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Introduction

Migration is one of the main factors that determined social, economic and demographic development of Ukraine in historical retrospective. At the current stage it continues to significantly affect international relations with neighboring countries and the European Union aiming to implement common policy in migration issues.

The main reasons of Ukrainians leaving abroad refer to political instability, redistribution of territory between the various governmental entities, search for better job opportunities and emigration of foreigners to Ukraine, which belongs to the list of states with the largest migration potential.

In Ukraine the prevailing migration form is commuting (“incomplete migration”, “mobility”) which provides return from abroad after maximum 6 months, as a rule, when a migrant has received the desired income. Central European countries have become one of the major employment areas for Ukrainians due to complex of factors - geographical, cultural and mental closeness, lower transaction costs for shuttle visits “from” and “to” Ukraine. In particular, the Slovak Republic has been attractive for the residents of Zakarpattia; although it did not provide such opportunities for employment, as for example, the neighboring Czech Republic and Poland.

Definition of the issue and the goal of the paper

Annexation of the Ukrainian Crimea by Russia in March 2014, the military-political conflict in Donbass, which began in May of the same year, and acquired characteristics of the so-called “hybrid war” have led to internal displacement of over a million of Ukrainians. In fact the international crisis, internal political instability, worsening of many social and economic indicators were additional factors that influenced the migration situation in Ukraine, particularly immigration, emigration and the ways of leaving abroad. Governmental organizations of Ukraine and neighboring states are not ready to predict social and economic effect and threats to security of Ukrainian and Slovak borderland due to migration changes. In particular, there are even no attempts to predict future actions of internally displaced people that moved from the Crimea and Donbas to Zakarpattia as the only region bordering with the Slovak Republic, which, in its turn, can be seen as the next point in their migration history.

Considering the above described challenges, it is necessary to find out qualitative and quantitative changes in Ukrainian migration during 2014–2016 directed to Central Europe, and to define their essence. In order to predict the migration situation at the Ukrainian-Slovak border and to create an effective public policy on potential threats to security and social and economic stability in this area, it is necessary to solve the following tasks:

- 1) to clarify changes or their absence in quantitative and qualitative characteristics of Ukrainian migration to the EU, the ways of leaving to the Central European countries, including internally displaced persons (hereinafter – IDP);
- 2) to determine the quantitative parameters and motivation to move to Zakarpattya of internally displaced persons (hereinafter – IDP), and to organize assumptions on their next steps to choose/stabilize place of residence;
- 3) to identify current trends of illegal migration to the EU countries bordering with Zakarpattya;
- 4) to develop short-term migration scenarios of the Ukrainian–Slovak border situation in 2014–2016, including the list of factors that will influence the mobility of people from Ukraine;
- 5) to make recommendations to the Ukrainian and Slovak authorities on the migration policy contents adjustment.

Previous research results

The theory of human capital has been most commonly used to explain the reasons of modern migration in Ukraine and the entire Central and Eastern European region. According to the theory, personal social and demographic characteristics - age, sex, civil status, education, skills, employment, and social connections are an important factor for the decision to leave, to choose the country for migration and its model - commuting or on permanent basis. Concurrently, as the concept of cumulative causation explains, migration is a constant phenomenon supported by networks factors, migration culture, and distribution of human capital. Despite the fact, that the decision to migrate is made by individuals or families, it has huge total social effects.¹ Moreover, in recent years the Ukrainian migration to the European countries acquired attributes of “floating migration”, i.e. many citizens have chosen individual strategies to search for “the place under the

¹ L. Kurekova, *From job search to skill search: political economy of labor migration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Budapest: CEU, 2011, 245 p.

sun". They do not develop social ties with their native and host country.² Corruption is another essential factor contributing to migration and loss of human potential.³ Scientists see inefficiency of EU countries' and the entire continent migration policy, and the absence of citizens' mobility strategic vision in the future.⁴

The latest studies have identified a number of trends - including new ones - in Ukrainian migration during 2014–2016, namely: prevailing work migration form, "commuting" migrants tending to obtain permanent residency status, and a new phenomenon of IDPs from Donbass and the Crimea, which solved the problem of social and economic adaptation to new living conditions in other regions.⁵

Researcher of Ukrainian migration deals with the same challenges as all the scientists who study these issues in Central and Eastern Europe. First of all, statistical data collection is complicated by objective reasons (mismatch of Ukrainian and European countries' statistical systems; border-crossing registration without searching reason thereof), which don't provide a complete picture of leaving headcounts, and leavers' motivation. EU governmental organizations record only the counts of residence or work permits, which is not sufficient to obtain exact numbers of permanent residence headcounts, not even speaking of the stay purpose (education, employment, business, or private purposes). In the countries of departure, only a small number of people officially de-register when leaving (in case of Ukraine) because of missing motivation. Official bodies have no motivation to include additional questions in statistical information forms, limiting the empirical basis for research. Statistical and other analysis of this phenomenon is complicated and thus limited also by the prevalence of commuting, and border migration.

Accordingly, in January 2017 the authors of this policy paper conducted a polling of internally displaced persons that had settled in Zakarpattia region within 2014–2016, and created a focus group consisting of the community representatives. Despite of non-representation of the data, application of qualitative methods allows for tracing individual migratory trajectories of Ukrainian immigrants to compare them with statistical data and other studies.

² A. Grzymała-Każłowska, "Migration and socio-demographic processes in Central and Eastern Europe: characteristics, specificity and internal differences," *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* Vol. 2, No. 1, June 2013, 5–12.

³ I. Lapshyna, "Corruption as a driver of migration aspirations: the case of Ukraine," *Economics and Sociology* Vol. 7, No 4, 2014, pp. 113–27.

⁴ P. Ruspini, J. Eade "A decade of EU enlargement: a changing framework and patterns of migration," *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* Vol. 3, No. 2, December 2014, pp. 5–10.

⁵ D. Drbohlav, M. Jaroszewicz, eds, *Ukrainian migration in times of crisis: forced and labor mobility*, Prague: Charles University, 2016. Available online: <http://europewb.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/ukrainianmigrationintimeofcrisis-161207182925.pdf> (accessed on December 6, 2016).

Problem analysis and existing policy

Ukrainian migration trends 2012–2016

Since 2010, Ukraine has been on the list of TOP-15 countries which citizens received most permits for legal residence in EU countries. In 2010, total 45,660 Ukrainian citizens received this status vs 31,505 in 2011; 26,249 in 2012; and 25,871 persons in 2013. In 2013, Ukrainians received most residence permits among other ethnic communities; thereof 64 per cent of permits were issued for work purpose. According to Eurostat data, 635 thousand of Ukrainians stayed in EC territory during this period.⁶

In 2012, the biggest recipient countries of the Ukrainian immigrants were Russian Federation (43.2 per cent), Poland (14.3 per cent), Italy (13.2 per cent) and Czech Republic (12.9 per cent), but the share of permits issued by Poland, became the biggest in the following year.⁷

In general, Ukrainians preferred commuting type of migration before the Revolution of Dignity in 2013–2014, refusing to break ties with the relatives, other social communities, and “little” and “big” homelands. Short-term trips up to 6 months abroad for employment accounted for 48.5 per cent of all migration cases.

Due to immigration amnesties in southern European countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece), and the introduction of a new liberal legislation (Russia, Poland) in the beginning of 2010, the number of illegal migrants from Ukraine started to decrease: their share in 2012 was only 20.4 per cent of individuals.

Main migration factors during that period included: low chances to ensure an adequate level of income in Ukraine; social and legal insecurity of citizens; corruption, poor confidence in the state institutions, and lack of confidence in the future.

Starting from 2014 when the internal political crisis and Revolution of Dignity became the reason of the Crimea annexation and the launch of “hybrid war” by Russia, political instability, and lack of sufficient guarantees for the citizens’ security, rights, freedom and property added to the migration causes.

⁶ “Immigration in EU,” *Eurostat*, June 10, 2015. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/docs/infographics/immigration/migration-in-eu-infographic_en.pdf (accessed on December 11, 2016).

⁷ “Migration as the development factor in Ukraine: on the basis of the study results performed on order,” IOM, December 5, 2016. Available online: http://iom.org.ua/sites/default/files/infographics_15-03-16_ukr.pdf (accessed on December 11, 2016).

Despite the lack of accumulated official data, it can be confirmed that in 2014 the number of issued EU residence permits for Ukrainians increased by 30 per cent in average, with Poland on the top with 60 per cent increase rate (247,000 people).

According to the Delphi method based expert assessment, in 2014 the total number of migrants from Ukraine to EU states was about 1.1 mil. people, 386,000 of which resided in Central European countries. In the Visegrad Group context, the largest number of Ukrainian migrants was in Poland – about 240,000 people, Czech Republic – 112,000 people, Hungary – 18,000, and Slovakia – 16,000 people.⁸ At the beginning of 2016 International Organization for Migration (IOM) totaled 668,000 migrants from Ukraine and approximately 310,000 people were classified as potential migrants.

“Hybrid war” with Russia and other threats to security and stability in Ukraine described above led to emerging new migration trends. Thus, increase in political asylum seekers abroad represented a new factor unknown in Ukraine before 2014: in the EU territory 14,040 Ukrainians applied for it (vs 1,080 in 2013).⁹ Maximum headcount – 22,040 was reached in 2015 with started declination in the year after: headcount of Ukrainian asylum seekers in the EU in the 1st half of 2016 amounted to 7,030 persons (Table 1).¹⁰

At the same time, different forms of protection were provided to only 22 per cent of applicants: EU countries perceived the conflict in Donbas as the one that does not affect the main part of Ukrainian territory but of secondary importance compared to security threats of Syria and Eritrea residents.

Table 1. Number of applications for asylum by Ukrainian citizens in the EU countries (2011–1st half of 2016)

Countries/years	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016 (1 st half)
EU (28 countries)	940	1,095	1,055	14,060	22,040	7,030

The trend that emerged in the last year can be explained by Ukrainians returning to the work migration model as an optimal migration in search

⁸ M. Jaroszewicz, “Recent trends in Ukrainian migration to Poland,” in V. Benč, ed., *Current migration trends in V4 countries: focus on migration from Ukraine*, Prešov: Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2015, pp. 23–31.

⁹ “Main Ukrainian trends and figures in migration security factors influencing Ukrainian migration pattern,” Europe without barriers civic initiative. Available online: <http://www.sfpa.sk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Ukraine-Migration-overview.pdf> (accessed on June 23, 2016).

¹⁰ *Amount of Ukrainian asylum seekers in the EU in 2016 decreased*. Available online: <http://europeweb.org.ua/kilkist-ukrayinskyh-shukachiv-pryutluku-u-yes-v-2016-rotsi-zmenshylasya/> (accessed on December 5, 2016).

of temporary employment or permanent residence abroad, and also critical attitude of EU countries to possible consideration of Ukrainian citizens as potential refugees.

The IOM survey results show that within 2nd half of 2014–1st half of 2015 the number of work migrants from Ukraine amounted to 688,000 people (432,888 long-term and 246,400 seasonal). The biggest migration flows from Ukraine were directed to Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, Italy and Belarus: 80 per cent of all permits were issued for short and long stay.

In 2014 the citizens of Ukraine received most work permits among other communities in the EU – 303,000 people. The main destination was Poland, where Ukrainians received 81 per cent of all work permits, i.e. 30 per cent increase compared to 2013.¹¹ Also at the beginning of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict 17,500 Ukrainians became citizens of the EU countries, ranking on the 15th place in the EU. Most of Ukrainians obtained German citizenship (20.2 per cent), 18.9 per cent of them became Portugal citizens, 11.7 per cent settled in the Czech Republic, and 10 per cent in Poland.

The State Migration Service data positively correlate with such statistics. Increasing trend in the number of citizens leaving abroad for permanent residence was reported in Ukraine in 2014–2016: from 8,932 persons in 2014 up to 11,345 in 2015. Total 2,604 permits were issued during the 1st quarter of 2016, supporting the last year's dynamics. At the same time, also the number of people who returned to Ukraine decreased from 2,366 to 1,687 persons in 2014 and 2015, respectively (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of exit permits issued to Ukrainian citizens for permanent residence and citizens that returned from abroad (2014–2016)

Permits/persons	2014	2015	First quarter of 2016
Number of permits issued to Ukrainian citizens to leave abroad for permanent residence	8,932	11,345	2,604
Number of persons that returned to Ukraine after long stay abroad	2,366	1,687	1,687

Source: State Migration Service of Ukraine, August 25, 2016. Available online: <http://dmsu.gov.ua/statistichni-dani/2945-statystyka> (accessed on December 5, 2016).

¹¹ “Residence permits statistics,” Eurostat. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Residence_permits_statistics (accessed on June 15, 2016).

In summary, new trends of migration from Ukraine reported within 2014–2016 can be confirmed. In particular, major migration flows were deflected from Russia and headed to the European Union, despite of major flow of refugees that left Donbas during the conflict to the eastern neighbor, departure from Ukraine of specialists in the field of IT technology, medicine, business, and expansion of trend to get higher education abroad also by the children of migrant workers who already work in the EU. New factor of migration to the neighboring Central European countries was the departure of young men trying to avoid military mobilization.

However, the basic form and motivational component of migration left unchanged: numerical superiority of migration for work, including commuting, economic factors, and the lack of opportunities in Ukraine to get sufficient income as a prerequisite to leave abroad.

Migration from Ukraine to Slovakia: latest trends

In addition to Southern Europe, Russia and *the Visegrad countries* (Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia) represent the most popular area for Ukrainian migration. Along with economic, social, psychological and demographic reasons, the interest to stay in V4 countries resulted from the advantages provided by the Hungarian and Polish governments to ethnic compatriots, by the mechanism of local border traffic, and liberal seasonal work conditions, particularly in Poland.

Looking back in time, the number of migrants in Central Europe decreased as a result of the global economic crisis in 2008–2009: in particular, the number of officially accounted Ukrainians decreased from 102,285 people (2008) to 68,950 (2011). This trend is also explained by the fact that some migrants were granted the right for permanent residence or entrepreneur status, while a part of them became illegal immigrants after the permit expiry.

Headcount of Ukrainians in Visegrad countries after the Revolution of Dignity is only based on expert assessments, taking into account the lack of reliable statistics. Accordingly, 240,000 Ukrainians had residence permits in Poland in 2014, 112,000 in the Czech Republic, 18,000 in Hungary and 16,000 people in Slovakia. Thus, if during this period the total number of Ukrainians in the EU was approx. 1.1 mil. people, then 386,000 migrants were in the “Visegrad region.” Poland was even ahead of the Russian Federation in the following year with 30.4 per cent of issued residence permits¹².

¹² J.M. Godzimirski, L. Puka, M. Stormowska, “Has the EU learnt from the Ukrainian crisis? Changes to security, energy and migration governance,” The Polish Institute of International Affairs, Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, February 2015, p. 32.

According to the Eurostat data, Ukrainian citizens represented significant proportion of foreigners in the V4 countries in 2015. The largest community of immigrants from Ukraine accounts for 100,700 and 24.2 per cent of all foreigners in the Czech Republic, compared to Hungary (42,000 and 8.8 per cent), Slovakia (10,100 and 5.7 per cent) (data not available for Poland).¹³

The Slovak Republic has never been a “top destination” but rather a transit country for migrants. It is explained by the limited job market, and lower wage levels than the EU average. However, since accession in EU in 2004, their number had increased from 22,108 to 67,877 persons in 2012.

By the end of 2011, when the last census was carried out, 71,348 of foreigners or 1.32 per cent of the population permanently resided in the territory of the Slovak Republic. The most numerous communities were Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, and Romanians. In the last year, the number of foreigners legally living in the country amounted to 93,247 persons or 1.72 per cent of the Slovak population, referring to slow but steady increase in the migrants share on the population.

Ukrainians represent the sixth largest group of migrants, amounting to 3,915 persons or 5.49 per cent of all foreigners in 2011. In 2015, 10,100 Ukrainians officially stayed in the country on a permanent and temporary basis. This sharp increase is explained by the fact that Slovakia issued 9,000 legal stay permits to Ukrainians in the 1st half of 2015 that is by 23.4 per cent more than before the Ukrainian crisis. Such dynamics can be explained by the military and political conflict outbreak in Ukraine, and thus increase in the number of those wishing to settle in the neighboring country, and also by other reasons – especially by the employment opportunities for the Ukrainians, including professional positions in medicine, and IT industry.¹⁴

By the end of 2016 total 13,024 citizens of Ukraine enjoyed the stay permits in Slovakia, thereof 9,328 received temporary residence permit and 3,582 persons received permanent residence permit. This is the highest rate among the citizens from third countries with generally the highest temporary stay rate among the foreigners. In 2016, Ukrainians got the most residence permits in Slovakia (5,808), thereof 5,315 were temporary and 466 were permanent residence permits. The Slovak consular offices also issued high number of visas in that year (39,192), compared to 46,148 visas in 2015.¹⁵ Moreover, some of the Ukrainians stay in Slovakia on illegal grounds, in particular due to expired visa.

¹³ “Main countries of citizenship and birth of the foreign/foreign-born population,” Eurostat, January 1, 2015. Available online: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/.../images/.../Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics_YB2016.xlsx (accessed on December 5, 2016).

¹⁴ “Migranti na Slovensku,” [Migrants in Slovakia] IOM. Available online: <http://mhc.iom.sk/atlas/o-atlase/migranti-na-slovensku> (accessed on September 6, 2016).

¹⁵ “Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike,” [Statistical Overview of legal and illegal migration in the Slovak Republic] Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic. Available online: <http://www.minv.sk/?rocniky> (accessed on January 31, 2017).

According to the government organizations' data, there's been noticeable trend of increasing Ukrainians headcount officially working in Slovakia in recent years - before and after the military-political conflict outbreak in the Eastern Ukraine, e.g. 501 persons in 2008, 929 persons in 2010, 971 persons in 2012 and 1,462 work migrants from Ukraine in 2015.¹⁶

Concurrently, the share of Ukrainians who applied for political asylum in Slovakia was not significant during the ongoing political and military conflict with Russia, and the number of satisfied requests was generally insignificant, reflecting the pan-European trends and asylum policy of Bratislava (Table 3). Thus, of total 58,467 applicants, Slovakia granted asylum only to 820 persons during the period of 1993–2016 while further 684 received other forms of international protection.¹⁷

Table 3. Number of Ukrainians applying for political asylum in the Slovak Republic (during 2013–2016)¹⁷

Number of applicants/ Year	Number of applications submitted by Ukrainians	Number of satisfied Ukrainian applications for asylum	Total number of applications from the citizens of all countries	Number of satisfied applications of all foreigners for asylum
2013	14	0	441	15
2014	24	0	331	14
2015	25	1	330	8
2016	25	2	146	167

The majority of Ukrainian citizens working in Slovakia are residents of border Zakarpattya region. This, at least, was evidenced by Slovak expert estimates, because of missing official data in the area where Ukrainians leave the country. However, they assume that residing or working in Slovakia can be explained by the territorial proximity, lack of cultural conflicts, and not by the military and political conflict outbreak, except the men that avoid military mobilization.¹⁸

One could argue with trend of leaving for permanent residence abroad that emerged during 2014–2016 in Zakarpattya (Table 4). After nearly double growth in this form of immigration in 2015, the figure has stabilized in 2016 and reached levels of 2014 with 976 people leaving the region.

¹⁶ D. Drbohlav, M. Jaroszewicz, op. cit.

¹⁷ "Štatistiky: Azyl a migrácia," [Statistics: Asylum and migration] Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic. Available online: <http://www.minv.sk/?statistiky-20> (accessed on September 6, 2016).

¹⁸ Dušan Drbohlav, Marta Jaroszewicz, op. cit.

Table 4. Number of permanent residence permits issued in the Zakarpattia region (2014–2016)¹⁹

Year / Number of Exits	2014	2015	2016
		976	1610

Hungary, Germany, Israel, the Czech Republic, and the United States of America represent major emigration destinations. At the same time, the number of citizens who returned for permanent residence in Ukraine increased, especially from the main Zakarpattia immigrant recipient countries, as mentioned above.

Table 5. Number of the Zakarpattia region residents returning for permanent residence (2014–2016)²⁰

Year / Number of returns	2014	2015	2016
		92	67

The biggest number of exits was reported in Beregovo and Beregovo region: 2014 – 379 persons, 2015 – 514, and 271 in 2016. This is due to extensive Hungarian ethnic group motivated to migrate to neighboring Hungary (no language barrier, family relations, dual citizenship status, and favorable migration policy concerning immigrants with Hungarian roots). Most migrants are coming also from Uzhhorod, Uzhhorod region, Vynohradiv region because of the ethnic Hungarians clusters in these administrative and territorial districts.

Thus, given the employment liberalization conditions in recent years, Slovakia has become more attractive to Ukrainians, in particular as a convenient place for temporary employment, getting higher education. Similarly, number of compatriots finding permanent employment in the area of medicine and IT-technologies gradually increase. In fact, this dynamics is caused primarily by economic factors but migration of a large number of people due to the annexation of the Crimea and Donbas conflict. This is evidenced by a small number of applications for political asylum filed by Ukrainians in recent years.

¹⁹ Information from SMS (State Migration Service) Ukraine in Zakarpattia region dated January 16, 2017.

²⁰ Ibid

Illegal migration on the Ukrainian and EU borders

In the challenge for secure Ukrainian-Slovak state border, it is uncontrolled mass of illegal immigration that may explode the system of continental EU social stability, and radically change the situation on the labor market, representing certain threats of international terrorism expansion. On the Ukrainian-Slovak border the expansion of this situation is supported by existing channels of migrants' transportation, the practice of illegal involvement of the border communities' individuals especially in the mountains.

Illegal immigration is also facilitated by the increasing number of border crossings, which require involvement of all border service resources. Border crossings reached 2,091,621 persons in 2013 vs 2,178,153 people in 2014 and 2,307,414 in 2015. In most cases, migrants are trying to illegally cross the border outside the checkpoints; that is why other statistics should be used for determination of total headcount. Number of detained Ukrainian citizens trying to cross the Ukrainian-Slovak border illegally increased in 2013–2015 from 67 to 83 people, but foreign citizens represent major share of migrants (citizens of Ukraine crossed the borders accompanying the migrants mostly). 761 of border violators detained were mostly Afghani citizens (267 people), Georgians (150 people), Syrians (65 people), Somali and Moldavians (48 persons from each country). The main points for illegal borders-crossing migrants are: Stuzhytsya – Nova-Sedlytsya, Strychava – Ulič, Velykyi Bereznyi – Ubla, Novoselytsya – Podhorod', Perechyn – Tibava, Uzhhorod – Bežovce, Mali Selmentsi – Velké Slemence, Chop – Čierna²¹. The illegal border crossing takes primarily place outside the official border crossing points, however there were cases of migrants' transportation by helicopters during the last year.

Having been detained on the border, illegal migrants usually apply for refugee status: most of such applications were filed during 2014–2016 (Table 6). It is explained by culminating global migration crisis dated in this period. The most asylum seekers were immigrants from Afghanistan and Syria.

Table 6. Dynamics of filing and consideration of applications for refugee status in Zakarpattya (2014–2016)

Years	Applications filed	Refugee status granted	Recognized as persons requiring protection	Refugee status denied
2014	100	11	18	43
2015	110	5	10	13
2016	40	4	1	8

²¹ Chop border statistical data, February 2016.

Total 2456 immigrants were recorded by the Ukrainian State Migration authorities in the Zakarpattya region in 2016. At the same time the number of temporary residing foreigners was constantly growing: 2014 – 953, 2015 – 1032, 2016 – 1484 persons, as a result of increasing amount of foreign students of the Uzhgorod National University.

In general, the number of illegal migrants decreased drastically upon Slovakia accession in EU: from 10,946 in 2004 to 1304 persons in 2014 due to enhanced borders security. However, given the migration crisis challenges in the following year, the headcount increased dramatically to 2,535 persons and had stabilized to 2,170 in 2016.

It should be noted that the biggest amount of illegal migrants came in 2016 from Ukraine (1,234) (followed by Iraq and Syria with 145 and 123 persons, resp.). The majority of Ukrainians (863 people) exceeded the legal stay in the Slovak Republic, unlike the Middle Eastern migrants who came to the country beyond the border crossing points. The highest amount of people crossing the border illegally came to Slovakia through Hungary: 344 in 2016, and 773 in 2015; vs 23 and 16 cases respectively on the Ukrainian–Slovak border.²²

Migration flows of Ukrainians are not standard but caused by many factors; mostly by higher wages and general living standards in the EU, political stability, higher level of human rights protection, and less corruption.

Thus, increasing Ukrainian–Slovak border crossing dynamics indirectly contributes to threatening violations of border crossing and Slovak permanent stay regulations. The state border represents a very important illegal traffic route as proved by the increasing trend of illegal migrants' detainment. This situation is explained primarily by migration crisis in the Middle East and only its successful resolving would strengthen security of the Ukrainian–Slovak border.

Quantitative and motivational characteristics of internally displaced persons in Zakarpattya

Enclave nature of the Ukrainian conflict led to emerged phenomenon of massive internal migration from the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk. As of January 30, 2017, 1,641,895 persons displaced to Ukraine (1,322,216 families) from Donbas and Crimea were officially registered.²³

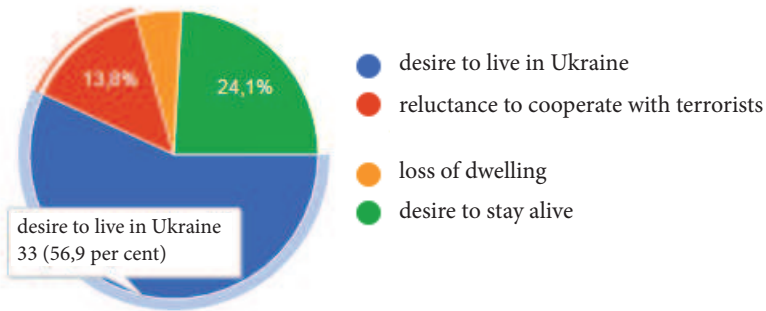
²² “Štatistický prehľad legálnej a nelegálnej migrácie v Slovenskej republike,” [Statistical Overview of legal and illegal migration in the Slovak Republic] Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic. Available online: <http://www.minv.sk/?rocnky> (accessed on January 31, 2017).

²³ Registered 1,641,895 displaced persons, Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine. Available online: <http://www.msp.gov.ua/news/12398.html> (accessed on January 10, 2017).

The Zakarpattia region belongs to those with the smallest IDPs communities in Ukraine with 2,057 persons as of December 1, 2014, 3,450 persons as of December 1, 2015 and 3,495 persons as of December 1, 2016²⁴. Thus, the most IDPs migration activity was reported during 2014–2015. Moreover, the biggest migrants' concentration has been observed in Uzhhorod and Mukachevo, because of their social and economic attractiveness. Approx. 500 people returned to Donetsk and Luhansk regions during this period.

Motivational component of IDPs moving to the western Ukrainian region the Ukrainian–Slovak border is explained by many factors clarified through sociological methods.²⁵ The main reason for leaving the occupied territory of Donbas and the annexed Crimea was desire to live in Ukraine (56.9 per cent) and to have security guarantee. (24.1 per cent) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. What made you leave your home town?



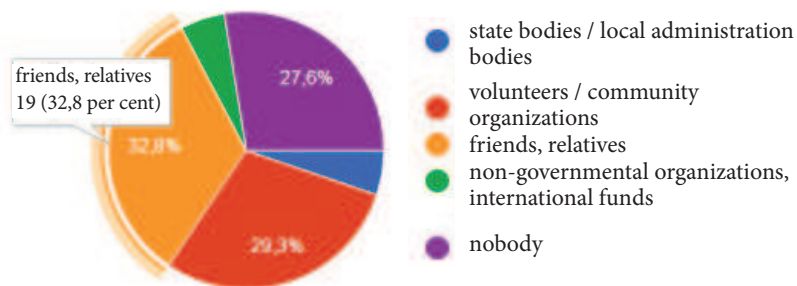
²⁴ Information on enforcement of the rights of internally displaced persons: Annex to the Letter of Zakarpattia Regional Administration No. 6677/06-30, December 12, 2016.

²⁵ Through co-organization of non-governmental organization Zakarpattia–Donbas, which promotes the activities of IDPs in the region, in January 2017 project experts conducted a polling of immigrants from Donetsk and Luhansk regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. 58 persons took part in the polling: 5 persons from ARC, 15 – from Luhansk and 38 – from Donetsk regions; by gender and age criterion: 38 women and 20 men from 25 to 65 years old. Respondents have different level of education: 75.9 per cent – higher education, 17.2 per cent – vocational secondary education and 6.9 per cent – secondary education. The majority of respondents reside in Uzhhorod and Mukachevo – and only 10.3 per cent reside in rural area. Also, on January 17th, there was a meeting with focus group of IDPs, which helped to define the key issues that these people solve in the Zakarpattia region.

Many immigrants were community activists in their home cities, using patriotic slogans in the defense of sovereign Ukraine. Igor, a scientist from Donetsk, said: “I’ve never hidden my views. Students even gave me a T-shirt reading “Honorary NATO member of Donbas.” It happened that I was in Kyiv at the beginning of Euromaidan in November. In Donetsk, Euromaidan was certainly not numerous, people gathered mainly on weekends. I even gave a lecture on European integration for the participants. Everything was more or less calm; I walked in Donetsk with Ukrainian and EU colors ribbon and flags and no one offended me. I felt secure till about the end of January. But on the Epiphany when the situation escalated in Kyiv it was also seen in Donetsk. Sure, circumstances influence people, but internal separatism wasn’t reported in Donetsk, unlike the Crimea, where it was “in” to hate everything Ukrainian. Of course, when military actions began, I was one of the first who left Donbas.”

More than half of immigrants got support in Zakarpattya from friends and relatives – 32.8 per cent and non-governmental organizations / volunteers – 29.3 per cent. About one third (27.6 per cent) did not get any support (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Who supported you in Zakarpattya?



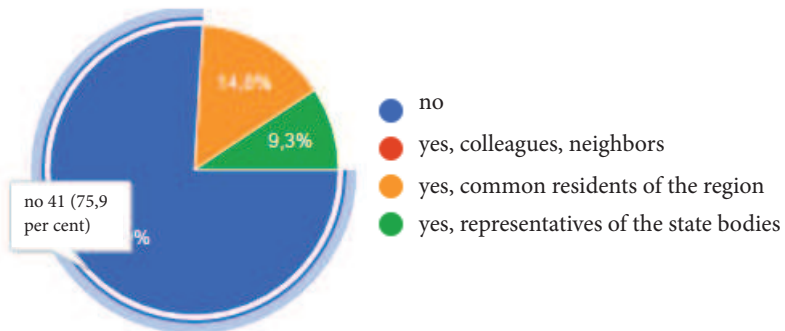
So, Tatyana, entrepreneur, stressed out that “activity of the Zakarpattya Regional Headquarters on social security of Ukrainian citizens coming from temporarily occupied territory and the area of anti-terrorist operation is purely a formality with no social and economic support provided in fact. Social security employees are incompetent, and sometimes even put obstacles in getting financial support. Financial support itself is very miserly: 880 UAH for non-workers and 440 UAH for workers. Real support comes only from charity funds (Ukrainian “Neyemiya,” “Caritas,” Slovak “Sme spolu”) and volunteers.”

Reasons to come namely to Zakarpattya vary: long distance to the conflict area, presence of friends, comfortable living conditions, borderland

status of the region, invitation to work, sometimes eventuality. Konstantyn noted: “We moved to Zakarpattia because my wife had been offered a job in Uzhhorod. She had sent her CV throughout the country and Uzhhorod was the only city that offered dentist a job. Before all these events, I was working in Donetsk as an economist, but in Zakarpattia I haven’t yet found a job by occupation. Instead, I established a public organization “Zakarpattia–Donbas,” which mission is to try to help IDPs with housing problems. All those people who register in headquarters and social security mainly do not have a place for living. Our task is to build an apartment house for them; at least, to make attempt. Now we are actively attending this issue. Previously, we had a conversation in the City Council. If we succeed, we can build a residential complex of 5–6 houses. We are optimistic; it is only a matter of time. Frankly speaking, the majority of people are rather passive – they are just watching the process and waiting for result, being rather skeptic. There are few people who really want to change something. The organization comprises of 200 families, but only 10–15 of them are active. These are the people who want something and really help.”

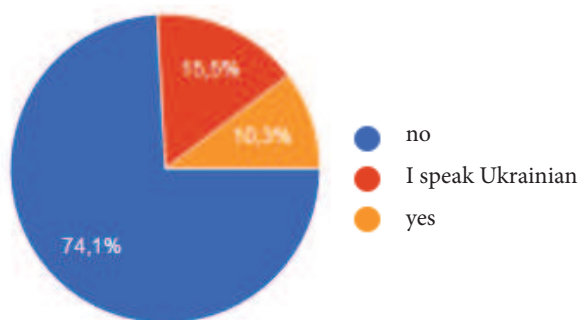
Three quarters of IDPs stated that they feel comfortable in the Zakarpattia region because of impartial attitude of local residents. However, almost one-sixth of respondents feel stereotypes in their perception by Zakarpattia people, and one tenth by the government (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Did you experience partial attitude towards you? If yes, from whom?



Similar positive situation is in the Russian language use; more that 15.5 per cent of immigrants speak Ukrainian (Figure 4).

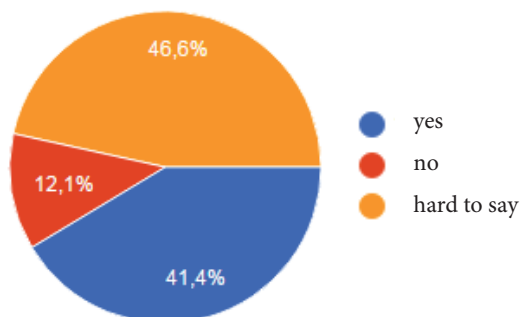
Figure 4. Did you have problems using the Russian language?



Daryna, police officer, said: “I feel good here because of Uzhhorod city multicultural nature. People are tolerant to one another. You can hear many world languages here, and everyone understands everything. But there is lack of modern spirit; people are very conservative. It’s the only thing that I cannot still get used to.”

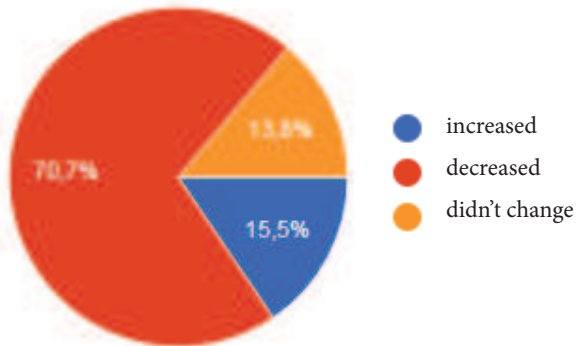
It is clear that social and economic insecurity is the main factor that may adversely affect the decision of IDPs to settle in the Zakarpattya region, and therefore migrate home, “inside” the territory of Ukraine or decide to leave abroad. Thus, these factors are satisfactory for 41.4 per cent of respondents, while the same number of respondents – 46.6 per cent – could not answer, and 12.1 per cent – feel insecure (Figure 5).

Figure 5. In the territory of Zakarpattya (safety, social and economic status, etc.)?



Housing is the biggest problem not contributing to permanent residence. 31 per cent of IDPs are not satisfied with these conditions in the Zakarpattya region, 27.6 per cent – cannot decide. Other adverse factors are absence of official well paid jobs and poor infrastructure. Thus, over one third of IDPs in Zakarpattya are unemployed; 10.3 per cent of them are not even seeking a job, and 20.7 per cent were unable to find a job. Interestingly, the said 10.3 per cent neither work at home in the east of Ukraine. Even more important factor that makes immigrants think of further migration is reduction of total family income in Zakarpattya (70.7 per cent of respondents); only 15.5 per cent of families receive higher income, 13.8 per cent have the same income (Figure 6).

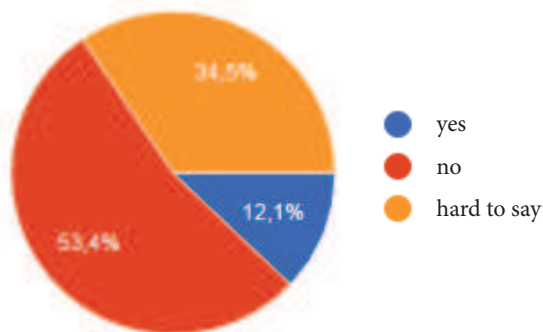
Figure 6. Total income of your family compared to 2014...



The majority of the pollees, namely 53,4 per cent do not plan to return to the east of Ukraine, to the place of previous residence, 34,5 per cent haven't decided yet, and only 12 per cent want to go home (Figure 7). The majority of those who wish to return define as a necessary condition transfer of these areas under the control of Ukraine (56.9 per cent), and 10.3 per cent – restoration of comfortable living conditions. Yevgen, photographer, said: "In Zakarpattya I know around twenty people that came here from the East. They feel rather good here. Basically they moved here owing to our information. They thought about Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, but having come here they got real pleasure from Uzhhorod. It's hard not to get pleasure from this city. You have to compare. If you lived in Luhansk, you would understand what I say. Someone moves from Uzhhorod to Vienna and, of course, doubts the life quality in Uzhhorod. I have friends who moved to America, and "howling" of how hard it was in the first year. A few years later, when accustomed to a new life, they said: "How can you live there at all?" There is a huge difference between living in Uzhhorod and Luhansk. It is all Ukraine but

everything is completely different in these regions. Of course, I feel more comfortable here. In Uzhhorod I feel calmer. In general, in Luhansk I felt not bad – I had my own business, high income; I was engaged in advertising. Customers there had money, and budgets were exorbitant. But there you are always afraid of something. In Zakarpattya people are financially more stable than there. There isn't such difference between the rich and the poor. In Luhansk region, probably 80 per cent of the population is living below the poverty level. I participated in several social projects; I traveled with them all over the region, and was able to see firsthand how people live outside the regional center. I've seen many bad things ... This is one of the reasons why everything happened exactly as it did. People got used that other people have to do everything on their own. So they decided..."

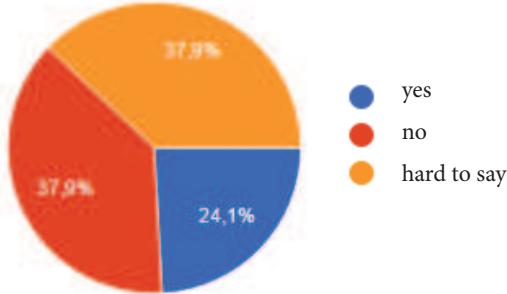
Figure 7. Are you planning to return home, to your home town?



Yana, make-up artist, pointed out: "It wasn't probably me who decided to move to Zakarpattya, it was my destiny – it had to happen. Having left Donetsk, I planned to "wait out" here for two weeks, and now several years already passed by. Now there are different people at my company. Part of them speaks Russian, others – Ukrainian, and some – Zakarpattyan. I understand each of these languages. After moving to Zakarpattya I never went to Avdiyivka. It is too much for my heart and my pocket. I don't think that one day I will be able to go back. At least now, not a single particle of me says it is necessary to return. I am planning to stay in Zakarpattya and to develop here. But I don't want to think far ahead as anything can happen. Probably, current Donetsk is not for me. At first, many people left, the mood and the general condition has changed. I often watch shortcuts about modern Donetsk, it is equally as beautiful, clean, dear as it was. But something is wrong. Atmosphere is different there... Emptiness... No people that used to be there."

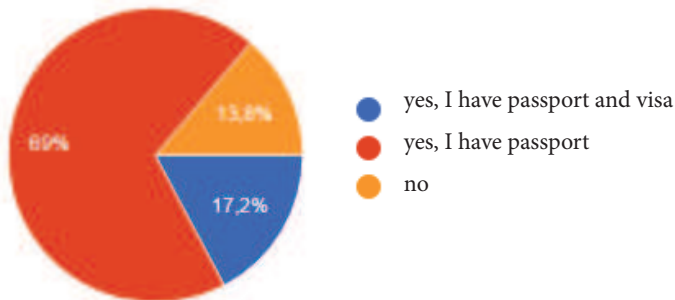
Intention to leave to European countries for permanent or temporary residence was expressed by less than quarter of pollees – 24.1 per cent, the number of those not wanting to leave or haven't decided yet is the same – 37.9 per cent of each (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Are you planning to go to the European country for permanent / temporary residence? (underline as applicable)



The majority of polled IDPs have foreign passports (69 per cent), but only 17.2 per cent of respondents have visas to travel to the Schengen countries, and 13.8 per cent of respondents do not have foreign passport (Figure 9). It was confirmed by the data from State Migration Service (Zakarpattya Region): 636 persons applied for foreign passport in 2014–2016: 87 – AR of Crimea, 549 – Luhansk and Donetsk regions.

Figure 9. Do you have a foreign passport and Schengen's or national visa of the European countries?



Oleksandr, lawyer, stated that he “had an experience of working in Poland but at the moment he doesn’t plan to leave abroad. Men from the Eastern Ukraine differ from the western Ukrainian ones; Zakarpattia men can leave for seasonal job and don’t actually live with the family. For us it is unacceptable. Besides, those who owned financial capital moved abroad in 2014. Currently, there is no such a trend, because there are obstacles of social and economic nature.”

Therefore, the reasonable conclusion is that the IDPs left their homes in the eastern Ukraine and the Crimea, taking into account the factor of safety threats, and unacceptability to stay in the occupied territory. However, the search for new permanent place of residence also abroad is primarily motivated by economic factors. In fact, polling results and direct communication with IDPs and their correlation with statistical data shows that for immigrants, migration to other countries is seen as a minor scenario of the future.

Migration policy innovations in Ukraine and Slovakia

Despite the significant migration dynamics and the corresponding potential, Ukraine did not have a proactive policy on migration during the entire period of independence. This situation was due to the state institutions’ weakness and their inability to formulate any strategy, and persuasion of political elite as the secondary importance of this matter in the coming years.

The external work migration law was adopted in 2015; it was the first one to define social guarantees provided to migrants and their families, and the system how to protect them abroad.²⁶ It should be noted that this proposed law was prepared to meet the European requirements for cancellation of the visa regime for Ukraine instead of the migration challenges that have emerged in 2014.

Employment conditions liberalization in the V4 countries is explained, first of all, by economic factors, including the lack of specialists on the labor market. In particular, the middle- and low-skilled specialists’ employment quota was raised to up to 7 ths. positions in Feb 2017 in the Czech Republic. In November 2015, such innovation was implemented for scarce jobs requiring high qualification²⁷. Also, seasonal workers employment in Poland was eased during 2014–2016.

²⁶ “Law of Ukraine on external labor migration,” BVR, No. 49-50, 2015, p. 463. Available online: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/761-19> (accessed on February 10, 2017).

²⁷ “The Czech Republic doubled the quota for employees from Ukraine.” Available online: <http://zakarpattia.net.ua/News/166589-Chekhiia-vdvichi-zbilshyla-kvotu-napratsivnykiv-z-Ukrainy> (accessed on February 10, 2017).

The majority of Central European countries' residents do not see significant adverse impact of Ukrainians on their economy and society, in particular in the sense of migration rejection from the Middle East region, and decrease of bias to the representatives of the neighboring nation²⁸. The "Muslim" issue was considered one of the major political agenda aspects during the parliamentary elections (April 2015) in Slovakia. At the same time, European border protection policy was in the center of the Slovak EU presidency in the 2nd half of 2016.²⁹

Within the Slovak migration policy priorities by 2020, support for legal migrant workers should be emphasized, including representatives of third countries, in the line with the national economy needs. This includes the employment of experts and highly qualified scientific researchers. A plan has been presented to establish information and counseling centers for migrants, including their countries of origin, aimed at sharing information about the education and employment opportunities in the Slovak Republic.³⁰

Migration development scenarios on the Ukrainian–Slovak border

The analysis outcomes and other studies show that migration processes in Ukraine, particularly in the West of Ukraine and Slovakia, can develop under several scenarios, the contents of which will be determined by a few key factors. First of all, development or cessation of political and military conflict in the Donbas region should be taken in account, including *de facto* restoration of Ukrainian jurisdiction in these territories, ensuring personal safety and security of citizens' property, their rights and freedoms. The economic situation in Ukraine, creation of decent employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for citizens, and quality education for young people represents perhaps more important factor. Reduction of corruption and improved quality of the state institutions functioning in general are important factors when making decision to leave abroad. For IDPs staying in Zakarpattya, migration abroad is a secondary option to organize future life

²⁸ "Migration are we ready for it?" Visegrad Group. Available online: <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/migration/migration> (accessed on July 27, 2016).

²⁹ "Slovakia's EU presidency to focus on European border guard, returns to curb migration," *Reuters*, June 10, 2016. Available online: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-eu-slovakia-idUSKCN0YW1ZU> (accessed on December 7, 2016).

³⁰ "Migračná politika Slovenskej republiky s výhľadom do roku 2020." [Migration policy of the Slovak Republic with a view to 2020] Available online: <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/index.cfm?action=media.download&uuid=FBB66557-CAC4-55A9-9EC95815ACC6A54B> (accessed on January 31, 2017).

of their families. Lack of employment in other countries, the reluctance of most immigrants to adapt to unfamiliar cultural environment, insufficient starting capital for the whole family departure is on the first place, given the unacceptability of commuting migration as an option. Illegal migration factor will be influenced by the Middle East crisis solving development, the level of the Ukrainian–Slovak border safety provision by both countries, particularly in comparison with the Ukrainian–Hungarian border.

Scenario A

In case of **full-scale military conflict** in Donbas there is probability of IDP's number growth, they will move to other regions of Ukraine including Zakarpattia. The absence of chances to return home or favorable social, economic, and political conditions for sustainable living in the regions where internal migrants have moved, may be causative factor for moving to the EU countries. Besides, there will be reasons and precedents to give refugee status that will encourage Ukrainians' exit from the East to European countries (those who moved to Zakarpattia might also move to Slovakia) to obtain political asylum. Worsened social and economic indicators that are likely in case of warfare will encourage more citizens of Ukraine to migration for work. In particular, threatening leave of large number of families for permanent residence seems real, including the factor of liberalized study conditions at European and also Slovak universities, as well as the likelihood of finding job by qualified specialists in the field of IT technology, medicine and education. According to the GFK–Ukraine forecasts, in the case of this scenario up to 3 million people may leave abroad for employment, education and fundamental security. For the Zakarpattia male population, migration to Slovakia on the basis of any visa documents will be considered as a way to avoid mobilization. Similarly, given the trend of previous years, leaving to Slovakia will not be massive, taking into account the limitations of the local labor market. It should be noted that the procedure for granting a visa-free regime with the EU for Ukrainian citizens under conditions of martial law may be suspended. In case of unresolved crisis in the Middle East, European countries might be forced to close their markets for all migrants, including citizens of Ukraine applying for jobs with low or secondary qualifications.

Scenario B

The conflict freezing will encourage the development of migration trends that existed as of the beginning of 2017. The number of IDPs in Ukraine is not expected to increase; some of them might return to Donbas and the Crimea, taking into account many unresolved social issues. Quantitative and qualitative migration parameters shall depend primarily on the social and economic situation in Ukraine. They (the average wage, the choice of

highly paid jobs, new business opportunities) are unlike to improve in terms of spending public investments to maintain the “status quo” in Donbas, the lack of foreign investors’ interest in establishing projects in an unstable state. In case of aggravating Ukrainian internal political crisis, the lack of progress in resolving the political and military conflict with Russia, potential migrants to the neighboring countries may be not only IDPs from Donbas and the Crimea, but also residents from other regions who lose faith in the Ukrainian statehood prospects. The absence of real fight against corruption, increased crime level, failure to grant political rights to the immigrants from the Crimea and Donbas may be additional factors in the decision to leave abroad. The V4 countries can be the main immigration destinations, given the geographical and cultural proximity, and existing social networks created by Ukrainians.

The weakness of state institutions, corruption, the willingness of some citizens to receive illegal and risky revenue during the economic crisis will contribute to the growth of illegal migration flows from other countries through the Ukrainian borders with the EU. This, in particular, shall not contribute to the Ukrainian-Slovak border security, despite the improvement of its infrastructure. The prospect of visa-free regime for Ukrainians in unfavorable economic conditions will have adverse consequences for the Ukrainian-Slovak border. It could cause the increase of already long queues at a limited number of border crossing points, likely increase in the number of Ukrainians that will be illegally employed on a temporary basis in Slovakia, taking into account the liberalized movement in Europe. The relocation of IDPs from the western Ukrainian regions to European countries can be expected in case of available initial capital to start own business together with families or adaptation to commuting migration, which is characteristic for the Zakarpattya region residents. However, there is more likely option of leaving to Poland with its more liberal conditions for seasonal earnings reported as of the beginning of 2017. It is expected that students from among IDPs can be attracted by free education in Slovakia, like many Zakarpattians

Scenario C.

To find the way of **prompt return of Donbas to the constitutional and political field of Ukraine**, solving the issue on the Crimea status will contribute to the involvement of governmental and foreign investments and investments in the development of the East of Ukraine in case of the Ukrainian elite political will. This in turn would facilitate the return of some IDPs to the places of their previous residence. A part of settlers will decline it and decide on permanent residence in the “big” Ukraine, depending on occupational employment opportunities, housing, and acquired social capital. Along with elimination of life and fundamental security threats and improvement of the economic situation, the decision to stay in Ukraine will

also depend on the Ukrainian governance quality and its ability to implement reforms demanded by the citizens. In particular, creation of favorable conditions for employment of qualified professionals will be critical for keeping human capital in Ukraine and – in broader perspective – on the Ukrainian-Slovak border; particularly in the field of new technologies, given the transnational nature of this activity and its desirability for diversification of the provincial region development. However, the departure of young high-level professionals, family reunification, employment of students currently studying abroad, and legalization of workers who violated labor laws, is an objective globalized economy process depending not only on the situation in the country of origin but also on individual career development and future visions. So, even moving to Slovakia shall not mean that this country will be considered a permanent residence location for Ukrainians that decided to stay in the EU.

Illegal transit migration level via Ukraine directly depends on the protection of the border line with Russia, reducing the motivation of intermediaries to be engaged in this illegal activity. Thus, one can make an assumption that the scale of the problem will be reduced, which will increase the security level on the Ukrainian–Slovak borders. As already stated above, in case of a new massive migration wave from the Middle East and North Africa, European labor markets can be closed to all low-skilled workers, including those coming from Ukraine.

Opportunities for common actions by the Ukrainian and Slovak governments in the field of migration

Migration safety on the Slovak–Ukrainian border depends in many respects on the stabilization of the political and socio-economic situation and opportunities for decent earnings in Ukraine, ensuring a wide range of social and economic rights. At the same time, people crossing the borders represent an objective trend of modern global development. Therefore the neighboring states governments should, if possible, interact to ensure favorable environment for legal residence of migrants and, simultaneously, to create incentives to make qualified human resources with developed social capital stay in their territory.

Therefore, the Ukrainian and V4 governments, including Slovakia, in terms of the ongoing conflict in Donbas and large number of immigrants who left this region and the Crimea, should concentrate on:

- development of continuous social well-being and IDPs migration mood monitoring system;

- initiating of infrastructure projects that would contribute to IDPs adaptation in areas where they moved (housing, social facilities);
- grants and credit lines for IDPs to start their own business in Ukraine;
- compilation of education and qualification databases for further monitoring of IDPs employment;
- development of immigrants training, retraining, and education system in the regions of their settlement;
- expansion of the list of benefits for employers who hire IDPs;
- stimulation of IDPs to move to the the communities where big investment projects will be implemented also of the “Central European origin,” with potential to find a decent job in Ukraine;
- creation of “cheap” credit lines for immigrants to start their own business;
- common definition of increased quotas for labor migration in Central European countries;
- development of grant mechanisms to facilitate charity procedures for non-governmental organizations and EU citizens who want to help internal immigrants in the regions of Ukraine, where they moved;
- incentives in case of pressure for short-term “commuting” migration as opposed to leaving on a permanent basis;
- information support for migrants in destination countries, including the rights and social guarantees;
- signing of bilateral agreements between the Ukrainian and V4 governments on social protection and pensions of migrants from Ukraine;
- arrangements on recognition of Ukrainian migrants’ education and qualifications, and expanding opportunities for further training in the countries of entry;
- development by the governments of Ukraine and Central European countries of the programs of voluntary Ukrainians’ return to the homeland and their equity co-financing that, obviously, is only possible only after cessation of military conflict in Donbas, and beginning of the Crimea problem solving.

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