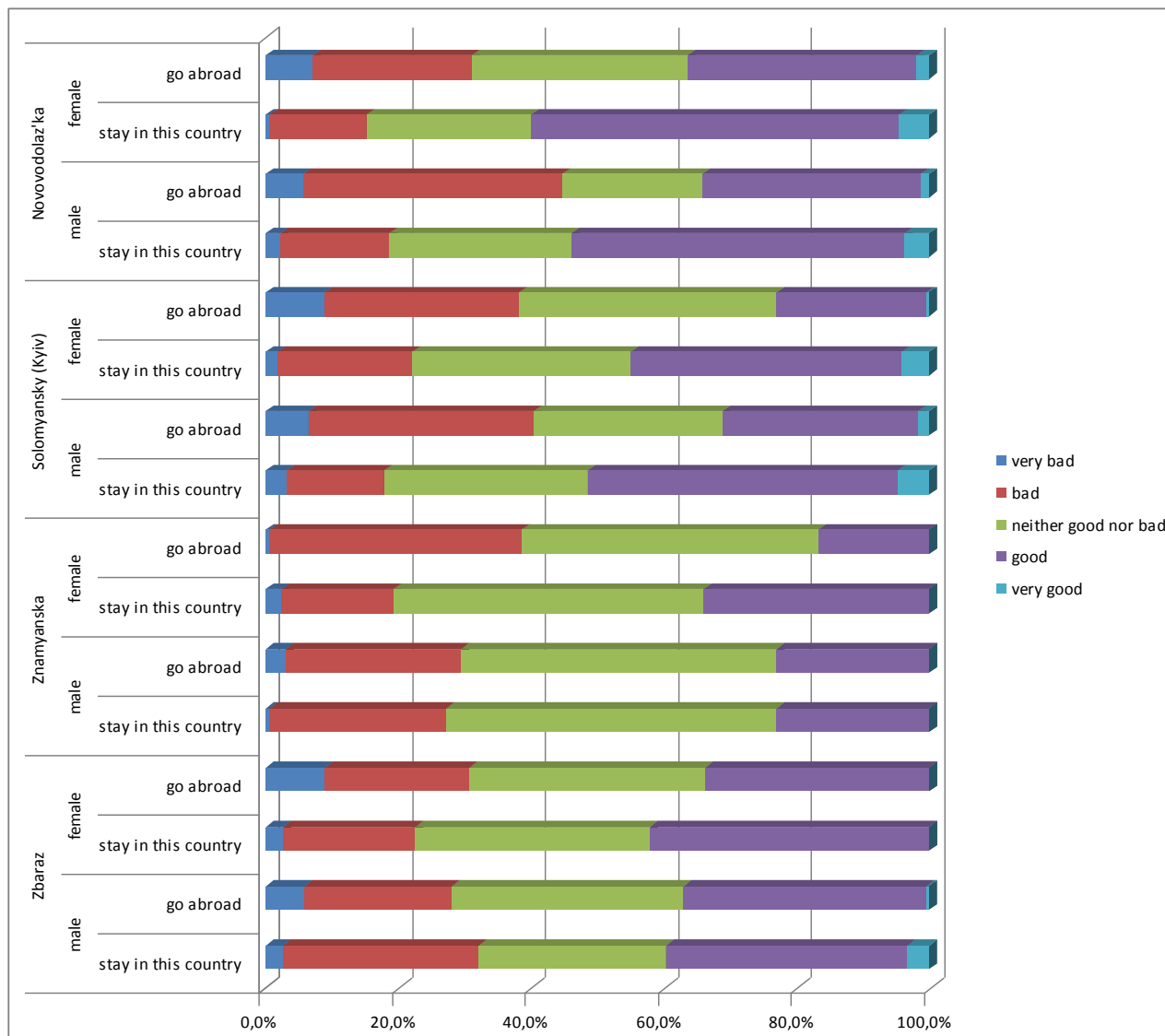
¹⁵ E.g. 41117, 41122, 41124

¹⁶ See following evidences

¹⁷ 43112, 44121

		go abroad	0,0%	1,0%	6,0%	45,7%	47,3%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	0,6%	8,5%	17,0%	37,3%	36,6%
		go abroad	1,3%	7,1%	16,9%	14,7%	60,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	5,5%	26,5%	23,0%	44,9%
		go abroad	2,4%	4,7%	19,6%	18,5%	54,9%

Figure P7 Politicians in Ukraine do what is best for the people in Ukraine



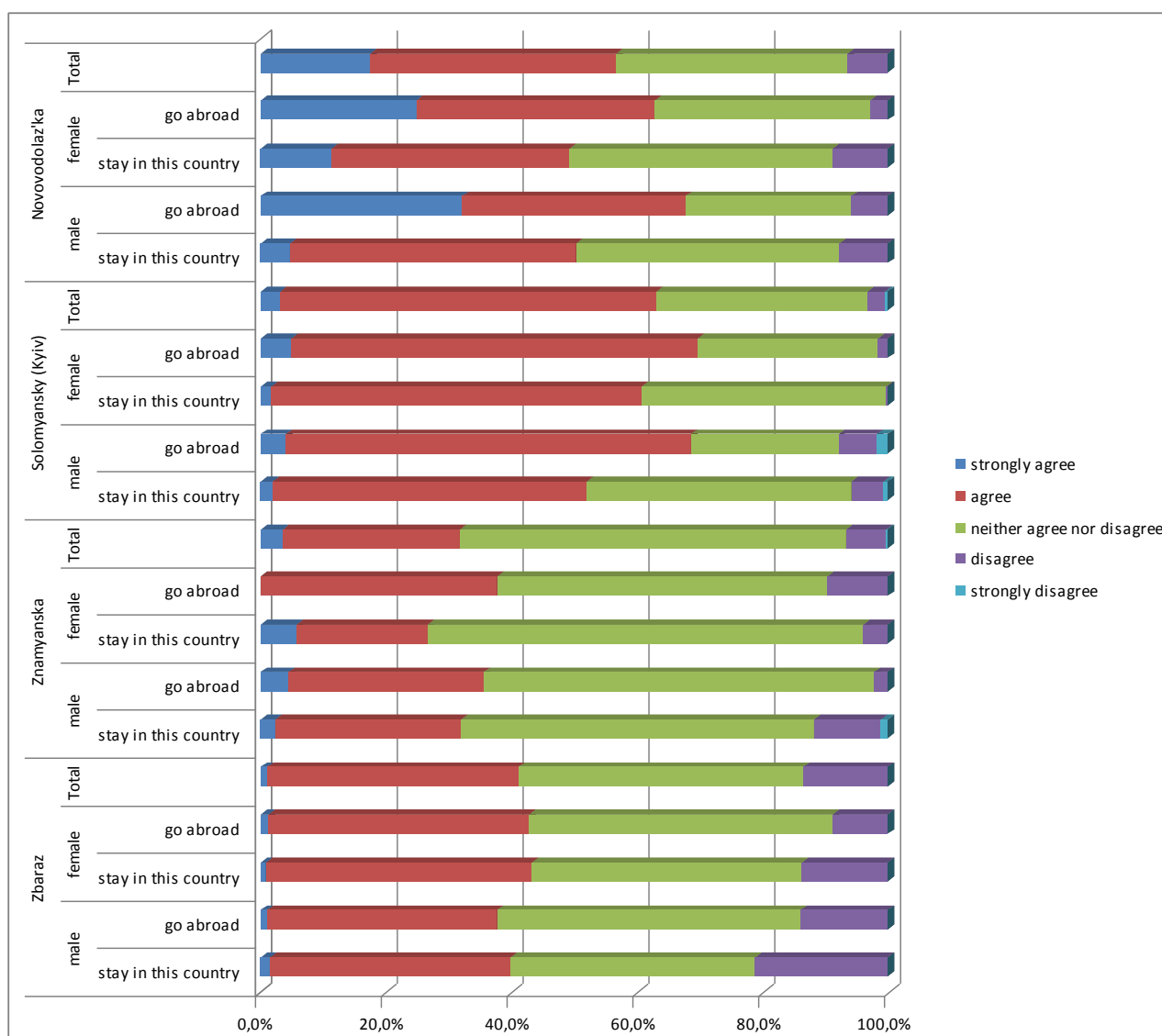
The table PEU7 provides information about what respondents think about European politicians and if they act in the interest of the people in Europe. 40 percent of respondents in Zbaraz agree that politicians in Europe act in the best interest of the people. Though those who disagree are in a minority (13,5 percent) – again people with indefinite position are great in number and make up 25,3 percent while this figure is even higher in Znamyanska (61,6 percent). The highest rates of respondents agreeing to the statement that politicians do their best for the well-being of people in Europe can be found in Solomyansky (almost 60 percent), followed by Novovodolaz'ka, Zbaraz and Znamyanska. In total respondents largely agree that European politicians do what is best for the people in Europe. The total figure of those who 'agree' and "strongly agree" is up to 50 percent and is greater than the percentage of undecided respondents (44,3 percent).

Notable, 17,6 percent of respondents from Novovodolaz'ka strongly agree with the given statement, whereas the percentage of respondents from other research areas who place their answers under this category is insignificant (less than 4 percent). Men from Zbaraz (13,8 percent) who do not believe that European politicians act in the best interest of European people still intended to go abroad. The most significant correlation between imagined politics in Europe and the aspiration to leave the country can be found in among respondents from Solomyansky (male and female respondents which and constitute over 60 percent).

Table PEU7 Politicians in Europe do what is best for the people in Europe

			politicians in European countries do what is best for the people				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	1,6%	38,3%	39,0%	21,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	1,1%	36,7%	48,4%	13,8%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,9%	42,3%	43,1%	13,6%	0,0%
		go abroad	1,3%	41,5%	48,5%	8,7%	0,0%
	Total		1,2%	40,0%	45,3%	13,5%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	2,5%	29,5%	56,3%	10,6%	1,2%
		go abroad	4,5%	31,0%	62,1%	2,3%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	5,8%	20,9%	69,4%	4,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	37,7%	52,5%	9,8%	0,0%
	Total		3,6%	28,1%	61,6%	6,4%	0,3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	2,0%	50,0%	42,1%	5,2%	0,7%
		go abroad	4,2%	64,4%	23,5%	6,0%	1,8%
	female	stay in this country	1,9%	58,9%	38,9%	0,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	5,0%	64,7%	28,9%	1,5%	0,0%
	Total		3,2%	59,8%	33,7%	2,8%	0,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	4,8%	45,4%	41,9%	7,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	32,2%	35,5%	26,5%	5,8%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	11,3%	38,0%	41,9%	8,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	24,9%	38,1%	34,2%	2,8%	0,0%
	Total		17,6%	39,0%	36,9%	6,5%	0,0%

Figure PEU7 Politicians in Europe do what is best for the people in Europe



Quantitative data depicts a clear picture of people's attitude on politics and governance in Ukraine and in Europe. The substantially higher 'neither agree nor disagree' responses in Znamyanska and Novovorodolaz'ka (about 4 times or twice as high (respectively) as in Zbaraz and Solomyansky) points to insecurity among the population in regard to talking about politicians and possibly being afraid of authoritative consequences, especially in Znamyanska. Assuming that a portion of these 43.4% undecided respondents in Znamyanska would likewise disagree with this statement, between well over 70-90% of the respondents in the selected research areas disagree with this statement and express a high dissatisfaction and a certain degree of frustration with the political landscape and its governance in their research areas as well as in Ukraine as a whole. Interviews with representatives of Ukrainian institutions as for instance from the NGO sector or the private sector signified corruption (in politics) as a source of frustration especially with the 'new generation' or 'young people' in Ukraine, which could be confirmed by analysing the above quantitative data sets, however, qualitative data provided a much more diversified and richer explanation for these findings.

In the qualitative data base, no significant regional differences became apparent as regards the attitudes towards politics and governance. The clear-cut picture found in the quantitative data became confirmed, however on a much more subliminal or on a way that is best described as tacit discourse. Discontent about politician, politics and the government and how the country is run were not expressed by outrage or strong comments but rather by utter frustration and resignation. In line with

evidences found in the triangulation data, an ‘apolitical’ behaviour¹⁸ or an increasing aversion towards politics imbues narratives of informants.

Frustration is directed towards incompetence of governing a country or regions since “our government cannot even repair the roads, so all the rest is out of the question”,¹⁹ or the fact that with the current government and “poorly thought-out system”.²⁰ An improvement of living conditions and the country as whole is linked to a drastic change since

‘Our government is wrong, and our people too... Everything is wrong here. [...] For the most part – about the government. Look, people are trying to get their attention, standing near Verkhovna Rada, but get no response at all. They care about their own business in Rada. They don’t care about anything else’ (43114).

P8 It is easy to find a good job in Ukraine/ PEU8 It is easy to find a good job in Europe

Table P8/PEU8 display the results of respondents’ attitudes about finding a good job in Ukraine and finding a good job in Europe. The number of respondents who consider that it is easy finding a job is low. Only about 1-2 percent strongly agree with the statement while about over 10 percent agree with the statement. In Solomyansky and in Novovodolaz’ka the shares are substantially higher than in the other two research areas, especially among respondents in Solomyansky who intend to stay in Ukraine.

The shares of respondents who disagree with the statement show a high level of variation: between 62,4 percent (Zbaraz) and 31,9 percent (Novovodolaz’ka). Results reveal no common tendency that is applicable for all research areas as far as the response ‘disagree’ is concerned but combining the response of ‘disagree’ an ‘strongly disagree’, a clearer picture appears and that is the correlation between finding it hard to find a good job and the aspiration to go abroad. In Novovodolaz’ka, for instance, a higher percentage of respondents who disagree/strongly disagree with the comment aspire to go abroad (men: 78,6 percent; women: 74,3 percent) in comparison to the respondents yet disagree/strongly disagree but aspire to stay in Ukraine (men: 60,6 percent; women: 69,5 percent). Nevertheless a strong attitude towards the current job market In Ukraine among both groups can be observed.

In Solomyansky, situated in capital of Ukraine, the highest rate of respondents agree with the statement which point to a more relaxed labour market. But again, more respondents in Solomyansky who aspire to leave the country argue also that it is not easy to find a good job in Ukraine (men: 59,7; women: 50,4 percent).

‘[In Europe] they can find a deserving job with the diploma they get there. And with our diplomas, I do not know, maybe except from a few schools, but I am not sure about it as well, that it is possible to find a good job’.[42108, Znamyanska research area].

Table P8 It is easy to find a good job in Ukraine

			it is easy to find a good job in this country]				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,7%	16,5%	62,3%	18,5%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,0%	9,3%	63,2%	26,5%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	0,8%	16,0%	58,8%	24,4%

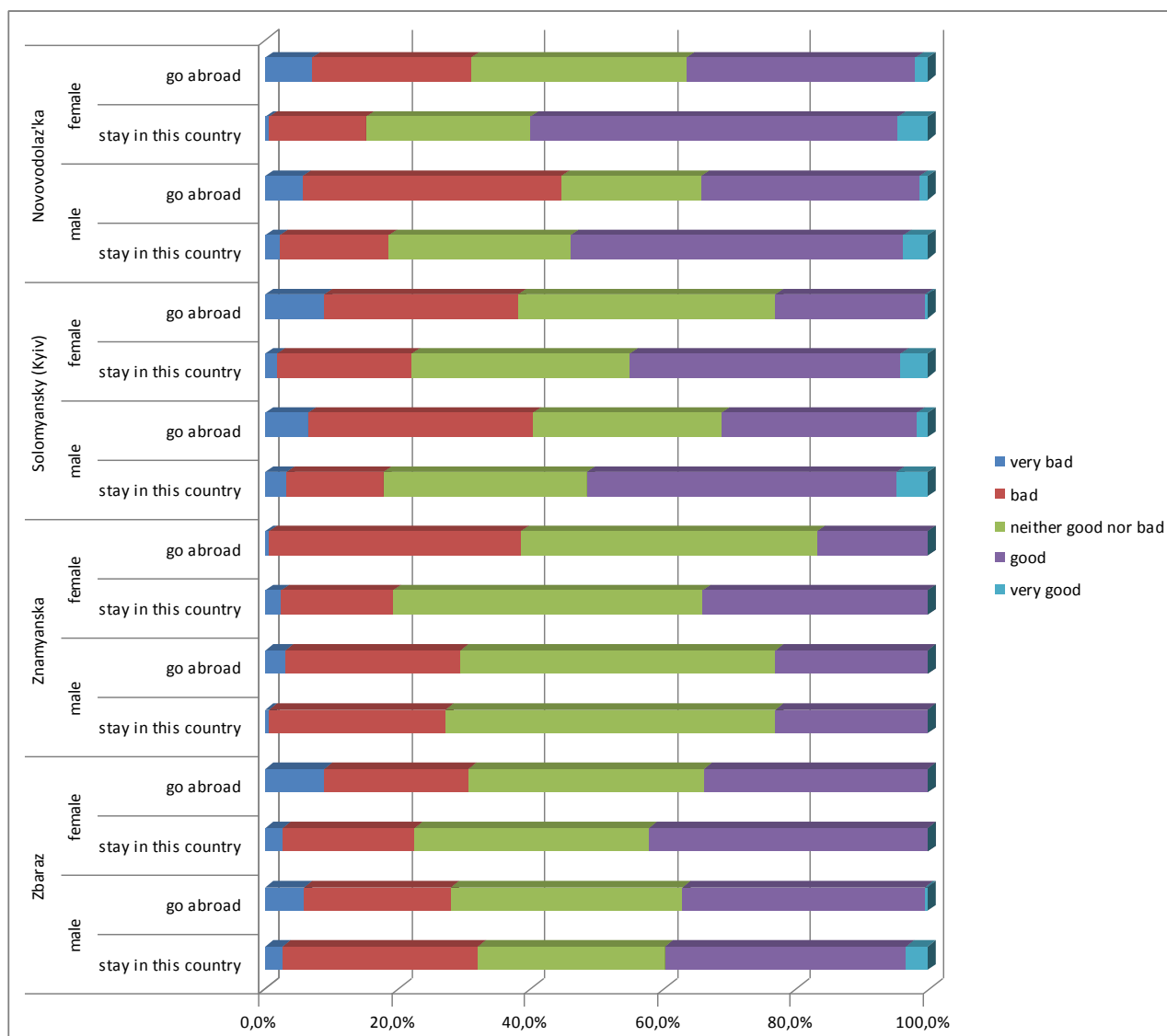
¹⁸ Interviews with NGOs (especially Europe without Barriers)

¹⁹ 42105

²⁰ 43129

		go abroad	0,0%	3,4%	7,6%	65,5%	23,5%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,2%	6,5%	10,9%	62,3%	19,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,7%	14,7%	57,3%	27,2%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	5,0%	14,0%	59,1%	21,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,2%	12,4%	59,2%	25,2%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,7%	23,3%	31,3%	30,7%	14,1%
		go abroad	0,0%	5,4%	16,9%	59,7%	18,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,1%	16,6%	26,4%	36,9%	18,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	8,0%	18,6%	50,4%	23,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	1,8%	17,2%	20,8%	33,4%	26,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	11,0%	10,4%	28,5%	50,1%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	8,1%	21,7%	38,4%	31,1%
		go abroad	1,4%	11,0%	13,3%	24,7%	49,6%

Figure P8 It is easy to find a good job in Ukraine



In general terms, the share of respondents who think that it is hard to find a good job in Europe has shrunk to the half of the share of respondents thinking it is hard to find a good job in Ukraine. However, results demonstrate uncertainty and a substantial rate of scepticism towards the European labour market, especially in Novovodolaz'ka where the percentage of respondents who strongly disagree with the given statement reaches 12.1 percent. Apart from the fact that a high percentage of respondents neither agree nor disagree with the statement pointing to a degree of not having an answer to the question, in the two research areas of Znamyanska and Solomyansky, the highest percentages can be found of respondents who believe it is easy to find a job in Europe (34,8 percent and 36,9 percent respectively). Importantly, in all research areas the logic of the correlation above holds true: respondents who think it easy to find a job also tend to aspire to go abroad, i.e. confirming that the perception of a weak labour market in Ukraine and a stronger one in Europe may constitute a driver of migration. No gender differences became apparent.

Interestingly, the most critical respondents, i.e. who think it is not easy to find a good job in Europe, can be found in the high emigration research areas: Zbaraz and Novovodolaz'ka (26,8 percent and 32,8 percent respectively), 'I do not think that it is much easier to find a job there; just the salaries are higher [in Europe] than in Ukraine' [41126, Zbaraz research area].

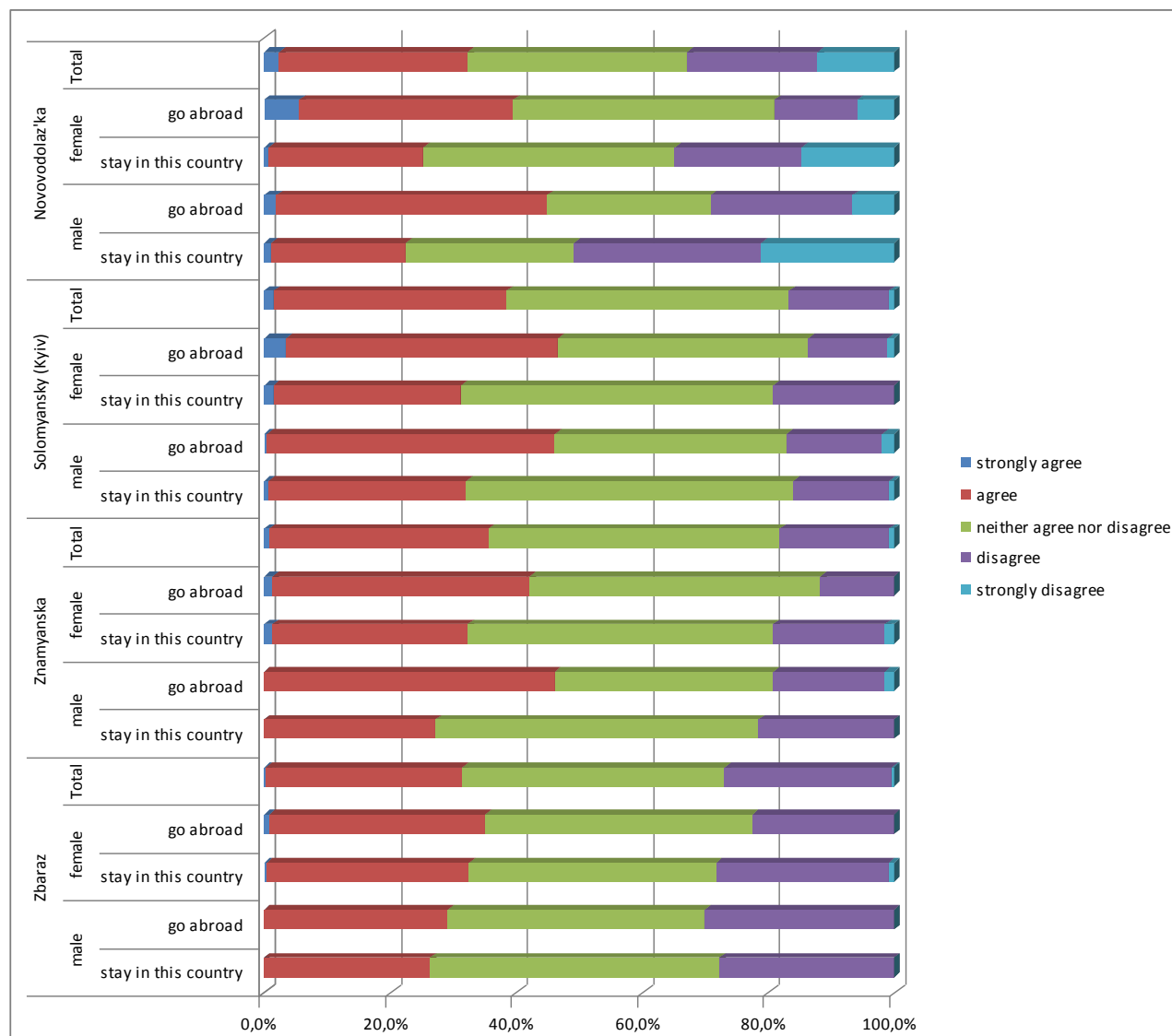
This may point to a more vivid (international) migration culture where more information and experiences are exchanged in the public discourse or within networks of migration. Thus people who aspire to leave the country are tentatively better informed or more critical.

Table PEU8 It is easy to find a good job in Europe

			it is easy to find a good job in Europe				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	26,3%	46,1%	27,6%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	29,2%	40,7%	30,1%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,4%	32,1%	39,3%	27,4%	0,8%
		go abroad	0,8%	34,3%	42,4%	22,4%	0,0%
	Total		0,4%	31,1%	41,7%	26,6%	0,2%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	27,3%	51,3%	21,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	46,1%	34,7%	17,7%	1,5%
	female	stay in this country	1,4%	30,9%	48,5%	17,8%	1,3%
		go abroad	1,3%	40,8%	46,2%	11,6%	0,0%
	Total		0,8%	34,9%	46,2%	17,3%	0,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,7%	31,5%	51,9%	15,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	0,6%	45,7%	36,8%	15,1%	1,8%
	female	stay in this country	1,5%	29,7%	49,7%	19,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	3,5%	43,2%	39,8%	12,5%	1,0%
	Total		1,7%	36,9%	44,9%	15,8%	0,8%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	1,2%	21,3%	26,8%	29,6%	21,0%
		go abroad	2,0%	43,1%	25,9%	22,5%	6,5%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	24,7%	39,9%	20,0%	14,7%
		go abroad	5,7%	33,9%	41,5%	13,2%	5,8%

	Total	2,4%	30,0%	34,9%	20,7%	12,1%
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Figure PEU8 It is easy to find a good job in Europe



P10 In Ukraine women have the same opportunities as men/ PEU10 In Europe women have the same opportunities as men

Table P10/PEU10 presents how respondents perceive equal opportunities among men and women in Ukraine and in Europe. In total, over 40 percent of respondents agree/strongly agree that women in Ukraine have the same opportunities as men do. Even higher shares of agreement can be found among respondents from Solomyansky. However one may note that there is a slight tendency of higher percentages among male respondents. Nevertheless, no significant correlation between gender inequality and migration aspiration became apparent. In Solomyansky, the percentage of respondents who agree that men and women in Ukraine have the same opportunities is higher among those who intend to go abroad. Respondents who do not believe that men and women have the same opportunities in Ukraine can be found among women from Znamyanska (34,9 percent, 'agree') and women from Novovorodolaz'ka (13,9 percent, 'strongly agree'). Only in these two research areas a correlation between the gender inequality and aspiration to leave the country may exist. Novovorodolaz'ka is a special case since a significant divergence in comparison to all other research

areas become evident. Discriminatory practices towards women can be assumed (and has been pointed to in earlier sections) but this needs further exploration consulting qualitative datasets.

Table P10 In Ukraine women have the same opportunities as men

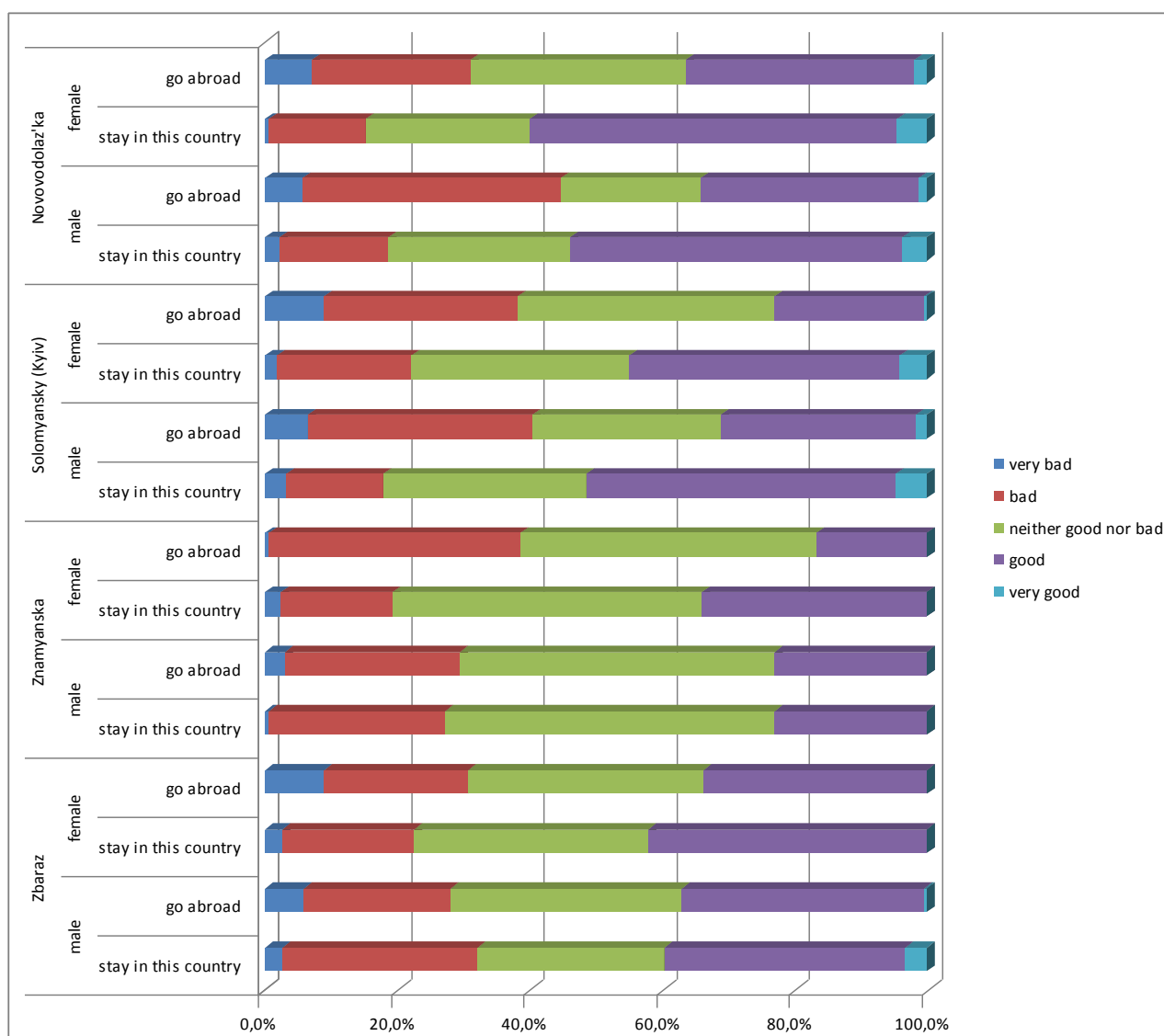
			in [this country] women have the same opportunities as men				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,7%	49,3%	25,3%	21,2%	3,4%
		go abroad	3,0%	47,0%	23,3%	26,2%	0,5%
	female	stay in this country	4,2%	45,6%	20,5%	27,0%	2,7%
		go abroad	2,3%	43,9%	23,1%	26,9%	3,8%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	32,6%	44,0%	23,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	37,9%	41,6%	20,5%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	21,7%	51,6%	25,1%	1,7%
		go abroad	1,2%	20,1%	43,8%	34,9%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	18,1%	45,9%	25,3%	10,7%	0,0%
		go abroad	6,6%	49,3%	22,9%	17,5%	3,6%
	female	stay in this country	17,8%	34,4%	23,4%	23,0%	1,5%
		go abroad	9,3%	43,4%	24,4%	22,0%	1,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	18,0%	40,3%	22,4%	19,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	17,5%	30,7%	22,8%	23,2%	5,8%
	female	stay in this country	17,5%	32,2%	30,9%	16,4%	3,0%
		go abroad	11,9%	38,2%	16,8%	19,3%	13,9%

'I think women have more opportunities to work there (in Europe). If one will consider a factory, there are women and men and all working there. Here, we just have such jobs, men have more. With a pleasure will hire for a job than women, they think that a woman cannot work that way. And here, as people say, only in some shops, in bars, so that's, women go only there. And it is all around. Women are at any firms' [41112, Zbaraz research area].

'Please tell us from your own hands-on experience, is there any difference between men and women in your town? I mean, are there any priorities for employment or, suppose, during local government elections, are men or women preferred, or to the same extent?

R.: The fact is that I've never seen any woman run for the position in the very local government' .[42105, Znamyanska research area].

Figure P10 In Ukraine women have the same opportunities as men



In general, a strong majority of the respondents across all research areas either agree or strongly agree that women in Europe have the same opportunities as men. The answer of 'strongly agree' was given most frequently by respondents from Solomyansky and Novovorodolaz'ka (both account for about 10 percent in total).

No clear cut tendency or correlation can be observed. However a significant observation can be again made in a high emigration area, that is Zbaraz, which underpins the above finding of a more critical attitude towards Europe, presumably (as argued above) due to migration experiences of the respondents or vibrant and ongoing migration cultures. About 18 percent of the total number of respondents perceive that there are gender inequalities in Europe.

Table PEU10 In Europe women have the same opportunities as men

			in Europe women have the same opportunities as men				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	2,2%	52,2%	28,4%	16,4%	0,7%
		go abroad	1,1%	55,6%	27,8%	15,6%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,8%	62,1%	17,8%	18,2%	0,0%

		go abroad	0,4%	60,5%	18,8%	20,2%	0,0%
		Total	1,3%	58,3%	22,4%	17,9%	0,1%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	43,1%	45,2%	10,5%	1,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	38,7%	53,1%	8,3%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	3,4%	37,6%	44,3%	14,7%	0,0%
		go abroad	3,5%	32,3%	52,8%	11,4%	0,0%
		Total	2,1%	37,9%	47,8%	11,9%	0,3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	10,0%	51,8%	30,8%	7,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	7,2%	69,9%	19,9%	3,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	10,7%	62,0%	21,1%	6,2%	0,0%
		go abroad	11,2%	61,8%	21,5%	5,5%	0,0%
		Total	10,0%	61,7%	22,8%	5,6%	0,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	6,7%	31,8%	43,4%	18,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	15,8%	45,0%	27,7%	11,5%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	7,5%	35,6%	48,1%	8,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	12,6%	54,1%	23,9%	8,9%	0,5%
		Total	10,3%	41,5%	36,8%	11,3%	0,1%

In addition, informants believe that women are constraint by traditional family values and related ways of life

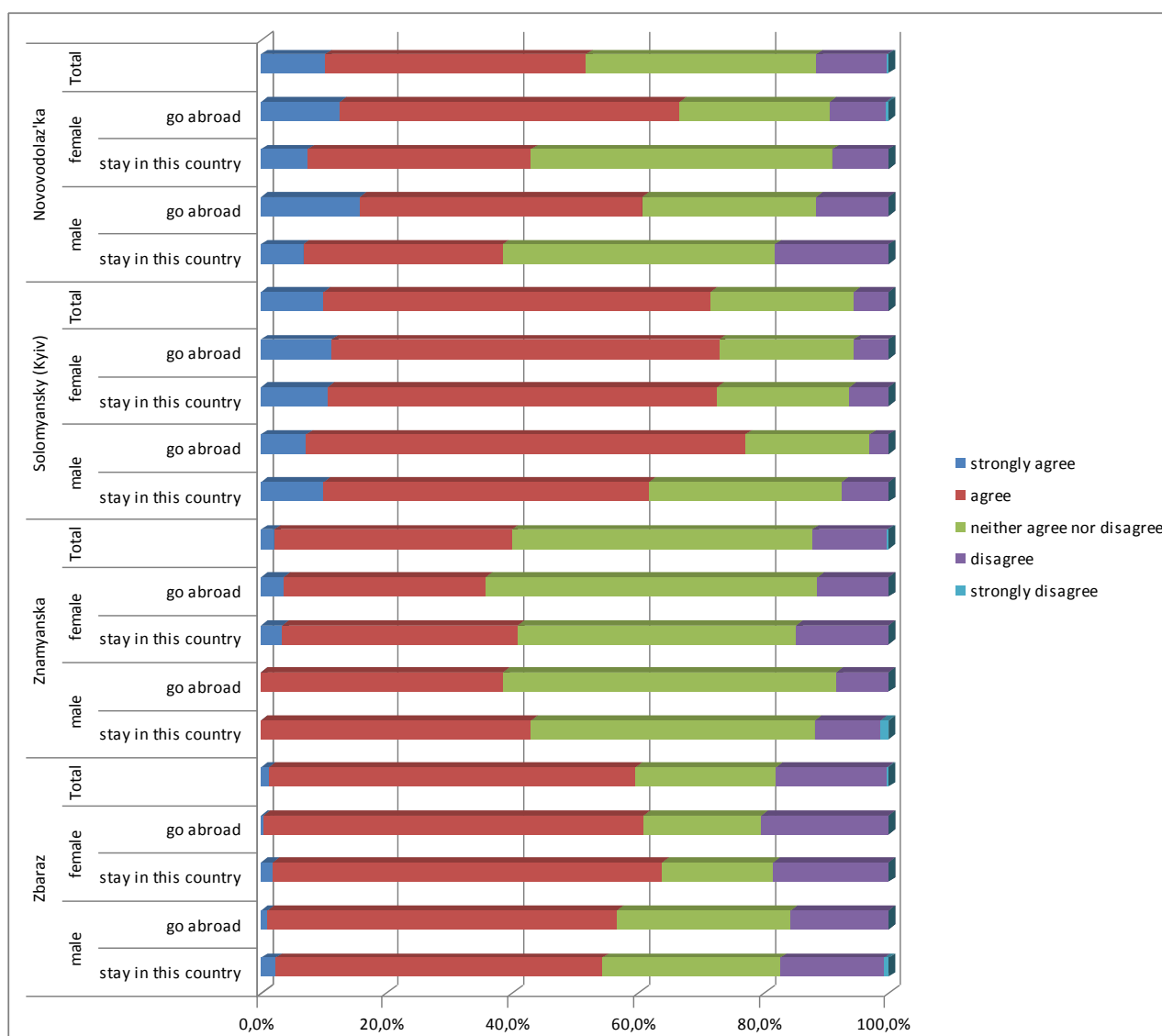
I.: Well, if we exclude the authority sector and leave the sectors of business, education and services. It is possible for women to realize itself in Europe?

R.: Of course it is. Why not?

I.: On the same level as men?

R.: I think yes. I think that in Europe it is possible. Here also if someone would like to – he can. Obviously, in our case, woman is more in the family, kids, mode of life .. and because of all of this women simply cannot reach something greater. Woman has to take care about everything. The work plus all the rest – home and everything for home' [41114 , Zbaraz research area].

Figure PEU10 In Europe women have the same opportunities as men



P1 The life of women in Ukraine is.../ PEU1 The life of women in Europe is...

Table P1/PEU1 finds out about how bad or good the life of women in Ukraine and in Europe is perceived by the respondents in the four research areas.

The largest share of the respondents indicate that the life of women is neither good nor bad (about 45 percent in total). However, the respondents who think that the life of women in Ukraine is either bad or very bad outnumber significantly the respondents who share the opposite opinion. They constitute about 36 percent while the latter group only 17,4 percent.

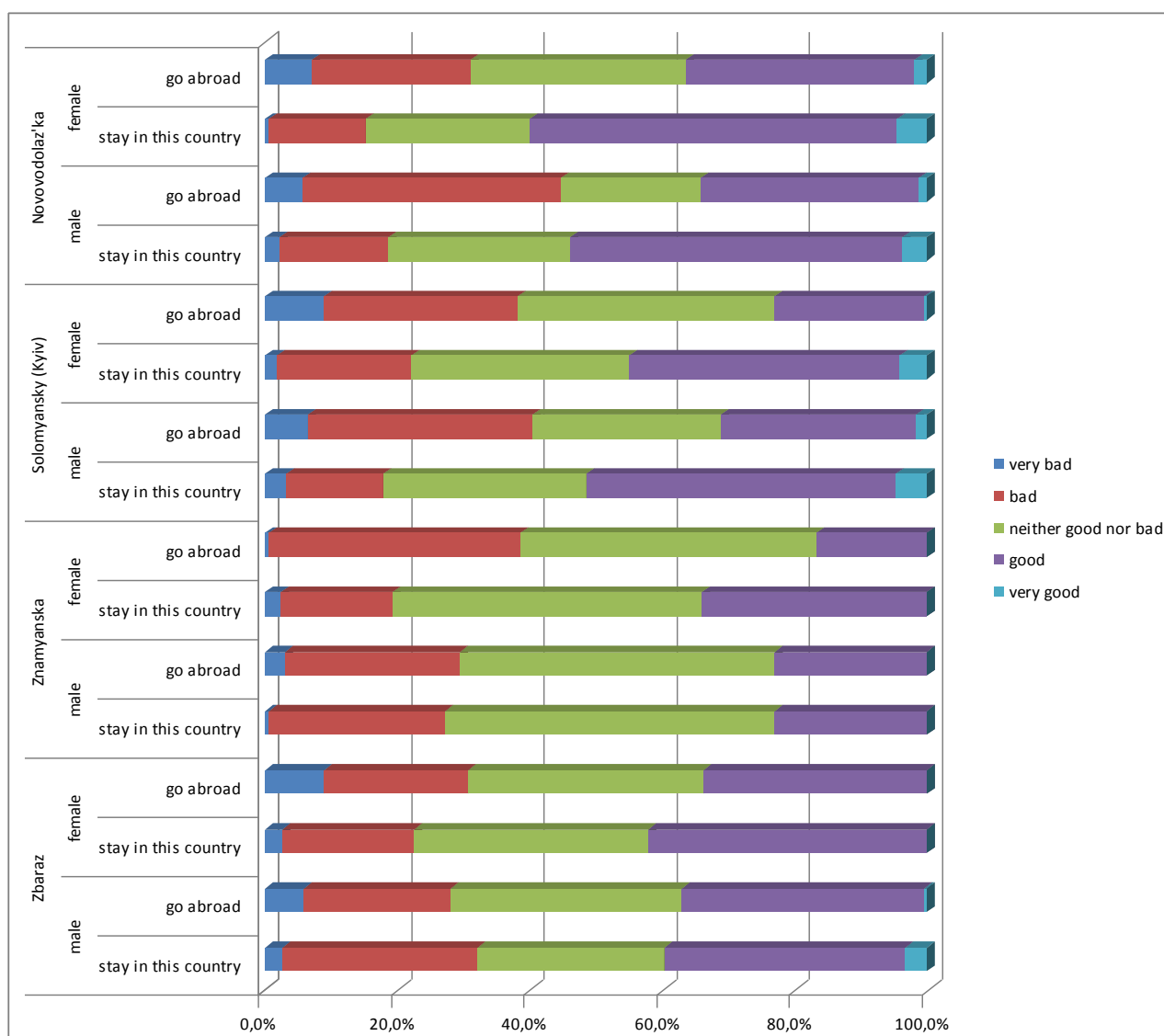
Significantly, the highest percentages can be found in the group of female respondents who aspire to go abroad. Combining the answers of bad and very bad, it is 62,5 percent of female respondents in Novovodolaz'ka, 55,6 percent in Znamyanska, 44,7 percent in Zbaraz and 44,3 percent in Solomyansky. A strong correlation seems to exist. Again, the research area where a gender issue became most apparent is Novovodolaz'ka where 15 percent of the responded answered 'very bad' and wish to leave the country.

Table P1 The life of women in Ukraine is...

	the life of women in [this country] is
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			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	5,6%	25,0%	50,7%	18,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	6,9%	23,5%	53,9%	14,7%	1,0%
	female	stay in this country	2,3%	29,2%	59,6%	8,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	9,8%	34,9%	46,9%	8,3%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,6%	22,4%	68,0%	9,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	5,2%	39,9%	52,7%	2,2%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	2,5%	24,4%	62,8%	10,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	5,3%	50,3%	40,5%	3,9%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	1,3%	12,7%	46,6%	33,3%	6,0%
		go abroad	3,0%	42,7%	36,2%	18,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,7%	25,6%	38,0%	31,6%	4,1%
		go abroad	7,0%	37,3%	36,9%	17,8%	1,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	1,8%	27,5%	42,5%	28,2%	0,0%
		go abroad	9,8%	48,8%	25,1%	16,3%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	3,4%	27,3%	40,2%	28,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	15,0%	47,5%	24,1%	13,4%	0,0%

Figure P1 The life of women in Ukraine is...



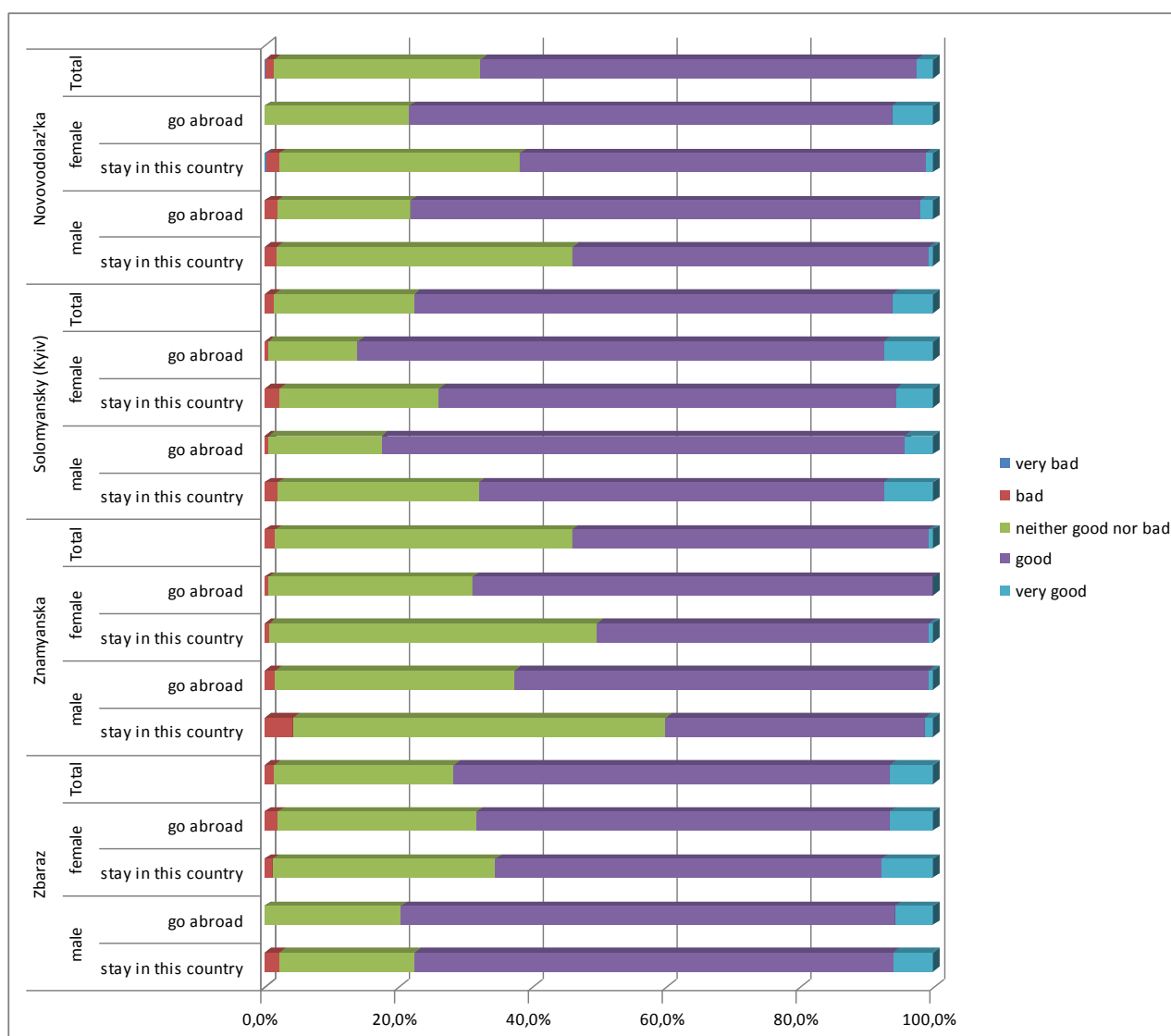
Overall a strong majority of the respondents across all research areas think that life of women in Europe is good or very good. The percentages hardly reach 2 percent of the respondents who think that life of women in Europe is bad. Notably, these 'higher' percentages are given by male respondents (an exception are female respondents from Solomyansky: 2,2 percent). The below results of women's life in Europe confirm the above findings of women's life in Ukraine to some extent as the highest percentages (of thinking that life of women in Europe is good/very good) can be found among women who wish leave Ukraine (except men from Zbaraz who aspire to go abroad).

Table PEU1 The life of women in Europe is...

			the life of women in Europe is...				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,2%	20,2%	71,6%	6,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	20,4%	74,0%	5,6%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	1,3%	33,2%	57,7%	7,8%
		go abroad	0,0%	2,0%	29,7%	61,8%	6,4%

	Total		0,0%	1,4%	26,9%	65,2%	6,5%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	4,3%	55,8%	38,7%	1,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,6%	35,9%	61,9%	0,7%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	0,7%	49,0%	49,7%	0,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,6%	30,5%	68,9%	0,0%
	Total		0,0%	1,6%	44,3%	53,4%	0,6%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	2,0%	30,0%	60,6%	7,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,6%	16,9%	78,3%	4,2%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	2,2%	23,8%	68,4%	5,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,5%	13,5%	78,6%	7,4%
	Total		0,0%	1,4%	20,9%	71,6%	6,1%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	0,0%	1,8%	44,2%	53,4%	0,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,9%	19,9%	76,2%	1,9%
	female	stay in this country	0,4%	1,8%	36,0%	60,7%	1,1%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	21,7%	72,2%	6,2%
	Total		0,1%	1,4%	30,8%	65,2%	2,5%

Figure PEU1 The life of women in Europe is...



P11 In Ukraine people can say whatever they want in public/ PEU11 In Europe people can say whatever they want in public

Table P11 provides results on how respondents perceive their freedom of speech in their own country. In total percentages of respondents who agree or strongly agree with this statement the number almost reaches 50 percent. Respondents who were not able to formulate their answers but responded with 'neither agree nor disagree' make up one third of all respondents. 20 percent of respondents disagree with the given statement, whereas those who strongly disagree are very insignificant in number (2 percent).

Respondents who agree that people in Ukraine can say whatever they want in public are from Zbaraz and Solomyansky. The highest percent (over 50 percent) is among male respondents irrespective of their migration aspirations. Very similar figures (over 40 percent) – again with no regard to migration aspiration -, are found among women from Zbaraz and men from Solomyansky. The only exception is the figure for female respondents from Solomyansky, where the percentage is below 40 percent. The categories of aspiring to stay in Ukraine or to go abroad do not show significant differences.

The highest percentage of respondents who strongly disagree that people in Ukraine can express what they want freely in public were women and men from Novovodolaz'ka (about 24, 25 percent) – the highest is among women, though they wish to stay in the country. All other research areas

account for no more than 3,5 percent in this category. A highly significant result that point to an issue of freedom of speech in the research area of Novovodolaz'ka.

Table P11 In Ukraine people can say whatever they want in public

			in this country people can say whatever they want in public				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	3,4%	56,2%	21,2%	19,2%	0,0%
		go abroad	1,5%	51,5%	17,6%	26,4%	2,9%
	female	stay in this country	3,1%	45,4%	20,6%	29,4%	1,5%
		go abroad	1,5%	45,4%	23,1%	27,3%	2,7%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,2%	33,7%	40,5%	23,4%	1,2%
		go abroad	3,6%	33,7%	44,7%	18,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,0%	25,5%	49,4%	23,8%	0,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	32,9%	37,8%	27,4%	1,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	9,4%	48,8%	29,4%	9,8%	2,7%
		go abroad	6,6%	44,5%	34,4%	14,5%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	4,8%	45,4%	39,4%	9,2%	1,1%
		go abroad	4,0%	36,2%	33,3%	23,0%	3,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	24,5%	29,2%	27,3%	18,3%	0,6%
		go abroad	24,5%	34,5%	20,2%	18,2%	2,6%
	female	stay in this country	25,2%	35,8%	22,0%	16,3%	0,8%
		go abroad	20,7%	31,3%	18,8%	19,2%	10,0%

Figure P11 In Ukraine people can say whatever they want in public

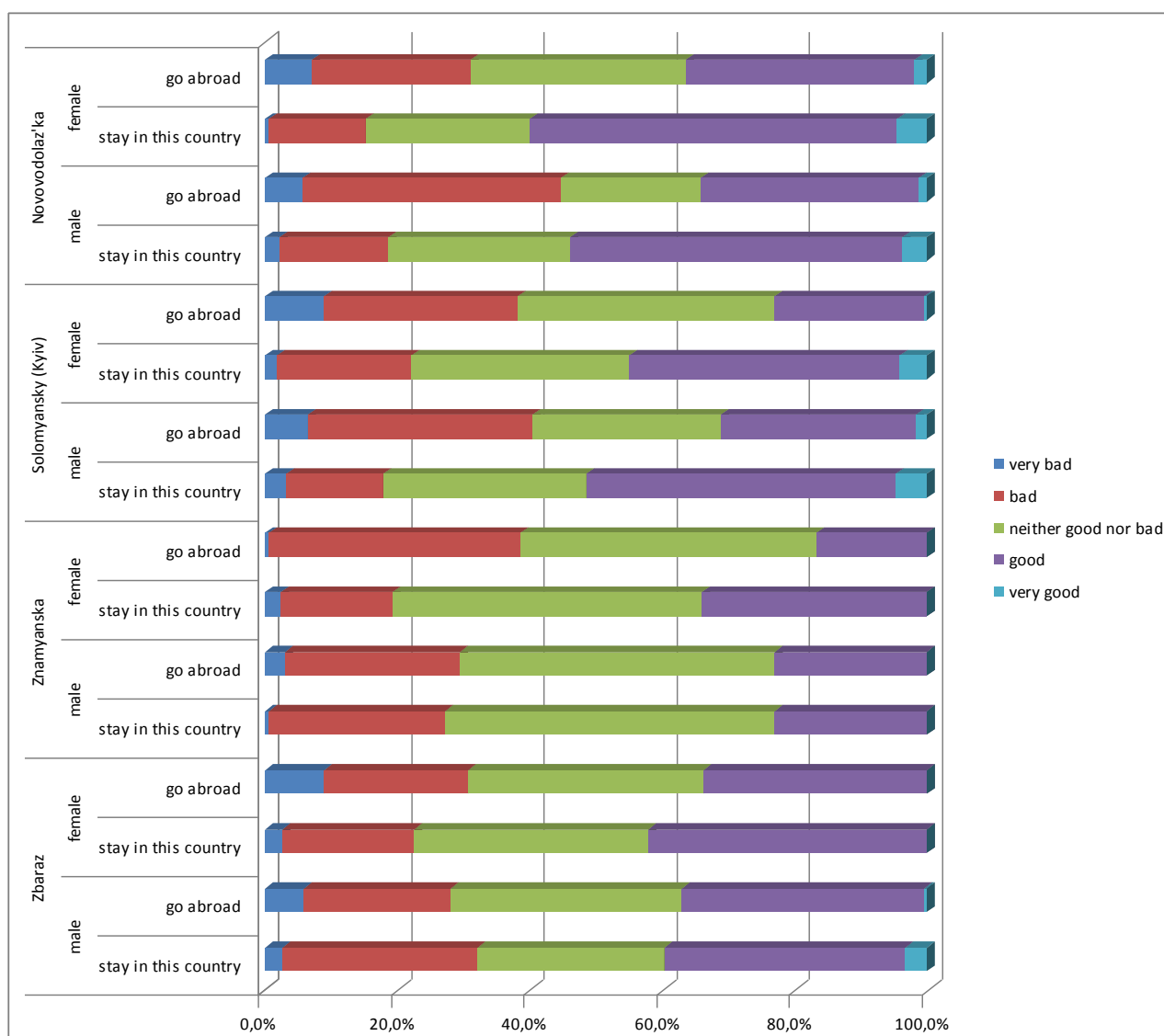


Table PEU11 presents findings on how respondents imagine freedom of speech in Europe. Over 50 percent of respondents in total agree or strongly agree that people in Europe can express any their opinion in public. In both Solomyansky and Zbaraz the majority of respondents agree that people in Europe can say in public whatever they want (over 60 percent in each research area). Those, who disagree with the statement, are greater in Zbaraz and in Znamyanska, however, figures do not exceed 16 percent. In Znamyanska almost 60 percent of the respondents neither agree nor disagree with the statement which is the highest proportion among all research areas.

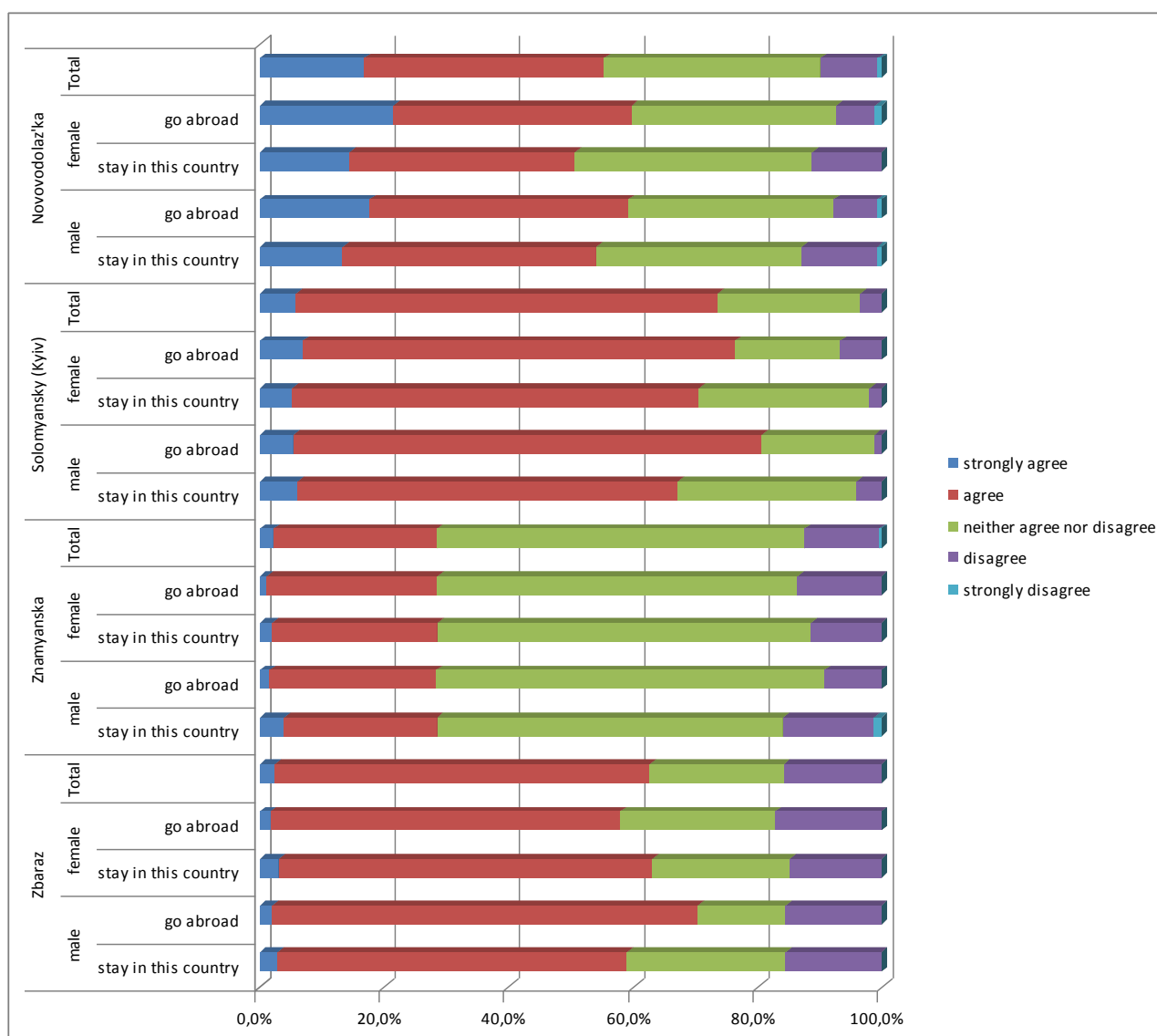
In line with the above findings, a correlation between the imagination of a more respected freedom of speech in Europe and the aspiration to leave the country seem to exist in Novovodolaz'ka. Respondents who aspire to go abroad strongly agree that people in Europe can say whatever they want in public (men: 17,7 percent' women: 21,6 percent). A similar situation is among respondents who agree with the given statement, for instance 75,4 percent of men in Solomyansky or 68,4 percent of men in Zbaraz. The most numerous respondents who neither agree nor disagree that people in Europe are able to say in public whatever they want are men from Znamyanska (over 60 percent).

Table PEU11 In Europe people can say whatever they want in public

	in Europe people can say whatever they want in public
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			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	2,9%	56,2%	25,5%	15,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	2,1%	68,4%	14,2%	15,3%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	3,0%	60,2%	22,1%	14,7%	0,0%
		go abroad	1,7%	56,4%	24,8%	17,1%	0,0%
	Total		2,4%	60,3%	21,6%	15,7%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	4,0%	24,5%	55,7%	14,6%	1,2%
		go abroad	1,6%	26,8%	62,5%	9,1%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	2,0%	26,6%	60,1%	11,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	1,3%	27,3%	58,0%	13,4%	0,0%
	Total		2,2%	26,3%	59,1%	12,1%	0,3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	6,0%	61,3%	28,7%	4,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	5,4%	75,4%	18,0%	1,1%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	5,2%	65,5%	27,4%	1,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	6,9%	69,6%	17,0%	6,5%	0,0%
	Total		5,8%	67,9%	23,0%	3,3%	0,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	13,3%	40,9%	33,0%	12,2%	0,6%
		go abroad	17,7%	41,6%	33,0%	7,0%	0,6%
	female	stay in this country	14,5%	36,3%	38,1%	11,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	21,6%	38,2%	33,0%	6,1%	1,0%
	Total		16,8%	38,8%	34,7%	9,2%	0,5%

Figure PEU11 In Europe people can say whatever they want in public



These results can be confirmed by consulting qualitative data. Selecting a 'precarious' theme to talk about in Ukraine and looking at the frequencies of references to this topic one may test 'how free' people felt to say whatever they like even when talking about a precarious topic. Such a precarious topic is for instance corruption in Ukraine. Informants at times refused to talk about corruption²¹ or abruptly diverted from addressing the question²². However divergences can be found in the qualitative data set in regard to the frequencies of references including 'corruption', 'bribes', 'bribery'. The research areas show differences in frequencies. A high frequency was found in Zbaraz (153) opposed to the number of references in Znamyanska (63). Whilst the lowest number of references were found in Novovodolaz'ka (48). It indicates that informants with a lower figure of frequency were afraid and did not 'feel free' to talk about corruption. It likewise confirms the selection criteria of the research areas, i.e. selecting Novovodolaz'ka as a region in Ukraine with a questionable human rights situation (see also Vollmer et al. 2010). An informant residing in Novovodolaz'ka shared the following narrative with one of the EUMAGINE researchers:

²¹ E.g. 41114, 41244

²² E.g. 41129, 41238

"Well there was a situation in our place [...], one boy was beaten [by the police] and then they said that he had fallen from the stairs and had hit himself. And in [another place] a few men jumped out of the windows. So you do feel frightened and scared for your life."²³

P12 [Research area] politicians do what is best for the people in [research area]

Table P12 finds out how people in Ukraine assess whether politicians do what is best for the people in their research areas. In total, respondents predominantly either disagree or strongly disagree that politicians act in the interest of the people of Ukraine or their research areas. Jointly it is up to 70 percent in total. The highest percentage of respondents disagreeing or strongly disagreeing could be found in Solomyansky (close to 90 percent). Respondents who agree and strongly agree with the given statement do not make up in total even 10 percent. Noteworthy, the highest percentage of women from Solomyansky who formulated their answers as 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' are the most numerous in the subcategory 'go abroad' (over 80 percent); this number is followed by men from Zbaraz (70 percent), who however prefer staying in Ukraine.

Novovodolaz'ka is an interesting case as it has revealed the greatest number of respondents (over 50 percent) among those who strongly disagree that politicians in their home country meet the people's interests. Simultaneously, this research area also produces the greatest percentage of respondents, who on the contrary agree that politicians do what is best for the people of Ukraine. Among those women who want to stay in Ukraine are most numerous (14 percent), but rather closely followed by men irrespectively of their migration aspirations (11 percent in each subcategory).

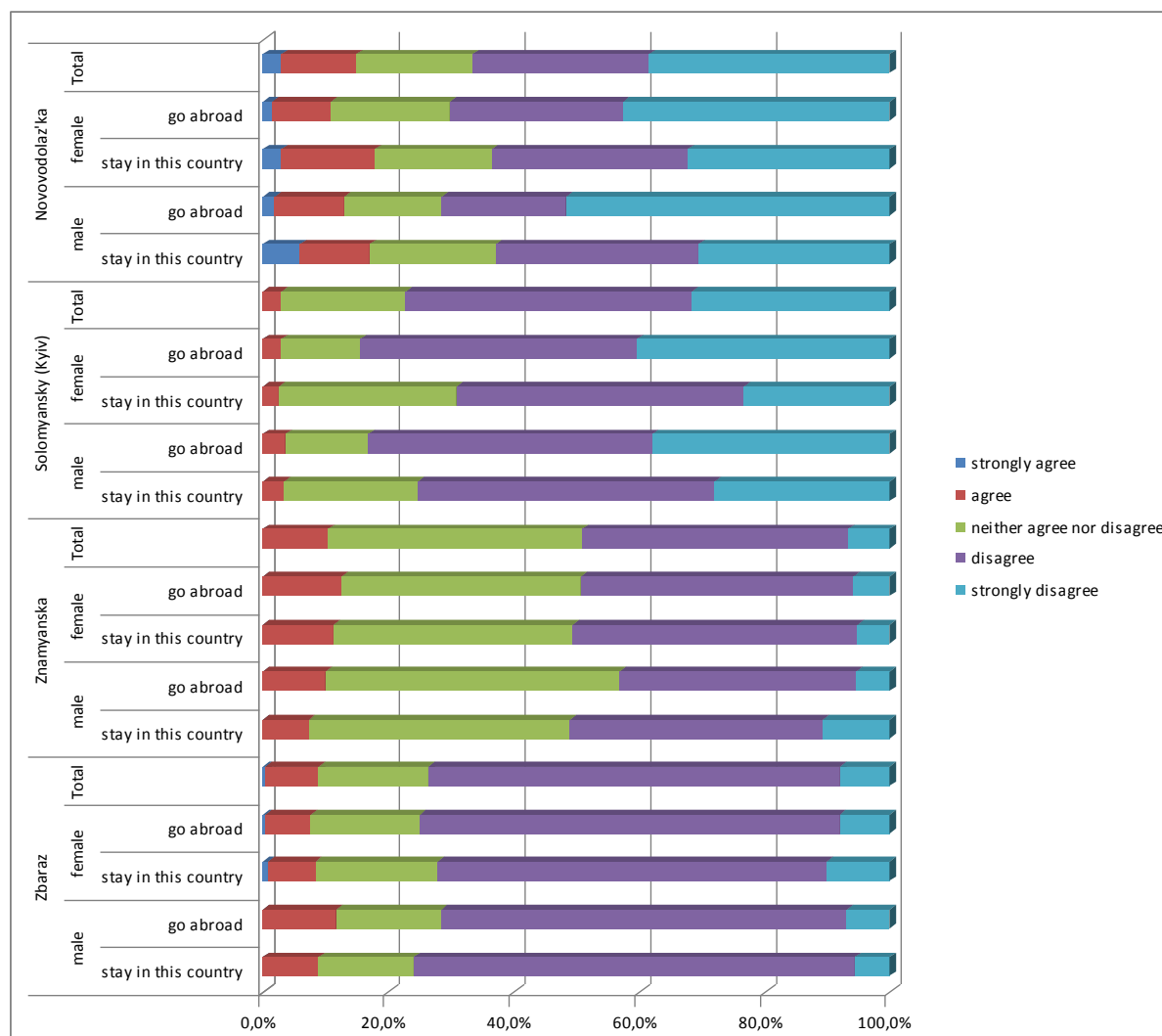
Table P12 [Research area] politicians do what is best for the people in [research area]

			politicians in [area] do what is best for the people in [area]				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	8,9%	15,1%	70,5%	5,5%
		go abroad	0,0%	11,8%	16,7%	64,7%	6,9%
	female	stay in this country	0,8%	7,6%	19,5%	62,2%	9,9%
		go abroad	0,4%	7,2%	17,5%	67,0%	8,0%
	Total		0,3%	8,7%	17,5%	65,6%	7,9%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	7,4%	41,7%	40,3%	10,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	10,1%	46,8%	37,9%	5,2%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	11,2%	38,2%	45,4%	5,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	12,5%	38,2%	43,6%	5,7%
	Total		0,0%	10,4%	40,5%	42,5%	6,5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	3,3%	21,3%	47,4%	28,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,6%	13,3%	45,3%	37,8%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	2,6%	28,3%	45,8%	23,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,0%	12,5%	44,2%	40,3%
	Total		0,0%	3,1%	19,8%	45,6%	31,6%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	6,0%	11,0%	20,2%	32,3%	30,5%
		go abroad	1,9%	11,1%	15,4%	20,0%	51,5%
	female	stay in this country	3,0%	14,8%	18,8%	31,2%	32,3%

²³ 44121

	go abroad	1,4%	9,5%	19,1%	27,5%	42,5%
Total		3,0%	11,9%	18,5%	28,3%	38,3%

Figure P12 [Research area] politicians do what is best for the people in [research area]



Although there are differences between the research areas, these findings might be biased by the fact of respondents being afraid of talking about politicians and especially in regard to politicians in their direct vicinity, i.e. in their rayon. Therefore the above quantitative findings need to be treated with care. Qualitative data sets underpin this potential bias since the most outspoken informants were from Solomyansky (i.e. Kiev) where local politicians have less direct influence on their citizens.

'Well, they sit quietly, talk about it with each other, and is hard for them to arrange a meeting like this. They simply don't want to tell to the government about their troubles, they are afraid to do this' (42109).

The aforementioned resignation and discarding attitude towards politicians and politics can be confirmed – especially for the research area Solomyansky. In fact qualitative data signifies an additional degree of repression that gears political resignation as 'the aggressive behaviour of the current government' (43107) and authorities seem to prefer this type of discouraged citizens and reduce transparency to a minimum. As an informant from Znamyanska put it: 'Everything is unknown, everything is done behind closed doors' (42112, also: 43129). Furthermore, an informant from Solomyansky underlines once more:

In Soviet times people used to have confidence in future; now it is different, now they have to take care of themselves and do something. If you don't do anything, nothing will change. It should be a two-way process: both people and government should make efforts to improve the situation' (43127).

P5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Ukraine is.../ PEU5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Europe is...

Table P5/PEU5 reveals what respondents think about the governmental help for poor people who need it: in Ukraine and in Europe. An overwhelming majority of respondents (82,3 percent in total) consider that the help of the government for poor people is either bad or very bad. Notably, respondents who state that the governmental help is good or very good are almost equal in numbers in Znamyanska and in Solomyansky, however, they are not higher than 3 percent in both cases.

In all cases, across gender and research areas, the percentages are even higher in the group of respondents who aspire to leave Ukraine. Variances are even higher comparing the two groups of 'stay in Ukraine' and 'go abroad' when looking at the responses of the category 'very bad'. The top percentage (52,3 percent) is once more to be found among female respondents from Novovodolaz'ka who consider the governmental help to be very bad and aspire to leave the country. This is more than just a negative assessment of the situation but led to deep pessimism and a loss of hope that the situation will take a turn to the better. An informant with an aspiration to go abroad, noticed:

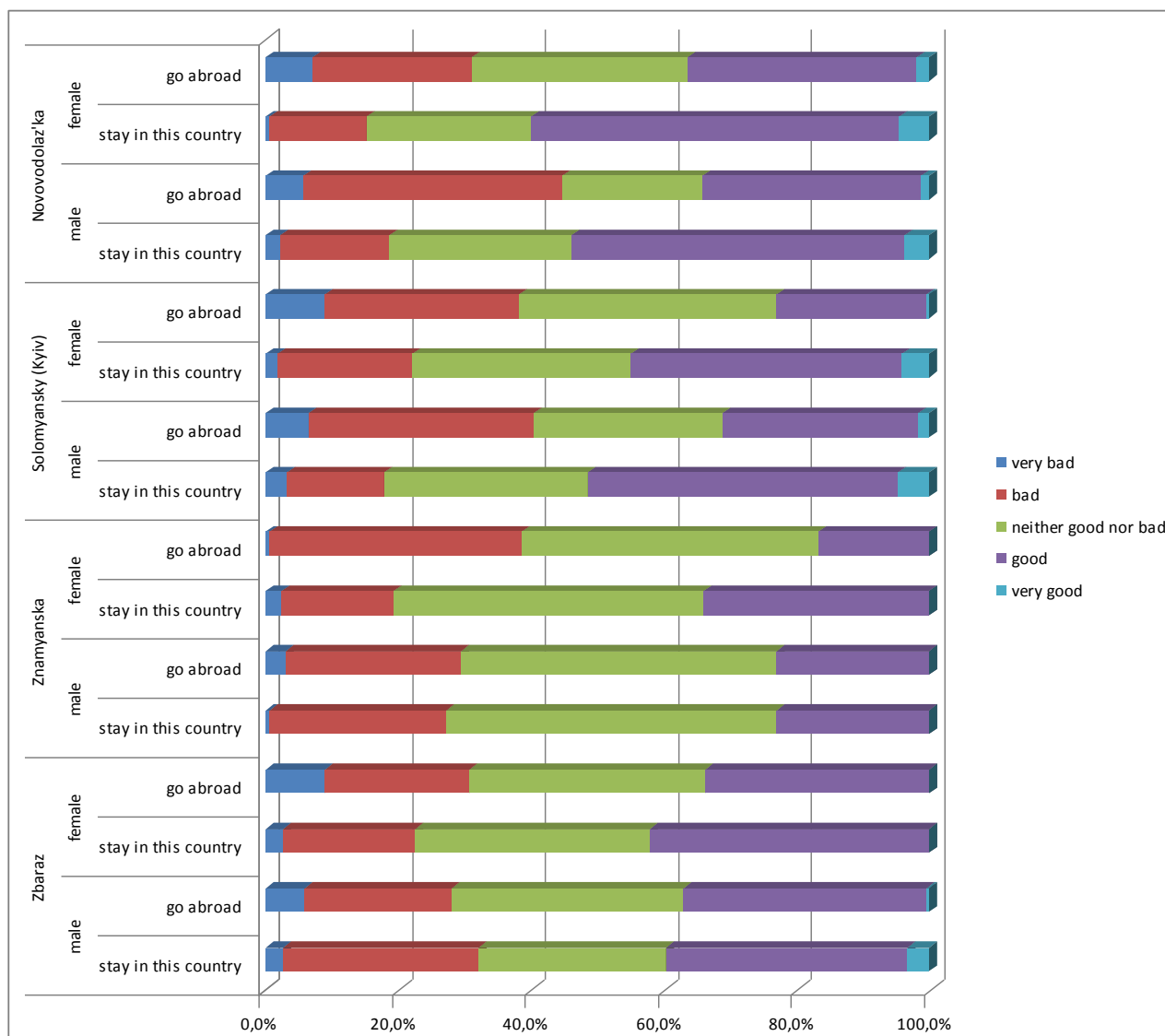
'R.: To be honest, there is a small percentage, maybe five percent of probability that the situation will change. This can happen if the government of the country, as they say, changes its direction and improves social protection. That is, pensions will be increased, adequate medical care some payments will be provided. If the whole financial situation is improved, there is a small percentage of probability that people will get the feeling of success in life then. There's even no minimum now - you cannot even feel like a human being' [44106, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

Table P5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Ukraine is...

			the help from the government for poor people who need it in [this country] is...				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	34,3%	52,7%	11,0%	2,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	41,2%	52,4%	6,4%	0,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	30,2%	55,3%	13,3%	1,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	38,7%	51,5%	9,8%	0,0%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	35,1%	28,5%	30,9%	3,7%	1,8%
		go abroad	34,5%	36,7%	25,8%	3,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	41,1%	32,6%	24,2%	2,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	42,3%	38,6%	15,9%	3,2%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	36,8%	43,3%	16,6%	3,3%	0,0%
		go abroad	44,1%	48,8%	4,2%	0,5%	2,4%
	female	stay in this country	31,5%	44,8%	18,0%	5,0%	0,7%
		go abroad	45,9%	47,1%	4,5%	1,0%	1,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	39,2%	39,4%	12,2%	8,1%	1,2%
		go abroad	46,4%	39,8%	7,1%	6,0%	0,7%
	female	stay in this country	31,6%	46,7%	11,9%	9,4%	0,4%

		go abroad	52,3%	37,6%	2,4%	6,8%	0,9%
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Figure P5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Ukraine is...



A strong majority of the respondents across all research areas think that the help of governments for poor people in Europe is good or very good (over 70 percent). In Zbaraz, a high emigration research area, this category reaches over 90 percent. In particular, interviewees pointed out that governments in European countries take steps to decrease unemployment. As an informant from Zbaraz remarked:

'R.: Well, I think they should have such governmental programs that help a person to find a job if he/she wants, of course. I think anyway, the government there takes care about people much more' [41240, Zbaraz research area].

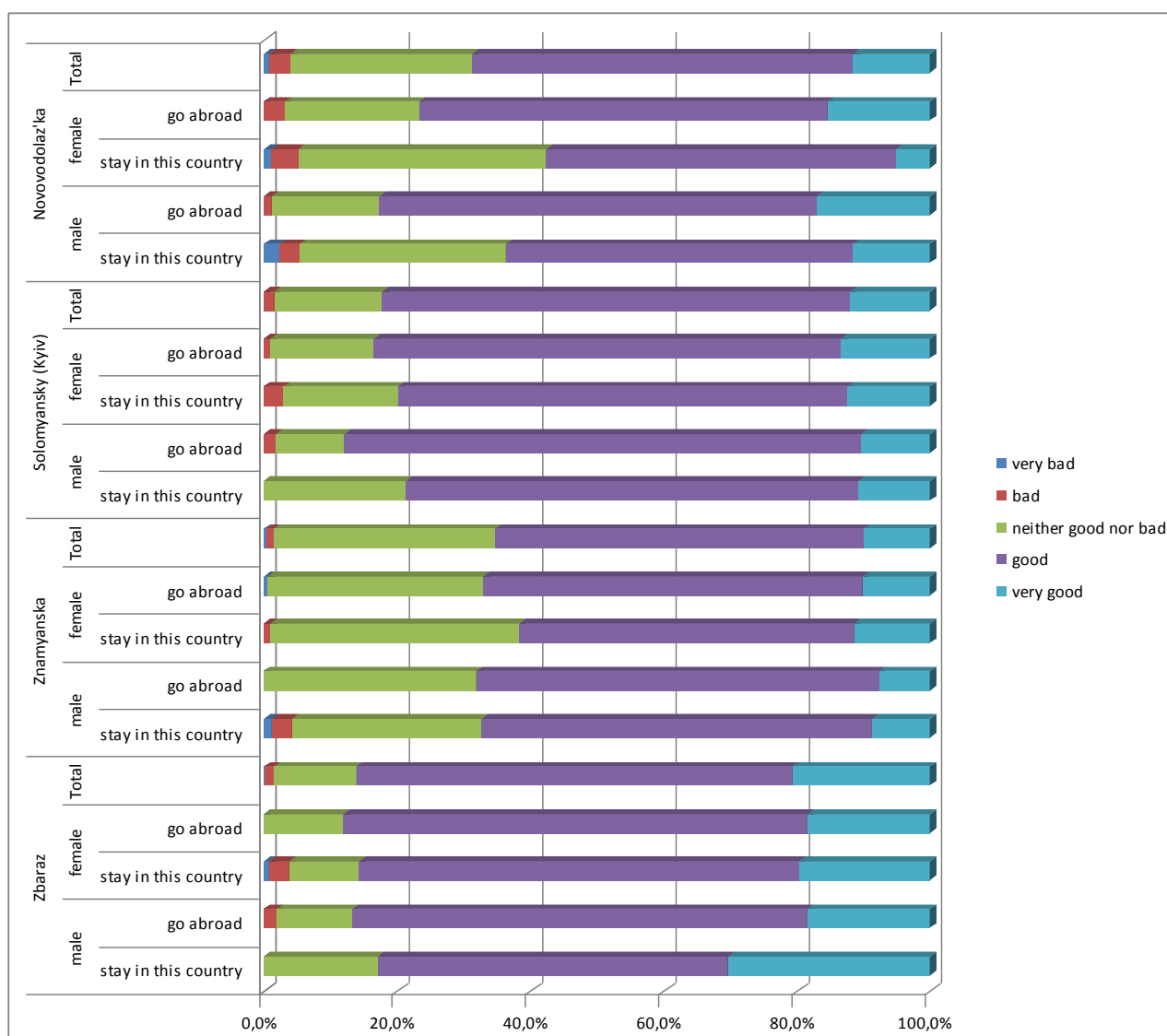
Respondents who think that the help of the government for poor people in Europe is bad are the greatest in number among women from Novovodolaz'ka. Respondents who answer 'neither good nor bad' are most numerous among men from Znamyanska (31,9 percent) and women from Novovodolaz'ka (37,3 percent), however, from a comparative perspective the response rate in the category 'neither good or bad' is low. Thus people feel confident to respond to this question which points to a certain level of information on this topic that circulates through the public discourse, i.e. derived from these findings only, Europe is depicted very positively regarding the area of social policy.

However this will be explored further in the discussion of the findings from the qualitative research below.

Table PEU5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Europe is...

			the help from the government for poor people who need it in Europe is...				
			very bad	bad	neither good nor bad	good	very good
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	0,0%	17,1%	52,6%	30,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	2,0%	11,2%	68,3%	18,4%
	female	stay in this country	0,8%	3,0%	10,6%	66,1%	19,5%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	12,0%	69,7%	18,3%
	Total		0,2%	1,3%	12,2%	65,5%	20,7%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,2%	3,1%	28,5%	58,6%	8,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	0,0%	31,9%	60,6%	7,6%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	1,1%	37,3%	50,2%	11,4%
		go abroad	0,6%	0,0%	32,3%	57,0%	10,2%
	Total		0,4%	1,1%	33,3%	55,3%	9,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	0,0%	21,3%	68,0%	10,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,8%	10,3%	77,7%	10,3%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	3,0%	17,2%	67,5%	12,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,0%	15,5%	70,1%	13,4%
	Total		0,0%	1,7%	16,1%	70,4%	11,8%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	2,4%	3,0%	30,9%	52,1%	11,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	1,3%	16,0%	65,7%	17,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,1%	4,0%	37,2%	52,5%	5,2%
		go abroad	0,0%	3,3%	20,0%	61,4%	15,3%
	Total		0,9%	3,1%	27,3%	57,3%	11,4%

Figure PEU5 The help from the government for poor people who need it in Europe is...



P9 In Ukraine it is dangerous to walk in the street at night/ PEU9 In Europe it is dangerous to walk in the street at night

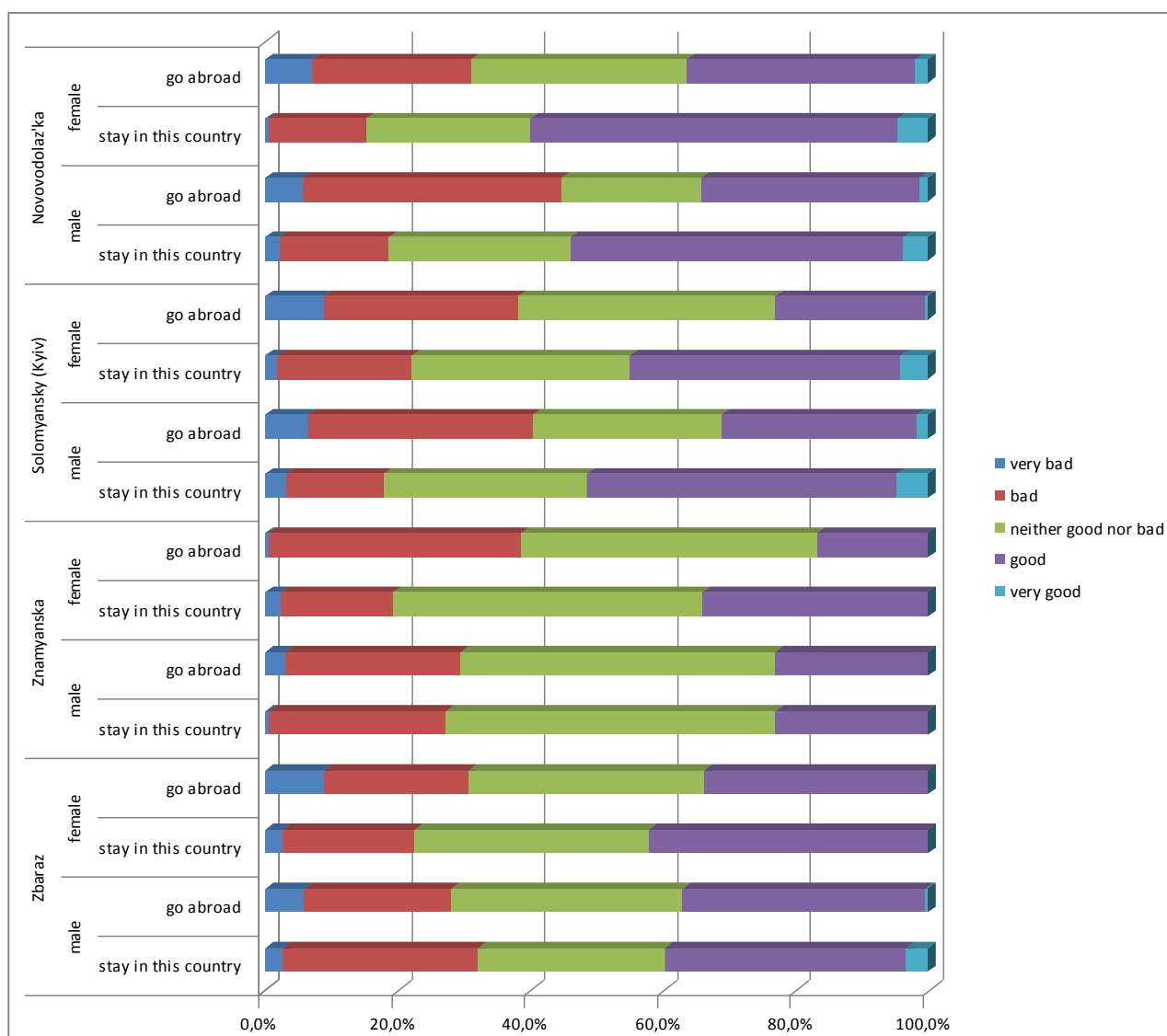
The table P9/PEU9 explores opinions of respondents with regard to how dangerous it is to walk down the street at night in Ukraine and in Europe. People who think that walking at night is dangerous are among those who live in Znamyanska and in Zbaraz (mostly over 40 percent). Figures are higher among female respondents. The highest number can be found among female respondents from Znamyanska: 54,5 percent (who want to stay in Ukraine) and 53,6 percent (who want to go abroad). The share of respondents is generally higher among respondents who intend to leave Ukraine in comparison to respondents who intend to stay in Ukraine. However, a correlation cannot be signified.

Table P9 In Ukraine it is dangerous to walk in the street at night

			in [this country] it is dangerous to walk down the street at night				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,7%	26,0%	35,6%	34,9%	2,7%
		go abroad	2,5%	36,2%	30,9%	28,5%	2,0%

	female	stay in this country	4,2%	41,6%	40,9%	12,2%	1,1%
		go abroad	4,9%	42,4%	36,0%	16,6%	0,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,2%	34,2%	44,5%	19,6%	0,6%
		go abroad	0,0%	43,0%	38,4%	16,5%	2,2%
	female	stay in this country	2,7%	54,0%	35,0%	7,7%	0,6%
		go abroad	5,8%	53,6%	29,1%	9,1%	2,4%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	0,0%	17,8%	44,1%	26,7%	11,4%
		go abroad	3,0%	19,9%	48,2%	22,3%	6,6%
	female	stay in this country	4,1%	24,2%	48,7%	16,6%	6,3%
		go abroad	8,0%	38,4%	36,3%	15,8%	1,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	2,4%	18,2%	25,5%	37,1%	16,8%
		go abroad	5,2%	12,9%	23,2%	46,2%	12,6%
	female	stay in this country	7,0%	18,3%	25,3%	32,9%	16,5%
		go abroad	13,3%	39,3%	20,1%	20,6%	6,8%

Figure P9 In Ukraine it is dangerous to walk in the street at night

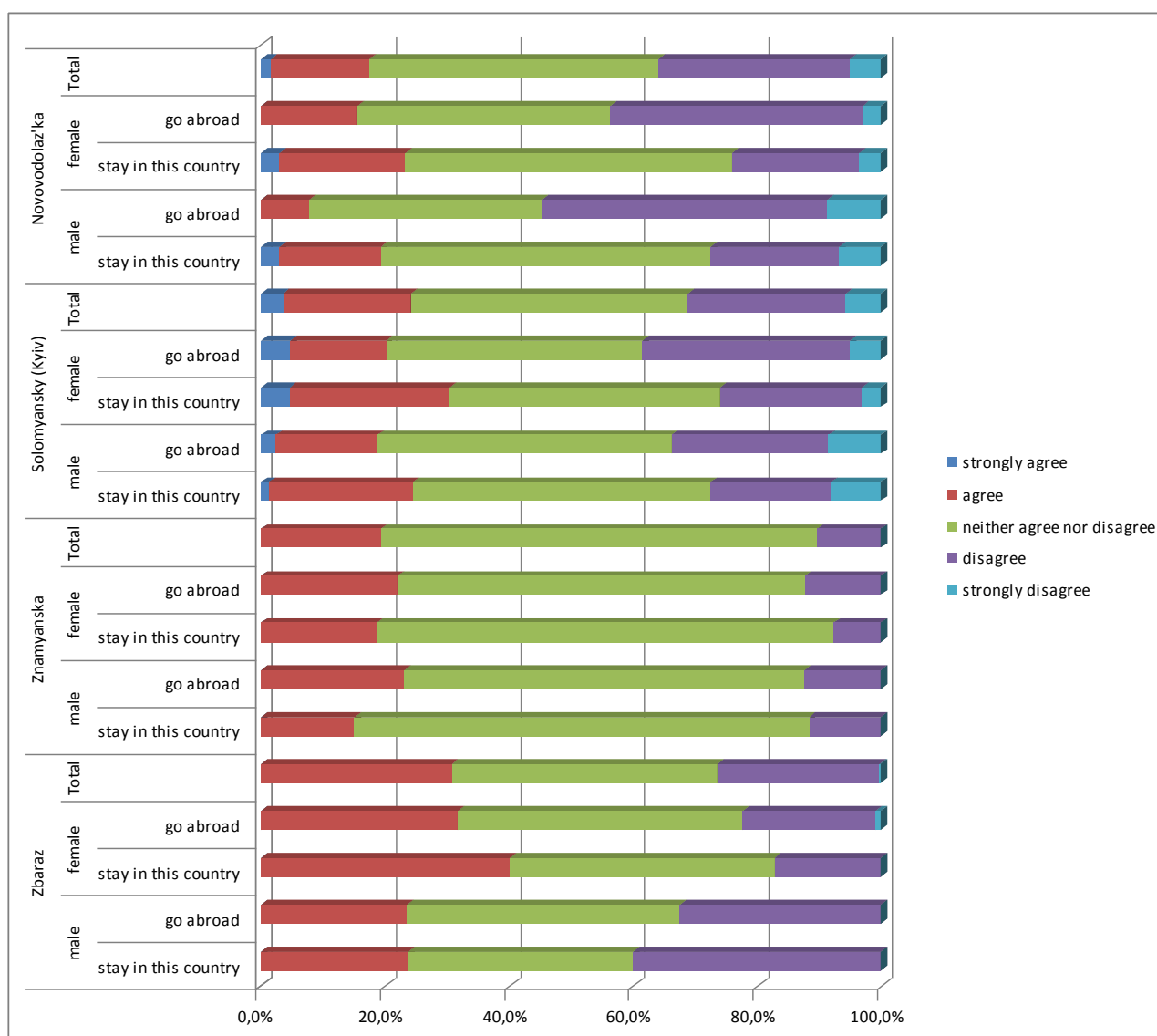


Most respondents neither agree nor disagree that it is dangerous in Europe to walk in the street at night. The figure is over 70 percent in Znamyanska (equally high among men and women). Respondents who do not think that walking in the street at night in Europe might be dangerous are willing to go abroad (over 40 percent) - they are both men and women from Novovodolaz'ka. Over 40 percent of respondents who do not want to go abroad are men from Zbaraz. Strikingly, women who intend to stay in Ukraine are most numerous among respondents who agree or strongly agree that it is dangerous to walk in the street at night in Europe (in Zbaraz and Solomyansky). Interestingly, women from Solomyansky are the most numerous among those who think that it is very dangerous to walk in the street at night in Europe, however, they are still driven to go abroad. They constitute 4,7 percent, compared to the total of 1,6 percent in this category.

Table PEU9 In Europe it is dangerous to walk in the street at night

			in Europe it is dangerous to walk in the street at night				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	23,7%	36,3%	40,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	23,6%	44,0%	32,5%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	40,1%	42,7%	17,2%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	31,7%	46,1%	21,3%	0,9%
	Total		0,0%	30,8%	42,9%	26,1%	0,3%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	0,0%	15,1%	73,4%	11,5%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	23,1%	64,6%	12,3%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	18,7%	73,7%	7,6%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	22,0%	65,8%	12,2%	0,0%
	Total		0,0%	19,3%	70,4%	10,3%	0,0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	1,3%	23,2%	48,0%	19,4%	8,0%
		go abroad	2,4%	16,3%	47,5%	25,3%	8,4%
	female	stay in this country	4,6%	25,9%	43,6%	22,9%	3,0%
		go abroad	4,7%	15,5%	41,3%	33,5%	5,0%
	Total		3,6%	20,7%	44,7%	25,5%	5,6%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	3,0%	16,3%	53,2%	20,8%	6,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	7,7%	37,6%	46,0%	8,7%
	female	stay in this country	3,0%	20,4%	52,7%	20,5%	3,4%
		go abroad	0,0%	15,6%	40,7%	40,8%	2,9%
	Total		1,6%	15,9%	46,7%	30,8%	5,0%

Figure PEU9 In Europe it is dangerous to walk in the street at night



P13 The government in Ukraine respects the different languages that people in country speak/ **PEU13 The governments in Europe respect the different languages that people in Europe** **speak**

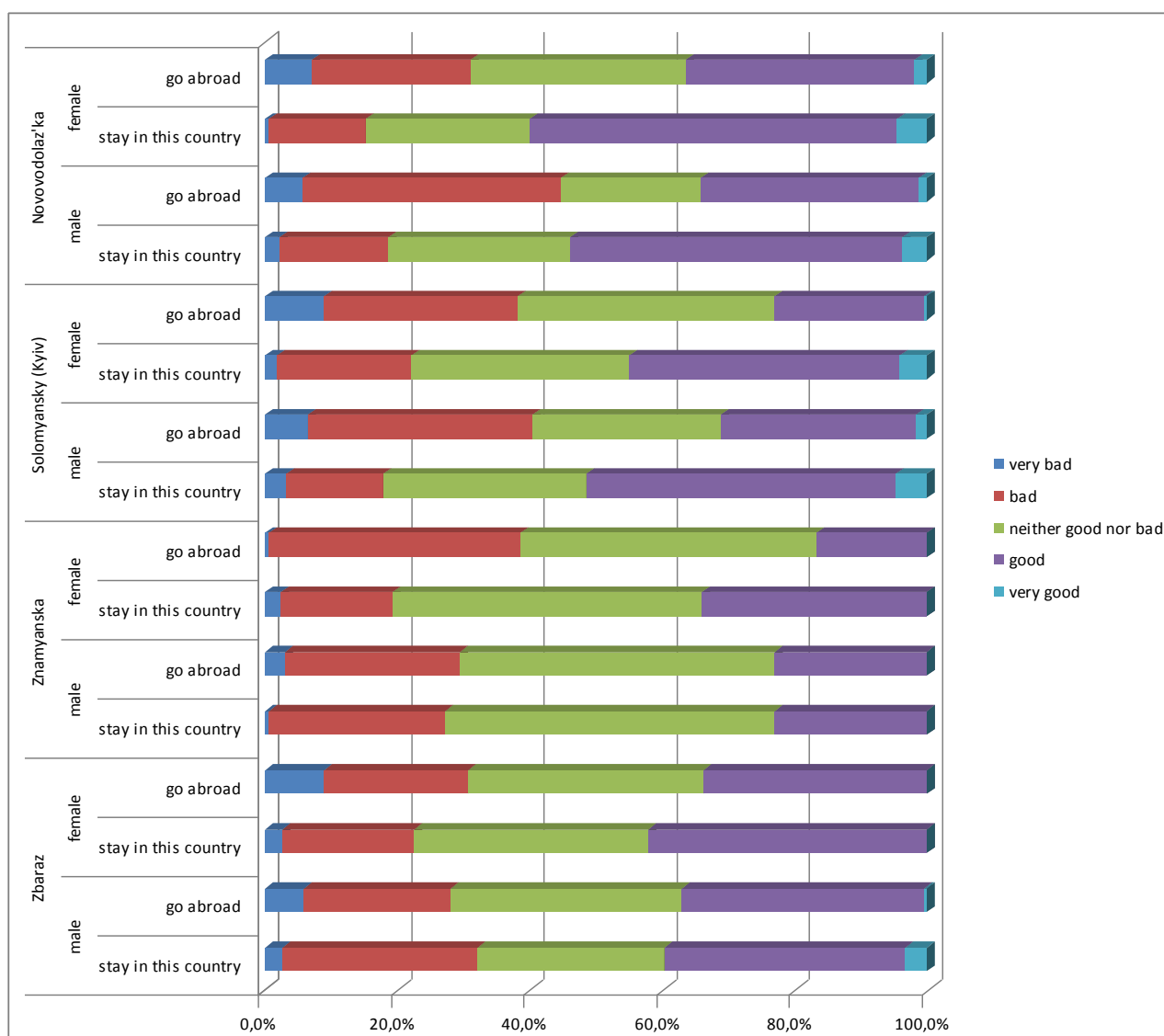
Table P13/PEU13 presents the attitudes of respondents as regards the respect of governments in Ukraine and in Europe towards languages that people speak in Ukraine and in Europe. In general a majority of respondents (42,3 percent) agree that the different languages spoken by people in Ukraine are respected by the government. However, there is still a substantial number that disagrees with this view. Highest percentages among respondents across gender can be found in Zbaraz, located in western Ukraine where the large majority of the population speaks Ukrainian: men who prefer staying in Ukraine (30,9 percent) as well as those who would like to go abroad (30,4 percent). And yet, those who strongly disagree with the given statement are most numerous among women from Solomyansky who would like to go abroad (7,5 percent). A correlation along the variable of going abroad or staying in the country cannot be observed though.

In Znamayanska and Novovorodolaz'ka reveal similarities. The percentage of respondents who agree with the given statement is similar in these two research areas (44,1 percent and 45,3 percent). Respondents who disagree are also very similar. In both research areas, Russian is the prevailing language.

Table P13 The government in Ukraine respects the different languages that people in country speak

			the government in [this country] respects the different languages that the people				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	41,1%	27,4%	30,9%	0,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	38,7%	27,9%	30,4%	2,9%
	female	stay in this country	0,8%	45,0%	22,1%	29,4%	2,7%
		go abroad	0,4%	41,2%	30,0%	27,7%	0,8%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	2,5%	46,1%	30,4%	18,1%	2,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	54,5%	30,1%	13,9%	1,4%
	female	stay in this country	0,0%	39,8%	42,8%	15,9%	1,4%
		go abroad	1,3%	40,9%	35,7%	20,3%	1,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	11,4%	44,5%	34,0%	7,4%	2,7%
		go abroad	1,8%	21,1%	43,5%	29,4%	4,2%
	female	stay in this country	1,5%	47,9%	40,3%	6,3%	4,0%
		go abroad	3,0%	33,4%	41,2%	15,0%	7,5%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	3,0%	52,6%	31,6%	12,2%	0,6%
		go abroad	4,5%	42,3%	32,5%	16,9%	3,9%
	female	stay in this country	3,0%	48,8%	34,5%	11,5%	2,3%
		go abroad	2,4%	37,5%	36,2%	20,6%	3,3%

Figure P13 The government in Ukraine respects the different languages that people in country speak



In total, over 60 percent of respondents agree or strongly agree that governments in European countries respect the different languages which people speak. The respondents who share the opposite opinion is far below 10 percent. Interestingly, research areas reveal some similarities. This concerns Zbaraz and Solomyansky as regards respondents who agree with the given statement. They are 67 percent and 67,5 percent respectively. Respondents from Solomyansky and from Novovodolaz'ka are almost equal in number in the category 'strongly agree'.

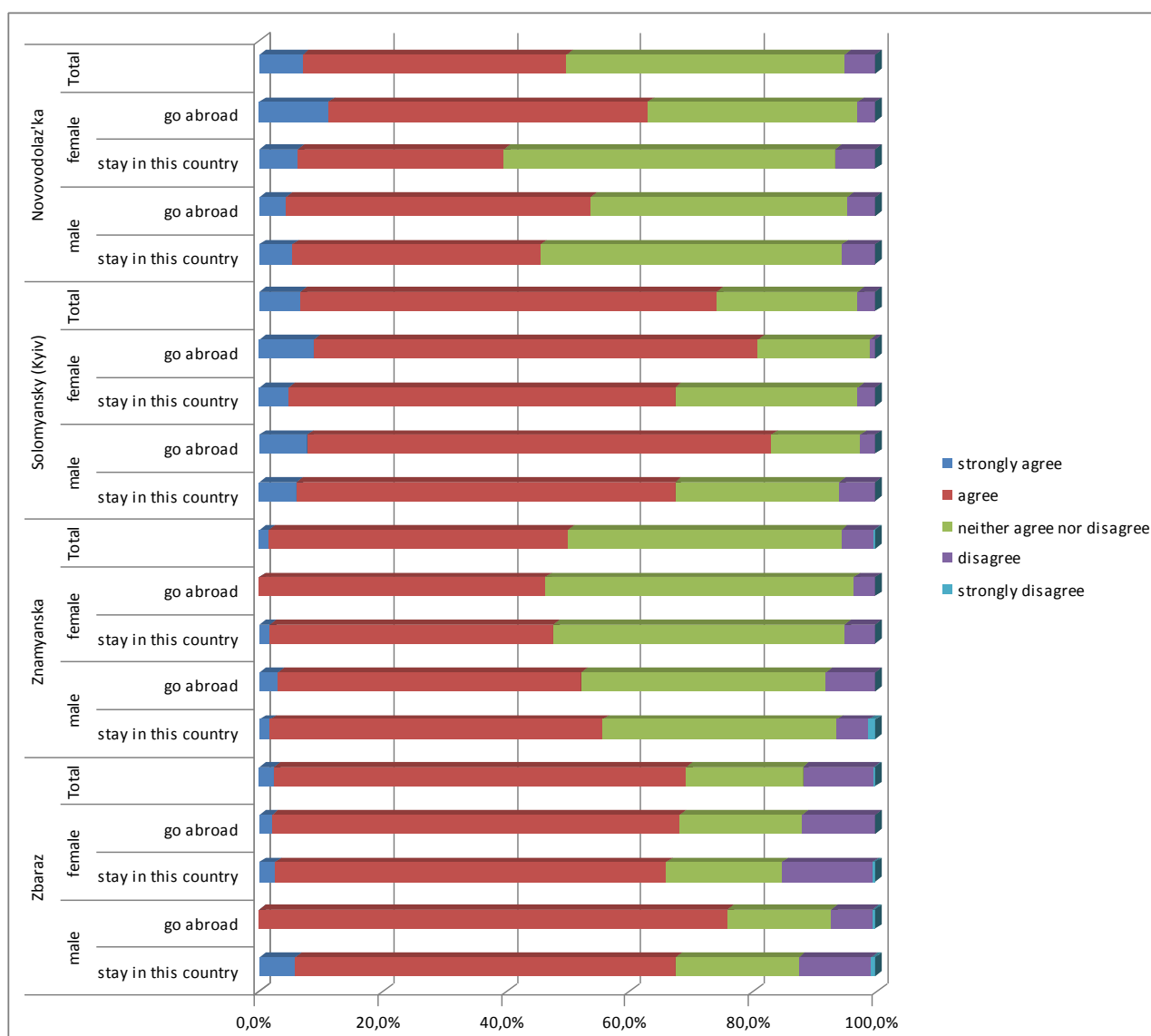
Respondents' agreement that the governments in European countries respect different languages which people speak correlates slightly with their aspiration to go abroad (apart from Znamyanska). For instance, over 70 percent of men from Zbaraz and Solomyansky (men and women) who intend to leave Ukraine also agree with the statement.

Table PEU13 The government in Europe respects the different languages that people in Europe speak

			the governments of European countries respects the different languages that the people in Europe speak				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	5,9%	61,7%	19,9%	11,8%	0,7%
		go abroad	0,0%	76,0%	16,7%	6,8%	0,5%

	female	stay in this country	2,6%	63,5%	18,7%	14,8%	0,4%
		go abroad	2,1%	66,1%	19,9%	11,9%	0,0%
	Total		2,4%	67,0%	18,8%	11,5%	0,4%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	1,8%	54,0%	37,9%	5,1%	1,2%
		go abroad	3,1%	49,1%	39,7%	8,0%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	1,8%	46,0%	47,2%	5,1%	0,0%
		go abroad	0,0%	46,4%	50,0%	3,6%	0,0%
	Total		1,6%	48,4%	44,4%	5,3%	0,3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	6,0%	61,4%	26,7%	5,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	7,8%	75,3%	14,5%	2,4%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	4,8%	62,6%	29,6%	3,0%	0,0%
		go abroad	9,0%	72,0%	18,0%	1,0%	0,0%
	Total		6,8%	67,5%	22,9%	2,9%	0,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	5,4%	40,3%	48,9%	5,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	4,5%	49,2%	41,7%	4,6%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	6,3%	33,4%	53,7%	6,6%	0,0%
		go abroad	11,4%	51,7%	34,1%	2,8%	0,0%
	Total		7,1%	42,7%	45,2%	5,0%	0,0%

Figure PEU13 The government in Europe respects the different languages that people in Europe speak



P14 People in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard/ PEU14 People in Europe can get ahead by working hard

Table P14 provides findings of whether people in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard. In total, more than half of all respondents (53,8 percent) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that people in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard. Those who agree with it are even less numerous (20,7 percent) than undecided respondents (23,2 percent). The percentage of respondents who do not agree that people in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard is the highest in Znamyanska and in Zbaraz (over 40 percent). This clear disagreement is mixed among respondents (and research areas) who wish to stay or leave Ukraine, but there is (though not consistent) correlation between disagreement and the aspiration to leave the country.

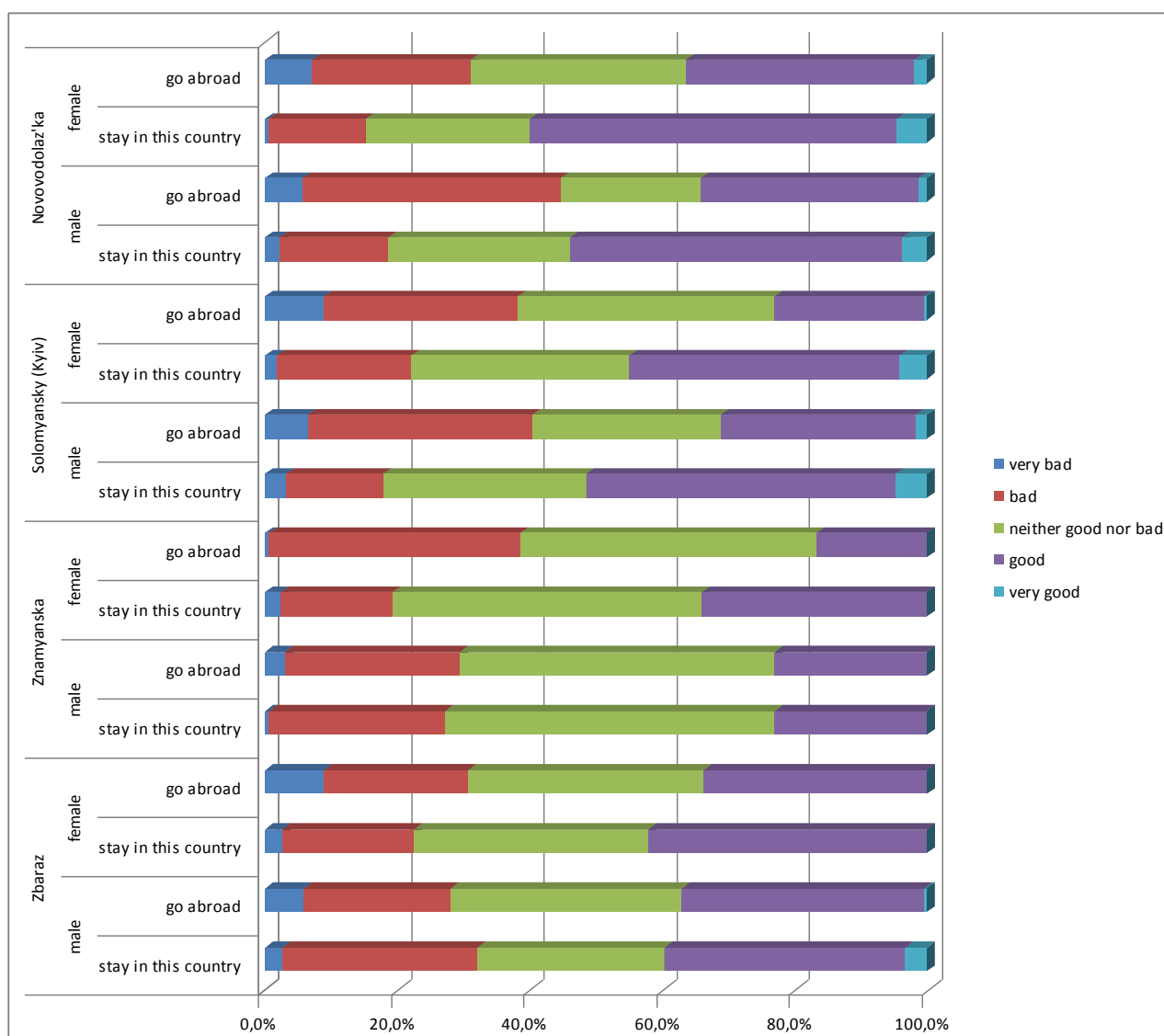
The idea that people in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard finds the greatest support in Novovorodolaz'ka (23,1 percent). However in the same research area most of the respondents from Novovorodolaz'ka who strongly disagree with the given statement belong to the category of those who aspire to go abroad, that is, 35,4 percent of men and 38,6 percent of women. The highest figure of respondents who strongly agree that people in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard have been revealed in Solomyansky among the category of respondents who are intending to stay in Ukraine

(over 5 percent) and similarly among women from Novovodolaz'ka (5.5 percent) who also intend to stay in Ukraine.

Table P14 People in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard

			people in [country] can get ahead by working hard				
			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	22,6%	22,6%	45,9%	8,9%
		go abroad	0,0%	25,0%	22,6%	46,1%	6,4%
	female	stay in this country	2,3%	27,0%	14,5%	48,9%	7,3%
		go abroad	1,1%	13,6%	23,9%	56,8%	4,6%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	2,9%	18,6%	23,6%	45,5%	9,4%
		go abroad	0,8%	15,4%	25,9%	44,3%	13,6%
	female	stay in this country	1,9%	16,5%	24,2%	46,8%	10,6%
		go abroad	4,3%	9,7%	26,0%	46,9%	13,1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	5,4%	31,0%	28,8%	25,5%	9,4%
		go abroad	3,6%	12,6%	25,2%	39,8%	18,7%
	female	stay in this country	2,6%	27,6%	29,0%	31,5%	9,3%
		go abroad	0,0%	17,0%	24,2%	39,8%	19,0%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	4,3%	26,8%	21,3%	28,7%	18,8%
		go abroad	1,9%	18,1%	16,8%	27,8%	35,4%
	female	stay in this country	5,5%	25,4%	23,8%	28,4%	16,9%
		go abroad	1,4%	20,9%	18,1%	20,9%	38,6%

Figure P14 People in Ukraine can get ahead by working hard



In contrast, table PEU14 provides findings of whether respondents think people can get ahead by working hard in Europe. Over 60 percent of respondents jointly agree or strongly agree that it is possible to get ahead by working hard in Europe. People who are sceptical about this make up (disagreement and strong disagreement) slightly over 7 percent. Up to 30 percent of respondents, in total, neither agree nor disagree with it.

Men and women from Novovodolaz'ka stand out: far above (over 30 percent) all other respondents (not more than 18 percent in total) who aspire to go abroad and who strongly agree that it is possible to get ahead in European countries by working hard are from Novovodolaz'ka. Among people who neither agree nor disagree the most numerous are men from Znamyanska who want to go abroad (over 40 percent).

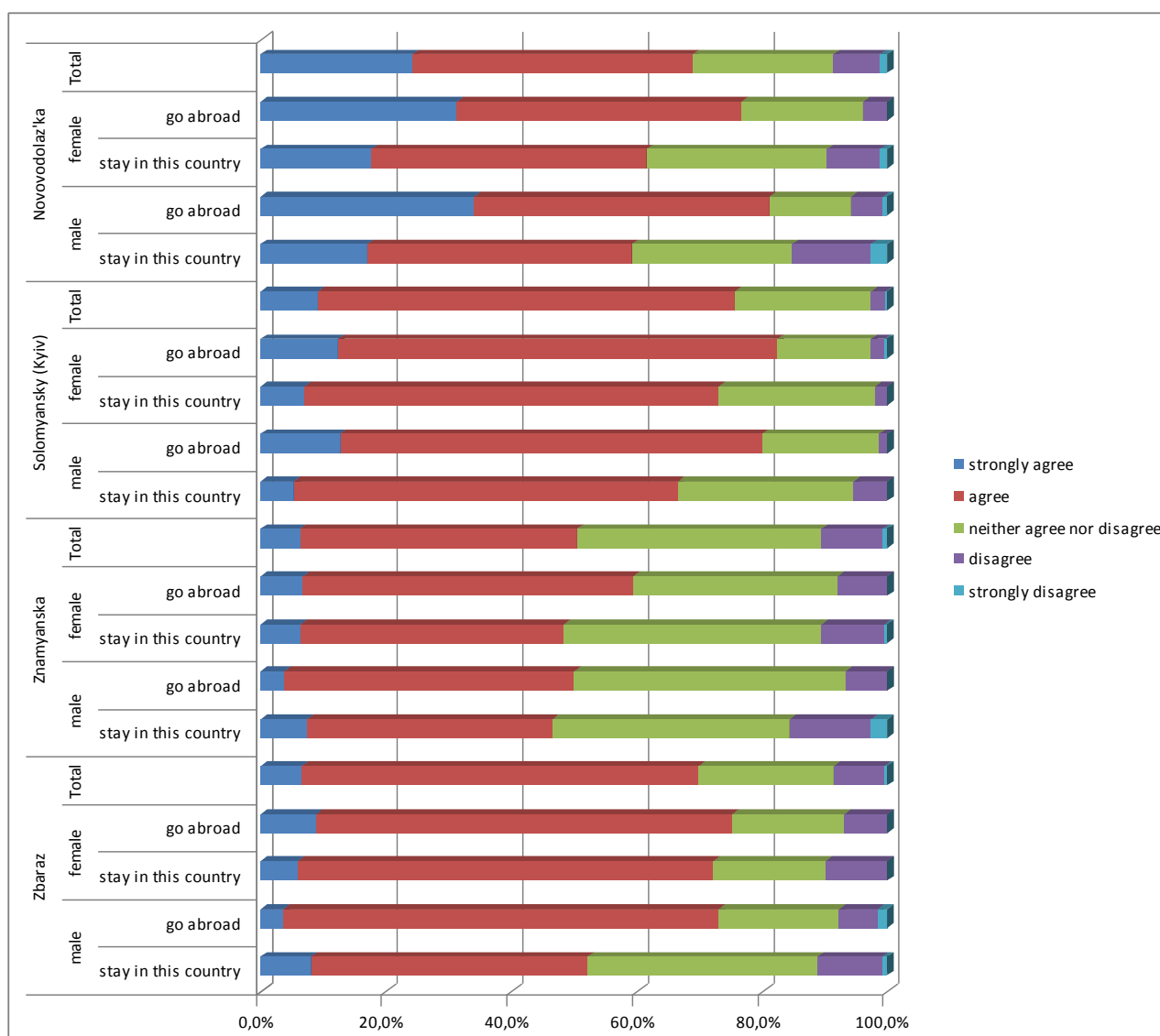
Remarkably, respondents who agree with the given statement and want to go abroad outnumber significantly (over 50 percent on average) those who would like to stay in Ukraine. They are both male and female respondents. The maximum figure (over 70 percent) is among women from Solomyansky. Respondents who do not agree that getting ahead is possible in Europe by working hard, predominantly have an intention to stay in Ukraine.

Table PEU14 People in Europe can get ahead by working hard

	people in Europe can get ahead by working hard
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			strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	8,1%	44,1%	36,7%	10,3%	0,7%
		go abroad	3,6%	69,6%	19,1%	6,2%	1,6%
	female	stay in this country	6,0%	66,2%	17,9%	9,8%	0,0%
		go abroad	8,8%	66,4%	18,1%	6,7%	0,0%
	Total		6,6%	63,3%	21,4%	8,1%	0,5%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	7,5%	39,1%	37,8%	13,1%	2,5%
		go abroad	3,8%	46,3%	43,3%	6,6%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	6,5%	41,9%	41,1%	10,2%	0,4%
		go abroad	6,7%	52,8%	32,6%	7,9%	0,0%
	Total		6,3%	44,3%	39,0%	9,7%	0,7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	5,4%	61,3%	28,0%	5,4%	0,0%
		go abroad	12,7%	67,4%	18,7%	1,2%	0,0%
	female	stay in this country	7,0%	66,1%	25,0%	1,9%	0,0%
		go abroad	12,3%	70,2%	15,0%	2,0%	0,5%
	Total		9,2%	66,5%	21,7%	2,4%	0,1%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	17,1%	42,2%	25,5%	12,7%	2,5%
		go abroad	34,1%	47,2%	13,0%	5,1%	0,6%
	female	stay in this country	17,6%	44,0%	28,7%	8,5%	1,1%
		go abroad	31,4%	45,4%	19,4%	3,8%	0,0%
	Total		24,3%	44,6%	22,6%	7,5%	1,0%

Figure PEU14 People in Europe can get ahead by working hard



Though inconsistent, there is a correlation between respondents disagreeing to get ahead by working hard in Ukraine and the intend to leave Ukraine as well as between respondents agreeing to the statement 'People in Europe can get ahead by working hard' and the aspiration to leave the country. This driver of migration can be even more explicitly found in qualitative data. In essence, working hard is not the way to 'get ahead' in Ukraine. Narratives found in qualitative data point to restrictive working conditions, and yet this is not enough for making ones' living:

'Work from 9 to 6 without lunch and receive a minimum rate – it is not enough. [...] Quality of life... Quality of life, of course, we have no quality of life. Because salaries are low. [...] For example, my salary is enough only to pay for gas, for electricity, but it is not enough for phone' (41121)

Salaries remain 'low, costs for municipal services are being increased practically every day (42101). Narratives describe the quests of finding better jobs and 'you can find a job. It's possible, but again, the salary is low, everything is about money. I see really work hard, hellish, I would say, and people work there just for 800, 1000-1200 hryvnias and this is very little' (42104). 'They want too much for too low price. They won't raise salaries, but we are supposed to meet their crazy demands' (43102). Informants reiterated that it is impossible to make a living on one salary, "it is not possible, because now the prices are rising, you can only survive, you can't live' (41122).

Further underpinning the above quantitative findings, frustration over inequalities were depicted by imaginations of equality or equal treatment of people that are desired and to be found in the EU where 'no matter who you are, whether you are homeless or you are a well-known politician, the attitude towards you will be the same' (41204). In Europe, "if a person has a good job here, and he works there efficiently, can he hope for the improvement of the life level, of the family welfare, some kind of progress?"²⁴ One can "count on gradual improvement of life level"²⁵, while in Ukraine this is a very instable matter or a matter.

Conclusion

The respondents in Ukraine by and large hold rather negative and as it seems well-founded perceptions of Ukraine. In contrast they have rather positive perceptions of 'Europe', generally referring to the EU. These are perfectly illustrated by the following statement:

'I think it is comfortable for Europeans to live there. ...They have much higher level and the quality of life..... The standard of living is much higher there than we have here. As for Ukrainians, I think it is better there than here' [41240, Zbaraz research area].

Whilst quantitative data implies omnipresent 'El Dorado' images of Europe qualitative data reveals some more nuanced perceptions, for instance, acknowledges the recent economic turmoil. Thus, the 'dreamland' image has recently been supplemented by some more realist views.

²⁴ 44121

²⁵ 44125

3. MIGRATION PERCEPTIONS AND DISCOURCES

In order to investigate migration related imaginations, perceptions, aspirations, values and discourses of individuals the present survey asked respondents a number of questions.

Key findings:

- (1) Generally, migration aspirations are high in Ukraine, 49.3 percent of the respondents said that they would go to Europe if somebody would give them the necessary papers; 50.7 per cent say that they would nevertheless 'stay here'.
- (2) Overall, the amount of those who encouraged others to go to Europe is around 10 percent. The highest number of people who confirm that they have encouraged others to go to Europe, 15.3 percent, has been found in Zbaraz research area.
- (3) The majority of respondents (65.1 percent) believe that most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills, thus going abroad is considered an important element of expanding one's human capital.
- (4) Women are more positive about the idea that "going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women" whilst men are more negative reflecting traditional ideas of gender roles.
- (5) A significant proportion of the respondents (46.3 percent) believe that migration harms family life. But still people who acknowledge the potentially harmful consequences of migration would nevertheless go abroad.

A 7 have you ever encouraged anybody else to go to Europe?

The question was intended to identify the respondents' attitude towards encouraging others to go to Europe. Table 3.1. shows whether or not respondents from different research areas have encouraged anybody else to go to Europe. Overall, the amount of those who encouraged others to go to Europe is around 10 percent. Almost 90 percent of respondents say they have not encouraged anybody else to go to Europe. A closer look at the percentages in different research areas reveals, not surprisingly, that the highest number of people who confirm that they have encouraged others to go to Europe, 15.3 percent, has been found in Zbaraz research area.

On the contrary, Novovodolaz'ka and Znamyanska research areas have the lowest score among all research areas of those who have encouraged others to go to Europe (5.7 percent and 7.8 percent respectively). It could thus be assumed that a culture of migration is more developed in Zbaraz and Solomyansky research area, meaning that people talk more and more proactively about going abroad, share their thoughts, encourage others than in Novovodolaz'ka and Znamyanska.

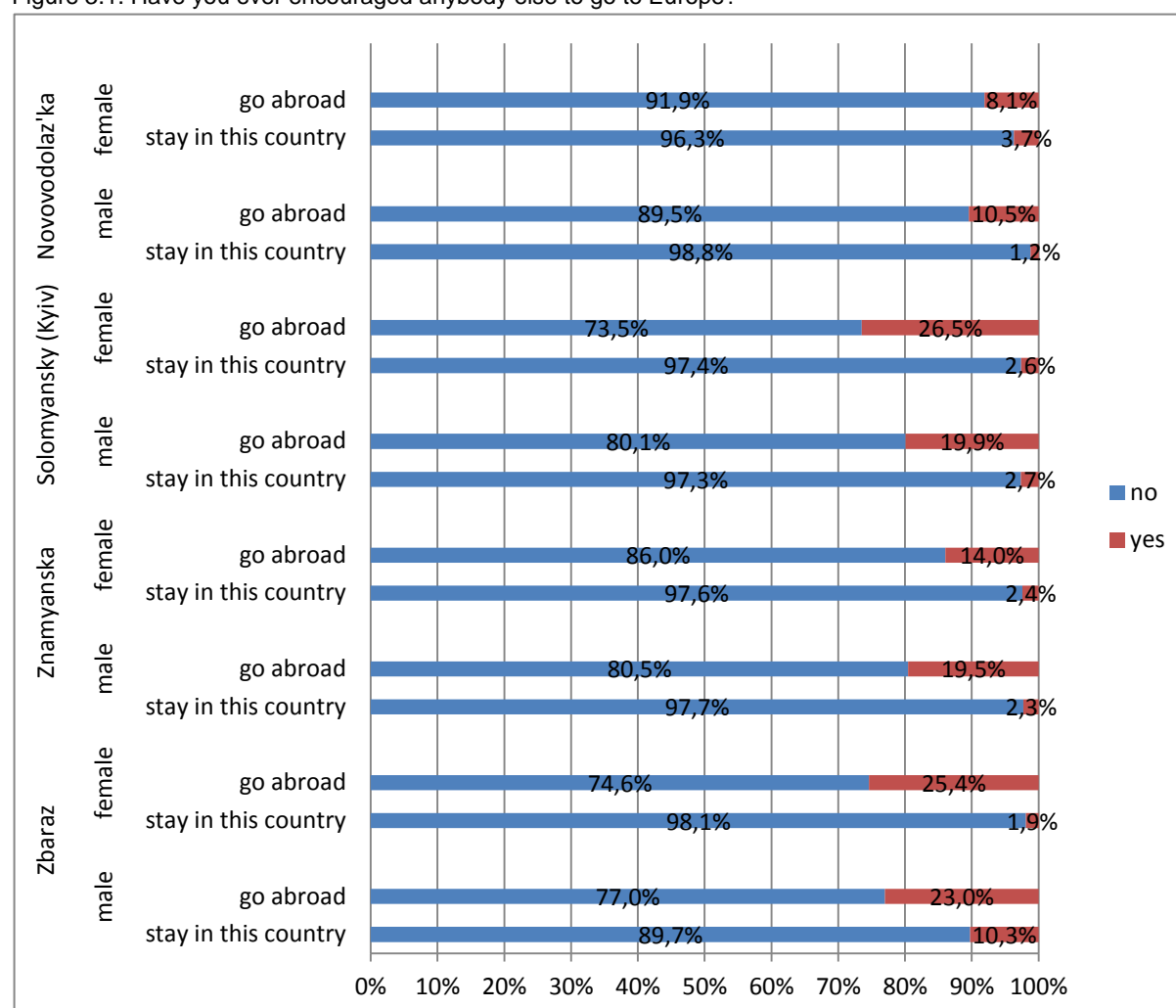
Table 3.1. Have you ever encouraged anybody else to go to Europe?

	Have you ever encouraged anybody else to go to Europe?	
	no	yes
Novovodolaz'ka	94.3%	5.7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	87.6%	12.4%
Znamyanska	92.2%	7.8%
Zbaraz	84.7%	15.3%
Total	89.7%	10.3%

Figure 3.1 shows us, as one would expect, that respondents with positive migration aspirations are more likely to encourage others going to Europe than people who have no migration aspirations. One quarter of the respondents with positive migration aspirations in Zbaraz (24.4 percent) have encouraged others to go to Europe. While only 4.9 percent of those with negative migration aspirations have done so. These findings demonstrate that positive migration aspirations increase peoples' propensity to encouraging others going to Europe too thus that positive migration aspirations

potentially have a migration increasing function. There is no gender difference in the respondents' responses.

Figure 3.1. Have you ever encouraged anybody else to go to Europe?



In order to explore why the large majority of respondents nevertheless say that they have not encouraged anybody else to go to Europe we further analysed the qualitative interviews with an Nvivo query. In this context the respondent's opinion is interesting:

'Why would I encourage anyone? A person will have to make decision himself/herself; this is his/her choice... Well, if asked for advice, I can give addresses of some reliable firms, engaged in this business. But the person will have to decide himself/herself if he/she can stand it or not...' [43127, Solomyansky research area].

The answer reflects a way of thinking and acting and almost a mentality of the majority respondents in Ukraine that is that people seem to be rather reactive than proactive and only come forward with suggestions if they are directly asked. Thus the figure does not actually reflect how many people do or do not encourage others going to Europe but rather that this is considered an individual matter whilst suggesting that a certain proportion of those who replied 'no' would probably still provide advice if specifically asked for this. Nevertheless, what remains is that a considerable number of people do not seem to be eager to encourage others to go to Europe.

A13 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women

This question was intended to find out about peoples' attitude towards migration of women to Europe. Table 3.2. indicates that almost half of the respondents in all research areas agree and strongly agree

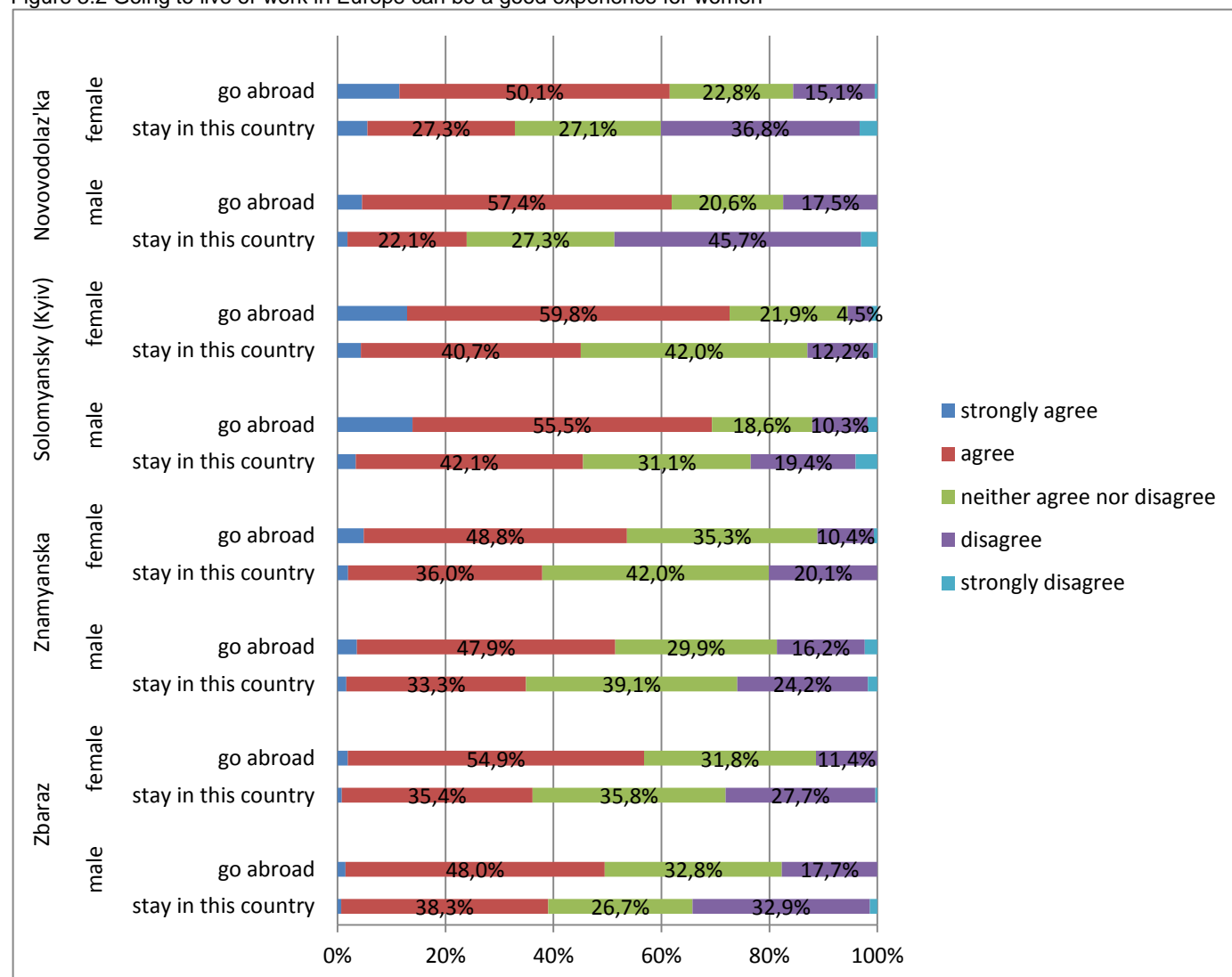
with the statement that “Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women” (47.6 percent). Less than a quarter, 20.2 percent of the respondents declare that they disagree or strongly disagree with this statement. Whilst one third of the respondents (31.2 percent) say that they neither agree nor disagree.

Table 3.2 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women

	Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Novovodolaz'ka	6.1%	38.1%	24.8%	29.2%	1.9%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	8.3%	49.0%	29.8%	11.2%	1.7%
Znamyanska	2.8%	40.1%	37.8%	18.3%	1.0%
Zbaraz	1.3%	44.8%	32.3%	21.3%	.3%
Total	4.6%	43.0%	31.2%	20.0%	1.2%

The highest proportion of those who agree is in Solomyansky research area (49 percent), whilst the highest proportion of those who disagree is in Novovodolaz'ka research area (29.2 percent). Figure 3.2. provides more details about trends of (1) migration aspirations and (2) gender.

Figure 3.2 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women



First, respondents with positive migration aspirations tend to be more enthusiastic about the idea that “going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women”. Second, in all research areas except Novovodolaz’ka this idea is more popular amongst women than men (from 33.3 percent of men to 59.8 percent of women those who agree with this statement).

Women are more positive about the idea that “going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women” whilst men are more negative. This reflects traditional ideas of family life and gender roles. Since Ukrainians are family-orientated and family values are important, there are mostly men who do not support the claim that going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women²⁶. One respondent confirms:

‘Obviously, in our case a woman is more in the family. Kids, mode of life ...and because of all of this woman simply cannot reach something greater. A woman has to take care about everything. The work plus all the rest – home and everything for home’ [41114, Zbaraz research area].

The percentage of men who disagree and strongly disagree with the idea “going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women” is the highest in case of Novovodolaz’ka and Zbaraz research area (32.6 percent and 24.6 percent respectively). This difference is most apparent in the cases of men with and without migration aspirations, 48.7 percent vs. 17.5 percent in Novovodolaz’ka research area and 34.3 percent vs. 17.7 percent in Zbaraz research area. So whilst the overall results are very clear - almost half of the respondents agree and less than a quarter disagree, there is some significant difference within these. Men more disagree than women and men and women in East and West disagree more than in Kyiv (Solomyansky) and Central Ukraine (Znamyanska).

A14 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men

This question was intended to target the respondents’ opinion about the statement “Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men”. Table 3.3. shows that the number of those who agree or strongly with this statement is significant – 57.1 percent. This vividly demonstrates a positive perception of migration for men in all research areas. Whilst only 15.6 percent of the interviewees disagree or strongly disagree with this statement.

Table 3.3. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men

	Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Novovodolaz’ka	9.7%	38.5%	23.7%	26.4%	1.6%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	10.5%	62.0%	22.5%	4.4%	.5%
Znamyanska	3.2%	51.7%	32.3%	12.3%	.6%
Zbaraz	1.4%	51.3%	30.6%	16.2%	.5%
Total	6.2%	50.9%	27.3%	14.8%	.8%

This number of people who agree is higher than in the previous question, 47.6 vs. 57.1 percent, which means that people think that going to live or work in Europe can be a better experience for men than for women. As might be expected this reflects a gendered perception of migration.

“Well, men are still breadwinners in a family. They go to provide for their families, to support their family... Perhaps most men consider themselves to be breadwinners and if he doesn’t receive a decent salary then he has to search for the variants which would suit him and better

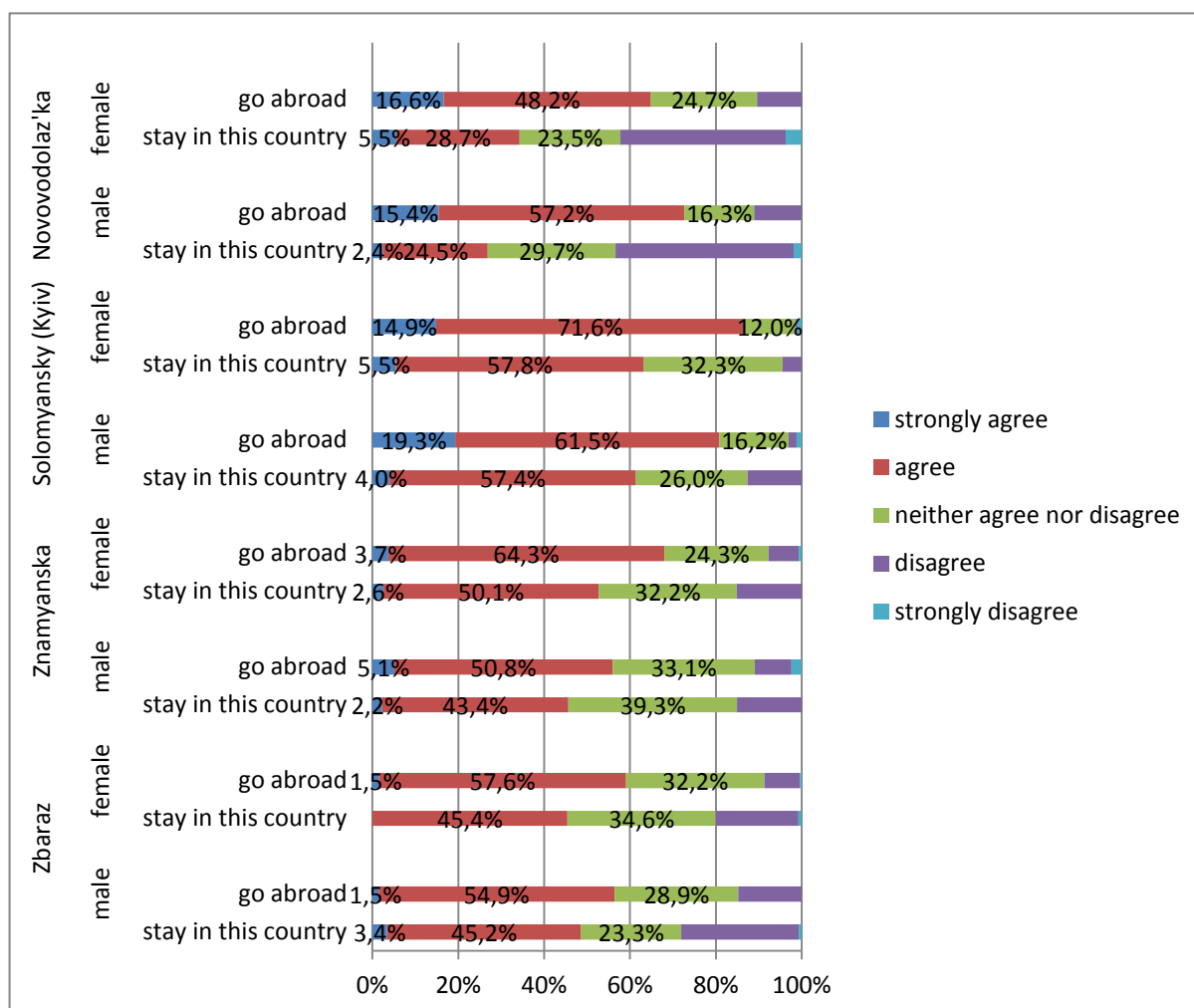
²⁶ According to NGO “Our World”, the Ukrainian society “is dominated by a patriarchal way of life, so called traditional family values and norms, and settled or (more often) newly arrived religious morals.” [NGO “Our World”, Ukrainian Homosexuals and Society: A Reciprocation – Review of the Situation: society, Authorities and politicians, Mass-media, Legal Issues, Gay Community, Kiev 2007.]

support the family” [42103, Znamyanska research area].

The highest proportion of those who agree or strongly agree is noted in Solomyansky research area (72.5 percent) and the lowest level of agreement is found in Novovodolaz'ka (48.2 percent).

The relationship between migration aspirations and perception of migration experience for men is very clear. Respondents with positive migration aspirations tend to be more enthusiastic about the idea of “going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men” (figure 3.3.), this is highest for women with migration aspirations in Solomyansky, 86.5 percent (compared 72.7 percent who support female migration, also in Solomyansky). Indeed, women are rather supportive of the idea that men migrate to Europe, often slightly more than men (58.8 vs. 50.2 percent in Znamyanska and 73.2 vs. 71.7 percent on Solomyansky) which reflects that migration is slightly more often perceived an issue for men than for women.

Figure 3.3. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men



A15 Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe become rich

In order to explore the migration perceptions respondents were asked for their opinion concerning the statement “Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe become rich”. Roughly one third of the respondents agrees or strongly agrees, roughly another third disagrees and strongly disagrees and one third neither agrees nor disagrees. The view that ‘people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe become rich’ is nicely confirmed in one our qualitative interviews::

I: So, what makes people go abroad? What are their reasons?

R: Some people want to get rich. They strive for the enrichment of life and better level of living” [43111, Solomyansky research area].

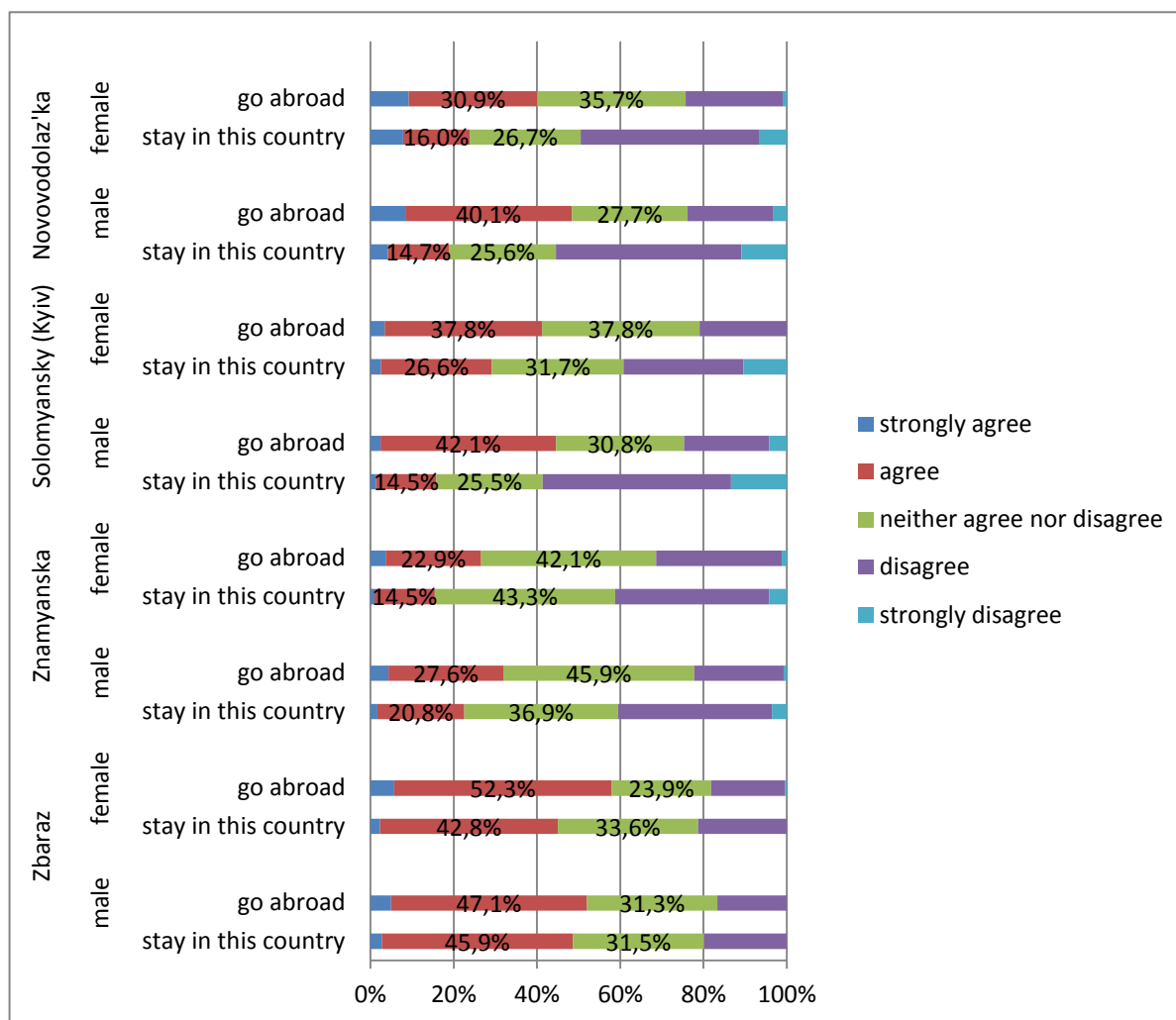
Table 3.4. Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe become rich

	Most [people from this country] who go to live or work in Europe become rich				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Novovodolaz'ka	7.5%	24.3%	29.0%	33.7%	5.4%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	2.5%	30.5%	31.9%	28.2%	7.0%
Znamyanska	2.3%	20.0%	42.1%	32.8%	2.8%
Zbaraz	4.0%	47.1%	29.8%	19.0%	.1%
Total	4.1%	30.5%	33.2%	28.4%	3.8%

There is a striking difference among respondents' opinion in Zbaraz and Znamyanska research areas (Figure 3.4). Whereas in Zbaraz research area more people agree or strongly agree (51.1 percent) in Znamyanska research area fewer people agree or strongly agree (22.3 percent). The outcome was expected as Znamyanska was selected as a region with low scale emigration. Also in Zbaraz high-standard houses of labour migrants are omnipresent and thus a highly visible sign of the economic success of migrants; hence the high level of support of this statement in Zbaraz is at least partly based on observation and experience.

In contrast, in Novovodolaz'ka and Znamyanska research areas people have fewer opportunities to observe signs of richness and they are more sceptical about becoming rich through migration. Also people are more likely to migrate to Russia where earning opportunities are lower than in some Western countries.

Figure 3.4. Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe become rich



A16 Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills

We asked respondents for their opinion of the statement “Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills”. Table 3.5 shows that 65.1 percent of the respondents agree or strongly agree with the statement, whilst only 11.3 percent of people disagree or strongly disagree. In detail, 62.4 percent of those surveyed in Solomyansky research area agree with the statement whilst the highest proportion of those who disagree or strongly disagree is in Novovodolaz'ka research area (22.1 percent).

Table 3.5. Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills.

	Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Novovodolaz'ka	16.0%	46.9%	15.1%	18.4%	3.7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	14.1%	62.4%	20.1%	3.2%	.3%
Znamyanska	3.3%	55.4%	32.6%	7.9%	.8%
Zbaraz	2.1%	59.9%	26.8%	11.1%	.1%
Total	8.9%	56.2%	23.6%	10.1%	1.2%

It is also worth noting that respondents with positive migration aspirations both males and females in all research areas are more likely, sometimes even far more likely, to support the idea that most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skill (figure 3.5).

One respondent confirms:

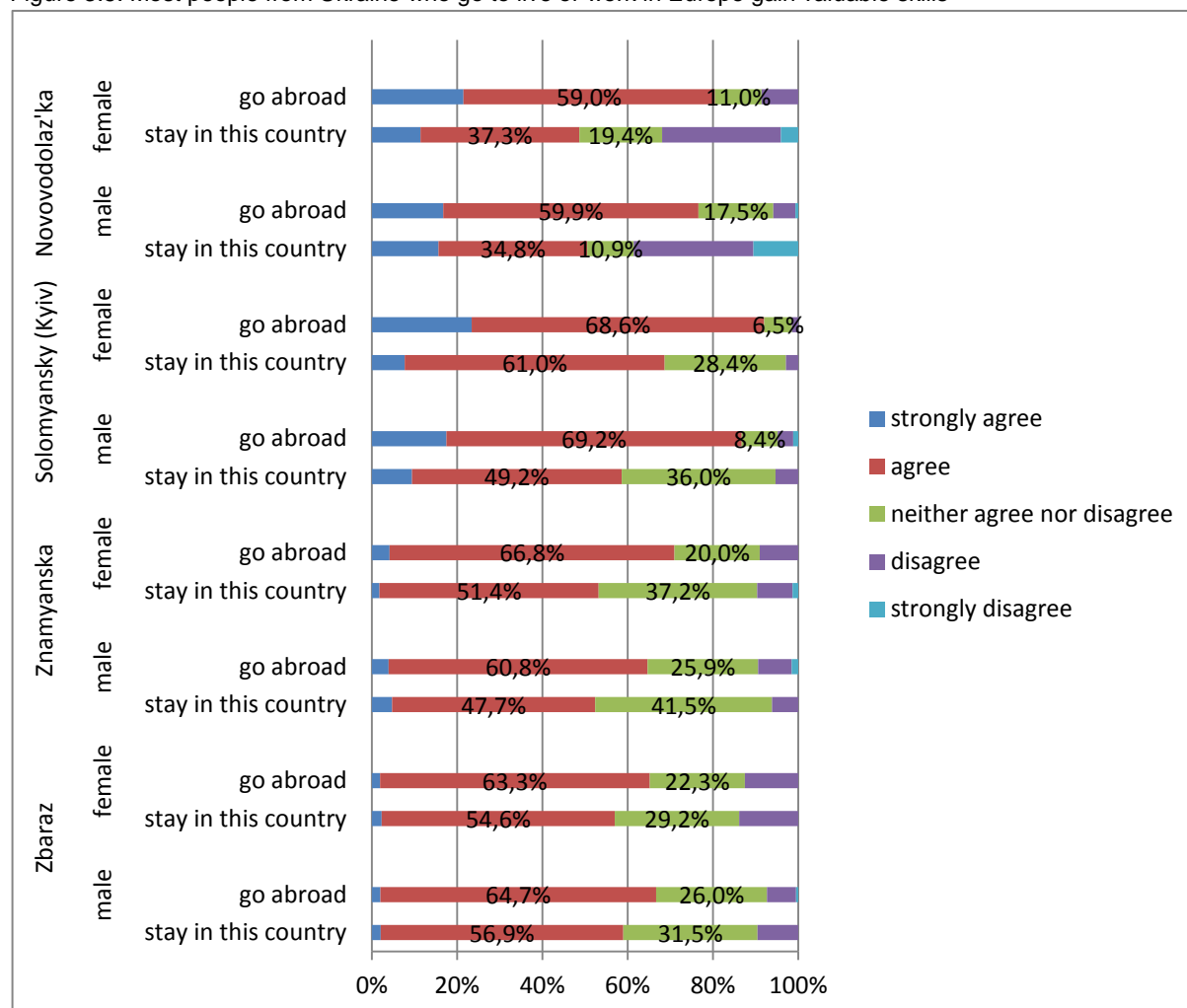
'Well, I agree with that. I think everything they do there might be useful in future life. What I know for sure that if a man goes to work on construction he can later use it in his own life. I have the example that my friend's father went to work in Russia on construction and when he came from there he built a cottage house himself. He got experience, skills and now he knows how to built, how to do other things. Now he has built almost a two-storied house' [41244, Zbaraz research area].

Another informant adds:

'I encourage people not only to study in Europe but, in general, actually, learn something new, be tolerant to people who, for example, have come from other countries and learn a lot of interesting facts about them' [44101, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

Thus, going abroad is considered an important element of expanding one's human capital. Europe is perceived as an environment where one can learn new ideas, competencies, skills, behaviours and attitudes and apply these back home where appropriate.

Figure 3.5. Most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills



We found that the majority of people with and without migration aspirations in all research area believe that most people from Ukraine who go to live or work in Europe gain valuable skills.

A17 People who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family

This question was intended to identify the respondents' attitude towards one of the social consequences of migration, notably the impact on family life. A significant proportion of the

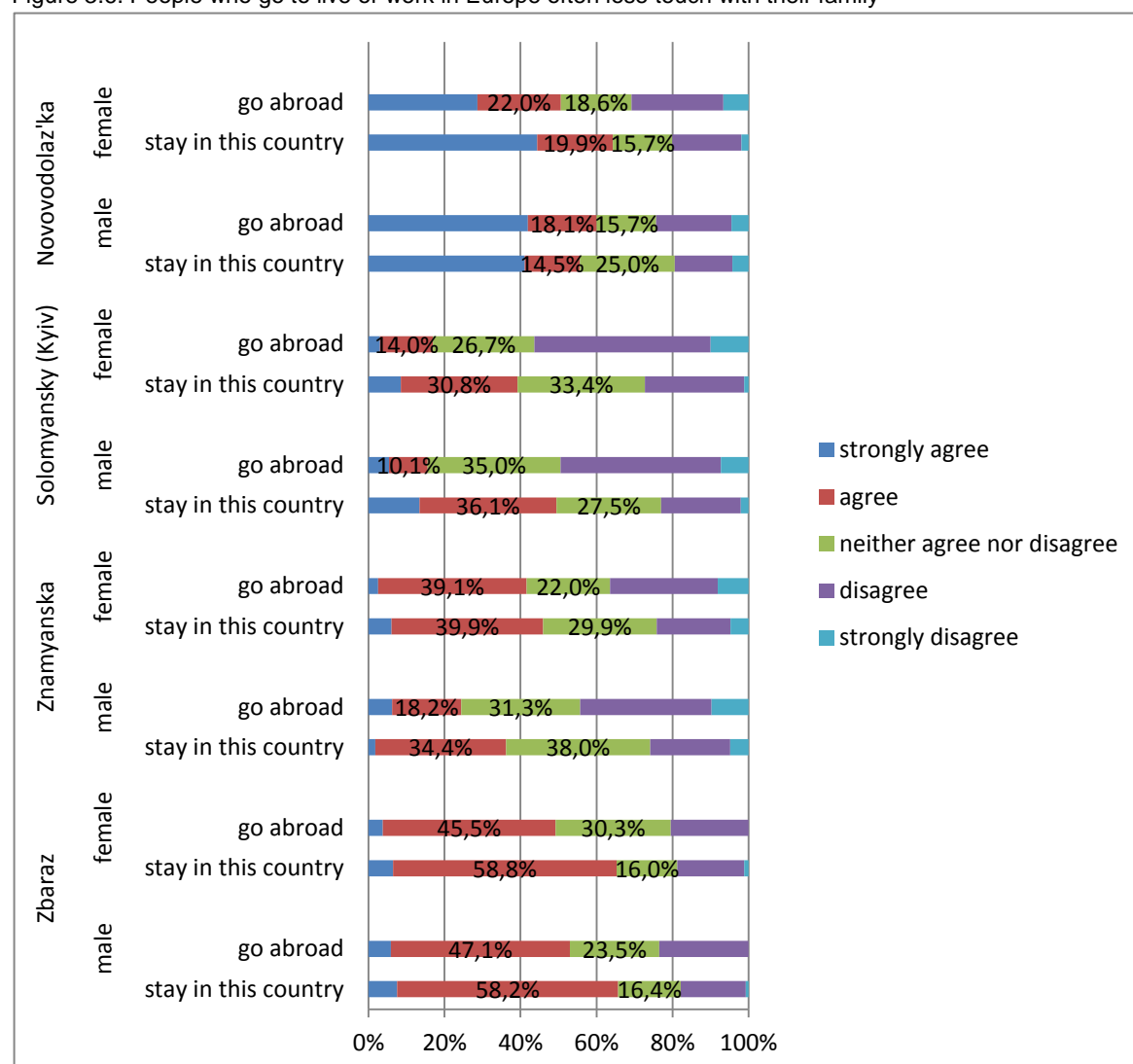
respondents (46.3 percent) believes that people who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family but still almost one third of the respondents disagree or strongly disagree (28.2 percent). One-quarter of the respondents (25.4 percent) state that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement.

Table 3.6. People who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family

	People who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
Novovodolaz'ka	39.1%	19.0%	18.3%	19.5%	4.1%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	7.4%	23.2%	30.9%	33.7%	4.8%
Znamyanska	4.4%	34.6%	30.3%	24.3%	6.3%
Zbaraz	5.7%	52.0%	22.1%	19.7%	.5%
Total	14.1%	32.2%	25.4%	24.3%	3.9%

It should be stressed that more than half respondents in Zbaraz (57.7 percent) say that they agree or strongly agree that people who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family. The figure 3.6 illustrates the difference among the research areas, males and females, respondents with and without migration aspirations.

Figure 3.6. People who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family



The high percentage of those who agree with statement can be partly explained with the impact of popular discourse, policy and media in Ukraine, which emphasise mainly the social problems that migration creates.

An example for perception of the negative consequences of migration can be found in the qualitative interviews:

'Well, that's all about family. . It is very often that, for example, one goes abroad and leaves a family here, family break up' [41118, Zbaraz research area].

Another informant was asked about impact of migration on family life:

I.: And is this a problem only for Ukrainians that someone goes abroad, while other stays here?

R.: Yes, this is a big problem. It broke a lot of families.

I.: Are there any examples among your friends, colleagues?

R.: Yes, there are' [41126, Zbaraz research area].

Another example from the qualitative interview which reflects respondents' attitude towards influence of migration on family life:

'Do you think that migration somehow splits up families, that it destroys the families because a woman or a man leaves the country and then their relationships deteriorate?

R.: It happens, certainly it happens, even often. Especially in the young families, when they get married, a child is born, a man goes, for example, abroad. Here is this girl sitting with her child and has to look after it, then begins the kindergarten, school, and her husband is abroad and there is no family reunion, there is no heat because they become in a few years, almost strangers, and only their child ties them together. So if a man or a woman does not come back for a long time young couples in most cases divorce. Even though they have a child they divorce' [41240, Zbaraz research area].

In contrast people feel that short-distance and short-term migration has less negative effects for the family:

'For example a lot of people want to go to Poland. It is good there because it is not far away. You work there for three months, three at home for example. And here again, the same. As if you don't go away from the family for a long time and you have a job' [41121, Zbaraz research area].

This demonstrates that in the informant's opinion duration and distance matter. Thus short-term migration to nearby countries is considered less disruptive to family life and thus preferable.

A29 If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe.

In order to investigate migration aspirations the survey asked respondents for the relevance of having appropriate documentation. Asked if people would go to Europe if somebody would give them the necessary papers the respondents to almost equal proportions replied "yes" and "no". Just under half of the respondents (49.3 percent) declare their migration aspirations and 50.7 percent say that they would nevertheless "stay here" (Table 3.7).

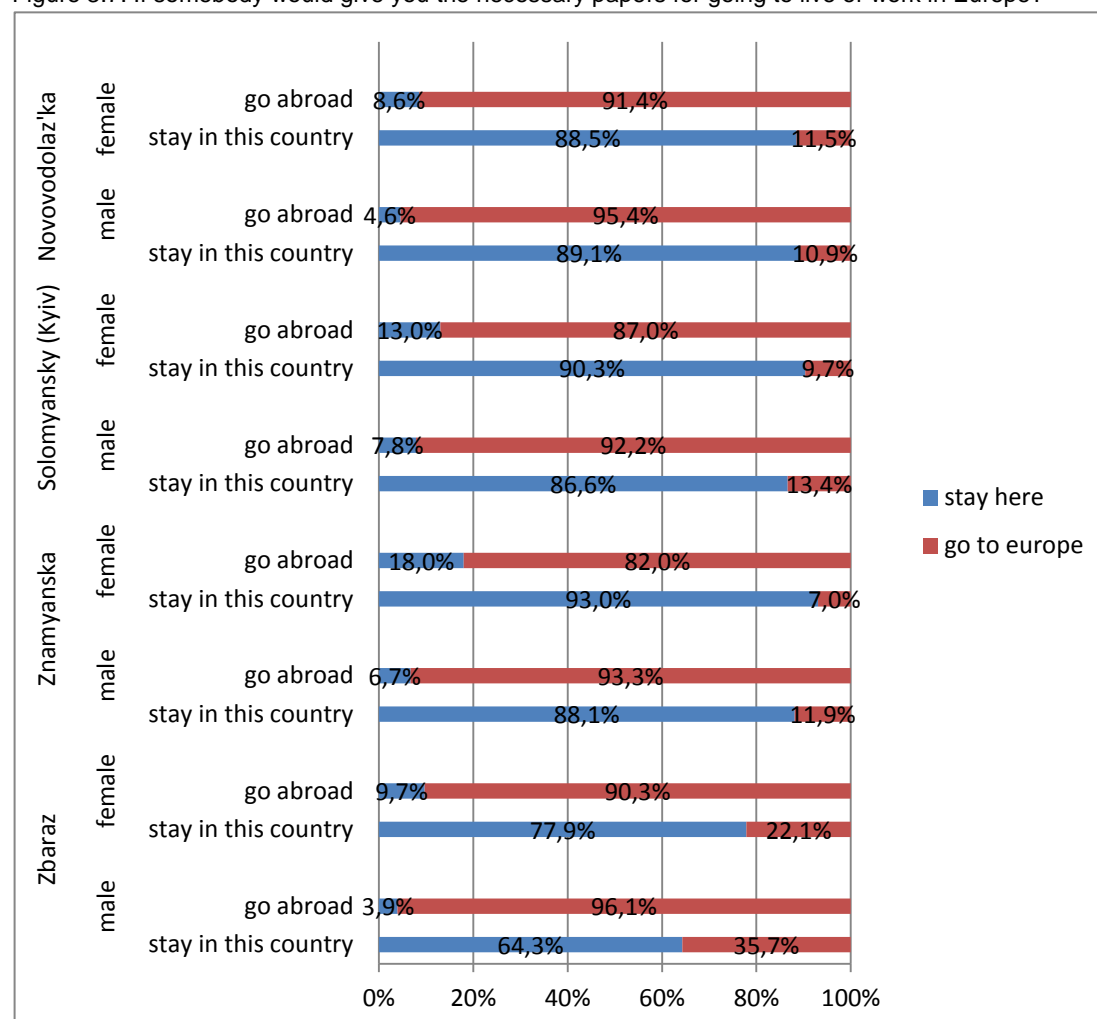
Table 3.7. If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe

	If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe	
	stay here	go to Europe
Novovodolaz'ka	51.4%	48.6%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	52.5%	47.5%

Znamyanska	60.9%	39.1%
Zbaraz	37.8%	62.2%
Total	50.7%	49.3%

There are however again significant differences within the total: (1) of the people with migration aspirations almost 90 percent would indeed go to Europe; (2) even of those people with no migration aspirations between 7-35 percent would accept the opportunity and migrate, (3) over 60 percent of all respondents in Zbaraz - the high emigration area - would go thus display an above average aspiration to migrate (4) in Znamyanska, the low emigration area, an above average proportion would stay, 62.2 percent, and a below average proportion, still 39.1 percent, would go and (5) whilst in Zbaraz and Znamyanska research areas fewer women than men would take advantage of the necessary papers in Solomyansky and Novovodolaz'ka research area almost no gender difference could be observed (Figure 3.7). Finally, it is interesting that in Zbaraz despite the fact that the majority of the respondents thinks that people who go to live or work in Europe often lose touch with their family (52 percent of the surveyed) still 62.2 percent would go to Europe if somebody would give them the necessary papers. This implies that access to the necessary documentation outweighs concerns over the negative consequences on family life.

Figure 3.7. If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe?



Also in the qualitative interview it emphasized:

'I think that anyone of my age, 20 years old, if one could get an opportunity, would go abroad',
[41125, Zbaraz research area].

In general people affirm that they would go abroad if certain conditions are met:

'If there were such conditions: here you have your documents, money, we have already made arrangements for you – you would have there a job, which suits you well, you can do it' [42206, Zbaraz research area].

The latter argument not only further explains the high readiness of going abroad but also indicates some level of risk aversion that shapes perceptions of migration. However what is not reflected here but in the qualitative data is that some people would nevertheless migrate even in the absence of papers, i.e. they would also migrate irregularly.

'I think that it may be not very difficult, I've never encountered this, but taking into account how many Ukrainians, what a large percentage of them are working currently in Europe countries, I think that it is not very hard. Once it was, as I hear it in the conversations of people, harder, it was just a higher cost in order to get there. Currently the price is lower, but these people are with illegal status there' [41116, Zbaraz research area].

It is also worth noting that respondent says that emigration from Ukraine mainly is illegal. One could get all the documents for money.

I.: 'What do you mean by cost of work? What does it mean?

R.: Well, it is to move... mainly our people were going to Europe illegally. They had to pay to make documents, to open visa and to pay the people, who carry you across the border, because only a very small number of people could open a work visa. And even if opened, then with the help of mediators, which also had to get money in order to let you go. And if people had an opportunity to get a visa, then of course they were going legally, they were transferred, well, as I've heard from neighbours, in different minibuses and so on... it's all for the appropriate amount of money' [41116, Zbaraz research area].

Moreover the respondent accepts and tolerates an illegal way of migration:

'There are different ways of going abroad: legal and illegal. It depends on the possibility – what kind of possibility you have. If it is possible to go legally, you can get all the documents for work and travelling there, you go legally...

I.: And what are the reasons to emigrate illegally?

R.: Life forces... (smiling).

I.: Do you accept this kind of emigration or don't?

R.: I can understand it. If there is a need to go abroad, to earn money, but there is no opportunity to leave, people emigrate illegally. The most important thing is that a person is solving her problems, does something for it' [41244, Zbaraz research area].

There are no significant gender differences observed in all research areas.

4. Geographical imaginations

Key finding

This section aimed to identify priorities of people in Ukraine in terms of destination countries for living and working. Based upon qualitative and quantities data, the following key findings might be singled out:

- Germany, Italy and UK appear to be the most popular destination countries in Europe for people from Ukraine; whereas, as expected, Italy is the most attractive for Western Ukraine and Russia for Eastern part of Ukraine.
- Germany is the most recognizable country for Ukrainian people as a country of Europe, followed by Italy and France. These are countries people in Ukraine associate Europe with, first of all.
- Ukrainian women are family-oriented and rather conservative when it comes to choosing a place of living. Above 40 percent of them (except for in Zbaraz) prefer staying in a home area, even if it is possible to consider options as moving to another part of Ukraine or going abroad.

A2 Which country would you like to go to?

Table A2 seeks to mark differences between migration aspirations in general and migration aspirations to European countries in particular. The given set of categories of countries includes the EU member states as Germany, Italy and UK; and such non-EU countries as Russia and USA.

Among European counties the most popular is Italy. They are women from Zbaraz who prefer this country most of all (almost 26 percent). Germany is also a high attraction for respondents and first of all for female respondents from Znamyanska (24.3 percent). Interestingly enough, men from Solomyansky rayon and from Novovodolaz'ka are equally interested in Germany as in a preferred destination country (roughly 21 percent both). To a greater extent UK is out of interest for almost all respondents from all research localities. Males from Zbaraz who want to go abroad make an exception as they account for 14 percent.

Russia appears to be most popular with males and females from Novovodolaz'ka (over 20 percent each). This could be expected as Novovodolaz'ka, as previously mentioned, is the research locality with a high migration rate to this country. Zbaraz reveals a contradictory trend and Russia accounts for very insignificant percentages of inhabitants of this town who are eager to go eastward (males – 1 percent and females – 2.8 percent). This might be attributed to the fact that Zbaraz demonstrates high migration rate but to Western countries. Russia is also attractive to respondents from Znamyanska. The percentage of women who would like to go to Russia in Znamyanska is rather high (17.4 percent). This is rather close to the figure in Novovodolaz'ka. Men are somewhat less numerous, but it is still worth mentioning as they make up 13.9 percent. USA is the country which received the highest score in Zbaraz. Over one third of women and of men from Zbaraz would like to go there (35.4 percent and 32.1 percent correspondingly).

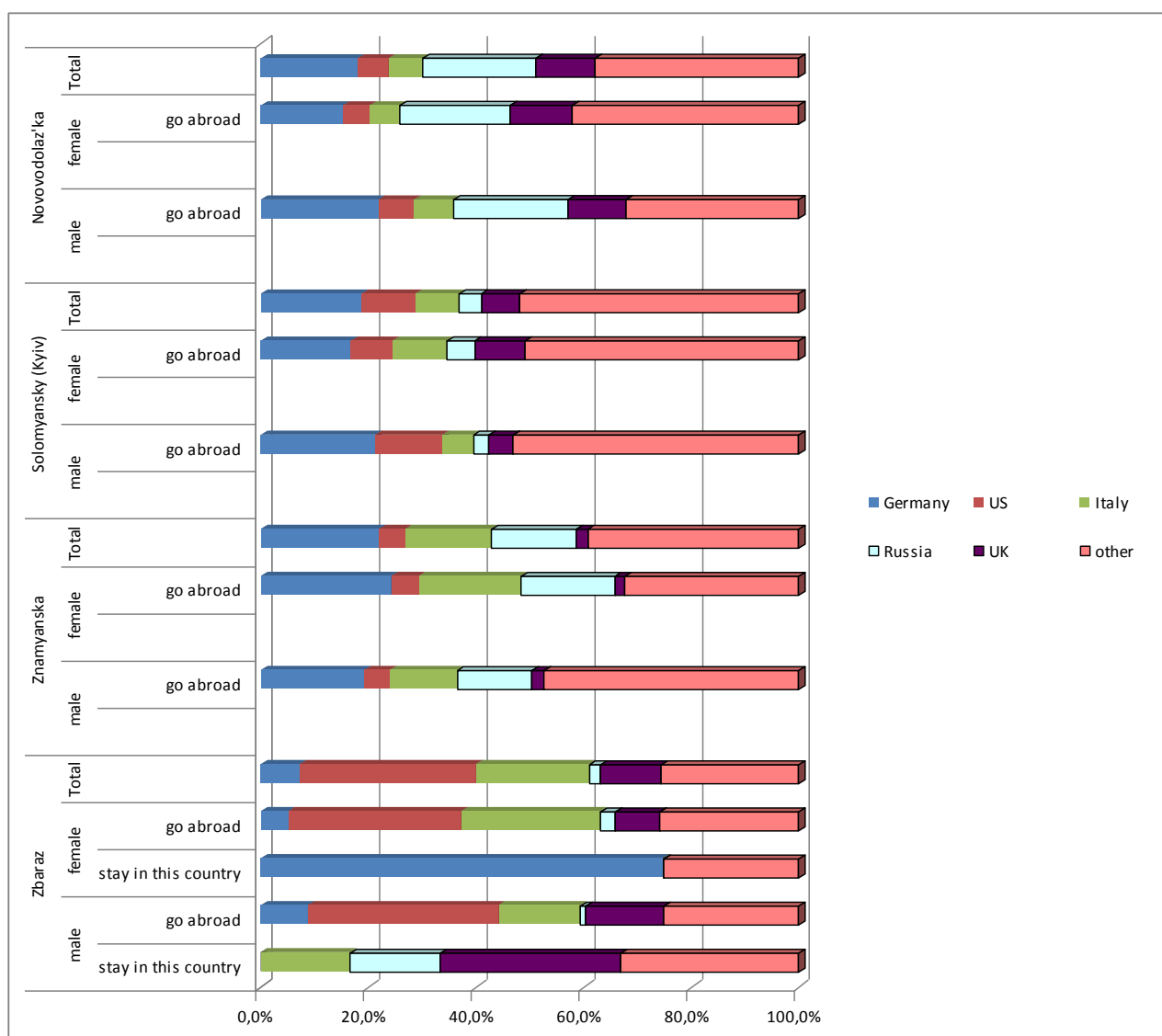
Remarkably, Poland is not a separate category among the given ones as it was not scored highly. To be noted, the Polish embassy representative made clear in an interview with a research team member '[...] we have an interest in a big number of Ukrainian citizens visiting our country and also we have an interest in - this is not secret - the migrants from Ukraine [...]'. The Polish embassy appealed to smooth integration process of Ukrainians in Poland and no big cultural and linguistic difference between Polish and Ukrainian people. Despite this attitude of Polish authorities and a relatively easy visa application procedure, which are a noticeable difference compared to embassies of more attractive for Ukrainians countries, Poland is not as popular with respondents to go there as throughout the 1990-th, according to survey findings.

Table A2 Which country would you like to go to?

	Country to migrate (a2)
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			Germany	US	Italy	Russia	UK	other
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	0,0%	0,0%	16,6%	16,7%	33,5%	33,2%
		go abroad	8,9%	35,4%	15,1%	1,0%	14,6%	25,0%
	female	stay in this country	75,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%
		go abroad	5,2%	32,1%	25,8%	2,8%	8,3%	25,8%
	Total		7,3%	32,8%	20,9%	2,2%	11,2%	25,5%
Znamyanska	male							
		go abroad	19,4%	4,6%	12,5%	13,9%	2,2%	47,5%
	female							
		go abroad	24,3%	5,1%	19,0%	17,4%	1,9%	32,3%
Total		22,1%	4,9%	16,0%	15,8%	2,1%	39,2%	
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male							
		go abroad	21,3%	12,5%	5,6%	3,0%	4,4%	53,2%
	female							
		go abroad	16,7%	7,8%	9,9%	5,2%	9,4%	50,9%
Total		18,8%	10,0%	8,0%	4,2%	7,1%	51,9%	
Novovodolaz'ka	male							
		go abroad	21,9%	6,6%	7,3%	21,3%	10,8%	32,1%
	female							
		go abroad	15,2%	5,0%	5,5%	20,7%	11,5%	42,1%
Total		18,1%	5,7%	6,3%	21,0%	11,2%	37,8%	

Figure A2 Which country would you like to go to?



A4 Which countries do you think of if you hear the word Europe?

The table A4 shows which countries respondents think of when they hear the word "Europe". Notably, respondents could select more than one country thus these percentages should be rather read as frequencies and yet representing the overall share of the sample. Respondents most frequently referred to: France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and UK. Among these (in total) Germany appeared to be the most representative country for Ukrainian people when they hear the word 'Europe' (47.1 percent)). Italy is placed second as a country which evokes associations with Europe (42.9 percent); followed by France (35.9 percent).

A general tendency can be stated that the highest frequencies were given by the category of respondents who intended to go abroad. Gender differences also became apparent. For instance, southern European countries such as Italy and Spain are attractive for men only from Zbaraz, and remarkably, the number of men who consider Italy as a European country and intended to go away is almost twice as high (61.8 percent) compared with Spain (37.7 percent). These findings are not unexpected though since these results match with the labour migration patterns in the Western regions of Ukraine that have been established over the past two decades. Irrespective of gender and the individual research areas (apart from Zbaraz), Germany indicates a strong association with Europe (or high popularity) as figures range from over 30 percent to almost 70 percent. The highest number was found in Solomyansky rayon in the category of men who intend to leave the country (66.4 percent). Znamyanska, yet a low emigration area, its respondents demonstrated strong interest

in leaving the country in association with Germany and Italy or Poland. Highest preference was given to Germany (men: 47.8 percent; women: 50.9 percent) and Italy (39.9 percent and 47.8 percent respectively). These results hint to the explanation that a low emigration profile of an area is not an indicator for high levels of life satisfaction, but the reason for this profile might be rather linked to the fact that people are not able to leave or do not have the means to make this step into a new life project. Lacking capabilities to migrate is however linked to a plethora of further determinants which at this point will not be discussed and at the same time it requires further research.

Table A4 Which countries do you think of if you hear the word Europe?

			Germany	Italy	France	Poland	Spain	UK
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	45.2%	62.3%	24.7%	39.7%	33.5%	28.1%
		go abroad	48.6%	61.8%	25.5%	35.3%	37.7%	24.0%
	female	stay in this country	34.7%	61.8%	26.7%	39.0%	34.7%	17.9%
		go abroad	31.0%	61.0%	36.3%	31.8%	33.3%	31.0%
	Total		38.6%	61.6%	29.0%	36.1%	34.8%	25.0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	46.9%	37.1%	23.9%	29.9%	8.4%	9.0%
		go abroad	47.8%	39.9%	24.9%	33.9%	10.0%	11.5%
	female	stay in this country	41.8%	38.1%	35.4%	36.2%	9.1%	12.3%
		go abroad	50.9%	47.8%	28.8%	35.2%	5.0%	16.3%
	Total		45.9%	40.2%	29.6%	34.2%	6.8%	12.3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	57.9%	34.6%	38.0%	23.4%	16.7%	24.5%
		go abroad	66.4%	35.0%	38.6%	20.5%	22.3%	26.6%
	female	stay in this country	48.9%	36.8%	45.4%	17.7%	10.3%	20.4%
		go abroad	55.3%	44.7%	50.7%	18.5%	20.9%	33.0%
	Total		48.1%	38.0%	43.9%	19.6%	16.8%	25.7%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	48.1%	31.7%	37.6%	22.5%	18.9%	24.4%
		go abroad	57.8%	28.6%	36.3%	32.5%	7.1%	26.8%
	female	stay in this country	44.4%	27.5%	45.8%	14.4%	5.2%	12.4%
		go abroad	44.6%	37.6%	41.1%	23.6%	9.5%	31.3%
	Total		47.8%	31.2%	41 %	22 %	9.5 %	22.6 %
TOTAL			47.1%	42.9%	35.9%	28.0%	17.0%	21.4%

Analysing the frequencies of counties mentioned in relation to Europe in in-depth interviews, i.e. the qualitative data set, as well as the countries referred in the triangulation interviews, the geographic imaginations of Europe or of most popular countries in Europe, as found in the quantitative data, can be largely confirmed. Germany was the most frequently mentioned country in the qualitative data set: 423 times (followed by Russia (350), Italy (257), Poland (245), France (168)). Germany was - to some extent surprisingly – the most discussed migration destination country while vivid imagination about this place in the EU was communicated. In quantity, geographic imaginations of Germany were slightly less intensively found in Novovodolaz'ka. No other significant differences became apparent among the research areas.

Informants imagined that Germany is the most/a highly developed country in Europe (below but also e.g. 42110, 42203, 43104 44208), it is economically and politically powerful and it provides security - legally and socio-economically – for citizens, migrants and future generations. Such conditions are stable and which enable informants to plan their future, their life projects for themselves and their children. Germany's economic power and state of development is a geographical imagination that fulfils one of the primary migration aspirations and that is economic stability and security (e.g. 41114,

41242, 42107, 42104), i.e. a salary one can live on (e.g. 42105) while 'nothing will change in our country' (44109). 'Germany. It is the most powerful country of the whole European Union' (43123); 'a strong state [...], but somehow (government) cares about them' (41121), 'Germany [...], the biggest one... leader of Europe in fact, the biggest economically developed country' (41122). "This is evident and everybody knows who watches at least television. Germany and France are in the first place, holding the entire European Union' (41238).

Concomitantly informants refer to Germany not only as economic powerhouse but also in imaginations related to social welfare, imagining that 'the state will not leave you alone, will not let you starve' – which is one of the disappointments informants had to experiences after the year of Ukraine's independence. For instance: "Most of all, I am impressed with Germany (economically it is very powerful country)' (41117), 'but there are also all sorts of social programs that I liked (when I was) in Germany' (Ibid). 'On the whole, there are totally different priorities for employment there, [...] you will be valued highly. [...] I think people are better protected there (socio-economically and by the police)' (42107).

A10 Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?

This table highlights how informants imagine priorities of young men from their areas of where to live and work. Europe dominates significantly in Zbaraz (39,7 percent) as a target location. Probably it has to do with the fact that the locality is proximate to the EU and labour migration to the EU countries is high there. Informants from Zbaraz are also willing to move to another part of the home country but they are much less (26,9 percent) compared to Europe. Nineteen percent of young men in a view of respondents would like to go to other countries outside Europe. This figure is even higher than the number of those willing to stay in their area - Zbaraz. Thus it makes the latter most unattractive option in terms of living and working. On the contrary, Znamyanska is attractive for young men. According to informants up to the half of them (48.7 percent) does not mind staying in their home area. This outcome was expected as Znamyanska is known for low scale emigration. Europe remains the top destination place (36.4 percent) among other three options left. This tendency is the same in Kyiv. The only difference is a closer gap between people ready to stay in Kyiv (46.5 percent) and those who would like to go to Europe (43.8 percent). In case of Solomyansky rayon (Kyiv) there are more people eager to leave for Europe.

The reverse tendency is also obvious if to compare Znamyanska with Solomyansky rayon. Whereas Znamyanska has more people who would like to live in another part of the country (10,1 percent) rather than to go to non-European countries (4,8 percent); Solomyansky rayon has more people who are oriented to live abroad (9,4 percent). The number of those willing to stay in the home country but living in another part of it is very insignificant – 0,3 percent. This vividly demonstrates attractiveness of the capital city as a place to live and work in. Up to the half (45,9 percent) of young men from Novovodolaz'ka prefer staying there. Remarkably that intentions either to move to another part of the country, or to Europe are both highly popular (27,6 percent and 23,8 percent correspondently), with a prevailing intention to stay in the home county.

Generally speaking Zbaraz is a research locality with the lowest number of young men willing to stay in their home area (14,4 percent). Znamyanska is a contrast case, scored with 48,7 percent of those ready to stay in the home area. In this regard two other research localities follow Znamyanska very closely. Two leading research localities with almost equally high intention of young men to live in another part of the country are Zbaraz and Novovodolaz'ka (26,9 percent and 27,6 percent respectively). Remarkably that Zbaraz, being most closely located to the EU, priorities non-European countries as destination places (19 percent), if scores of all research localities of this option are compared. In total young men from all research localities are not prone to leaving the country (39%). However Europe as a destination place for living and working is closely scored second (35,9%). In general Europe is most popular among proposed migration directions (35,9 percent). Solomyansky rayon and Zbaraz have significantly more young men willing to live and work in Europe. In total

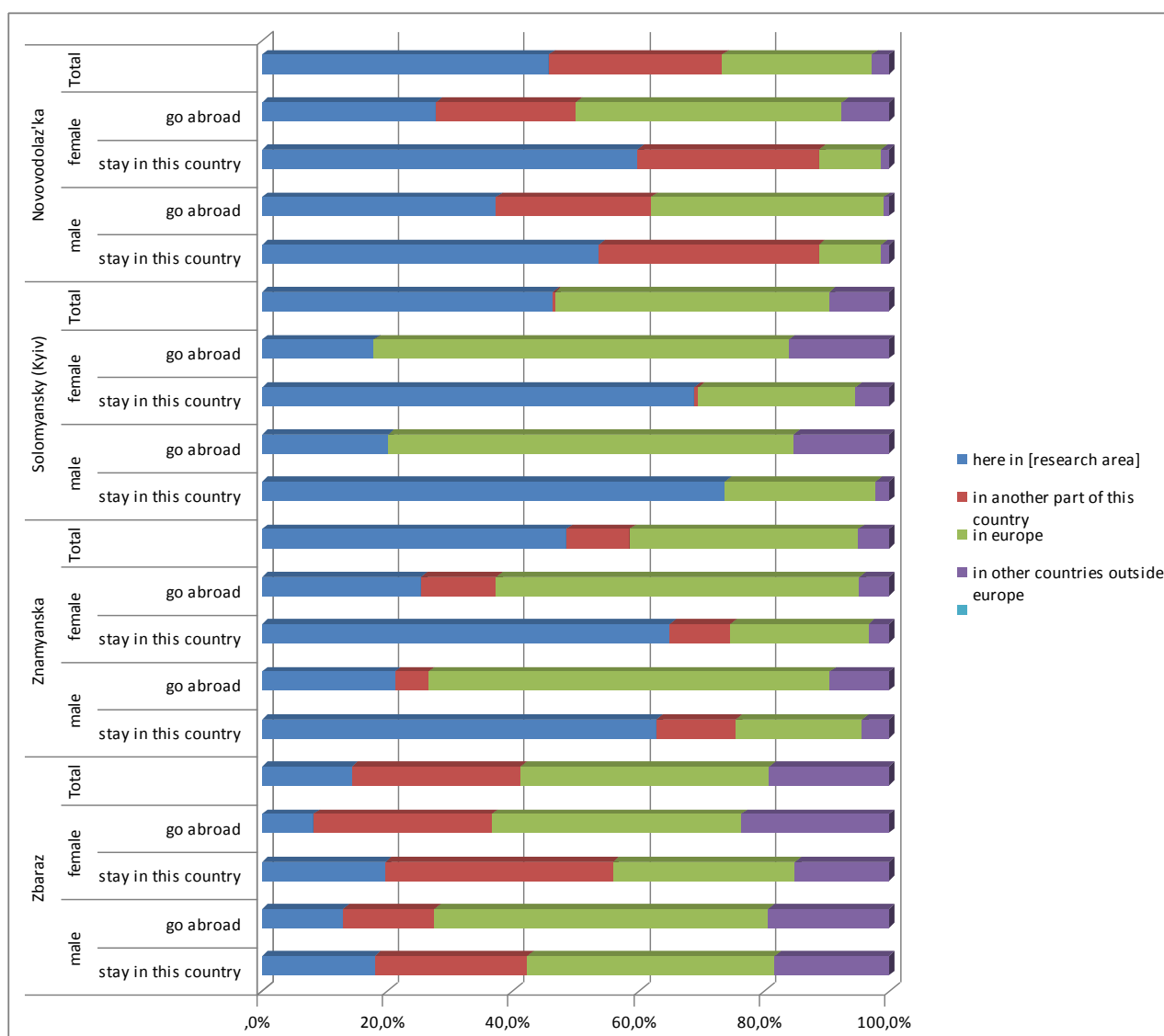
moving to another part of the home country is almost as twice popular (16,1 percent) as going to non-European countries (8,9 percent).

Surprisingly enough, young men from Novovodolaz'ka are reluctant to go to countries outside Europe. Novovodolaz'ka produces only 2,7 percent of them. This is the lowest score among all research localities. This is an even more interesting detail given the fact of geographic proximity of Russia to this research locality. Worth mentioning are aspirations in Solomyansky rayon. Next to categorical dislike to move to another part of the country, and strong will to stay in the area, the share of young men willing to move to Europe is very significant. Thus despite the fact of higher attraction of Kyiv for living and especially working, people there still tend thinking about going to the EU.

Table A10 Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?

			where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?			
			here in [research area]	in another part of this country	in Europe	in other countries outside Europe
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	18,0%	24,3%	39,6%	18,1%
		go abroad	13,0%	14,6%	53,1%	19,3%
	female	stay in this country	19,7%	36,3%	29,1%	14,9%
		go abroad	8,2%	28,5%	39,9%	23,4%
	Total		14,4%	26,9%	39,7%	19,0%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	63,0%	12,6%	20,2%	4,3%
		go abroad	21,2%	5,4%	64,1%	9,3%
	female	stay in this country	65,1%	9,7%	21,9%	3,2%
		go abroad	25,3%	12,0%	58,0%	4,6%
	Total		48,7%	10,1%	36,4%	4,8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	74,0%		24,0%	2,0%
		go abroad	20,2%		64,7%	15,1%
	female	stay in this country	68,9%	,8%	25,1%	5,2%
		go abroad	18,0%	,0%	66,2%	15,9%
	Total		46,5%	,3%	43,8%	9,4%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	53,8%	35,0%	9,9%	1,2%
		go abroad	37,5%	24,7%	37,2%	,7%
	female	stay in this country	60,1%	28,9%	9,9%	1,1%
		go abroad	27,8%	22,3%	42,4%	7,4%
	Total		45,9%	27,6%	23,8%	2,7%

Figure A10 Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?



A11 And where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work?

This table reveals views of informants on aspirations of young women from their home areas in terms of living and working. The given choice is among staying in the research locality, going to another part of the country and going abroad (either to Europe or not – 2 separate options). Young women from Zbaraz are reported to be inclined to go to Europe, if there is any opportunity to do so. A bit more than the third part of them (30,3 percent) would like to move to another part of the country. Other 2 options are much less popular (below 20 percent each). Almost a half (49,0 percent) of young women in Znamyanska prefer staying there. Many other (namely 36,6 percent) would go to Europe. Other migration directions besides Europe are in general unpopular with young women there (below 10% each). Common tendency in Znamyanska and in Solomyansky rayon is high scores for options of staying in the home area (49,7 percent) or going to Europe (42,0 percent). Noteworthy that the discrepancy between both options is lower in Solomyansky rayon (49,7 percent and 42 percent) compared to 49,0 percent and 36,6 percent in Znamyanska. Novovodolaz'ka reveals similarity with Znamyanska and Solomyansky rayon in terms of a great number of young women there who are willing to live and work in Europe (41,3 percent). Staying in Ukraine but outside Novovodolaz'ka and going to Europe are most equally popular (27,4 percent and 28,6 percent respectively).

The percentage of young women willing to stay in a home area is above 40 percent in case of all research localities except for Zbaraz. The latter differs tremendously as only 12,7 percent young women there do not mind staying there. Going to another part of the country is most popular with

Zbaraz and Novovodolaz'ka (30,3 percent and 27,4 percent respectively). Europe is seen as a popular destination place in all research localities with scores ranging between 36,6 percent - 42,0 percent. Unlike the three other research localities with popularity of Europe to live and work in over 36 percent, up to the third part (28,6 percent) of young women from Novovodolaz'ka (the most remote from Europe area) are willing to go to Europe. In general other countries rather than Europe do not sound appealing for young women from those research localities. Scores are under 10% with an exception of Zbaraz where 18,9 percent of young women were told to be willing to go to non-European countries.

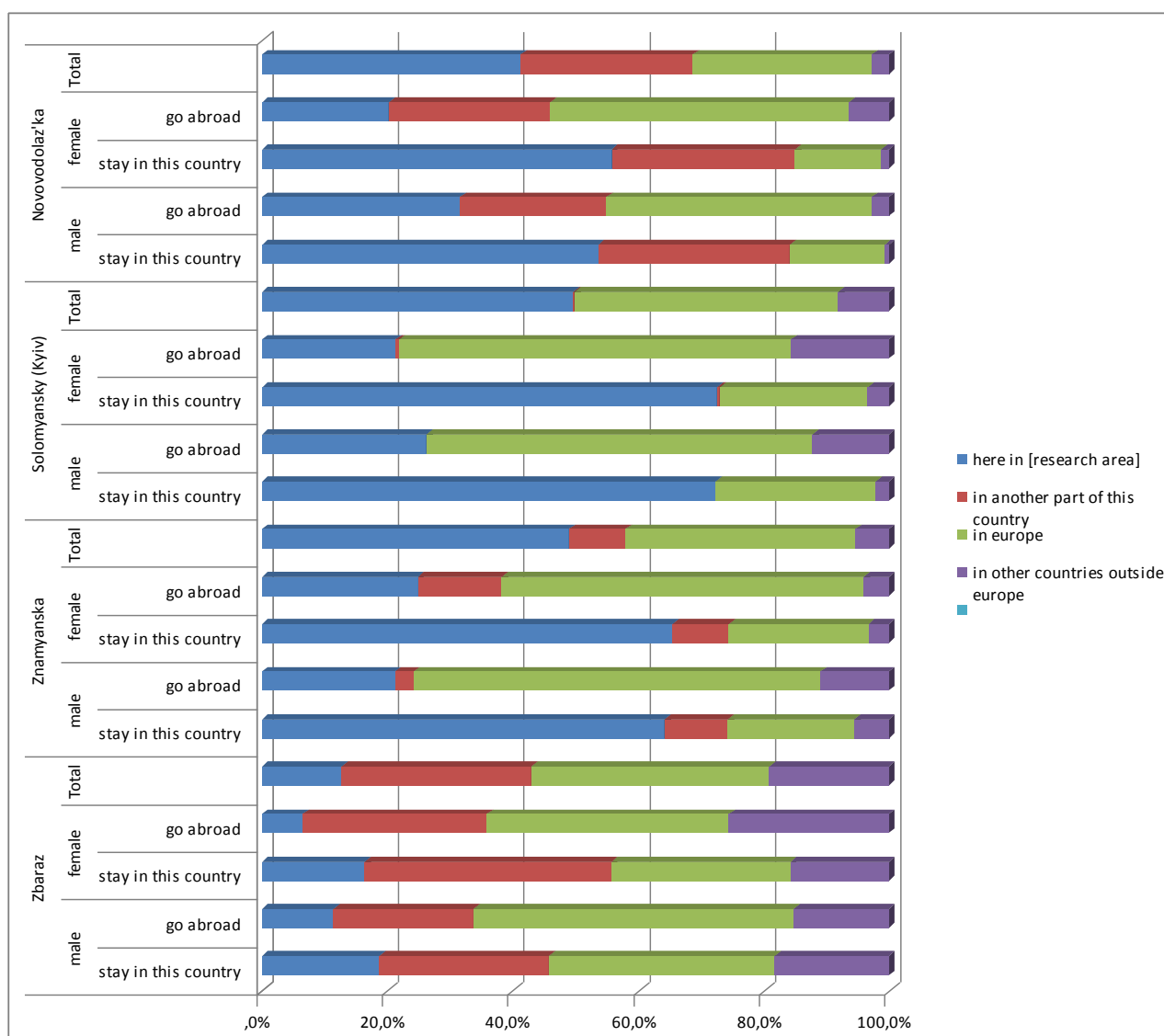
Zbaraz demonstrates the strongest wish of young women to migrate. Despite the fact that a great number of them would like to stay in the home country however moving to another part of it, thus still a total percentage of those willing to go to Europe and to countries outside Europe makes up 57 percent jointly. Europe is equally highly attractive for young women from Znamyanska and Solomyansky rayon, with the latter scoring Europe much higher (42 percent) in comparison to 36,6 percent in Znamyanska. Internal migration is generally (8,7percent in total) more attractive than going to countries outside Europe. This is true for all research localities except for Novovodolaz'ka.

Finally, the percentage of young women eager to stay and those eager to leave for Europe turned to be very close (38,4 percent and 36,3 percent correspondingly). Unexpected findings are similar scores given to the option of going to Europe and staying in the country (but moving to another part of it) in Novovodolaz'ka. They are 27,4 percent and 28,6 percent respectively.

Table A11 And where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work?

			where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work			
			here in [research area]	in another part of this country	in Europe	in other countries outside Europe
Zbaraz	male	stay in this country	18,7%	27,1%	36,1%	18,1%
		go abroad	11,4%	22,4%	51,0%	15,1%
	female	stay in this country	16,4%	39,4%	28,5%	15,7%
		go abroad	6,6%	29,3%	38,7%	25,4%
	Total		12,7%	30,3%	38,1%	18,9%
Znamyanska	male	stay in this country	64,2%	10,1%	20,2%	5,5%
		go abroad	21,2%	3,0%	64,9%	10,9%
	female	stay in this country	65,5%	9,0%	22,3%	3,2%
		go abroad	24,9%	13,4%	57,8%	3,9%
	Total		49,0%	9,1%	36,6%	5,2%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay in this country	72,5%		25,5%	2,0%
		go abroad	26,3%		61,6%	12,1%
	female	stay in this country	72,7%	,4%	23,6%	3,4%
		go abroad	21,4%	,5%	62,7%	15,5%
	Total		49,7%	,3%	42,0%	8,1%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay in this country	53,6%	30,6%	15,1%	,6%
		go abroad	31,7%	23,4%	42,4%	2,6%
	female	stay in this country	55,8%	29,2%	13,8%	1,1%
		go abroad	20,3%	25,7%	47,6%	6,4%
	Total		41,3%	27,4%	28,6%	2,7%

Figure A11 And where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work?



A28 If a person from Ukraine were to go to live or work abroad, which country do you think it would be best to go to?

This section analyses the prime prospective destination countries of the respondents if they would be given an opportunity to migrate. In Zbaraz the USA was mentioned by 31,6 percent and by far exceeds mentions of European countries; it is followed by Italy (18,7 percent), Germany (11,8 percent), the United Kingdom (10,7 percent) and Canada (5,1 percent). In Znamyanska, the prime possible destination countries are Italy (18,5 percent), Russia (18 percent), Germany (17 percent), Poland (6,5 percent) and France (6,3 percent). Canada (2 percent) and USA (5,4 percent) are no popular destinations. In Solomyansky, Kyiv, Germany (20,8 percent) seems the most attractive country followed by Italy (9,4 percent) and the United Kingdom (8,6 percent), the USA was mentioned by 8,8 percent and Canada by 7,1 percent. In Novovodolaz'ka, mentioned were Russia (21,3 percent), Germany (20,5 percent), Italy (10,4 percent) and France (9,4 percent), mentioned most frequently compared to the other research areas. The USA and Canada were only mentioned by 4 percent each.

Hence, the US is the most frequently mentioned dream destination country²⁷. Italy turned out to be the most attractive European country in Zbaraz and Znamyanska, Germany is rather popular in Solomyansky rayon and Novovodolaz'ka. Czech Republic and Poland, scoring higher than in other research localities, are mentioned by Znamyanska respondents. Russia is most popular in Znamyanska and Novovodolaz'ka. Whilst respondents in the other two research localities do not perceive Russia as an attractive country for living and working. Scores differ tremendously, from 18,1-21,3 percent in localities which are prone to migrating to Russia and 2-3,2 percent in localities where Russia is seen as unattractive. Surprisingly, Poland, Ukraine's largest EU neighbouring country turned out to be not popular (5-6 percent). Spain and Czech Republic, another neighbour, are at the bottom of the list of mentioned countries and are not amongst the top-five priority countries in any research locality.

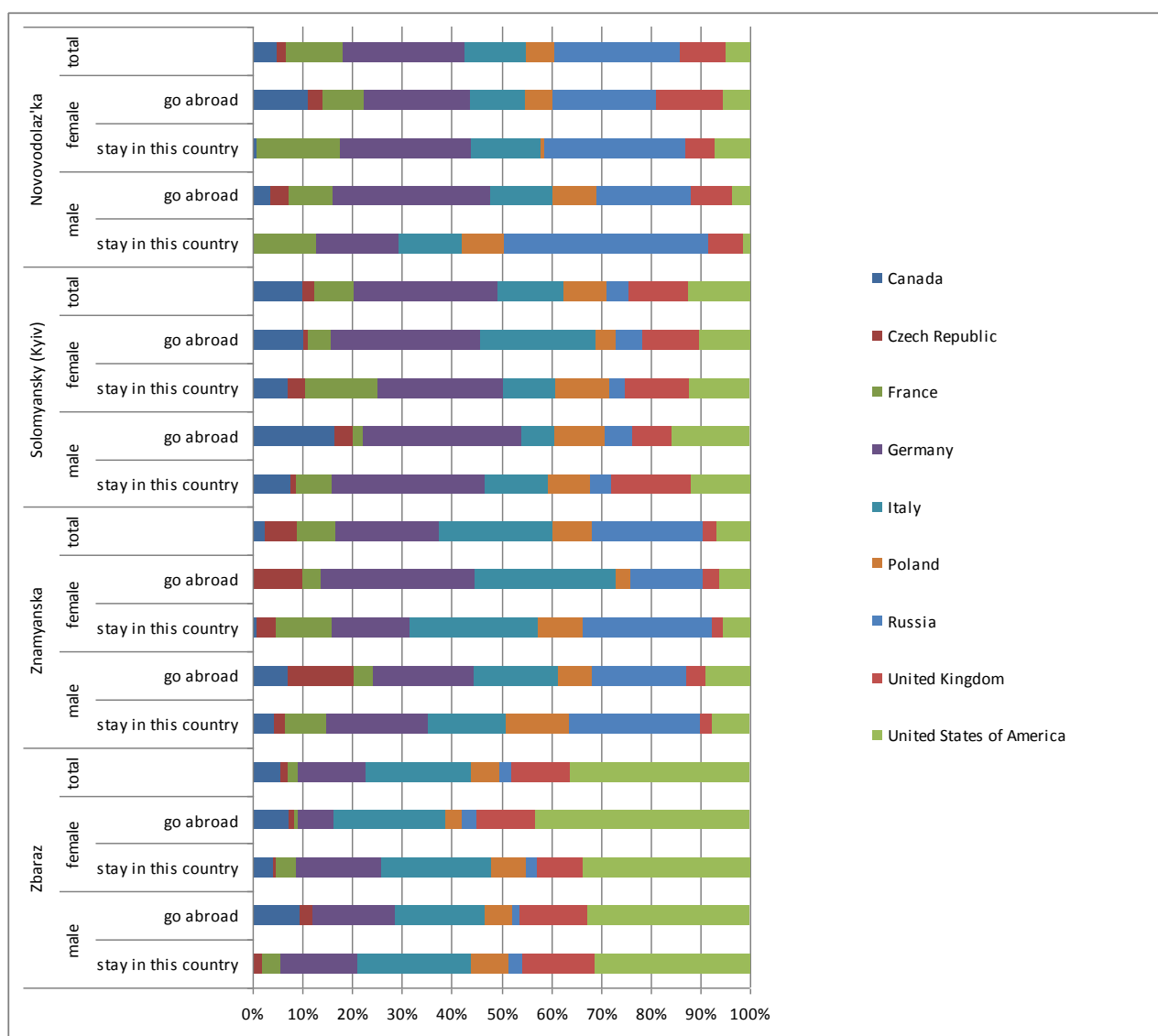
In general people from all research localities most often aspire to go to Germany, Italy and USA whilst Russia ranks fourth, mostly due to its popularity in Znamyanska and Novovodolaz'ka; the latter is the most geographically proximate to Russia. In contrast, Ukraine has close to zero score, 0,2 percent; this demonstrates the extremely unpopularity of Ukraine.

Table A28 If a person from Ukraine were to go to live or work abroad, which country do you think it would be best to go to? (select countries)

			if a [person from this country] were to go to live or work abroad, which country (select countries)								
			Canada	Czech Republic	France	Germany	Italy	Poland	Russia	UK	USA
Zbaraz	male	stay	0,0%	1,6%	3,2%	12,9%	19,4%	6,5%	2,4%	12,1%	26,6%
		go	8,1%	2,2%	0,0%	14,1%	15,2%	4,9%	1,1%	11,9%	27,7%
	female	stay	3,6%	0,5%	3,6%	15,3%	19,4%	6,3%	1,8%	8,1%	29,8%
		go	6,7%	0,8%	0,8%	6,3%	20,6%	2,9%	2,5%	10,9%	39,1%
	total		5,1%	1,2%	1,8%	11,8%	18,8%	5,0%	2,0%	10,5%	31,6%
Znamyanska	male	stay	3,3%	1,8%	6,5%	16,0%	12,4%	9,9%	20,7%	1,9%	5,9%
		go	5,6%	10,6%	3,2%	16,2%	13,7%	5,4%	15,3%	3,1%	7,1%
	female	stay	0,8%	3,0%	9,5%	12,8%	21,4%	7,3%	21,4%	1,8%	4,5%
		go	0,0%	8,3%	3,3%	26,0%	23,7%	2,6%	12,2%	2,7%	5,2%
	total		2,0%	5,3%	6,3%	17,0%	18,5%	6,5%	18,1%	2,3%	5,4%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	male	stay	5,3%	0,8%	5,2%	21,9%	9,0%	6,1%	3,0%	11,4%	8,4%
		go	11,3%	2,5%	1,3%	21,9%	4,4%	6,9%	3,6%	5,6%	10,6%
	female	stay	5,3%	2,7%	11,1%	19,4%	8,0%	8,3%	2,6%	9,8%	9,3%
		go	6,9%	0,5%	3,1%	20,6%	15,7%	2,7%	3,8%	7,6%	7,1%
	total		7,1%	1,7%	5,7%	20,8%	9,4%	6,1%	3,2%	8,6%	8,8%
Novovodolaz'ka	male	stay	0,0%	0,0%	10,1%	13,5%	10,2%	7,0%	32,9%	5,6%	1,1%
		go	3,1%	3,1%	7,6%	26,7%	10,7%	7,6%	16,0%	7,0%	3,1%
	female	stay	0,7%	0,0%	14,3%	22,7%	12,1%	0,7%	24,3%	5,3%	6,0%
		go	9,2%	2,3%	6,8%	17,7%	9,0%	4,6%	17,1%	11,1%	4,5%
	total		4,0%	1,5%	9,4%	20,5%	10,4%	4,8%	21,3%	7,7%	4,0%

Figure A28 If a person from Ukraine were to go to live or work abroad, which country do you think it would be best to go to? (selected countries)

²⁷ In all research localities America and USA were mixed up. Since countries of the North and South America generate very low percentages (far below under 1 percent), it may be assumed that America is synonymous for USA.



In addition, the director of the Department on Refugees (SMS) believes that people from Eastern Ukraine tend to go to Russia. She explained that “people move to the Russian Federation or to the countries of CIS where they also can apply their knowledge more effectively”. S/he also noted that some people might find it easier to get established professionally in Russia ‘due to language knowledge, common features of mentality and worldviews’. Friendship and family ties also play a role when deciding to go abroad, however this is not a decisive factor, according to her. She added that the role of family ties and friends ‘perhaps [...] plays a role, but I don’t think that it’s the tendency’.

Another respondent explained:

‘My friend’s husband has been going abroad for many years now, but he goes to Russia. He is there all the time. But he also was taken there by recommendation. And I know they pay there, a few people rent a room somewhere in the Moscow suburbs and go to the centre to their work place by trains all the time. And so they live on the money he makes there. Well, they live well, of course, I can’t say anything bad about it. For the time her husband has been working there, my friend... well, she also has a job – she is a teacher at our boarding school... so they have their own apartment, and for the money he had made they bought another apartment’ [44127, Novovorodolaz’ka research area].

5. LIFE SATISFACTION

Key findings:

- The respondents are dissatisfied with their financial status whilst most are satisfied with their social life. Although 45,6 percent are dissatisfied with their financial situation only 25 percent express overall life dissatisfaction. This points to the strong influence of non monetary factors of life satisfaction
- People dissatisfied with life have higher intention to migrate (the respondents from high-emigration area express lower life satisfaction compared to other research areas).

In most international surveys, Ukraine's "life satisfaction" ranks the lowest in the world²⁸. People usually migrate because of their low level of living and we can reasonably assume that people dissatisfied with life have a higher propensity to migrate.

L1. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days

This question was intended to find out about peoples' life satisfaction (Table 5.1). Their levels of satisfaction was compared within four research areas across the factors gender and migration aspirations.

Table 5.1. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days

	All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these day				
	very unsatisfied	rather unsatisfied	neither unsatisfied nor satisfied	rather satisfied	very satisfied
Novovorolaz'ka	4.4%	19.9%	32.3%	41.1%	2.4%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	2.4%	18.0%	36.3%	38.2%	5.1%
Znamyanska	5.4%	27.8%	35.6%	29.5%	1.7%
Zbaraz	4.5%	18.5%	45.1%	28.6%	3.4%
Total	4.2%	21.0%	37.3%	34.3%	3.1%

More than one third of the respondents say that they are neither unsatisfied nor satisfied (37.3 percent). This "average" life satisfaction can be confirmed by the informant's comment from Znamyanska research area:

"The quality of life is average, I won't call it high, because people have low salaries. Taking into account that we live in a village, many people have gardens, they work there all year round, so they don't have to spend money on food..." [42204, Znamyanska research area].

Despite financial concerns and lack of jobs in all research a considerable number of people, 37.4 percent says that they are rather satisfied or very satisfied with their lives as a whole these days. It should be noted in this regard that respondents are more likely satisfied with their social life:

'I.: Well, and are you satisfied with your life?

R.: To be honest, I am satisfied. For example, if we in general take my objective point of view – I am satisfied because I have friends and work here, thanks to God. I am doing sports here.

²⁸ "Regardless of the region they live in, 62% of the Ukrainians are not happy with their life. Thirty-five percent are satisfied with their life... Research & Branding Group said, commenting on a poll of Aug. 12-22, 2011. The Group interviewed 2,075 Ukrainians in 24 regions of Ukraine and Crimea. Seventy percent described the current economic position of Ukraine as bad, 28% said it was medium or good, and 2% failed to answer the question. Poll: Ukrainians unhappy with domestic economic situation, their own lives <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/poll-ukrainians-unhappy-with-domestic-economic-sit.html>

Well, I am telling you, Zbaraz is my hometown, so I am satisfied with it... [41129, Zbaraz research area].

However it should be stressed that for the survey only people within the range of 18-39 years old were interviewed. In this context it is worth noting that life satisfaction is often found to be U-shaped in age which may reflect evolution of expectations over the life cycle such as optimism in young age, disappointment in middle age, and adjustment to reduced expectations in old age (Eggers²⁹, et al (nd)).

One quarter of the respondents (25.2 percent) state that they are rather unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with their life as a whole. The lowest proportion of respondents who are rather satisfied or very satisfied with their lives is in Znamyanska and Zbaraz research areas (31.2 percent and 32 percent respectively). A low level of life satisfaction in Znamyanska research area is described in our qualitative interviews.

*I.: Considering all the factors, what is the overall quality of life, in your opinion, in Znamyanska?
R.: In my opinion, very poor quality, because there is a lack of everything. The town is small, it ought to be very strongly developed, and that's why here is bad health service, one might say, and there is nowhere to study and to work too. There is a lack of everything, and we want something better –more developed town* [42109, Znamyanska research area].

As anticipated, the life satisfaction of those who living in Zbaraz, a high-emigration research area is also low. This is nicely confirmed in the qualitative interview:

'Quality of life... Quality of life, of course, we have no quality of life. Because salaries are low. It may be different in the summer, but now the heating season begins and you need everything... for example, my salary is enough only to pay for gas, for electricity, but it is not enough for phone' [41121, Zbaraz research area].

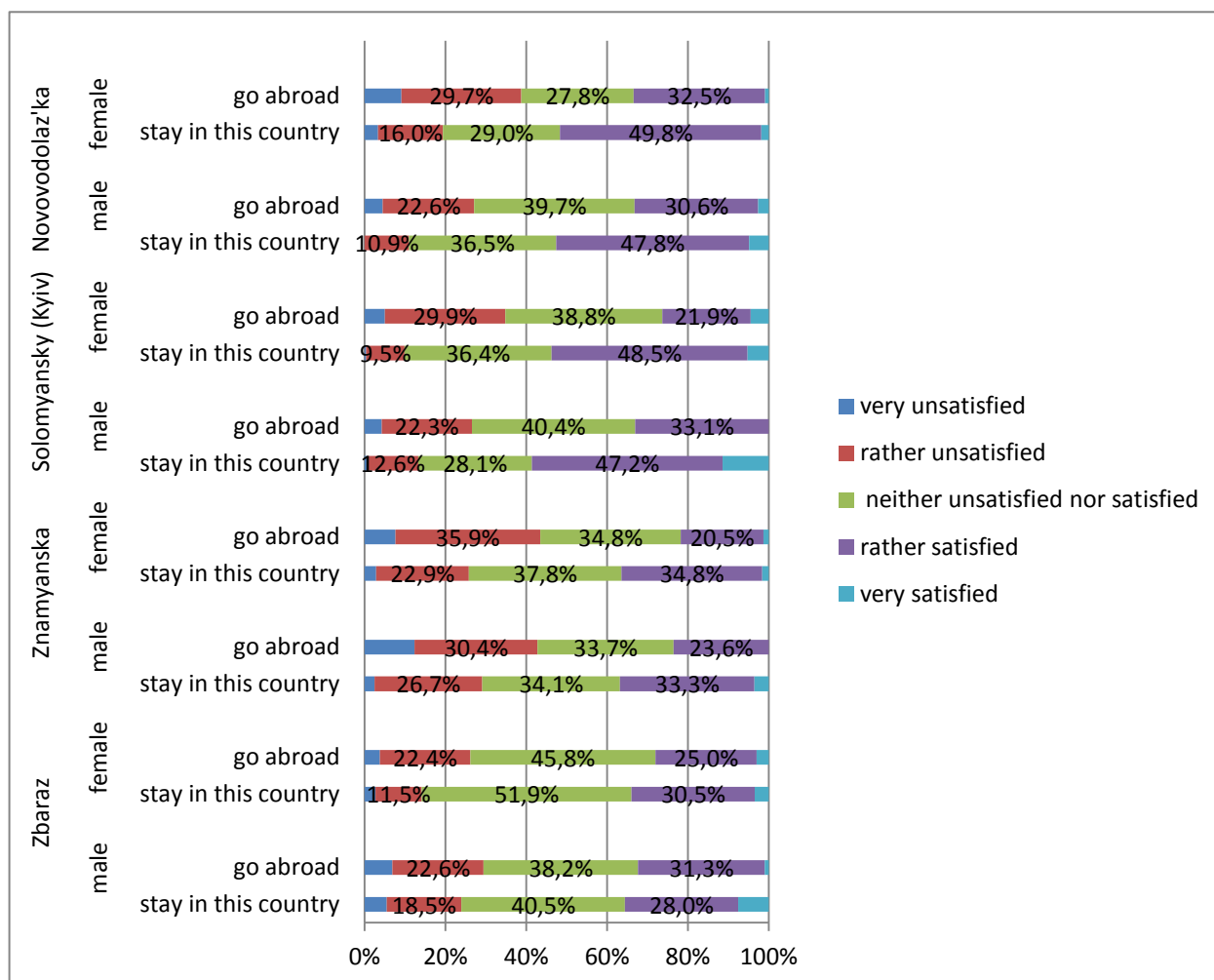
The lowest proportion of respondents who are rather unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with their lives overall is 20.4 percent in Solomyansky (Kyiv) research area. Instead, respondents in Novovodolaz'ka and Solomyansky research area reported the highest rate of satisfaction with life (43.5 percent and 43.3 percent respectively). One respondent added another attitude.

'The majority of people are more optimistically set, because everyone hopes that something will change and it will be better. I think, if you fall into pessimism, then it will be no point to live, because person wants absolutely nothing. Probably people have more optimistic views. There are hopes for better that in some time the government will change and something will change in the country and in town' [41127, Zbaraz research area].

The analysis has indicated one gender difference which is related to migration aspirations (Figure 5.1.). Women who have no migration aspirations report higher life satisfaction than do men who have no migration aspirations in three research areas.

Figure 5.1. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days

²⁹ Eggers, A., Gaddy, C., Graham, C (nd), Well being and unemployment in Russia in the 1990's: can society's suffering be individuals' solace? <http://www.brookings.org/dybdocroot/ES/dynamics/papers/russiaunemp.pdf>



It was found from qualitative interviews that the respondents are more satisfied with their social life, but less with their financial situation and generally with social security system, health care, education and economy in Ukraine. They often believe the quality of life in the European Union is better than in Ukraine. A majority of the interviews associate Europe with freedom, democracy and a high quality of life [44116, Novovodolaz'ka research area]. Moreover, the respondents believe that the economy in Europe is better than in their country.

L 2 how satisfied are you with your current financial situation?

All respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they are with their current financial situation. Table 5.2 illustrates that almost half of the respondents expresses dissatisfaction with their current financial situation (45,6 percent). Whilst the percentage of those who are rather satisfied or very satisfied with their current financial situation is low (19,7 percent) more than one third of the respondents (34,8 percent) are neither unsatisfied nor satisfied with their current financial situation.

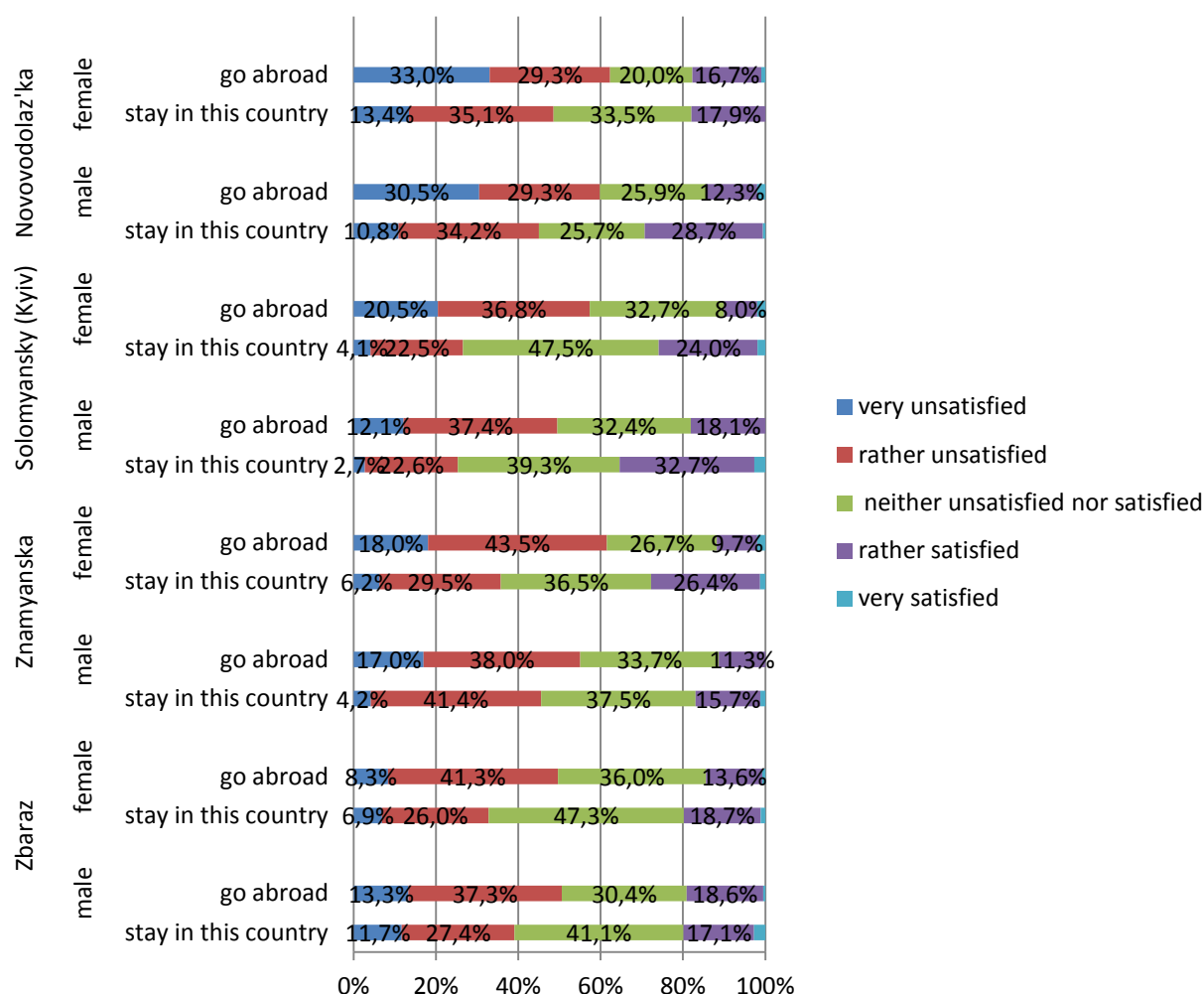
Table 5.2. How satisfied are you with your current financial situation? are you

	How satisfied are you with your current financial situation? are you				
	very unsatisfied	rather unsatisfied	neither unsatisfied nor satisfied	rather satisfied	very satisfied
Novovodolaz'ka	21.4%	32.3%	26.9%	18.8%	.8%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	9.7%	29.3%	39.0%	20.3%	1.7%

Znamyanska	10.1%	36.6%	34.2%	17.9%	1.2%
Zbaraz	9.6%	33.4%	39.0%	16.9%	1.1%
Total	12.7%	32.9%	34.8%	18.5%	1.2%

The figure 5.2 illustrates the difference among the research areas, males and females, respondents with positive migration aspirations and with no migration aspirations. It should be stressed that the highest number of people who are rather satisfied or very satisfied with their current financial situation is in Solomyansky research area (22 percent). It can be explained with the fact that there are better earning opportunities in the capital. And the high percentage of people who are rather unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with their current financial situation is Novovodolaz'ka, Znamyanska and Zbaraz research areas (53,7 percent , 46,7 percent and 43 percent respectively).

Figure 5.2. How satisfied are you with your current financial situation?



It should be noted that there is a gap in satisfaction with current financial situation between respondents with positive migration aspirations and without migration aspirations. In all research areas people who have no migration aspirations are also more satisfied with their current financial situation than people with migration aspirations. This implies that economic motivation is one of the main reasons for migration in all research areas. In general findings demonstrate that there is a significant amount of people who are dissatisfied with their income. One informant says:

"What constrains me for today is – the level of income, which I, nevertheless, get and I don't think it is excellent (providing of some public services, health care services, education). I do not consider them to be good..." [41117, Zbaraz research area].

It should be stressed that in the qualitative interviews a lot of people emphasize the current poor financial situation of the pensioners in Ukraine.

One respondent says:

“Well, I think there is a small percentage of people in Zbaraz, who have pensions on which one could live with dignity. These pensions can cover expenses for medicines, primarily because pensioners are mostly ill people, enough to pay for heating, let's say so as not to freeze, and to eat... but how to eat, I think it is already a very big issue, pensioners cannot allow themselves something extra. If pensioners have help from their children, if they live with children, perhaps someone from the family members is abroad, and there are a lot abroad, if you take the street, there is a street where family in every house or in every next in one has a family member living abroad, it is either husband or daughter, or mother is abroad, a lot. So, for example, I am currently in a college and one-third of children studying there have their parents abroad” [41116, Zbaraz research area].

It also tells us that people who work abroad financially support their families and that thus migration perceived as a way to improve family financial situation.

L3 How would you describe your health in general?

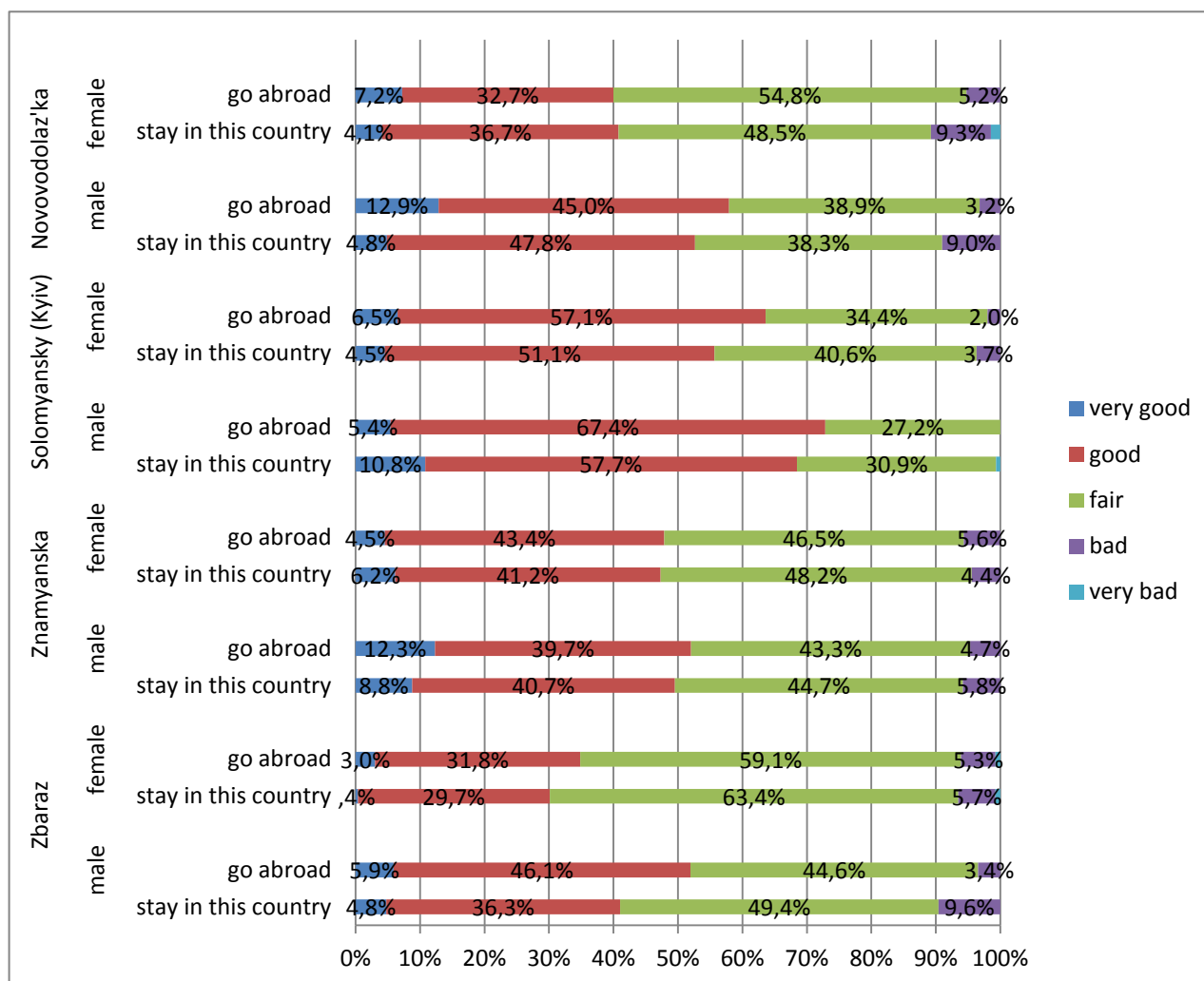
Physical health is a determining factor in quality of life and it is obviously correlated with the life satisfaction. In order to investigate how people in Ukraine satisfied with the health condition the survey asked respondents to describe their health in general. According to the survey almost half of the respondents consider their health as good or very good (49.3 percent), 45.5 percent of the respondents report that their health is ‘fair’. In contrast, only just over five percent of those interviewed say that their health is bad or very bad (Table 5.3.).

Table 5.3. How would you describe your health in general? Would you say it is...

	L3 How would you describe your health in general? Would you say it is...				
	very good	good	fair	bad	very bad
Novovodolaz'ka	6.8%	39.5%	46.2%	7.0%	.5%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	6.4%	57.4%	34.3%	1.8%	.1%
Znamyanska	7.5%	41.3%	46.2%	5.0%	.0%
Zbaraz	3.2%	35.2%	55.4%	5.7%	.5%
Total	6.0%	43.3%	45.5%	4.9%	.3%

The highest proportion of those who describe their health as good and very good is in Solomyansky (Kyiv) research area (63.8 percent) and only 1,9 percent declare that bad and very bad health in general. The highest proportion of those who describe health as fair is noted in Zbaraz research area (55.4 percent) and the highest proportion of those who describe health as bad or very bad is found in Novovodolaz'ka research area (7.5 percent). Trends according to differences between respondents with positive migration aspirations and without are not very clear. There is no clear evidence that respondents with positive migration aspirations less satisfied with their health. However it is interesting that in all research areas women are more likely than men to say they have fair health (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. How would you describe your health in general? Would you say it is...



In almost all cases, in qualitative interviews the informants believe that standards of living, stress, ecology impact on their health. They also report that they are not satisfied with the quality of medical services provided for them in Ukraine and corruption issues. This point reflected in numerous polls³⁰ and confirmed in our qualitative interviews:

"Well, with respect to health care, first and foremost, we must begin with the fact that health of Zbaraz citizens as well as the citizens of the country in general is very, very deteriorating. It is ecology, it is Chernobyl that give their results, it is also stress, and it is still standards of living and it all makes its mark on health. There are very many sick people, very many. And if we talk about the level of medical care, it remained at 70th years' level..." [41116, Zbaraz research area].

The majority of our informants confirm that corruption in healthcare sphere is one of the biggest challenge and most urgent problems in Ukraine.

*'Have you heard something that maybe somebody had to pay for medical services?
R.: Yes, I have. But it is not only in Zbaraz, I would say it is throughout Ukraine. Firstly, nobody will give you medicines for free, but it is very rarely that this can happen... Sometimes someone is provided with something or something is given to us, but it is always not enough, mostly*

³⁰ "Eight out of ten Ukrainian are not satisfied with the level of medical care. Most people, as evidenced by opinion polls, think our medicine is not social sphere, but rather sphere of business, and the shady business. How much and for what you should pay, if you, God forbid, sick - it's completely opaque area where there is no justice. A lot of drugs and medical procedures are simply not available to people with low income". http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/en/publish/article?art_id=245059185&cat_id=244851734
Speech of Prime Minister of Ukraine Mykola Azarov at a session of Government on 21 March, 2012

people have to buy it all, all that you need. When you are in a hospital you should pay a doctor. I do not know if this may be called corruption, well, actually under the law it counts as a corruption, but the doctor does not claim for this, people give by themselves. They understand that the salary is low and the doctor has to live somehow' [41112, Zbaraz research area].

'I.: ... in Ukraine health care is declared to be free. Is it really so? Should we introduce a form of health care like in Europe, for instance, as you've just said, health insurance?

R.: Well, in my opinion, we should [introduce health insurance]. We have free treatment and all that, but it doesn't really work. Because if you get to the hospital, you should pay there to a nurse so she looked after you, you should pay doctors, so that they would tell you everything, do something, test something or treat something. A fortune goes for operations too, it is very expensive here in Ukraine. For example, my friend recently gave birth, she had to pay separately to doctor, separately to obstetrician, nurse, for the ward, for all these vitamins, injections, droppers, that is to say that she paid for everything.

I.: And all these services that your friend paid for, was it paid officially?

R.: No, all of this was unofficially. Well, probably there was something officially, but, for example, for the presence of obstetrician during childbirth she has paid. She has already made arrangements directly with her in the office, there she gave her a phone number. And when the contractions have started, she called to that physician, physician arrived, since she knew that she should be there.

I.: What do you think, can it be considered as a certain level of corruption in health care service in Ukraine?

R.: Of course, because it is a bribe.

I.: Is this a quite common phenomenon?

R.: Yes' [41240, Zbaraz research area].

We found also from the qualitative interviews that some informants felt that their household income was insufficient to cover for their healthcare needs. Major concerns over pensioners who can not afford medical treatment or expensive medicines were expressed. Moreover some people do not trust Ukrainian medicines and prefer to buy foreign ones despite the fact they are more expensive.

'Well, according to health I can say that many are sick and they cannot afford treatment, and they just keep suffering, so sometimes fatal cases may happen. Well, the person has no possibility, well, let's say about pensioners, they receive, I would say, well, the pension is around 700 hryvnias. They have to pay for utilities and remain will almost nothing for a month for living. This amount of money simply is not enough. That's all. Not to mention the treatment or something else. Just the level is this low' [41118, Zbaraz research area].

'For those people who have problems with health, all that stuff, pills, chemist's still cost a lot. My grandmother is a pensioner, sometimes we have to buy her some expensive medicines, it really hits our pockets. You see, Ukrainian medicines cost less, but they take worse effect. People consider foreign ones to be more effective' [44102, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

Thus findings demonstrate that in general respondents describe their health as fair and good. This is no surprise as we only surveyed people within the age range of 18 to 39. Whilst pensioners, the most vulnerable population in terms of health were not interviewed. Nevertheless several problems were revealed in health care in Ukraine: low quality of medical services, corruption issue, and insufficient income to cover healthcare needs and services for elderly etc.

L4 if you compare the financial situation of your household with that of other households in this [village/town/city] would you say your household's financial situation is...

In order to explore the financial situation of respondents' household they were asked to compare their own household with others in their locality. According to the survey, majority of the respondents (73.8 percent) say that the financial situation of their household is the same. 17.2 percent indicate it is

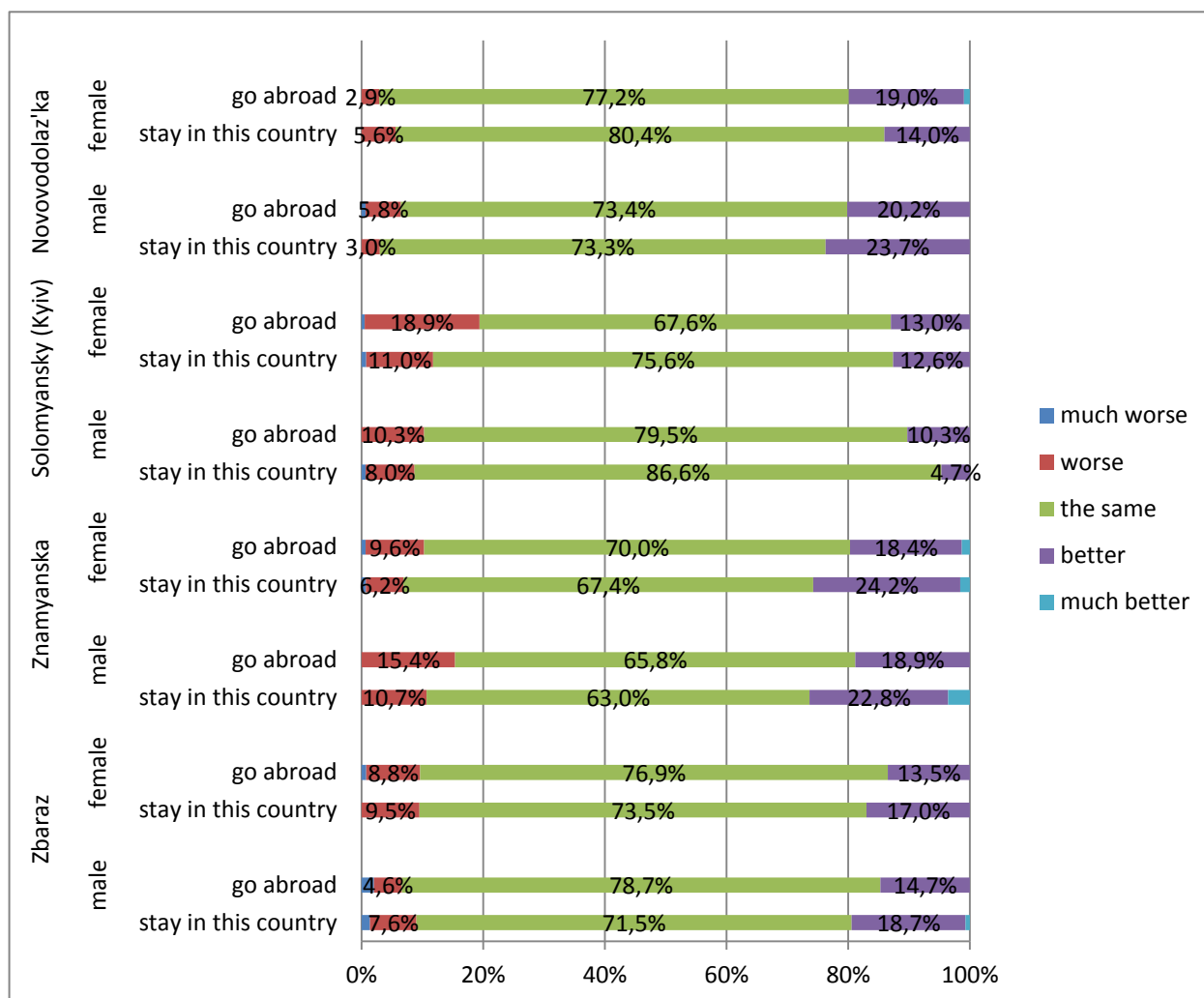
“better or much better” and 9 percent of the respondents answer that “worse or much worse” (table 5.4.). The percentage of those who is stated “better or much better” is higher in Znamyanska research area (22.4 percent). The number of people who say that the financial situation of their household “worse or much worse” is higher in Solomyansky research area (12.8 percent).

Table 5.4 if you compare the financial situation of your household with that of other households in this [village/town/city] would you say your household's financial situation is...

	If you compare the financial situation of your household with that of other households in this [village / town / city] would you say your household's financial situation is...				
	much worse	worse	the same	better	much better
Novovodolaz'ka	.1%	4.4%	76.7%	18.5%	.3%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	.5%	12.3%	76.5%	10.7%	.0%
Znamyanska	.4%	9.5%	66.6%	21.7%	1.7%
Zbaraz	.9%	7.8%	75.4%	15.7%	.1%
Total	.5%	8.5%	73.8%	16.7%	.5%

It should be noted that respondents who are more negative about financial situation of their household and say “it is worse or much worse” have positive migration aspirations almost in all research areas except women in Novovodolaz'ka research area (Figure 5.4.)

Figure 5.4 If you compare the financial situation of your household with that of other households in this [village/town/city] would you say your household's financial situation is...



It should be stressed that for majority of Ukrainians, especially those who live in small towns and villages it is very important to look at neighbours' household and compare other households with owns'. One respondent confirms:

I.: And what if your neighbour, let's say, came from abroad and bought a car or something else, would it be incentive, maybe not for you, but is it incentive for Ukrainians in general or for the resident of Zbaraz is it an incentive?

R.: For the residents of Zbaraz it would certainly be an incentive. Everyone looks at each other. If someone has something, others want also to achieve something better.

I.: So, you think there is an impact of those who are around you?

R.: Yes, it is' [41130, Zbaraz research area].

This illustrates that the achievements of migrants are a potential driver of further migration of others.

L6 when your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

In order to explore life satisfaction in terms of different time frames the survey asked respondents for the opinion on their parents' standard of living (Table 5.5.). Almost half of the respondents (47 percent) consider that standard of living of the parents was better or much better compared to theirs. The view that 'their parents' generation had a better life' is confirmed in our qualitative interviews:

'It might be that it was easier for my parents in that time. Though I am not a fan of the Soviet Union, there were a lot of shortcomings, but there was a collective farm, and parents had jobs,

had some help' [41242, Zbaraz research area].

'In the USSR everybody had a job, and collective farms were working, my mother was a doctor. It was hard to find stuff to buy, and now the situation is different – there are no jobs, but lots of stuff to buy' [44131, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

Almost one third of the respondents (28.1 percent) declare that their parents' standard of living was the same. Whilst 24.9 percent of the respondents say that it was worse or much worse. This by and large means that 47 percent of the respondents believe that living standards were higher in socialist times whilst 24,9 percent believe they are worse off in capitalist times. 28 percent don't see any change (though the respond reflects on a mixed Soviet and transition period after 1989).

Table 5.5. When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

	When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...				
	much worse than yours is now	worse than yours is now	about the same as yours is now	better than yours is now	much better than yours is now
Novovodolaz'ka	2.0%	12.6%	27.7%	40.0%	17.7%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	1.3%	22.6%	34.3%	36.8%	5.0%
Znamyanska	1.0%	19.6%	27.8%	41.4%	10.1%
Zbaraz	2.6%	38.3%	22.5%	32.2%	4.4%
Total	1.7%	23.2%	28.1%	37.7%	9.3%

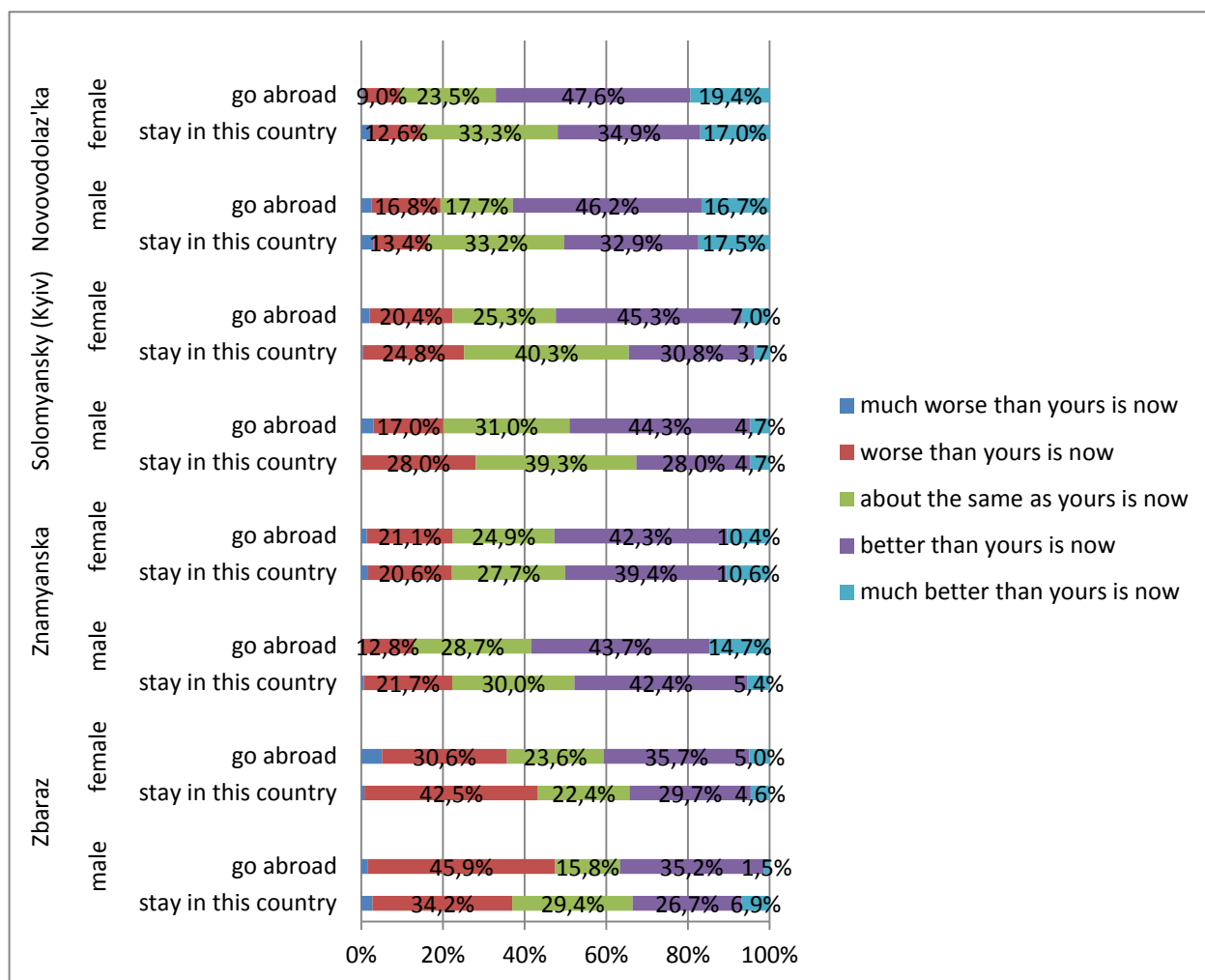
The majority of people in Novovodolaz'ka and Znamyanska research areas report that standard of living of their parents was better or much better (57.7 percent and 51.1 respectively).

'My parents say they didn't worry about how to earn money in their due time, they had everything. They could afford buying something on their salary, they bought, they saved, went on vacations. And if we have the same situation again, why then go abroad, why tempt your fates and try to find a job there?' [44127, Novovodolaz'ka research area].

There is a striking difference in respondents' opinion in Zbaraz which stand out of the overall picture. Indeed, more than 40 percent of the respondents think that standard of living of their parents was worse or much worse than theirs is now.

Figure 5.5. demonstrates that respondents with positive migration aspirations in all research areas are more critical than those without migration aspirations and consider that standard of living of their parents was better or much better (65.2 percent vs. 51,4 percent in Novovodolaz'ka research area). There is no significant gender difference in the respondents' responses.

Figure 5.5. When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...



L 7 Do you feel your standard of living is...

This question was intended to target the respondents' opinion about their outlook on standard of living. In all research areas high percentage of the respondents (44.2 percent) says that their standard of living is getting worse or much worse. A significant proportion of the respondents (almost 40 percent) believe that it staying the same. Whilst only 16.5 percent stating that it is "getting better" or "getting much better" (Table 5.6). Hence, 44.2 percent have rather pessimistic and 16,5 percent have an optimistic outlook.

Table 5.6. Do you feel your standard of living is...

	Do you feel your standard of living is...				
	getting worse	much worse	getting worse	staying same	the
Novovodolaz'ka	11.4%	45.8%	32.2%	10.6%	.0%
Solomyansky (Kyiv)	5.6%	49.1%	36.5%	8.8%	.0%
Znamyanska	4.8%	31.4%	40.4%	22.7%	.8%
Zbaraz	1.9%	27.1%	47.9%	22.4%	.7%
Total	5.9%	38.3%	39.3%	16.1%	.4%

In detail, the highest number of people (57.2 percent and 54.7 percent) of those surveyed in

Novovodolaz'ka and Solomyansky research area say that their standard of living is "getting worse" or "getting much worse" whilst the highest proportion of those who say things are "getting better" or "getting much better" is in Znamyanska and Zbaraz research area (23.5 percent and 23.1 percent respectively).

At the same time almost one third of the respondents (29 percent) in Zbaraz research area report that their standard of living is getting worse or much worse. Also it was confirmed in the qualitative interview:

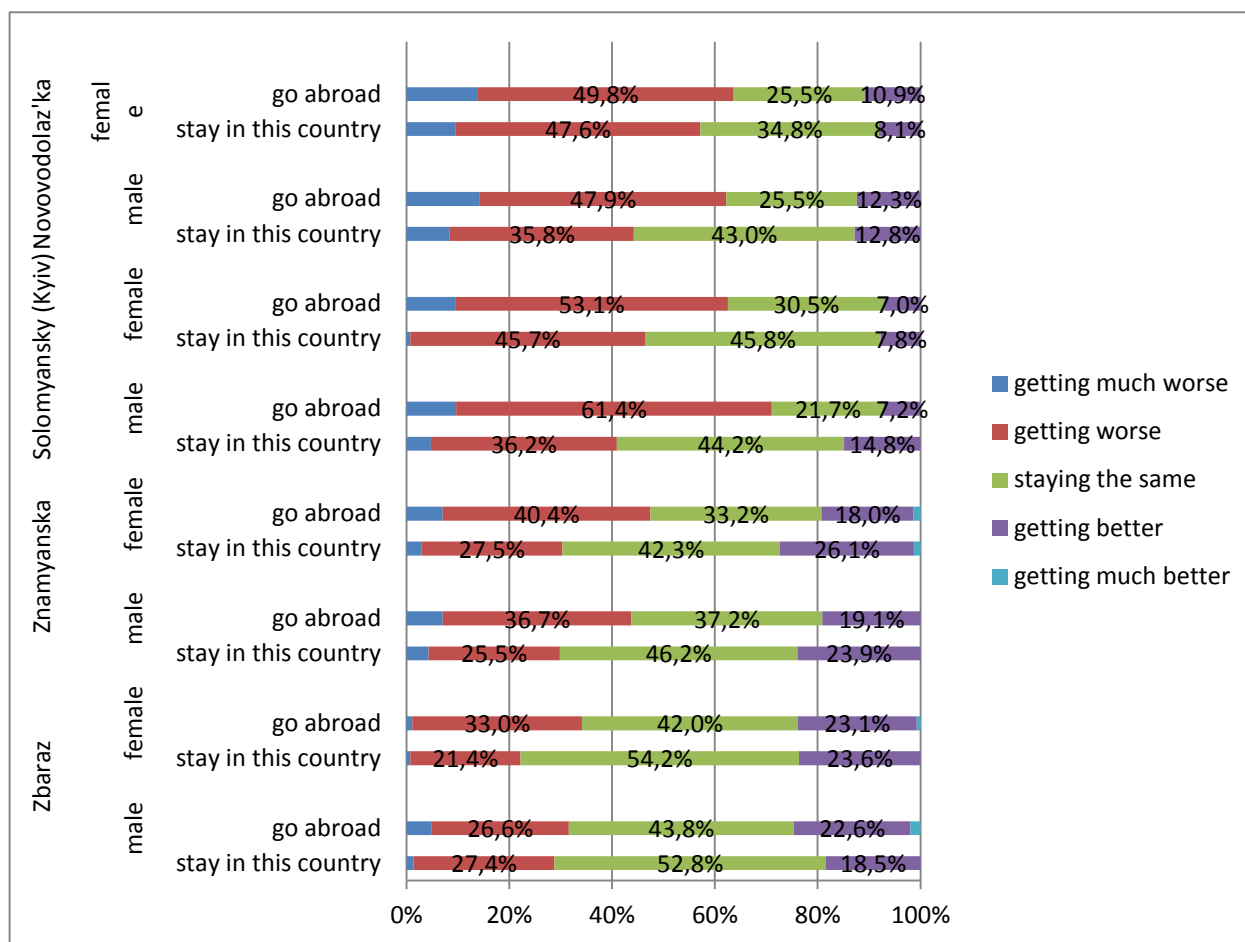
"Well, in general, of course, what can I say it is improving in some areas, but in general the average standard of living of the population falls sharply, the purchasing capacity of people is significantly decreasing. Well, still I think it is not that big problem, in comparison to the problem of Zbaraz that young people do not have their place in Zbaraz, there is no work for young people. And children for example, our children, children of Zbaraz hardly see their future in Zbaraz. I think it is a very, very big problem in Zbaraz. There is no place in education, in schools, no vacancies in hospitals...And it is a problem not only of Zbaraz, in my opinion it is a problem of the country in general and lies in a fact that the majority of employees are pensioners. For example, 80% of employees at the place where I work are pensioners and young people, who have just graduated universities, cannot get a job. This is very, very big problem. Well, in general, if we talk about life in Zbaraz, about the appearance of the city... there is also nothing good. Local authorities are absolutely not working, city mayor currently is a big problem... let's say, our city mayor is not a manager, and therefore Zbaraz residents do not feel any actions to improve city appearance from his side. [41116, Zbaraz research area]

Describing standard of life in high-emigration research area, Zbaraz respondents observe that there are some improvements due to migration:

"Basically we can say that the standards of living improved, due to the fact that Ternopil is not far from here. But it improved probably because people go abroad, send some money [back here] to their families; they of course build some houses, do something new, something like that".

Notably Figure 5.6. shows a strong link between overall pessimistic outlook and aspiration to migrate.

Figure 5.6. Do you feel your standard of living is...



Furthermore, there is a clear correlation between life dissatisfaction, socio-economic situation in country and intention to migrate was found in the qualitative interview.

"Well, today our authorities promise us that everything's going to be fine here soon. If that's true, I don't think people here will be really willing to go abroad. If we have a steady economy, and one can easily find a job, the salaries are not hold back, and the salaries are decent, than the question arises: why to migrate anywhere, why to go anywhere, if you can get everything you need at home? Thus, I find no sense in that, with good business climate, with good incomes, knowing you are going to have a well-provided old age [44127, Novovorodolaz'ka research area]."

CONCLUSION

Our findings show that there is a wide range of potential determinants that influence life satisfaction in Ukraine. Generally interviewed people distinguish two levels of life satisfaction: individual-level determinants of life satisfaction and country-level determinants of life satisfaction.

First, individual-level determinants of life satisfaction include income, personal health, marital status, education, employment status, place of residence, financial situation of household and culture. Second, country-level determinants of life satisfaction include economic policy, unemployment and inflation, control of corruption, effectiveness and stability of government, the rule of law and others.

Finally the analysis finds that there are still many problems in Ukraine which have to be solved such as corruption, poverty, poor state of ecology, education and health care and many others in order to expect that people become happier and more satisfied with life. For the time being, pessimist outlook prevail and stimulate aspiration to migrate.