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'Czech people' coming from Ukraine, their understanding of national identity

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DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. The thesis as submitted is 122 857 keystrokes long (including spaces), i.e. 74 manuscript pages.

Valeriia Galushkevych   May 13, 2016

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1. Introduction

Migration is one of the consequences of globalization: in line with goods, services and capital it is becoming easier for people to move across borders.[1] Wide migration literature (Massey *et al*, 1993; Beine *et al* 2011) finds that the movement of individuals is driven by political events, geographical conditions and purely economic considerations. Ariely (2012), Papademetriou (2012) and Uherek (2011, 2009) extend the concept of migration to account for national identity, multiculturalism, diversity and historical patterns. Migration is a highly complex phenomenon that spans through the paradigm of several sciences including, but not limited to sociology, anthropology, economics and history.

Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic is a clear case in point. The two countries share strong historical connection, they are close geographically, their people speak similar languages, have similar, though to a lesser degree, culture. Back late in the nineteenth

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[1] Taken from Michael Burawoy, *Grounding Globalization* accessed on 06.04.2016 at
http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/books/ge/conclusion.pdf

century many Czech people emigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the Tsar Russian in search for better life. Nowadays, the flow of migrants is reversed. The Czech Republic is economically superior to Ukraine, and difference in average wages generates a constant flow of Ukrainian migrants into the Czech Republic.

The Czech government has initiated a resettlement program for ethnic Czechs and members of their families who are residing abroad. There have been several waves of this program. The most recent wave was triggered by the military conflict in Eastern Ukraine and rapidly deteriorating economic conditions there.

In this thesis, I research Ukrainian migrants who arrived into the Czech Republic in the most recent stage of the resettlement program of the Czech government. This is an important topic in migration literature because these migrants are different from usual average Ukrainian migrants in their national identity perception, closer familiarity with Czech language and culture. Therefore, I conjecture that these migrants react differently to the classical push and pull factors widely described in the literature. For example, I find that migrants arriving under this program are less sensitive to economic wage differentials between Ukraine and the Czech Republic. They are also faster in integration since they are already familiar with the elements of the Czech language and culture.

This topic is also of immense interest to me because I am Ukrainian living in the Czech Republic and I am deeply interested in the problems of my home country. Living abroad, I have a unique opportunity to see Ukrainian migration in action, talk to migrants and experience this phenomenon on my own.

In particular, I postulate the following research questions:

1. What are the determinants of Ukrainian migration into the Czech Republic for migrants who arrived under the recent wave of the resettlement program?

2. To what extend is their migration decision motivated by national identity considerations as opposed to wage differentials?

3. What are the integration patterns of these migrants as opposed to other migrants described in migration literature?

To address these questions I conduct a survey which consists of 10 face-to-face interviews with the migrants and members of their families. Each interview is an extensive conversation on personal reasons for the move, perception of national identity, living conditions in Ukraine and the Czech Republic, likes and dislikes in the Czech Republic, progress with integration and intentions for the future. I generally followed the list of questions in the questionnaire, although every interview is a unique case in study and I followed leads whenever respondents mentioned an interesting topic. Later I combine the responses in a dataset and process the responses.

Migration phenomenon is a versatile and multi-dimensional concept. It can be characterized from different perspectives and dimensions. One such dimension is voluntary versus forced migration. Forced migration is when military conflicts, political prosecution or natural disasters force people to leave their home countries and seek asylum in neighboring countries. A distinguishing feature of this type of movement is that people move against their will: they would have not moved, had they not been forced. A typical example of this type of migration is the movement of Syrian refugees away from their country due to the ongoing conflict.[2]

This comes in sharp contrast with economic (*i.e.* voluntary) migration: an individual has a choice whether to stay or move and the final destination of his choice is entirely at their discretion. He moves if he expects to obtain more than what he currently has. The decision to move can be explained by "push" and "pull" factors. Push factors contribute

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[2] The Journal of Forced Migration Review has prepared an entire issue covering this phenomenon. Accessed on 06.04.2016 at http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/destination-europe.pdf

to individual's decision to leave home country: poor economic conditions, lack of freedom, pollution. Pull factors are those that attract an individual to a specific receiving country: relatively higher wages, more employment and education opportunities, relatively higher quality of life. While push and pull factors are interconnected (a relatively higher wage rate in a receiving country as a pull factor is at the same time a push factor), pull factors help explain why a migrant chose a specific destination country out of the pool of all potential developed countries.[3]

Most of studies on international migration find that economic fundamental are at the core of most migration decisions. These economic factors include wage differential, better economic conditions at destination and insurance against future are the key drivers of international migration. Despite the economic factors behind most migration flows, there is still significant portion of migration (or variation in the data) that cannot be explained by the economic fundamentals. I conjecture that this unexplained part might be driven by national identity, individual desire to self-identification and self-realization.

To test this hypothesis, I consider the case study whereby Ukraine nationals of Czech origin return to live in the Czech Republic. This case study is interesting for study and unique in its own way for several reasons. First, Western Ukraine and the Czech Republic share much common history since the start of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Geographical proximity creates opportunities for the dissemination of culture, traditions, cross-border movement of goods and services.

Despite the cultural similarity and geographical proximity, these two countries remain distant in so many ways. According to World Bank (2015), average income in the Czech Republic is USD 30445, whereas it is only USD 8666 in Ukraine. This 3.5 fold in average

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[3] To continue the argument, push and pull factors have laid foundation for more technical type of analysis, whereby complex non-linear models are estimated on collected survey data. Push and pull factors are then proxied by variables which are later used in multivariate regression analysis. Pedersen *et al* (2007) and Commander *et al* (2013) are key references in such type of analysis.

income created significant migration incentives.[4] This creates immense material incentives for immigration already widely documented in the literature (see Commander *et al*, 2013; Leontieva, 2014; and Munich, 2014).

Despite the prevailing role of economic factors, many theoretical and empirical studies acknowledge the role of non-economic determinants: language similarity, cultural proximity, physical distance between countries and the size of diaspora (see for example Beine *et al*, 2011). I believe that these factors play a crucial role in the resettlement of Ukraine nationals of Czech origin in the Czech Republic and I extend these factors to include the concept of national identity.

The topic of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic is an active research field for many international scholars. This phenomenon is so diverse that it is quite difficult to plug it into a stylized framework of any standalone migration model. Hence, more research is needed in this area and, hopefully, my thesis makes a contribution to this.

The thesis is structured as follows. In Section 2 I provide extensive literature review whereby I blend migration determinants from various scientific domains, namely Sociology, Anthropology and Economics. This allows me to see a big picture of the determinants of Ukrainian migration. In this section I also review relevant literature on the social and individual identities. In the theoretical part, I formalize the concepts of social identity, individual identity as well as define the concept of migration and migrants. I further show how the social and individual identities change under immigration.

In Section 4 I present evidence on international migration and migration from Ukraine. This allows brief comparison of Ukrainian migration versus international migration. Finally, In Section 5 I analyze the collected survey data.

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[4] In line with economic literature, we use GDP per capita (PPP-adjusted) as a rough measure of average income.

2. Literature review

This section reviews relevant literature from several pillars; each pillar represents a stand-alone niche of migration literature. First, it is the definition of national identity and individual perception of thereof constitute the main threat of my thesis. Second, it is the sharpening of this definition in the context of the Czech Republic and Ukraine in light of relatively huge migration flows from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. The third issue is rather methodological. Since this study is based on a survey, I review several existing survey-based studies conducted in the Czech Republic and Ukraine. These studies help me identify which methods are critical in survey study, construct a survey questionnaire and analyze the collected data.

I start the literature review section with the study of Margalit and Raz (1990) who state that international law recognizes the right of every individual and nation for self-determination. This right gives way to the formation of individual identity and hence is fundamental to my study. The authors justify this right by moral considerations and opposition to the economic dominance of a superior power. The author determines six necessary characteristics for the case of self-determination. These characteristics mainly touch upon the features of commonness within a group striving for self-determination.

To proceed in the definition of identity, Calhoun (1994) reflects upon the constituent elements of "self": language, names, age, gender, pedigree and parentage. According to the author, the disclosure of individual identity, its formation and development over time is crucial to one's being. The modern life is making this problem increasingly more complex. The author defines connection with other people and family relations (kinship in the Calhoun's terminology) as part of individual identity, whereby each individual is

assigned a role (or even multiple roles) in a larger group and this role contributes to his or her identity in social life.[5]

The author contributes to the discussion of essentialism versus social constructionism. When applied to the disclosure of individual identity, essentialism implies that certain features of identity are natural, inevitable and naturally pre-determined prior to the start of the discovery of identity by an individual.[6] In contrast, the social constructionism suggests that all the elements of individual identity are constructed in the course of individual existence and interaction with others.

The theory of social constructionism allows for the existence of multiple simultaneously existing and non-conflicting identities. The author mentions groups with distinct identities (such as religious people, Afro-American and gay communities) and claims that despite the fact of being culturally distinct, these groups remain deeply segregated inside. Further on, Calhoun reflects upon the identity politics whereby people's politics is to a large extend shaped by the identity of a group they identify themselves with. Within each group, there can be multiple categorical identities (within group essentialism) thus leading to potential conflict.

Calhoun asserts that language and culture are the pillars of national identity and brings forward the example of Serbia and some African countries on the path to the disclosure of national identity. However, in the age of globalization the boundaries of national identity become blurred. The increased mobility of people helps disseminate traditions, cultures and national cuisines, among many other things. This, however, has an opposite effect for the establishment of individual identity. Instead of association with a single geography, language or culture, an individual can now associate herself with a mixture of

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[5] This idea connects the Calhoun's argument with role theory,ц which investigates how strongly individuals keep to the prescribed roles.

[6] To support the point the author brings up the evidence of gender, racial and sexual segregation.

culture that she has experienced in her life through travelling, learning foreign languages and Internet.

For a migrant who emigrated from Ukraine to live in the Czech Republic, the identity might be composed of what has been experienced in Ukraine and what is being experienced or is expected to be experienced in the Czech Republic. As migration experience continues, the person updates her individual identity. Now she can choose to complement her Ukrainian identity with the elements of Czech experience.

The general migration picture slightly differs second generation migrants.[7] Their identity is primarily based on the place where they grow up. Through parents, they supplement their identity with the elements of Ukrainian nationality. This experience is, however, different from what their parents obtained because sensor identity for their children. Thus, the elements of Ukrainian identity transmitted to a child will not contain "bad experience" features. This shifts the emphasis to the discussion of specific self-esteem versus global self-esteem developed by Rosenberg et al (1995).

Blank and Schmidt (2003) state that national identity builds on positive valuation of one's own group. Their paper analyzes the concepts of nationalism and patriotism in relation to attitudes towards minorities. Blank (2003) investigates the determinants of national identity. The author postulates several hypotheses under which authoritarianism, anomie and general self-esteem as are tested as potential determinants of national identity in East and West Germany.

Blank and Schmidt (2003) discuss the implications of the German reunification for German national identity. The authors define the concepts of nationalism and patriotism as the

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[7] In the case of Ukrainian migration in the Czech Republic, a second generation migrants is defined as a person born to Ukrainian parents on the territory of the Czech Republic. For this stud, I extend the concept to include children born in Ukraine but who moved to the Czech Republic early in their childhood so as to consider the Czech Republic their home country.

attachment of individuals to society. The German national identity is formulated as part of a homogeneous society living with a substantial amount foreign national (8 million people, according to the authors' estimates), minorities and ethnic population.

In my opinion, the authors postulate a number of interesting questions. The issues of the distinction between nationalism (and patriotism for that matter) national identity; relationship between nationalism and attitude to minorities (including foreigners) are extensively addressed in their study. To address these questions the authors conduct a postal survey (split into three waves) in which respondents are asked a wide range of questions on their attachment to Germany and attitudes to other social groups. In line with other studies, Blank and Schmidt find substantial differences in respondents' mean values between East and West Germans. A substantial share of respondents are not proud of being Germans, although the share is significantly smaller for West Germans.

However, the methods employed to answer are ambiguous. A survey study conducted by post might not be a good method in terms of the representativeness of the survey. In other words, there is no reinforcement device that would force every German who received a questionnaire to respond to that questionnaire. The authors work with the sample of those respondents who decided to reply to the questions.

Blank (2003) makes a contribution to the theories of nationalism, patriotism and national identity. The author states that the behavior of a group is a collection of individual actions. The position of each actor within a group (or nation) is defined by the degree of individual acceptance of that nation. In his study, the author postulates several interesting hypotheses, namely the relationship between national identity and patriotism and nationalism; authoritarianism and national identity; anomie and national identity; the degree of self-esteem and national identity.

Similar to Blank and Schmidt (2003), Blank (2003) addresses the research questions by using survey data collected during the first wave of a panel study on the national identity of the Germans. The author finds that the overwhelming majority of the respondents are proud to be Germans, although the root of the pride for most people comes from the German success in sports and German's leading economic role in Europe. After the unification, East Germans face new democratic values and this might explain less zeal for patriotism on their part. The author finds that national pride is positively related to authoritarianism, anomie positively contributed to the development of positive national identity, and social externality leads to a decrease of national pride.

Blank (2003) and Solomon et al (1991) find that individual behavior is important in the determination national identity because a nation is composed of individuals, hence national identity is defined by the collective actions of many individuals. Further, national identity varies in the degree to which an individual is ready and willing (or unwilling) to accept the culture of a respective nation-group. This finding has straightforward implications for my study, whereby the individual identity of ethnic Czechs who move to the Czech Republic from Ukraine is to a large extent dependent of their willingness to accept and dissolve in the Czech culture. The issue of language proficiency is crucial here.

The study is inherently related to larger literature on the determinants of international migration (see Borjas (1995) and Massey et al (1993) for an extensive review of relevant theories). According to the neoclassical theory, the flow of people is determined by macroeconomic fundamentals. The neoclassical theory takes a more pragmatic approach and emphasizes individual heterogeneity in migration decisions. At this stage, collective theories of family migration emerge. For example, the study of Mincer (1978) is quite important in understanding the migration of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic because in many instance whole families move to the Czech Republic.

More recent studies, for example Beine et al (2011), emphasize the role of economic and non-economic factors: cultural proximity, language similarity and historical links between countries. These studies also measure the role of institutional barriers to immigration, such as immigration policy. This institutional factor is particularly important in this study because the immigration pressure into the Czech Republic from Ukraine is to a large extent offset by the presence of a strict visa regime. The efforts of the Czech government to attract the ethnic Czech set a clear example of the role of government immigration policies to manage migration flows.

I wish to extend these determinants to include the concept of national identity and self-identification as additional drivers of international migration and view these aspects through the prism of Ukraine to Czech Republic migration.

Part of this study is survey research, which provides qualitative information to test the hypotheses of the theoretical model. When carrying out a survey, several issues must be taken into account: survey instrument (questionnaire), sampling framework, data collection and data processing.

The survey instrument is designed to emphasize the national identity component of the migration decision. This complements the work of Commander et al (2013) and Leontieva (2014) who mainly discuss the economic aspect of the migration phenomenon.

Commander et al (2013) conduct a large-scale survey in Ukraine. The authors research the determinants of emigration from Ukraine, characteristics of migrants, their labor market outcomes before and after emigration as well as other socio-demographic characteristics.[8] They find that Ukrainian migrants are predominantly employed in low-skilled occupations. This is also true for many migrants with university education. In their

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[8] A distinguishing feature of their study is that they identify several migrant categories and manage to identify the characteristics of each group.

study, the phenomenon of downshifting is striking in that over 40% of surveyed migrants are employed in occupations for which they are overqualified.

To explain this phenomenon the authors point to several factors, namely restrictive immigration policies in destination countries, poor knowledge of local languages by migrants, high qualification requirements at destination and low transferability of human capital obtained in Ukraine. To account for some of these issues, the authors compare pre-emigration employment with post-emigration employment. This allows to reduce the effects of labor market frictions and unobservable individual characteristics.

The study of Commander et al (2013) is important to my research in that it provides sound methodological background for the sampling design of my survey and the development of the questionnaire. However, this study neglects the discussion of the role of national identity in migration decision.

Leontieva (2014) conducts a survey of Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic. Her research methods and conclusions are quite similar to those of Commander (2013) and these two studies seem quite complementary. She combines survey data and information from the Czech Labor Office and finds significant evidence of education-occupation mismatch and "waste of human capital" of the Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic. However this evidence is not over-whelming and hence the author does not find sufficient evidence not to reject the hypothesis of "educated construction worker migrants from Ukraine".

Munich (2014) provides an extensive overview of migration picture on the Czech Republic in terms of the countries of origin, types of migrants, their demographic characteristics and employment outcomes. In 2010-2011 migrants account for 4-5% of local labor force. This is a small share relative to other developed European countries. Most frequent

sources of migrants in the Czech Republic are the countries of the former Soviet Union and Vietnam. EU member states account for a small share of migrants.

The author claims that the influx of migrants has generated a few challenges for the Czech Republic because it does not have well-functioning integration policy. The migrants' employment levels are similar to those of native-born Czech citizens, although the migrants are more likely to be employed in low-skilled occupations. The migrants are also more likely to be less educated although the cohorts arriving after 2000 are slightly more educated and less likely to work in low-skilled occupations.

Commander et al (2013), Munich (2014) and Leontieva (2014) are the three studies extremely relevant for my research. The studies also find that a significant share of migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic is family migration whereby whole families move, not just individuals. Mincer (1978) laid the theoretical foundations of family migration. The author claims that a family migration decision is more complex than individual migration decision. The decision to move is taken by the family members collectively, and this decision maximizes the expected utility of the family not individuals.[9]

The author introduces the concept of a tied mover whereby one family member moves first and then he or she is followed by other members of the family. Further, Mincer formalizes the gains of migration to be a bivariate distribution. The decision for a tied mover to follow depending on the individual probabilities of migration and the marginal distributions of migration gins.

Beine et al (2011) research the macroeconomic determinants of international migration. They use aggregated data where the unit of observation is the level of migration between a country pair at a certain time point (panel data). The authors emphasize the patterns of

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[9] This distinction is valid under the assumption that a family consists of at least two members. In case of a single member family, individual and family level decisions are equivalent. As the family size increases, the complexity of a family migration decision also grows.

self-selection of migrants whereby the migrant are only a subset of the population of the representative country and hence are selected on certain characteristics.

The authors find that distance between, average wages, economic inequality and the amount of diaspora are significant determinants of the volume of international migrants. The authors claim that the stock of migrants from the same country significantly reduces migration costs and hence attracts more migrants. This finding is particularly important for my study because I believe that economic determinants, cultural and language similarities as well as the size of diaspora are significant factors in migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic.

Borjas (1995) contributes to migration literature with his analysis of self-selection. His key thesis is that migrants are not a random draw from the population of a sending country. The migrants are self-selected based on certain characteristics. For example, young and motivated people are more likely to emigrate relative to average; more educated people have a higher migration potential than less educated; individuals with family members already abroad can emigrate easier. Thus, when we look at migrants who live in a destination country, we only look at a self-selected sub-sample of from the original source country population.

The author claims that self-selection has significant implications for the analysis of international migration. Not accounting for this phenomenon generates significant bias. Hence, for the completeness of analysis migrants have to be compared to non-migrants in the country of origin and local population in the country of destination. The author develops elegant mathematical apparatus for the analysis of self-selection.[10] Three types

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[10] One of the most common critiques is heavy reliance on the assumption of joint normality between the error terms that represent the separate stages of the migration decision making process.

of self-selection are developed: positive selection, negative selection and the selection of refugees.

3. Theoretical part

The studies analyzed in the literature review section provide me with rich theoretical background for the concepts of individual and national identities as well as migration determinants. In this study, I wish to unify these two strands of the literature and investigate what role the factors of individual and national identity play in determining mobility from Ukraine into the Czech Republic and the outcomes of this migration phenomenon in terms of perception of national identity.

I formalize the concept of social identity based on the social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). Further, I find that the building blocks of this theory slightly change once migration has been added to the equation. In fact, it is not surprising that the definition does not explicitly account for immigration because at the time of defining the concept, cross-border migration was not a widespread phenomenon. Despite this minor weakness, the concept accounts for social interaction between various groups with distinct identities. This makes this theory quite flexible and I use it in my current research.

The studies of Blank and Schmidt (2003) and Blank (2003) provide theoretical and empirical foundation for the concepts of national identity. These studies are particularly relevant in line of the unification of Germany and a subsequent flow of labor from East to West within the unified country. The studies shed light on the changes of the attributes of national identity for internal migrants, i.e. movers from Easter to Western Germany.

Conceptually, this Section can be split into three parts: formation of national identity, formation of individual identity and the definition of a migrants. Further, I blend migration into the concepts of social and individual formation and discuss the consequences.

3.1.Formation of national identity

There are several key definitions of national identity. According to the social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), Tajfel (1981), national identity is a collective product. This is a system of beliefs, values and expectations transmitted to its group members.

> *"We can conceptualize a group as a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement on this common definition of themselves and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it, "*

Tajfel and Turner (1979), p. 15

Once the values have been transferred to and accepted by individuals, all persons pertaining to a common system of values and beliefs form a nation. The elements of collective identity might include national symbols, customs and traditions as well as history.

After being categorized of a group membership, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by differentiating their within-group environment from out-of-group on some valued dimension. This search for positive distinctiveness means that people's perception of themselves is defined in terms of "*we*" rather than "*I*".

Further, on the group distinctiveness has been established, the group seeks to praise itself positively by engaging in social comparison. Statements like "Our country is the best in the world" or "Our class is the best at school" are typical examples of this type of behavior. Such group-specific appraisal is usually done on comparative basis whereby one group compares itself to other groups and seeks for positive distinctive features that help it

reinforce its group identity even further. This type of behavior splits a society into "*us*" and "*them*".

The final stage of the Tajfel and Turner's definition is social interaction whereby different socially distinctly unique groups interact with each other. The authors claim that under certain conditions this might lead to conflicts. In fact, conflict management and conflict resolution occupy a major part of the authors' work.

All the stages of the Tajfel and Turner's definition of social identity can be formalized using a diagram below.
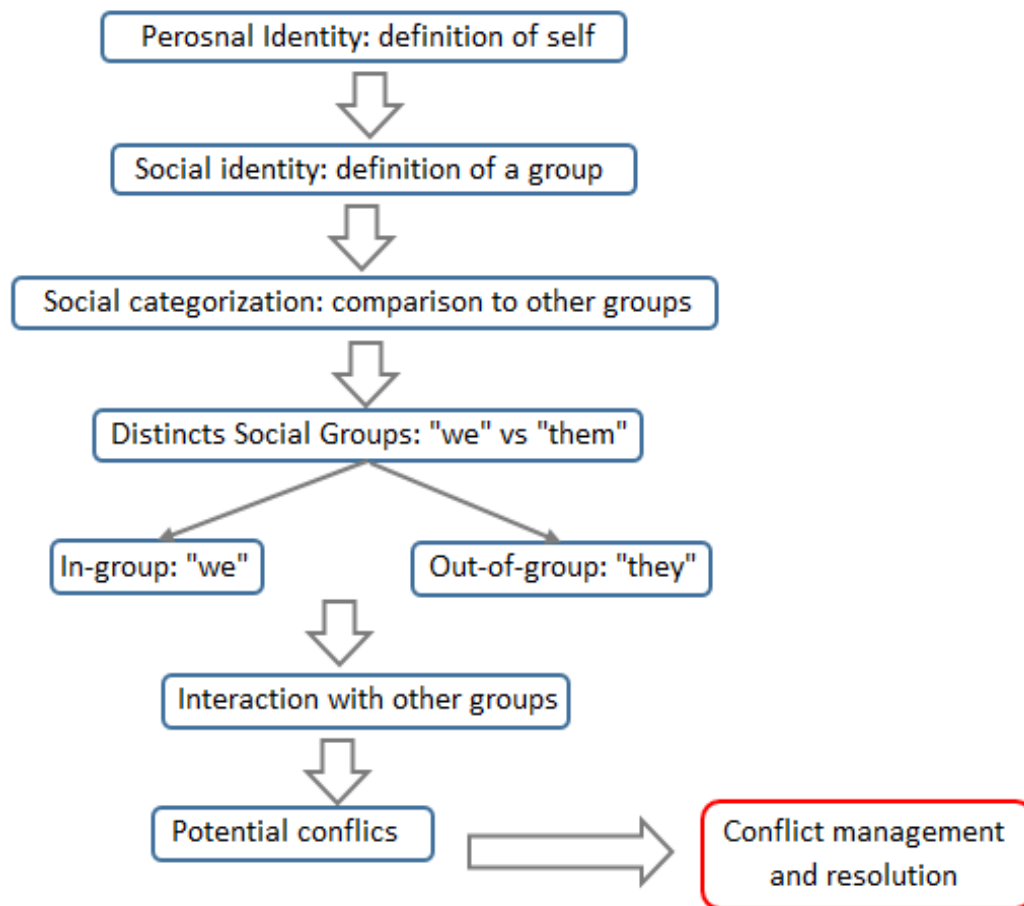
Figure 1. Migration determinants.

Source: Authors' own work based on Tajfel and Turner (1979).

Social Identity Theory asserts that group membership creates ingroup/ self-categorization and enhancement in ways that favor the in-group at the expense of the out-group. In their following study (see and Tajfel Turner, 1986) the authors conducted minimal group studies in which individuals were assigned randomly into groups and each group was given minimalistic identity features. The authors find that a mere act of individuals categorizing themselves as group members was sufficient to lead them to display within-group favoritism towards the group of their belonging. After being categorized of a group membership, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their within-group from a comparison out-of-group on some metrics.

3.2.Formation of individual identity

The Social Identity theory developed in the previous section was proceeded by social cognitive theory (SCT), see Turner (1981). According to SCT, a group is defined not only by bonds between its members, but also by its cognitive ability.

In line with SCT a person has not one "personal self", but rather several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership. Different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on basis of his personal, family or national "level of self". Apart from the "level of self", an individual has multiple "social identities" related to membership in various groups.

Group association leads to the process of stereotyping, whereby individuals are perceived in terms of the characteristics of a group they are associated with. Belonging to several groups generates multi-level degree of stereotyping.

On a more practical side, individual identity is often described as finite and consisting of separate and distinct parts (family, cultural, personal, professional, *etc*.). However,

several authors define identity as an infinite process when individual identity evolves as long as he or she lives because every day we encounter new experiences that develop our identity.

Two more theories of identity formation should be mentioned here, namely the Theory of Psychosocial Development (originally proposed by E. Erikson) and the Identity Status Theory (by J.Marcia).[11]

The central idea behind Erikson's Psychosocial development is that throughout each person's lifetime, people experience different crises, or conflicts. Each of the conflicts arises at a certain point in life and must be successfully resolved for progression to the next of the eight stages. The particular stage relevant to identity formation takes place during adolescence, called "Identity versus Role Confusion. This stage consists of adolescents trying to figure out who they are in order to form a basic identity that they will build on throughout their life. This particularly concerns social and occupational identities. They face the complexities of determining one's own identity.

Marcia's developed four groups, called identity statuses, which are used to describe and pinpoint the progression of an individual's identity. The purpose is to identify if an individual has explored various alternatives and made firm commitments to the choice of an occupation, religion, sexual orientation, and political values.

An important part of individual identity formation is Social Learning Theory developed by Bandura (1971). It claims that individuals live in groups with distinct values. The groups are united into a society which also has its defined, though more general, values. Since an individual operates in these institutions, he or she becomes part of it. The key hypothesis

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[11] To develop discussion on these two theories I used relevant information in Wikipedia and (available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Identity_formation) and Simply Psychology website (available at http://www.simplypsychology.org/Erik-Erikson.html). Both were accessed on April 17, 2016. Also, Para(2008) is a relevant reference because I could not obtain direct access to the original papers of E. Erikson and J. Marcia.

of this theory is that learning is a cognitive process that takes place in a social context and can occur purely through observation or direct instruction with other individuals or objects. In addition to the observation of other people's behavior, learning also occurs through the observation of rewards and punishments, a process known as vicarious reinforcement.[12]

The key messages can be formalized in the following five bullet points:[13]

1. Learning is not purely behavioral; rather, it is a cognitive process that takes place in a social context.
2. Learning can occur by observing a behavior and by observing the consequences of the behavior (vicarious reinforcement).
3. Learning involves observation, extraction of information from those observations, and making decisions about the performance of the behavior (observational learning or modeling). Thus, learning can occur without an observable change in behavior.
4. Reinforcement plays a role in learning but is not entirely responsible for learning.
5. The learner is not a passive recipient of information. Cognition, environment, and behavior all mutually influence each other (reciprocal determinism).

3.3. Definition of migrant

This section reviews most commonly used definitions of migrant. It is crucial to have a clear definition of a migrant because then the object of study becomes clearly defined. There are three main definitions of a migrant.

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[12] In everyday life this motivation mechanism is known as "carrot and stick" situation.
[13] I used the Wikipedia article on Social Learning Theory to formulate these bullet points. The full article is available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_learning_theory and was accessed on April 17, 2016.

Country of Birth

United Nations (2015) defines a migrant as a person who lives in a country other than his or her country of birth. This definition clears favors the country of birth of a person rather than his or her citizenship of most recent place of residence. The "foreign born" definition of a migrant also persists in the data provided by the United Nations. The advantage of this approach is that a country of birth never changes for a given person; hence categorization of an individual (migrant or non-migrant) remains unchanged throughout his or her life. In this sense this definition is exogenous it that it does not depend on the decisions of an individual.

A good example of a country in this category is the United States, whereby the immigration policy clearly defines immigrant and non-immigrant visas. For example, a person can live and work legally in the US (say, under H1B skilled visa channel), but he or she is not a migrant because this is not an immigration-type visa. Thus, the US immigration statistics only counts those individuals who live there with a green card (i.e. immigration type permanent residence permit).

Country of nationality

An alternative definition of a migrant is based on the country of citizenship (see OECD, 2015). Thus, a migrant is a person who lives in a country other than the country of his or her citizenship for a sufficiently long period. The duration of time varies and in most countries, it is 6 to 12 month.

This definition is more robust over time because citizenship is clearly identified based on an identification document (passport) which is supposed to be in possession by every individual. This concept is often used by the governments of European countries.

However, the ease of this definition comes at a price. Citizenship can be changed over time and hence the classification of a person changes. This undermines the dynamic stability of the definition of citizenship based on citizenship.

Nationality definition

When the complexity of life becomes obvious, the previous two definitions do not suffice. For example, consider, an American born in, say, Turkey during one of the parent's official employment in that country. Using either of the definitions above produces non-sense conclusions regarding the identity of the person in question.

A reasonable approach here is to use the nationality-based definition of a migrant, whereby the nationality is judged by the nationality either one of the parents or both parents. Only under this definition, the above concept can be addressed with a reasonable outcome.

Derivative definitions

For the sake of political correctness, the concept of a migrant is often suppressed and alternative concepts are used, even though an object under study is the same. These concepts are foreigners, foreign workers and foreign residence. These concepts are more colloquial and less frequently used in official literature. Besides this, research at Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford finds that the concepts "migrant" and "immigrant" are in fact equivalent.

Once a migrant has been defined, there can be several types of migrant. Some people choose to migrate voluntarily, for example someone who moves to another country to enhance their career opportunities. Literature defines this as economic migration (Messey et al 1993; Pedersen 2008; Beine et al 2011, among many other sources).

However, some people are forced to migrate to save their lives, for example due to war, famine, hurricane etc. This concept is defined in the literature as forced migration (United Nations, 2015; OECD 2014, among many other sources). A forced migrant is often referred to as a refugee. EOCD (2014) defines a refugee as someone who has left their home and does not have a clear idea of a new destination in their mind.

These findings can be summarized in the table below.

Table 1. Cross-country discrepancies in the definitions of a migrant.

Source: author's own work based on United Nations (2009, 2013, 2015), OECD (2014, 2015) and Pedersen *et al* (2008).

COUNTRY	STATISTICAL OFFICE	CRITERIA FOR REGISTERING
Australia	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Population Research	Permanent arrivals are travelers who hold migrant visas, New Zealand citizens who indicate an intention to settle and those who are otherwise eligible to settle.
Austria	Statistics Austria	Holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 6 weeks.
Belgium	Population Register, National Statistical Office	Holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 3 months.
Canada	Citizenship and Immigration Canada	Inflows of persons who have acquired permanent resident status.
Czech Republic	Czech Statistical Office	Foreigners with a permanent or a long-term residence permit or asylum granted in the given year. Until 2000, data include only holders of a permanent residence permit. From 2001 on, data also include refugees and long-term residence permit holders whose stay exceeds a year.
Denmark	Central population register, Statistics Denmark	Holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 3 months. However, the data presented count immigrants who live legally in Denmark, are registered in the Central population register, and have been living in the country for at least one year. From 2006 Statistics Denmark started using a new calculation on the underlying demographic data. The data from 2006 are therefore not comparable with earlier years. Outflows include administrative corrections. Asylum seekers and all those with temporary residence permits are excluded from the data.
Finland	Central population register, Statistics Finland	holding a residence permit, intending to stay in the country for at least 1 year. Foreign persons of Finnish origin are included.
France	Agence nationale de l'accueil des étrangers et des migrations	Data consist of those entering as permanent workers plus those entering under family reunification. Persons entering as self-employed and persons entering under other permits relating to family reunification are also included.
Germany	Central Population register, Federal Statistical Office.	holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 1 week. Includes asylum seekers living in private households. Excludes inflows of ethnic Germans.
Greece	Ministry of Public Order	Issues of residence permits. Excluding ethnic Greeks.

Hungary	Ministry of the Interior and Central Statistical Office	holding a long-term residence permit (valid for up to 1 year).
Ireland	Central Statistical Office	Flow data based on residence permits or other sources. The estimates relate to those persons resident in the country at the time of the survey and who were living abroad at a point in time twelve months earlier. Data for EU refer to EU-25.
Italy	Ministry of the Interior	Issues of residence permits, including short-term ones (excluding renewals) which are still valid at the end of the year. In principle, this excludes seasonal workers. New entries were 130 745 in 1999 and 155 264 in 2000. Other permits are first-time permits issued to foreigners who had applied for regularization in 1998.
Japan	Register of foreigners, Ministry of Justice, Immigration Bureau	holding a valid visa and intending to remain in the country for more than 90 days. Excluding temporary visitors and re-entries. Excluding temporary visitors and re-entries.
Korea	Ministry of Justice	Flow data based on residence permits or other sources. Data refer to long-term inflows/outflows (more than 90 days).
Luxembourg	Central population register, Central Office of Statistics and Economic Studies (Statec).	holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 3 months.
Mexico	National Statistical Office (INM). Instituto Nacional de Migracion	Entries of *immigrants* (retirees, highly skilled workers, family members, artists, sportsmen..) , including re-entries.
Netherlands	Population register, Central Bureau of Statistics	holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 4 of the next 6 months. Inflows include some asylum seekers (except those staying in reception centres).
New Zealand	New Zealand Immigration Service and New Zealand Statistics.	Residence approvals
Norway	Central population register, Statistics Norway	holding a residence or work permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 6 months. Asylum seekers are normally registered as immigrants only after having settled in a Norwegian municipality following a positive outcome of their application.
Poland	Office for repatriation and Aliens	Number of permanent and "fixed-time" residence permits issued. Since 26 August 2006, nationals of European Union Member States and their family members are no longer issued residence permits in Poland. However, they still need to register their stay in Poland, provided that they are planning to stay in Poland for more than three months.

Portugal	SEF, National Statistical Office (INE) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	Data based on residence permits. 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 figures include foreigners that entered the country with Long Term Visas (Temporary Stay, Study and Work) issued in each year and also foreigners with Stay Permits which were yearly delivered under the 2001 programme of regularization (126 901 in 2001, 47 657 in 2002, 9 097 in 2003 and 178 in 2004). In 2005, inflows include residence permits and long term visas issued over the year. Since 2006 a proxy for the inflows is used which corresponds to long term visas for non-EU 25 citizens and to new residence titles attributed to EU 25 citizens (who do not need a visa).
Slovak Republic	Register of foreigners, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic	Data from 1993 to 2002 refer to newly granted long term and permanent residence permits. In accordance with the 2002 law, data include permanent residence, temporary residence, and tolerated residence.
Spain	Local register (Padron municipal de habitantes), National Statistical Institute (INE)	Residing in the municipality. Data refer to country of origin and not to country of birth.
Sweden	Population register, Statistics Sweden	holding a residence permit and intending to stay in the country for at least 1 year. Asylum seekers and temporary workers are not included in inflows.
Switzerland	Register of foreigners, Federal Office of Immigration, Integration and Emigration	holding a permanent or an annual residence permit.Holders of an L-permit (short duration) are also included if their stay in the country is longer than 12 months. Data for 2006 refers to Serbia and not to Serbia and Montenegro.
Turkey	General Directorate of Security , Ministry of Interior.	Residence permits issued for a duration of residence longer than one month.
United Kingdom	International Passenger Survey, Office for National Statistics.	Non-British citizens admitted to the United Kingdom. Data have been adjusted to include short term migrants (including asylum seekers) who actually stayed longer than one year. Data by nationality on inflows are not adjusted.
United States	US Department of Homeland Security	Issues of permanent residence permits.

Flow and Stock data

The implications of the definition of a migrant transcend far beyond theoretical discussion. The point is that immigration statistics is provided by national statistical offices and every statistical agency uses its own definition of a migrant.

Table 2. Inflow data: cross-country discrepancies in definition of migrant.

Source: author's own work based on United Nations (2009, 2013, 2015), OECD (2014, 2015) and Pedersen *et al* (2008).

<div align="center"><i>LEGAL STATUS</i></div>

DURATION OF STAY	Residence permit	Temporary + permanent	Asylum granted	SOURCE OF DATA
	Austria, Belgium, Denmark(f), Germany, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg	Slovak Republic(c)	Czech Republic(e), Germany, Netherlands, Norway	Pop. Register
<1 year	Korea, Poland, Portugal, Turkey, Italy	Portugal (a)		Residence permit
	Ireland			Survey
	Czech Republic(e), Finland, Slovak Republic(b), Sweden, Switzerland	Switzerland		Pop. Register
<5 year	Portugal(a), France	France, Portugal(a), U.K.	U.K.	Residence permit
				Survey
	Czech Republic(e)			Pop. Register
Permanent	U.S., Australia, Canada(d), New Zealand			Residence permit
				Survey
	Spain			Pop. Register
NA	Greece, Mexico			Residence permit
				Survey

(a) Applicable for years 2001-2005.
(b) Applicable for 1993 to 2002.
(c) Applicable since 2002.
(d)Includes those who changed their status to permanent.
(e)Holders of permanent residence before 2000 and long-terms residents (>1 year) and asylum seekers later on.
(f)From 2006 Statistics Denmark started using a new calculation on the underlying demographic data.

Besides this, every statistical office has its own sources of migration data. Some governments use population censuses and labor force surveys; others use migrant inflow and outflow data. Given this, in cross-country comparison studies, various definitions of a migrant pose significant challenges to researchers. United Nations and OECD, among other institution, conduct tremendous work in harmonizing the sources and definitions of migration data.

Table 3. Stock data: cross-country discrepancies in definition of migrant.

Source: author's own work based on United Nations (2009, 2013, 2015), OECD (2014, 2015) and Pedersen *et al* (2008).

Primary source of migration data

		Population register	Population census	Residence permit data	Labor force survey
Definition of migrant	**Country of birth**	Denmark, Iceland, Netherlands, Sweden	Australia, Austria, Canada, New Zealand, Poland	Slovak Republic	UK, USA
	Citizenship	Czech Republic, Finland, Norway		Czech Republic, Italy	Greece
	Nationality	Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg		France, Hungary, Japan, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland	UK

The picture is further complicated by the fact that national definitions of a migrant vary by the type of data. Available data can be of two types: stock data and flow data. Flow data measure the inflows and outflows of migrants. In contrast, stock data measure the

total amount of migrants at a particular point in time. Combining the two types of data sheds light on full migration picture. The flow data show how much stock data change for period considered. In flow data, a migrant is defined based on the duration of expected stay. In contrast, the stock data contain migrants who have stayed in the country for a significantly long period. There is an algebraic relationship between the amount of migrants in flow and stock data.

$$stock_t = (1 - \alpha) * stock_{t-1} + (1 - \beta) * flow_t,$$

where *stock(t)* is the number of migrants in stock data at time *t*; *flow(t)* is the number of incoming foreigners at time *t.* The parameter α is the rate at which migrants leave stock data (for example, due to naturalization, returning home or death); and β is the rate at which foreigners in flows data do not make it to stock data. This might happen because they go back home. Therefore, *(1-α)* measures the fraction of stayers in migrant stock from previous period and *(1-β)* measures the fraction of survivors in the flow data.

3.4. Determinants of international migration

In general, there are plenty reasons for migration. They can be classified as economic, social, political or environmental. All the factors can be usually classified as push factors and pull factors at work (Massey et al 1993). There is often unclear distinction between the two because migration is a complex phenomenon and plenty of factors are at place simultaneously.

3.4.1.   Pull factors

Pull factors work on the side of a receiving country. These are the factors that work like a magnet to attract foreign residents because certain conditions are better elsewhere than at home. These conditions include higher wages, better employment opportunities, higher level of public services, less corruption etc. Most commonly mentioned pull factors

in the literature are (Massey *et al* 1993, Beine *et al* 2011, EOCD, various year; United Nations, various year):

1. higher employment,
2. more wealth,
3. better services,
4. good climate,
5. safer, less crime,
6. political stability,
7. more fertile land,
8. lower risk from natural hazards.

3.4.2. Push factors

These are factors that work on the side of a sending country. This is usually something unusual about a home country that makes people emigrate from there. Economic reasons are among the most frequently mentioned push factors in the literature on migration. Most commonly mentioned push factors are:

1. Lack of economic opportunities,
2. lack of services,
3. lack of safety,
4. high crime,
5. crop failure,
6. drought,
7. flooding,
8. poverty,
9. war.

Migration usually happens as a result of a combination of these push and pull factors and it is often not entirely clear which factor is at play. The figure below nicely summarizes the pull and push factors. It also shows their interaction in the final migration decision.

Push Factors		Pull Factors
Unemployment	→	Potential for employment
A lack of services or amenities	→	Better service provision
Poor safety and security	→	A safer atmosphere
Concerns about high crime rates	→	Low crime rates
Crop failure	→	Fertile land
Drought	→	Good food suppliers
Flooding	→	Less risk of natural hazards
Poverty	→	Greater wealth or affluence
War	→	Political security
	→	A more attractive climate
	→	A more attractive quality of life

Figure 2. Intersection of various push and pull factors.[14]

The key idea of my thesis is that the concept of national identity extends the support of the push and pull factors in their classical sense. The concepts of individual "national belonging", "national recognition" is another layer of push and pull factors that have to be taken into account. This is independent of the foundation of such concepts, whether constructionism or naturalism.

There is sufficient motivation for this idea. Rodrigues (2001) finds that the climate in Spain itself is significant pull factor for many people. This factor is particularly attractive for

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[14] Source: BBC lectures, available at
http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/migration/migration_trends_rev2.shtml

older resident who might be looking for a foreign destination for their retirement. This combined with Spain's high economic development creates a unique combination of pull factors.

Figure 3 formalizes the determinants of international migration. These are common determinants mentioned in most studies that are analyzed in the literature review. However, the picture of Ukraine to Czech Republic migration is unique in that these two countries share a common history, similar language, culture. At the same time, there is a wide gap in economic opportunities. I wish to test the hypothesis that the considerations of national identity national disclosure are a lot more important in the context of Ukraine to Czech Republic migration. It is so because these countries are relatively close to each other in terms of culture, language and history.

Migration Determinants

Economic factors   *Social factors*   *Other factors*

Remuneration   Identity constructionism   Family circumstances
Employment conditions   Identity disclosure   Stocks of other migrants
Provision of public goods   Common / similar history   Costs of social exclusion
Mobility costs   Common / similar language
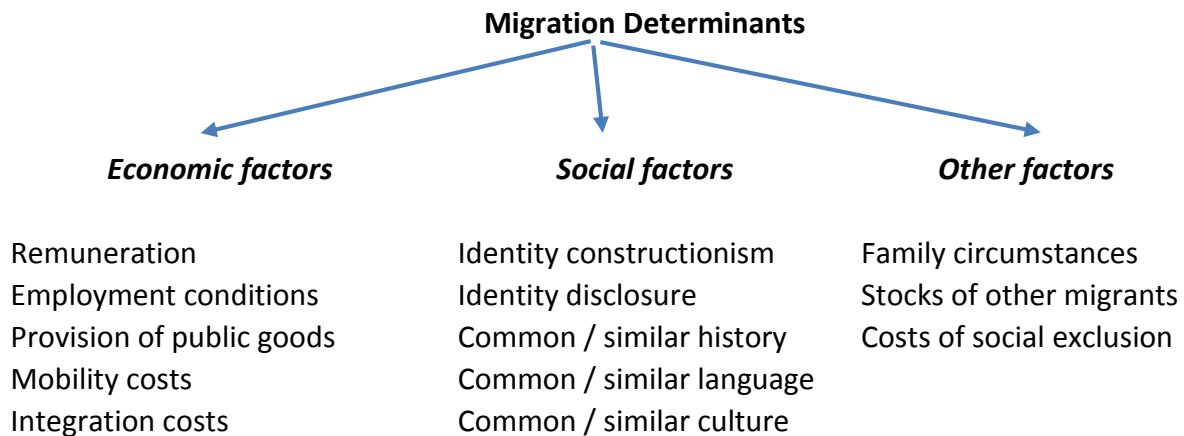Integration costs   Common / similar culture

Figure 3. Migration determinants.

Source: Author's own work.

3.5. Formation of Individual and Social Identity under Immigration

In this Section I review how the theories of Social Identity and Social Learning can be adjusted to account for a steady flow of immigration using the example of Ukraine and the Czech Republic.

The theories would be unaffected if migrants lived by themselves and did not communicate with locals. In this case, several social identities co-existed in one country. Under the assumption of no interaction, this would lead to no changes in the identities of each of the groups.

It is social interaction between migrants and locals that forces and adjustment to these theories. The magnitude of change is determined by the degree of the intensity of interaction and degree of dominance of a hosting culture relative to an immigrant culture.

Ariely (2012) and Howard (2000) find that national and individual identities change under the presence of immigration. The authors claim that under immigration national identity diverges to one of two mutually exclusive equilibria: nations can become more open and diverse or more segregated and defensive.

Two concepts have to be defined before the formal adjusted model is presented: home dominance and nation superiority. These concepts can be best defined using the example of migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. When Ukrainian migrants come to the Czech Republic, they become minority, and hence Czech culture is prevails because it is home dominant. In other words in the mixture of locals and migrants, the number of locals prevails and Czech culture is more dominant.

The concept of national superiority is more subtle to define and is slightly more subjective. In a pair-wise competition of two nations, a superior nation is the one with more developed culture. For example, in the times of colonialism, a colonizer nation was superior in most cases because it had better technology, arms and education. The adjustment process to the influx of migrants can be characterized as follows.

1. Immigration extends the concept of social identity. Immigration becomes a characteristic feature of a society, just like language, currency, or unemployment.

2. Immigration makes a receiving society more diverse; more nationalities and cultures are present on one sovereign territory.

3. Immigration makes individual identity be aware that there are representatives of other groups around.

It is further important to research how local groups perceive immigration. To some degree, this defines the response of local groups and the effect of having foreign cultures around.

According to the theories of the formation of national identity covered in the sections above, every encounter and experience changes the individual identities of the persons engaged in this act. Hence, every encounter of a local with a migrant changes the identity of the local. The direction of change depends purely on the perception of immigration by the local. In any case, the local is now more informed of the presence of the foreign identities around. If the local wants to extend his or her identity to account for the encounter with a foreign culture – that is at the discretion of the local.

3.6. Sampling frame

Figure 4 below formalizes the stages of the development of the questionnaire. The list of questions has to be extensive enough to disclose as many individual details as possible. However, the questionnaire must not be overwhelming in that the interview should not last more than 20-30 minutes.

The survey questionnaire contains sections on individual socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender and family status), education and employment details. I also include questions on perception, sentiment and disclosure of individual and national identity to the home country (Ukraine) and the destination country (Czech Republic).

Another important issue of my survey is sampling frame. This has to do with the choice where to look for potential respondents, what respondents to interview and how to generalize the collected sample to be representative of the population of interest.
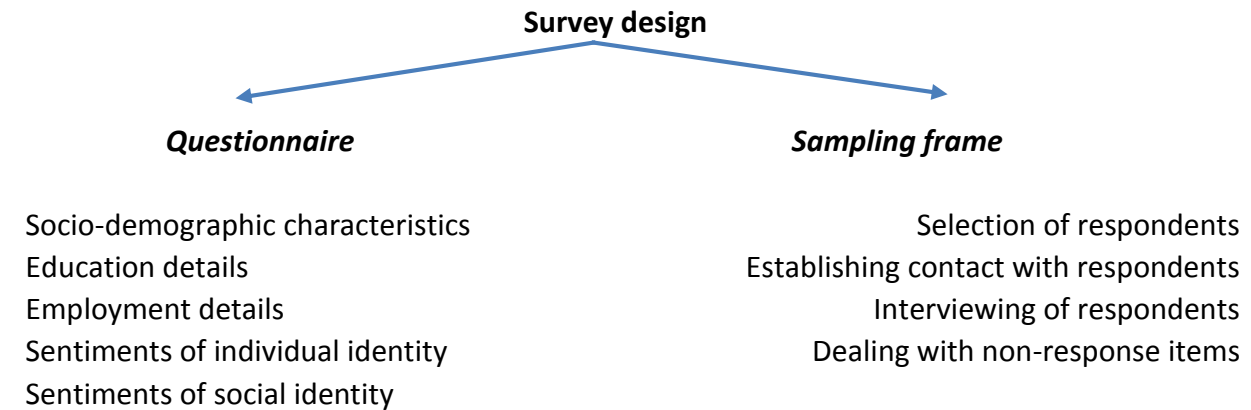
Survey design

Questionnaire

Socio-demographic characteristics
Education details
Employment details
Sentiments of individual identity
Sentiments of social identity

Sampling frame

Selection of respondents
Establishing contact with respondents
Interviewing of respondents
Dealing with non-response items

Figure 4. Survey design.

Source: Author's own work.

The purpose of sampling framework is to collect observation such that they sufficiently represent the underlying population of study. In my case, the population of interest is small, and hence the aim is to rely on extensive qualitative answers (10 conversations) to test the hypotheses raised in the theoretical section.[15] [16]

The figure below describes data analysis steps after survey data have been collected.

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[15] The population of interest is defined as Ukrainians of Czech origin (ethnic Czechs) who moved to live to the Czech Republic in the past 10 years. It is further ambiguous how to define an ethnic Czech person. I follow an agnostic approach here and use the definition of the Czech Ministry of Interior. Under this approach, the population of interest are all individuals eligible to apply for the resettlement program of the Czech government.
[16] According to various government sources, there can be around 1000 Ukrainians of Czech origin residing in Ukraine and eligible for the program.

Data Analysis

Inputting data

Conversion of paper
questionnaires to machine
readable format
Consistency check
Validation

Data analysis

Descriptive statistics
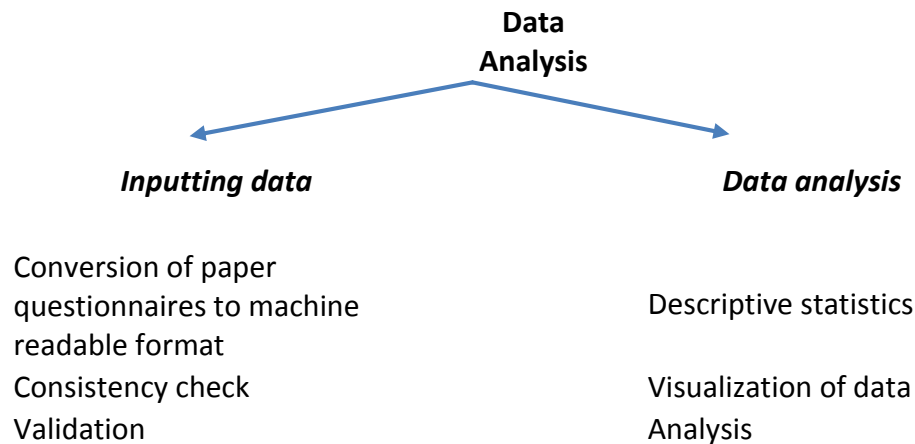
Visualization of data
Analysis

Figure 5. Stages of data analysis.

Source: Author's own work.

Finally, Figure 5 formalizes the stages of the analysis of collected data. Since the survey interviews are conducted in person, raw information is recorded on paper. The first step is to put the collected data into a computer and perform relevant validation procedures of the collected data.[17] This includes various consistency checks of the collected data and answers. For example, different answers to the same question at the beginning and at the end of the interview would invalidate the both answers to the question.

4. Documentation on migration

In this section, I provide evidence on the world migration picture, immigration into the Czech Republic and emigration from Ukraine. This allows me to contrast migration picture on the Ukraine – Czech Republic axis with general world trends. The general message is that the flows and stocks of migrants increase every year. This is also reflected the Ukraine to the Czech Republic migration because it is part of the overall world picture.

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[17] The purpose of the validation exercise is to make sure that the collected data are internally consistent. Potential errors might occur at the stages of data collection, data input and data analysis.

4.1. International migration

The world migration picture is diverse and extremely dynamic.[18] Unfortunately, quality data on migration is very scarce because migration is a complex phenomenon. According to the data from the United Nations, between 2000 and 2015 the number of migrants significantly grew in 167 countries. In 63 of these, including France, Germany and the United States of America, the international migrant stock grew by less than 2% per year (see the figure below). In 104 countries, the pace of growth during the period 2000-2015 was considerably faster, with 19 countries or areas recording an average annual growth rate of 6% or more. Among the countries with the most pronounced growth during this period were Italy, Spain, Thailand and the United Arab Emirates. In contrast, in 61 countries or areas, the stock of international migrants declined during 2000-2015. In 39 countries, including India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Russian Federation and Ukraine, the pace of decline was less than 2 per cent per annum. In 22 countries or areas, however, the international migrant stock shrunk more rapidly, with 10 countries or areas recording an average decline of more than 4 per cent per annum. The number of refugees worldwide has reached the highest level since World War II. In 2014, the total number of refugees in the world was estimated at 19.5 million, representing about 8 per cent of all international migrants (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015). Developing regions hosted 86 per cent of the world's refugees (12.4 million persons), the highest value in more than two decades. The least developed countries provided asylum to 3.6 million refugees, or 25 per cent of the global total. In 2014, Turkey became the largest refugee-hosting country worldwide, with 1.6 million refugees. Turkey was followed by Pakistan (1.5 million), Lebanon (1.2 million), the Islamic Republic of Iran (1.0 million), Ethiopia and Jordan (0.7 million each). More than half (53 per cent) of refugees

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[18] The exposition in this section is based on United Nations (2015).

under UNHCR's mandate come from just three countries: the Syrian Arab Republic (3.9 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million) and Somalia (1.1 million).[19]
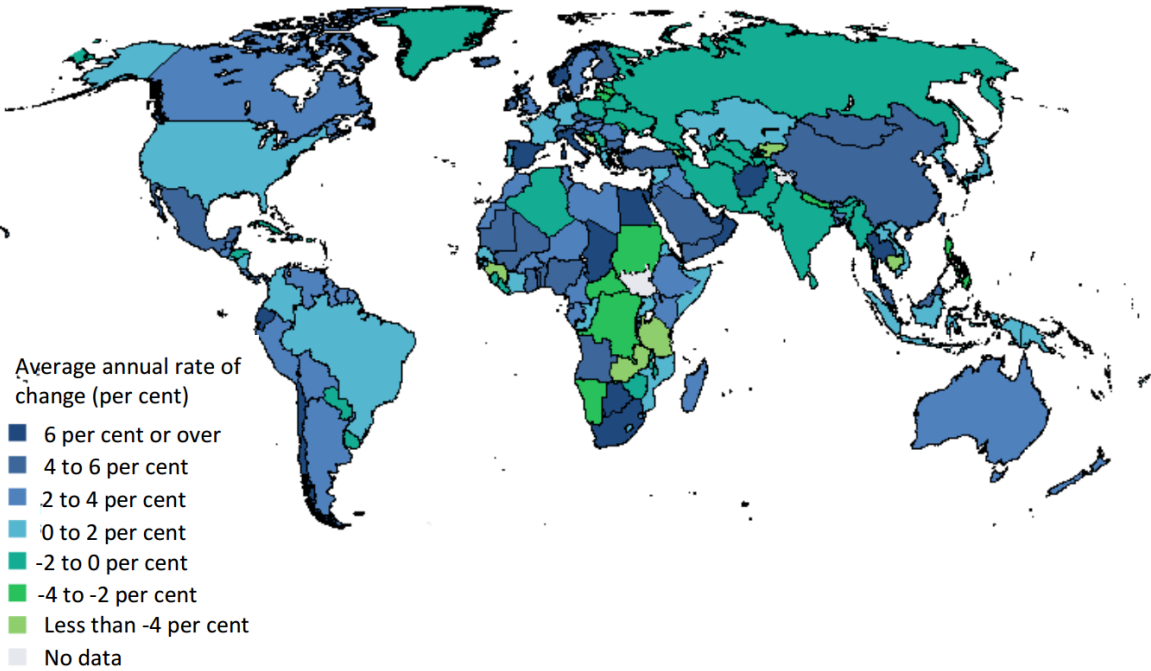

Figure 6. Average annual rates of change in the number of migrants.

Source: United Nations (2015, p. 8).

According to the United Nations data, in 2015, 67% of all international migrants in the world were living in just twenty countries. The largest number of international migrants resided in the United States of America: 47 million, equal to 19% of the world's total. Germany and the Russian Federation hosted the second and third largest numbers of migrants worldwide (around 12 million each), followed by Saudi Arabia (10 million), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (nearly 9 million), and the United Arab Emirates (8 million). Of the top twenty destinations of international migrants

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[19] Although it is not an immediate goal of this thesis to emphasize the migration of refugees, for the completeness of global migration picture, I decide to briefly cover this topic.

worldwide, nine were in Asia, seven in Europe, two in Northern America, and one each in Africa and Oceania.

Numerous studies (see for example United Nations and OECD, various years) that the majority of migrants originating from middle-income countries live in a high-income country. Of the 157 million international migrants born in a middle-income country, nearly 49% were residing in a high-income OECD country, 28% in a high-income non-OECD country, 20% in another middle-income country. Migrants from high-income OECD countries were primarily residing in other high-income OECD countries (83%), while migrants from high-income non-OECD countries were almost evenly split between high-income OECD countries (46%) and middle-income countries (49%). Over half of all migrants originating from low-income countries were living in a middle-income country (57%), compared to 19 per cent in high-income OECD countries, 5% in high-income non-OECD countries and 19% in other low-income countries.

4.2. Migration into the Czech Republic

Ariltova and Langhamrova (2010) claim that to a large extent the Czech Republic currently plays the role of a transition country (so called "buffer zone") between the countries of the former Soviet bloc and the old capitalistic economies. The opening of the borders did not evoke a massive emigration to the countries of Western Europe, but increasing the attraction of Czech Republic as a transit country.

However, the country is gradually becoming a target country for migrants mainly from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Moldavia, Vietnam, Slovakia and Poland. Foreigners from Western Europe and Northern America are largely under-represented.

Ariltova and Langhamrova (2010) find that Citizens of Ukraine come to the Czech Republic mainly for economic reasons. This is particularly true for men and less so for women. The economic situation in Ukraine has been deteriorating for the past decade and hence the

Czech Republic is attractive to Ukrainians in terms of employment and higher salaries as well as higher average level of life in general.

Ukraine and the Czech Republic are geographically and culturally close and hence barriers for integration are low. The authors find that the age structure of citizens from Ukraine is quite typical of labor migration in general. According to the authors' data, almost 93% of the Ukrainians are of reproductive age 15–59 years, but most are aged between 20 and 45. The Ukrainian migrants also tend to have more children than an average Czech family.

To have an objective picture of immigration into the Czech Republic, I download data from the Czech Statistical Office.[20] The data are in annual frequency.
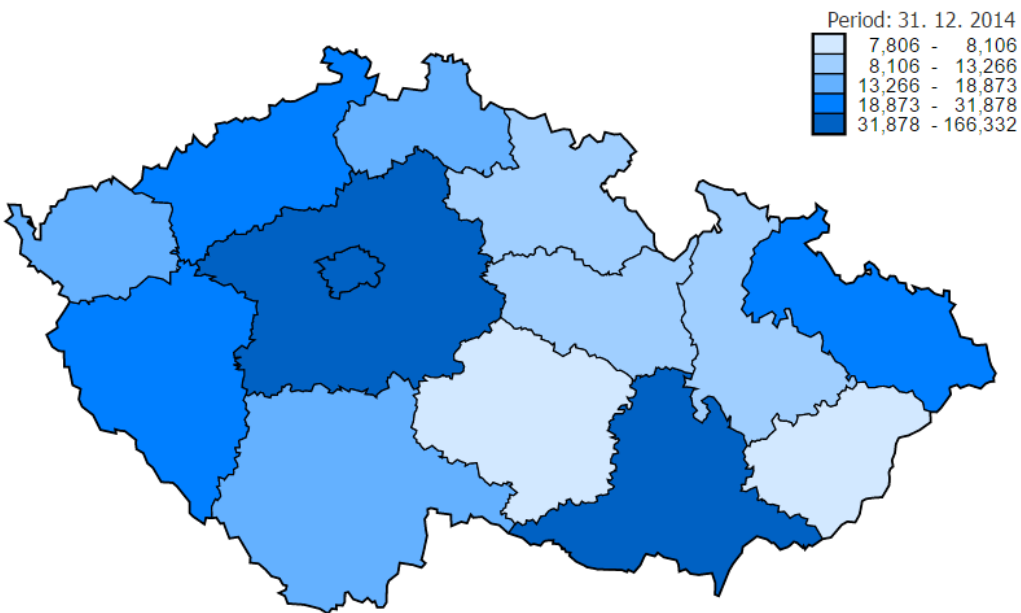
Figure 7. Density of foreign residents in the Czech Republic.

Source: Czech Statistical Office, downloaded on January 21, 2016.

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[20] Consistent with data collection practices of many developed countries, CSU defines a regular (or legal) migrant as a person with foreign citizenship who possesses a valid permanent residence permit or a temporary residence permit with the duration of allowed stay more than 90 days.

Figure 8. Migrants in the Czech Republic over time and type of residence.

Source: CSU (2015)

Table 4. Migration onto the Czech Republic by region of origin and destination (kraj).

Source: CSU (2015).

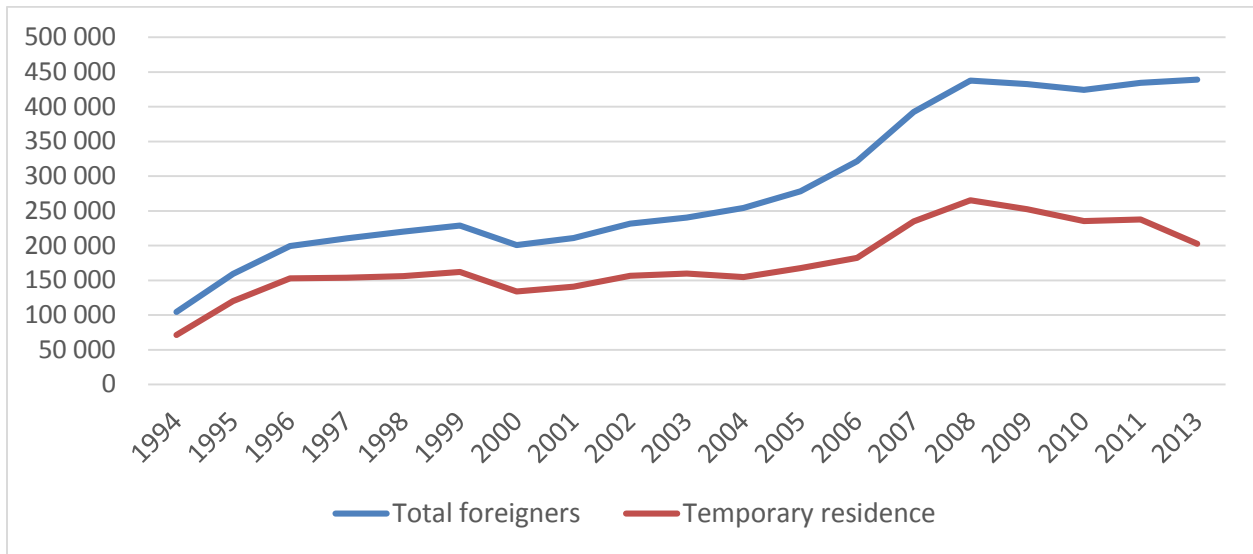|	Foreigners, Total	Female	Citizenship						
			EU	of which		Other countries	of which		
				Slovakia	Poland		Ukraine	Viet Nam	Russian Federation
Czech Republic	449,367	195,345	184,511	96,222	19,626	264,856	104,156	56,609	34,416
Praha, the Capital City	166,332	76,040	53,384	26,281	2,854	112,948	45,533	11,277	21,098
Středočeský Region	59,860	25,459	26,869	17,411	2,692	32,991	15,826	5,403	4,486
Jihočeský Region	15,366	6,693	6,615	3,275	335	8,751	3,755	2,597	500
Plzeňský Region	25,958	11,177	12,758	6,576	821	13,200	5,606	5,275	368
Karlovarský Region	18,873	8,255	5,688	1,889	219	13,185	2,343	6,799	2,443
Ústecký Region	31,878	11,496	14,756	4,169	1,102	17,122	4,448	8,042	1,528
Liberecký Region	17,048	7,993	7,428	4,087	1,405	9,620	4,847	2,011	539
Královéhradecký Region	13,266	5,946	6,088	2,671	1,798	7,178	3,643	1,585	288
Pardubický Region	11,559	5,204	6,054	3,333	1,169	5,505	2,729	1,278	199
Region Vysočina	7,806	3,468	3,125	2,078	210	4,681	2,058	1,186	145
Jihomoravský Region	38,588	16,299	16,226	9,821	793	22,362	9,334	4,499	1,813
Olomoucký Region	10,110	4,436	4,991	3,074	563	5,119	1,758	1,452	280
Zlínský Region	8,106	3,492	5,027	3,723	320	3,079	903	766	241
Moravskoslezský Region	23,924	9,128	15,243	7,703	5,325	8,681	1,200	4,385	449
Not identified Region	693	259	259	131	20	434	173	54	39

4.3.Migration from Ukraine

Ukraine is an emigration country; the outflow of Ukrainians from Ukraine greatly exceeds the inflow of other nationalities into Ukraine. Until 2014, it was mainly due to pull factors, that is better economic conditions elsewhere outside Ukraine. After 2014, the situation was further exacerbated push factors – the war in the East of the country. The demographic situation is quite unfavorable with declining birth rates and rising permanent emigration.

Numerous studies (Commander *et al*, 2013; Leontieva, 2014) find that the most frequent destination for Ukrainian migrants are the Russian Federation, Poland, Italy, the Czech Republic and Germany. This trend is consistent with the theories of migration mentioned by Messey (1993). The destination countries for the Ukrainian migrants are usually relatively close geographically, they are better economically developed; most of them share similarities in culture and language (see the map below).
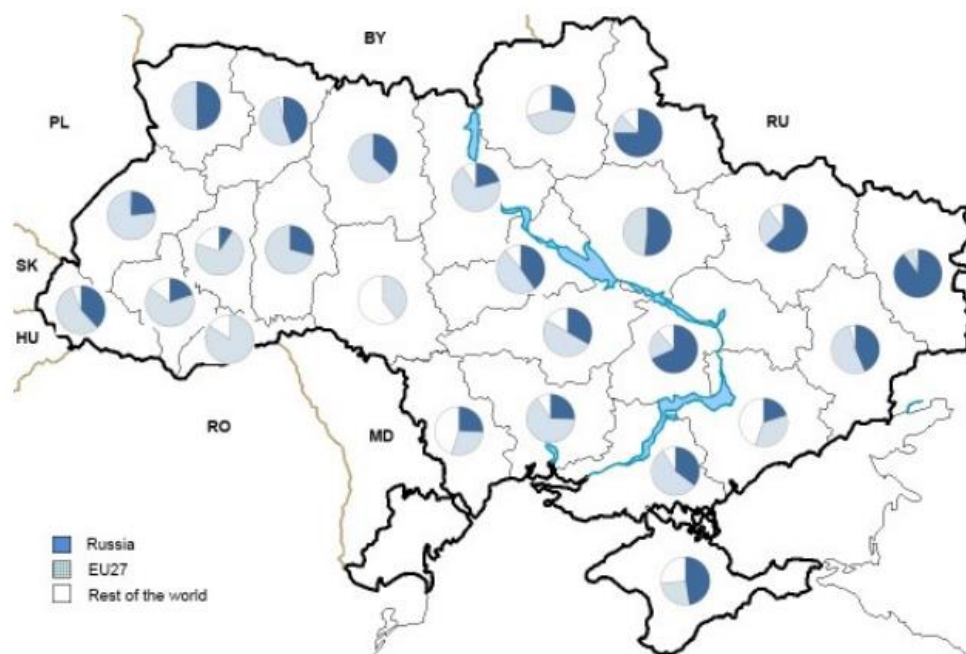

Figure 9. Destinations of Ukrainian migrants. Source*: Commander* et al *(2013).*

In this section I shed brief background information on Ukrainian migration to Poland and the Czech Republic.

Ukrainian migration to Czech lands has a long history. Leontieva (2014) states that in the 16th century, labour migrants from Halych and Bukovyna used to move for seasonal work, mostly to Bohemia and Moravia. Educated Ukrainians who abandoned their native country for political reasons, were attracted mainly to Prague and other big cities within the Austrian part of the Hapsburg Empire. During the first decades of the 20th century, the Ukrainian diaspora excelled in educational and academic activities. However, after the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, the diaspora groups were forced to close. After the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the Czech Republic attracted a new wave of predominantly economic migrants from Ukraine.

Most of the Ukrainian migrants are occupied in medium and low skilled jobs. Many studies (Commander et al, 2013; CSU, 2015; Leontieva, 2014) point to the fact that educated Ukrainians are employed in low skilled occupations (see the table below).

Table 5. The distribution of Ukrainian migrants across occupations.

Source: Commander *et al* (2013).

	Low-skilled			Medium-skilled			High-skilled		
	migrants before	after	non-mirants	migrants before	after	non-migrants	migrants before	after	non-migrants
unemployed	0	0	8	38	3	193	28	4	162
manual labor	3	1	24	48	71	329	19	79	132
specialized manual labour	0	0	26	102	144	972	84	131	663
general high-skilled	0	0	3	9	7	224	110	86	1318
specialised high-skilled	1	0	0	0	0	10	24	25	141
administrative and management	0	2	1	5	5	35	10	13	282
Study	2	2	163	12	8	224	73	22	229
Other	0	0	14	29	6	233	37	24	305

It is difficult to give a reasonable estimate of the number of Ukrainian migrants residing in Poland. Toruńczyk-Ruiz (2014) finds this number to be at least 100 000 legally working migrants in Poland. This excludes migrant population out of labor force. Regarding employment sectors employment, the Ukrainian migrants are concentrated in agriculture, domestic services, and construction. They usually enter Poland legally, but often engage in unregistered forms of work and overstay their visas. The authors finds that relatively low economic attractiveness compared to the rest of the EU, and the short geographic distance to the home country, do not make Poland a settlement country for the majority of the Ukrainians. Instead, most migrants circulate between Poland and Ukraine, where they have their homes and families.

The aim of the majority of the Ukrainian migrants is to earn money and to go back home, which obviously hampers integration with the host society. At the same time, however, thanks to well-established connections with Polish society and both cultural and geographic proximity, compared to other migrant groups, Ukrainian migrants easily adjust to life in Poland; see Toruńczyk-Ruiz (2014), among other authors.

5. Analysis of Collected Survey Data

In this section, I present the results of a research that I conducted with the families of Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic. In total, I interviewed 10 families who immigrated into the Czech Republic within the resettlement program of the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic.

5.1. Brief Program Description

According to Janská and Drbohlav D. (1999), there were 27660 migrants of Czech origin in residing in Volyn region (currently Western Ukraine) in 1897. This movement was motivated in part by relatively poor economic conditions in the Czech land. The Tsar Russia attracted foreign workers by providing discounts for the purchase of fertile

agricultural land, tax breaks for entrepreneurs and partial waiver of military service. Foreigners could also send their children to public schools, be part of public social security system and exercise the right to own religion, self-governance and mother tongue. Volyn was one of the most popular destinations, although later waves of emigration saw migrants moving to Kiev, Moscow, Leningrad and Siberia (mainly farmers).

After the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, there was the first wave of re-settlement of ethnic Czechs back to the Czech land. According to Janská and Drbohlav D. (2001), the Czech government was always supportive of the resettlement and helped resettlers with land and other resources.

According to the Ministry of Interior,[21] 200 Volyn Czechs requested assistance from the Czech government in 2015. This had to do with deteriorating economic conditions and the breakout of the military conflict in the East of Ukraine. There was air and land transportation provided and 135 individuals obtained permanent residence. Česká televize[22] also reported that the resettlers were provided with temporary accommodation, access to medical insurance, Czech language classes and received one-time cash installment of CZK50000. In 2015 the Czech government allocated CZK 66 mln. to the program of reallocation and integration of ethnic Czechs.

5.2. Sampling frame

It is difficult to obtain information on the whereabouts of the participants of the program. One reason for this is that I am dealing with migrants and wide migration literature finds that it is quite difficult to obtain a representative sample on migrants. Second, I am working with sub-population of migrants who are a minority in migrant category. These two factors significantly complicate the development of the sampling frame for my study.

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[21] The press release of the Czech Ministry of Interior, accessed on 25.03.2016 here .
[22] The video press release was accessed on 25.03.2016 here .

To obtain information on the location of the ethnic Czechs who recently arrived on the Program, I contacted the Ministry of Interior and requested them to provide me with such information. Based on their response, I interviewed 10 families who have kindly agreed to cooperate. This is slightly less than 10% of the number of arrivals in 2015. The average duration of the interview was 1 hour.

In the survey, the unit of observation is one family, although I managed to interview only one member from each family. During the interviews, I closely followed the pre-defined list of questions, although I tried to be flexible in the timing of these questions. Since every family is a unique story, I generated additional questions on the go whenever I deemed that relevant extra information could be extracted from respondents. This gave me a big picture of the character of the ethnic origin of these families, their economic conditions and shed light on their national identity.

5.3. Socio-demographic characteristics

Tables Table *6* and Table *7* below provide basic demographic characteristics on the individuals and their families in the collected sample. The unit of observation is a family. I interviewed a person most knowledgeable of family characteristics.

Based on the collected responses an average family within the Program can be characterized as a household consisting of 3-4 members. This is usually a married couple with one or two children; although other extended family members are also present. Most respondents and the members of their families are of working age, usually university graduates. The most frequent places of origin are Zhytomir and Odessa regions. Only two families moved to the Czech Republic around 10 years ago, the remaining families are recent newcomers (less than a year.)

Table 6. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Source: Author's own work.

Family id	Name of Respondent	Respondents' age	Respondents' Education	Family size, people	Place of Origin in Ukraine
Family 1	Viktor	40	Higher	4	Zhytomir
Family 2	Yulia	32	Higher (economics)	3	Odessa
Family 3	Mariya	69	Higher	5	Novogradovak (Czechohrad), Zaporog'e
Family 4	Yuriy	NR	Higher (designer)	3	Odessa
Family 5	Vladimir	32	NR	3	Mala Zubovshina, Zhytomyr region
Family 6	Oksana	39	NR	4	Malinovka, Zhytomyr region
Family 7	Svetlana M.	42	College	4	Novogradovak (Czechohrad), Melitopol'
Family 8	Svetlana S.	42	Higher	2	Malinovka and Zubovshina, Zhytomir
Family 9	Natalia	30	Higher (teacher)	3	Odessa
Family 10	L'ubov'	61	NR	1	Rivno

Notes:	*NR - not reported by respondent*
	NA - not applicable

Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics of the families of the respondents.

Source: Author's own work.

Family id	Family size, people	Household composition	Children's age	Length of Stay
Family 1	4	Viktor with his wife and their two children	NR	1 month
Family 2	3	Yulia with her husband and one child	3 months	6 months
Family 3	5	Mariya with her daughter's family (the daughter, her husband and two children)	NR	2 months
Family 4	3	Yuriy with his wife and their daughter	3 years	NR
Family 5	3	Vladimir with his wife and their daughter	less than 1 year	NR
Family 6	4	Oksana with her husband, their son and daughter	Daughter - 17, son – 15	1-2 months
Family 7	4	Svetlana, her daughter, son and grandson	NR	2 months
Family 8	2	Svetlana and her husband	NA	Since 1993, moved in here after Chernobyl'
Family 9	3	Natalia, her husband and their daughter	3 years	Since March 2015
Family 10	1	Daughter and son are in Ukraine	NR	Since 2008, arrived here on Polish work permit

Notes: NR - not reported by respondent

NA - not applicable

5.4. Qualitative Analysis of Respondents' Answers

5.4.1. Description of Czech roots

Regarding ethnicity, only one spouse usually has Czech roots; the other spouse joins the program as a family member.

Table 8. Description of Czech roots of the families interviewed.

Source: Author's own work.

Family id	Name of Respondent	Description of Czech roots
Family 1	Viktor	Viktor has Czech and Polish roots from his grand-grandparents.
Family 2	Yulia	Yulia husband's grand-grandparents were Czech
Family 3	Mariya	Czech roots on her grand-grandfather's line.
Family 4	Yuriy	Yuriy has Czech roots on his grand-grandmother's line.
Family 5	Vladimir	Vladimir's grand-grandfather moved to Zhytomir in the 18th century.
Family 6	Oksana	Badly remembers her roots. Says that her grandfather went to war; her mother spoke Czech in the family.
Family 7	Svetlana M.	Grandmother was Czech
Family 8	Svetlana S.	Svetlana's grandparents were Czech
Family 9	Natalia	My husband's relatives are part of the Czech Society in Ukraine. Husband's grand-grandfather went to war for the Austro-Hungarian Empire and then moved to Ukraine.
Family 10	L'ubov'	Czech and Polish roots. Her grandfather finished 5 classes of Catholic school. He had a Polish name Dobroczynski, and her grandmother had a Czech name - Prochazka.

All the people interviewed presented to be family-oriented and hard-working individuals with clear intention of finding employment and settling down. The Czech culture is supported by the Czech Societies throughout Ukraine.

Presented here citations are the most representative replies of the respondents:

Svetlana S.: *I have never been to the Czech Republic before the resettlement. However, I always knew that we have Czech roots. Together with my parents we lived in a village overwhelmingly populated by Czechs; there were practically no Ukrainians there. […] My mother is ¼ Czech and I used this fact to apply for the program. […] During the Soviet Union, no one took pride in their identity; and we lost most of our documents that can testify our nationality.*

Natalia: *My husband's grand-grandfather was Czech. He was from a typical Austro-Hungarian family. He went to war for his Czech motherland. Then, he moved to Odessa, married there and stayed there.*

Vladimir: *My grand-grand-grandfather moved to Zhytomir around 1830. It was Russian Empire back then. When my grandmother passed away, my grandfather moved to live with us in Odessa. He spoke Czech to my mother and us, although it was not clear Czech but mixed up with Russian words. So, I speak Czech as far as I could learn it from my grandfather.*

L'ubov': *It was very difficult to prove that I have Czech roots. I had all paperwork translated from the Archive. I spent two years browsing through archive books dating as far back as 1836. My aunt-in-law gave me the birth certificate of my grand-grandmother from 1881.The paper was barely readable. I know my roots up to the fourth generation.*

Svetlana M.: *My grandparents were held hostage in Germany. After the war they wanted to return to the Czech Republic, but eventually for some reason decided to go back to Czechograd. My mother was born in Germany had has a German birth certificate. During Stalin, my mother destroyed a lot of paperwork. We only have a copy of this certificate.*

In summary, I wish to state that all the surveyed respondents are in general happy to have arrived in the Czech Republic. All of them view this as a nice challenging opportunity and have gone a long way to get where they are now.

5.4.2. Reasons for Resettlement

During the interviews, the respondents would often get quite emotional because some of the families lived in relatively poor conditions prior to arrival or they are excited to be in the Czech Republic.

When asked for conditions for the move, most people cited economic conditions as the largest contributing factor for their move. None of the families cited Czech identity or Czech roots as the main reason for moving. It is also worth mentioning several families mentioned "the wellbeing of their children" as one of the key contributing factors behind the decision to move.

Svetlana S.: *We moved in 1993 within the resettlement program after the Chernobyl tragedy. I was then 18 and was the one who actually persuaded my parents to move. I saw this as a big chance for myself.*

L'ubov': *I was forced to emigrate from Ukraine. It is very difficult to make a living in that country. For example, my aunt in the Czech Republic get CZK 11000 monthly pension; but I get only UAH 1600. The exchange rate is almost the same, but the levels of income are substantially different. My daughter Olia in Kiev gets UAH 800 of scholarship. This only suffices to buy lens and a monthly transportation ticket.*

Svetlana M.: *Frankly speaking, I moved here because of my children. In Ukraine, I don't know … the government does not care about its people. There are no jobs, prospects for the future are very dim. […] My son likes the Czech language and the Czech culture; he wanted to move here long ago.[…] I want my children to have*

normal and stable future. My grandson is now 4 years old and it is very easy for him to integrate into the local life.

Natalia*: It is quite bad to live in Odessa nowadays, particularly for children. When you go outside, you see dirt everywhere and the kid [3 years old] sees it all. You often hear bad words, even on play-yards for children. Subconsciously, you understand that such living conditions will not take you far. I am very happy we have moved to the Czech Republic.*

The main mentioned motivation for the move for all the respondents is poor economic conditions in Ukraine. The Czech Republic offers better opportunities for life and wider prospects for children.

5.4.3. Language skills

All the respondents complain about poor knowledge of the Czech language on their part. It is no surprising in light of the fact that most of them had never hear it before, say spouses of individuals with Czech roots. Even those who heard the language from their grandparents cannot really use it the current Czech environment because of outdated phraseology. Only those individuals who actually attended the classes of modern Czech language in the offices of the Czech Society in Ukraine can understand the Czech language without difficulties. Even those people complain of strong Russian or Ukrainian accent.

Svetlana M.*: I am experiencing certain difficulties with the language. I attend the classes organized here in the hotel. […] First I need to translate a sentence into Russian, think of an answer, translate it into Czech and only them say my answer. I feel light here even though I left everything in Ukraine.*

Yuriy: *I speak poor Czech as far as I can. I do my best to improve it at work.*

Natalia: *We started learning the Czech language only here in the Czech Republic because in Ukraine we did not know if and when we would emigrate. […] It took my husband 3 months to get the gribs of the language at work. He started speaking at work and managed to learn it. I am currently unemployed, but I am learning the language by memorizing words and common expressions.*

All the respondents show some familiarity with the language, although the Czech language they are used to hear from their (grand) parents is not always the current version of the language spoken. Yet, prior familiarity with the language makes it easier to learn in the future.

My findings come in line with the findings of other authors on the subject of Ukrainian migration in the Czech Republic (Commander et al, 2013; Munich, 2014; Drbohlav, 2001). I find that the surveyed migrants and their families on average have poor language skills straight upon arrival into the Czech Republic. However, their skills speedily improve because the Czech and Ukrainian (or Russian) languages belong to the same group of Slavic languages. This greatly facilitates the adaptation of the resettled migrants.

5.4.4. Employment

In this section, I cover the employment details of respondents. During the interviews I managed to obtain detailed information on the character of jobs that the respondents had in Ukraine. In light of the fact that most respondents moved into the Czech Republic only a few months ago, most of them are currently in search of employment in the Czech Republic. However, a few successful respondents were already employed on the day of the interviews.

Even though the economic aspect of the resettlement phenomenon was not the main emphasis of my study, I had to dedicate more time to it than was my original intention. In line with wide migration literature, the main driver of the resettlement is closely related

to higher wages and better employment opportunities in the Czech Republic. Many families saw this program as a chance for better life for their families. All the respondents interviewed are educated and were employed prior to the arrival to the Czech Republic.

> **Viktor**: *In Ukraine I worked as a manger in a bank. I used to get UAH 2000 monthly after all taxes and social security payments. My family will be happy if I get CZK 20000 at a factory here.*

> **Yuriy**: *I took me 3-4 months to find a job in the Czech Republic. I started job hunt already in Ukraine; sent my CV to many companies and only 2-3 replied. Currently in the Czech Republic I work as a designer of tile [for bathrooms, for example].*

> **L'ubov'**: *I have been involved in many difficult situations in the Czech Republic. In some cases I was underpaid, or even not paid for my work. Once I got in touch with bad people and my visa was almost cancelled. Luckily, nowadays many non-profit organizations provide basic support for free, for example InBaze.*

It is no surprise that most surveyed migrants were unemployed at the moment of the interview. This has to do with poor knowledge of Czech and English, as well as relatively short period of stay. Despite this, all of them show clear determination to find jobs, pay taxes and be lawful residence of the Czech Republic.

Table 9. Description of the employment situations of the families interviewed.

Source: Author's own work.

Family id	Name of Respondent	Employment in Ukraine	Employment in the Czech Republic
Family 1	Viktor	Viktor worked as a manager in a bank; until the end of 2014 was in the conflict zone in the East of Ukraine.	Currently Viktor is looking for a job.
Family 2	Yulia	NR	Yulia and her husband are looking for jobs.
Family 3	Mariya	Mariya started as an economist, then worked as a head of planning department; then headed a private company.	Mariya is already retired. Her daughter's husband currently works in Tachov at a factory that produces car seats. Mariya's daughter is currently looking for a job.
Family 4	Yuriy	Yutriy worked as a designer of commercials in Ukraine.	Currently works as a designer of tile in the Czech Republic.
Family 5	Vladimir	NR	Vladimir and his wife are currently looking for jobs.
Family 6	Oksana	Oksana worked as a nurse in Ukraine.	Currently Oksana and her husband are looking for jobs.
Family 7	Svetlana M.	I worked as a shop clerk and in a kindergarden for 4 year prior to the arrival in the Czech Republic. In her words, her salary was UAH 600. During summer she managed to get additional income by picking and selling cherries.	Svetlana's son already works in Tachov and likes it very much. Svetlana is ready to take up employment at any factory.
Family 8	Svetlana S.	Svetlana was 18 when her family moved to the Czech Republic. He father was a director at a factory.	For 6 months Svetlana worked as a teacher of music. Currently she works to finance her organization.
Family 9	Natalia	NR	Natalia is taking care of their child; her husband is employed full time.
Family 10	L'ubov'	Used to do various jobs. Unhappy with income.	Did various jobs, was often underpaid or unpaid at all.

5.4.5. Conditions in the Czech Republic

All the families interviewed contemplated moving to the Czech Republic for some time. Before the conflict in the East of Ukraine, it was difficult to make an application in the Consulate in Kiev; there were long queues. Hence, the families never really got to the point of submitting an application. The conflict, however, pushed them to take action. The members of the Czech society in Ukraine contacted the President Miloš Zeman and kindly asked for assistance in resettlement.

The war conflict in the East of Ukraine was a major push factor for the families to enroll in the Program and emigrate from Ukraine. Most families saw this Program as a chance of normal life and potentially economic growth.

One of the major reported difficulties for the respondents is learning the Czech language. In their words, it take time and significant effort to learn the language. There difficult are equally persistent across age and gender, although there is evidence that younger people integrate faster and with less effort.

Svetlana S.: *I was 18 when we moved to the Czech Republic […] and I had certain difficulties with the language. The Czech language I spoke in Ukraine, we used out-dated phrases which were no longer in circulation by native speakers. Nevertheless, I tackled the problem and 6 years later I was a music teacher here in the Czech Republic.*

Natalia: *My husband used to travel to Prague to visit his cousin ever since he was 18. Once we have moved, he likes it here and feels like home. The fact that we have no friends here is of little concern to him. […] He learnt the language quite fast, basically within three months at work.*

L'ubov': *It is very difficult to learn the Czech language because I work with Ukrainians and we speak Ukrainian among ourselves.*

> **Viktor**: *I was at war until the end of 2014. Then I stayed at home; it was difficult to understand who is right and who is wrong in that conflict. Nice people died there… I got so disappointed in all that. I felt no support of the Ukrainian government whatsoever. In contrast, we got more attention here for the past month that in Ukraine for the whole life.*

All surveyed respondents and their families have deep appreciation for Czech culture and lifestyle. All of them mention difficulties of learning the language. Some families also mentioned difficulties in establishing connection to Czech people. For example, two families expressed clear concerns that there were difficulties in dealing with landlords when they heard accent on the phone.

> **Yulia**: *We sometimes get into situations where people negatively look upon us without even knowing our characters. A mere fact of our origin from Ukraine triggers their annoyance with us. It occurred to us several times that landlords, upon hearing Ukrainian accent, refused to show us their apartments.*

The cases of differentiated treatment of locals vs foreigners or migrants are frequently encountered in the literature. Many studies point to wage discrimination of migrants; other studies highlight employment sector segregation of migrants. All these cases can take place. However, in the case of the respondents I did not find any strong cases of discrimination of social exclusion.

5.4.6. Perception of National Identity

My findings are quite mixed in this subsection. When I interviewed respondents with direct Czech roots,[23] most of them expressed a sense of mixed national identity. On the one hand, this includes Ukrainian identity, because they were born and lived in Ukraine

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[23] For example, a person whose grand-grandparent parent was Czech and moved to the Tsar Russia late in the nineteenth century.

until recently. On the other hand, they presented a strong case for keeping Czech culture. While in Ukraine, most of them enrolled in Czech clubs, attended Czech language classes and kept in touch with distant relatives living in the Czech Republic. Most of them have visited Prague several times prior the resettlement.

> **Viktor**: *I am Volyňský Čech. All my friends know that I am Czech. Also during my service in the army, I told everyone about this. I am always proud of my Czech roots.*

Viktor was so far one of the few respondent, if not the only one, who openly allowed his Czech roots to dominate his Ukrainian identity. The answers of other respondents with similar Czech roots were more weighted and their Ukrainian root to play an important role in the determination of national identity.

> **Oksana**: *I am Czech Ukrainian or Ukrainian Czech [smiles]. I cannot forget the place where I was born.*

When I interviewed respondents who do not have direct Czech roots, but only through a spouse, most associated their identity with Ukraine and did not have sense of strong attachment to the Czech Republic. Besides this, several respondents have also Polish roots, and this decreases the share of Czech identity in their self-evaluation.

> **Natalia**: *I am Ukrainian in the depth of my souls. I believe that I will accustomed to the Czech mentality over time. In contrast, in the case of my husband, I think his Czech roots show quite often. And I quite support him in this.*

> **L'ubov'**: *We are humble Ukrainian Migrants. The fact that we are here legal, does not change our identity.*

Some respondents showed confusion about their identity. In their words, their life stayed in Ukraine, but their families are in the Czech Republic.

Natalia*: I love my motherland [Ukraine], I adore Odessa. I particularly like the Odessa-character and their positive attitude to life. However, when my kid was born, I had to change priorities. Hence, you start searching for opportunities elsewhere. [...] I feel Ukrainian in the depth of my soul. I doubt I will ever become Czech because people here are different. I am simply Ukrainian in the Czech Republic. In contrast, my husband is quite like Czech. His mentality is similar to that of local people and this helped him a lot to settle down here.*

I think that my findings here have slight elements of bias. It turns out that those respondents who feel Czech they easily learn the language and integrate in the local society. They have jobs and were at work when I was doing the interviews. Hence, I did not really have a chance to ask them directly of their individual perceptions of identity but only through their spouses. This is a good idea for my next study.

5.4.7. Keeping Czech Traditions

In general, all the families interviewed showed a certain degree of familiarity with Czech traditions and Czech culture. In each family, there was a person of Czech origin who presented the culture, preserved it and carried it through generations. However, when that person passed away, no one could replace this role and hence familiarity with Czech culture gradually declined or assimilated into local Ukrainian customs.

__Svetlana__: [...] In my childhood, I used to like when people around me spoke Czech. For some time I worked at a small bakery place; several elderly visitors often spoke Czech among themselves; so I would often joined their conversation.

Natalia*: My husband and his mother used to be actively involved in the Czech Society in Odessa. The Society would often celebrate various Czech holidays; and travel to the Czech Republic in groups. They are quite active in keeping Czech customs and traditions.*

Yuriy: *My grandmother worked in KGB, hence we could not keep Catholic traditions. […] Despite this, my grandfather used to listed to "Voice of America" and hated the Soviet government. Always we had presents on Mikuláš for the kids. […] Nowadays we celebrate both Orthodox and Catholic holidays.*

Many respondents report that it was difficult to keep any traditions under the Communism.

Yuriy: *Communism meant that all have to be Russian; all must be equal; all must have SSSR passports. The only language allowed was Russian.*

There are mixed findings about how the interviewed families keep Czech traditions. Surprisingly, most families do not actively keep Czech customs and traditions; although they have an approximate idea what these traditions are like. The respondents explain this phenomenon by the fact that it is difficult to keep the traditions of one country when you live in another one. In additions, during the Soviet Union, foreign traditions were actively suppressed; there was clear propaganda to make everyone equal.

5.4.8. Respondents' plans for future

Most of the families interviewed do no plan on coming back to Ukraine in the nearest future. They plan to settle down in the Czech Republic, find jobs, learn the language and integrate in the society. Families with children indicate that it is much easier for children to integrate than for their parents.

Svetlana: *I worked as a shop clerk back in Ukraine. It is going to be difficult for me to find employment here unless I know the language. In general, I am ready to work at any factory; I am used to physical labor. Back in Ukraine I used to make additional income in summer by harvesting and selling cherries, we have plenty of them in Melitopol.*

Only one family expressed indecision to stay permanently in the Czech Republic.

> **Vladimir:** *When a person moved into another country and leaves everything behind, he is constantly haunted by the desire to go back.*

When talking to the respondents, I had a feeling that many of them allowed the idea to keep close ties with Ukraine, or even return to Ukraine, after they have spent some time in the Czech Republic.

> **Oksana***: I don't know… Let's see how things unfold for Ukraine in the nearest future. I believe that I will have nostalgic feelings after some time of living here.*

> **Svetlana S.***: When I emigrated from Ukraine, the country was fresh after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ukraine has changed a lot compared to how I remember it back then. All these revolutions and the war, it is difficult to make your mind around what is happening there. If Ukraine were the way I left it behind, then I would probably have a desire to visit it again. But, all my life is here now and I don't miss Ukraine.*

> **Natalia***: I would like to go back to Ukraine for vacation. However, I would not like to return there permanently.*

> **Viktor***: I am quite old to move from one place to another. […] Part of my family (sister and parents) stayed in Ukraine. I believe that I will be visiting them. My family moved to the Czech Republic with a clear determination to stay here, hence the question of moving back to Ukraine is out of consideration.*

5.4.9. Role of the Program

All respondents strongly agree that they would not be in the Czech Republic without the support of the Program. In particular, the Program initiated the resettlement of eligible Ukrainians in the following ways.

1. The program facilitated the submission of application forms.

2. The Program significantly accelerated decision-making process on applications.

3. The Program provided legal coverage for the resettlement. Most respondent and their families had permanent residence permits issued within the auspices of this Program.

4. The Program provided financial support to help families settle down in the Czech Republic.

Svetlana: *I wanted to move to the Czech Republic earlies, but I could not afford it financially. When making an application, one has to show certain amounts on bank account. I could not afford this with my Ukrainian salary.*

It is also worth mentioning that all people interviewed are university graduates and relatively stable employment prior to their arrival to the Czech Republic. Once here after several months of job hunt, most of them could find suitable employment.

5.4.10. Migrants' expectations

I think that migrants' expectations are an important determinant of the evolution of migrant's national identity upon arrival to the Czech Republic. The migrants can become "more Czech" if they manage to integrate in the Czech community, speak the Czech language, find a job here and like it here. This requires lots of effort; and the amount of effort produced by a migrant largely depends on how a migrant is happy or unhappy to be in the country. In this particular case, happiness is a function of how individual expectations are aligned with real objective life.

There is significant literature on the role of person's expectations in the satisfaction with the final outcome.[24] These studies suggest that misaligned expectations are the main reason with dissatisfaction.

From the conducted survey I find that the expectations of migrants are not entirely in line with the real life in the Czech Republic. For various reasons migrants come with expectations that are largely different from what the life in the Czech Republic is like. Here, all the respondents can be split into three groups.

First group consists of respondents who expect more than the life can actually offer. These are usually materially centered respondents who used this program as a chance to improve their economic wellbeing. The root of their overly optimistic expectations lies in the misleading stereotype that life in the European Union is rosy and paved in gold. Hence, upon arrival, such people expect that they will be swarming in wealth. Economic superiority of the European Union is primarily due to the fact that its people work hard and pay taxes. Hence, a realistic expectation here is that in order to be well off economically one has to work hard, irrespective of being a migrant or not. The role of the Program here is simply to help migrants get onto their feet and engage in skill competition on the job market.

The second group are respondents who under-expect what they might get in the Czech Republic. The default level of expectation of such people is what they had in Ukraine. This is usually, high unemployment, low salaries, political instability and relatively high criminality. Their arrival to the Czech Republic is a major upgrade for them and hence they are happy to be here and contribute to the wellbeing of the country.

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[24] Typical examples of such research include studies on job and life satisfaction for locals and migrants (see for example Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000).

The third group are people with neutral expectation. These are usually families or individuals who came to the Czech Republic to explore the country, enjoy life, whatever it has to offer. These people are usually open to any kinds of experience.

5.4.11.   Personal Belongings

It is often said that migrant's things at home are a good sign of the degree of integration of that household. When I visited the hotel rooms in which the migrants and their families live I saw a lot of things from Ukraine. This is a sign of migrants' recent arrival. In some hotel rooms I saw various Orthodox icons – a symbol of religious affiliation and faith in God. In almost all hotel rooms, I also saw pictures of family members left behind in Ukraine.

All these personal belongings brought from Ukraine create a particular home-like environment in which a person feels more like home and less like in a foreign country.

6. Conclusions

In this study I attempted to develop a theoretical model of cross border migration that includes the elements of national identity as a driver of international migration. My main thesis is that individual identity is an important determinant of individual decision to emigrate and, more importantly, what country to emigrate to. I find that the respondents interviewed were eligible to apply for the program because they had Czech roots. However, the main push for them to come to the Czech Republic in 2015 was deteriorating economic conditions in Ukraine combined with the war in the Eastern part of the country.

I met individuals with mixed identities who take additional steps to cultivate and develop their minority identities. In my survey, I encountered several families who attended Czech classes while in Ukraine and in general were active members of the Czech Society in Ukraine long before they took concrete steps to move to the Czech Republic.

I find that the migrants of Czech origin are quite different from "typical migrants" described in the analyzed migration literature. Main distinctions can be characterized as follows.

1. Permanent type. The resettlement of ethnic Czechs is of permanent type. The migrants show clear intentions to stay in the country permanently. This comes in contrast with general migration picture from Ukraine whereby Ukrainians stay abroad only for a limited period and go back to Ukraine where they have their families.

2. Family character. The resettlement migration bears clear family character. All interviewed individuals came with their families and children. In contrast, conventional migration is about an individual member of a household (usually a single male) emigrating mainly for economic reasons.

3. Employment. Migration within this Program is ethnic-based, hence the vast majority of the migrants do not have jobs at the moment of entering the Czech Republic. However, conventional migration is traditionally employment based whereby migrants move to look for a job or after they have obtained a job at destination.

4. Expectations. Most migrants interviewed are open to any kind of migration experience. Since they have Czech roots, they wish to learn the country and familiarize themselves with Czech culture. In contrast, average migrants are more economically oriented in that they have clear expectations to earn more in the country of destination than in the country of origin.

5. Migrant networks. I find that the role of migrant networks is very strong for the respondents came according to Program. This happens for several reasons. First, people with Czech roots residing outside the Czech Republic tent to keep in touch with each other. This affects the dissemination of information among migrants. Second, upon arrival to the Czech Republic migrants have to rely on existing networks to find jobs, learn the language and integrate in the local communities.

Regarding individual identity and perception of thereof, I find that the identity of the interviewed respondents is quite mixed. In general, they do not feel to be 100% Ukrainians, nor do they feel to be entirely Czech. The degree of perceiving Czech identity relative to Ukrainian identity varies greatly across the migrants. It is an interesting finding that persons with direct Czech roots (for example, somebody having a Czech grand-grandfather) are more likely to feel Czech than individuals with indirect Czech roots (for example, somebody married to a person with Czech roots).

I find that this undecidedness and blurred identity has to do with the act of resettlement from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. When the families were in Ukraine, they felt more Ukrainian because this is where they were born and raised. The fact that the Czech government welcomed them into the country reminded them of their Czech roots and reinforced the idea that they Czech roots are valued. This pushed the families to re-evaluate their perception in favor of Czech identity.

I am convinced that the Program has had a positive effect on the formation of Czech identity among the participants. The Program nurture individual perception among the migrants that this part of identity is important and it is worth developing it further. Also, the Program is beneficial for the Czech Republic because it makes the country more diverse in that it accepts people of Czech origin who can integrate after a short period of

time; but at the same time possess the elements of another culture (Ukrainian in this particular case).

The survey data confirm the strong effects of various types of networks. In Ukraine, these networks helped the respondents restore their Czech roots and learn about the resettlement program. All the respondent praise excellent work of the Czech Society in Ukraine that played a significant role in this program.

> **Mariya**: *We plan to move to Tachov. Almost all our relatives are there and the share of Russian speaking population is high. We hope that they will help us to find accommodation and jobs.*

In the Czech Republic, networks help migrants settle down and integrate in the local society. Almost all respondents point to the fact that their distant relatives living in the Czech Republic helped them to look for accommodation and employment. Several respondents say that they plan to move to cities with larger concentration of migrants from the same village in Ukraine. This will help them find accommodation and employment.

This finding comes in line with the findings of wider migration literature whereby migrants heavily rely on network, particularly during their first couple of months in the foreign country. The migrants interviewed within the Program show higher degree of reliance on migrant networks because they were more connected to the Czech network in the first place prior to their arrival to the Czech Republic.

Having conducted the survey I would like to reflect upon the key differences between Czech people and the Ukrainian migrants who arrived here under the program. In general, Czech people are more open, they travel more and know foreign languages better. The Czech society is less segregated by gender – both men and women seem to play equal roles. It is also more tolerant and receptive to foreigners.

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Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What Ukrainian city do you come from?

2. When did you arrive?

3. Please, tell me about your family.

4. How did you come around to moving to the Czech Republic? How did you learn about this Program?

5. Did you move with your family? Do you have any relatives in the Czech Republic? Please specify in detail.

6. Did you keep in touch with Czech people in Ukraine? For example, these can be groups in social networks or various organization.

7. Tell me please about you Czech relatives. What do you know about them and did you have a chance to meet them?

8. How did your family keep the memory of their family tree? Do you have any documents, photos or stories about them? Please specify in detail.

9. When and how did your ancestors move to Ukraine? Please specify in detail.

10. Did you visit the Czech Republic before the resettlement?

    a. If yes, what were the reasons for your visit?

    b. Did you think of staying in the Czech Republic back then?

11. Do you speak Czech?

    a. If yes, please evaluate the level of your knowledge on scale 0 to 10 (0 – I do not speak and 10 – I am fluent).

    b. If no, are you planning to learn the language?

12. Do you feel Czech, Ukrainian, Russian or any other national identity?

13. What is the most difficult thing for you during the period of adaptation?

    a. What did you expect would be most difficult for you?

    b. How did your expectation correspond to reality?

14. Before you decided to move to the Czech Republic, were you interested in Czech culture, its customs and traditions?

15. Is it important for you that people around you accept you as a Czech or a representative of another nationality? Is this factor important for you or not?

16. How important is national self-identification for you?

17. Do you find any difference between Czechs and Ukrainians regarding:

    a. Life approach, life philosophy?

    b. Lifestyle?

    c. Everyday behavior?

18. Were you employed back in Ukraine?

    a. If yes, what was your occupation?

19. Are you employed in the Czech Republic?

    a. If yes, what is your occupation?

    b. If no, where how and when do you plan to start looking for a job?

20. Did you change your profession after you moved here? Is your employment now better or worse compared to when you were in Ukraine?

21. Please, name the main reason for moving to the Czech Republic.

22. How do you like it here in the Czech Republic? Please specify in detail.

23. Are you planning to move on to any other country?

24. All political aspects aside, do you wish to move back to Ukraine at a later stage in your life?