

**Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities:
Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union**

Series of project research reports

**Contextual and empirical reports
on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe**

Research Report # 13

**The Hungarian Minority
in Ukraine**

Belarus
Germany
Hungary
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Russia
Slovakia
Ukraine

Authors:

**Vil Bakirov | Alexander Kizilov
Kseniya Kizilova | Hans-Georg Heinrich
Olga Alekseeva**



Series Editors:

Hans-Georg Heinrich | Alexander Chvorostov

Project primarily funded under FP7-SSH programme



EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Research Area



Project host and coordinator



INSTITUT FÜR HÖHERE STUDIEN
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
Vienna

www.ihs.ac.at

About the ENRI-East research project (www.enri-east.net)

The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union (ENRI-East)

ENRI-East is a research project implemented in 2008-2011 and primarily funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Program. This international and inter-disciplinary study is aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent.

ENRI-East is a response to the shortcomings of previous research: it is the first large-scale comparative project which uses a sophisticated toolkit of various empirical methods and is based on a process-oriented theoretical approach which places empirical research into a broader historical framework.

The distinct ethno-national diversity in this region, along with the problems resulting from it was generated by dramatic shifts of borders, populations and political affiliation which have continued until today. The prevailing pattern of political geography of this part of Europe was the emergence and the dismemberment of empires, a process which created ethno-national enclaves within the boundaries of new nation states. These minorities were frequently drawn into inter-state conflicts and subjected to repression, ethnic cleansing and expulsion. The subjects of interests were ethnic minorities in the supra-region "Wider Eastern Europe", i.e. the region between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, along the current geo-political "East-West" division line. Estimated 8 to 10 millions of people are affected by "ethnic splits" or minority groups, whose ethnic compatriots would constitute a titular majority in another country, some of them even on each side of this contemporary geopolitical east-west diving border line.

The complex ENRI-East study was designed as a comprehensive set of theoretical, methodological, empirical and comparative work streams exploring the interplay of identities among the twelve ethnic minorities in the supra-region of Central and Eastern Europe. These ethnic groups are: Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Belarusians and Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary, Hungarians in Slovakia and in Ukraine, Poles in Ukraine, in Belarus and in Lithuania, Belarusians in Lithuania as well as Lithuanians in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast). The project includes also a case study of Germany, where our target groups were the ethnic Germans returning to their historical homeland after the centuries of living in other European countries as well as Jewish immigrants (so called "quota refugees" who had moved to the country since 1989).

ENRI-East addresses four general research themes. The first one deals with the interplay of identities and cultures by comparing 'mother nations' and their 'residual groups abroad'. The second theme is a cross-cutting approach which addresses the nations and the states: more exactly, the attitudes and policies of 'mother nations' and 'host nations' toward the 'residual groups' and vice versa. The third research theme comprise the reality of self organization and representation of "residual groups abroad" (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland. Finally, the last research theme of the project deals with path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe.

The empirical data base for ENRI-East was generated through 5 sub-studies implemented in all or several project countries:

- ENRI-VIS (Values and Identities Survey): face-to-face formalized interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries, 6,800 respondents;
- ENRI-BIO: qualitative, biographical in-depth interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries (144 interviews);
- ENRI-EXI: semi-structured expert interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups in eight countries (48 interviews);
- ENRI-BLOG: online content analysis of weblogs and Internet periodicals run or maintained by ethnic minority group members;
- ENRI-MUSIC: special study on cultural identities and music; an innovative, multi-disciplinary pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

Project primarily funded under FP7-SSH programme



EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Research Area



SEVENTH FRAMEWORK
PROGRAMME

Project host and coordinator



INSTITUT FÜR HÖHERE STUDIEN
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES
Vienna

www.ihs.ac.at

The series of ENRI-East research reports (www.enri-east.net/project-results)

Main outcomes of the ENRI-East research program are summarized in the series of research papers and project reports as outlined below. The whole collection of papers will be publicly available on the project web-site by December 2011, while some papers can be accessed since September 2011.

Individual papers are written by ENRI-East experts from all project teams and the whole series is edited by the Coordinating Team at the CEASS-Center at the Institute for Advanced Studies under the guidance of the Principal Investigator Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Project Coordinator Dr. Alexander Chvorostov.

Summarizing and generalizing reports

1. Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for the studies of European, national and regional identities of ethnic minorities in European borderlands (Edited by Prof. Claire Wallace and Dr. Natalia Patsiurko)
2. Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities among the ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (main results of ENRI-East empirical program) (Edited by Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Dr. Alexander Chvorostov)
3. ENRI-East Thematic Comparative papers and synopses of authored articles of ENRI-East experts (9 tender papers and further bibliography of project-related publications)

Contextual and empirical reports on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe:

(edited by respective team leaders)

4. The Polish Minority in Belarus
5. The Slovak Minority in Hungary
6. The Russian Minority in Latvia
7. The Belarusian Minority in Lithuania
8. The Polish Minority in Lithuania
9. The Russian Minority in Lithuania
10. The Belarusian Minority in Poland
11. The Ukrainian Minority in Poland
12. The Lithuanian Minority in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast)
13. The Hungarian Minority in Slovakia
14. The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine
15. The Polish Minority in Ukraine
16. Special Case Study Germany

Series of empirical survey reports:

17. ENRI-VIS: Values and Identities Survey
 - Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Technical report)
 - ENRI-VIS Reference book (major cross-tabulations and coding details)
18. Qualitative sub-studies of ENRI-East project (methodological and technical reports)
 - Methodological report on Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIO)
 - Methodological report on Expert Interviews and data base description (ENRI-EXI)
 - Methodological report on the pilot study on Musical cultures and identities (ENRI-MUSIC)
 - Methodological report and main findings of the Pilot study of web-spaces (ENRI-BLOG)

Disclaimer:

The treatment of historical, statistical and sociological data and facts, their scientific accuracy and the interpretations as well as the writing style are the sole responsibility of the authors of individual contributions and chapters published in the ENRI Research Papers. The positions and opinions of the project coordinator and of the editors of ENRI-East series of research papers as well as of the ENRI-East consortium as a whole may not necessarily be the same. By no means may the contents of the research papers be considered as the position of the European Commission.

ENRI-East research consortium and project details

ENRI-East Principle Investigator

Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich (University of Vienna and ICEUR, Austria)

ENRI-East Project Coordinator

Dr. Alexander Chvorostov
and the CEASS-Center team
at the Institute for Advanced Studies Austria)
www.ihs.ac.at/ceass/



ENRI-East Project Partners

(Full details on and project partners and contacts can be found at <http://www.enri-east.net/consortium/project-partners/en/>)

- TARKI Research Institute Inc. (Hungary) (Team Leader Prof. Endre Sik)
- University of Aberdeen (UK) (Team Leader Prof. Claire Wallace)
- Osteuropa Institut Regensburg (Germany) (Team Leader Dr. Barbara Dietz)
- Lithuanian Social Research Centre (Vilnius, Lithuania) (Team Leader Prof. Arvydas Matulionis)
- Moscow State University (Russia) (Team Leader Prof. Sergei Tumanov)
- Belarusian State University (Belarus) (Team Leader Prof. David Rotman)
- East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research (Ukraine) (Team Leader Prof. Vil Bakirov)
- University of St. Cyril and Methodius (Slovakia) (Team Leader Prof. Ladislav Macháček)
- Oxford XXI (UK) (Team Leader Dr. Lyudmila Nurse)
- Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Lublin (Poland) (Team Leader Prof. Konrad Zieliński)

Third parties and consultants contributed to the ENRI-East project:

- Sociological agency FOCUS, Slovakia (Dr. Sylvia Šumšalová, Dr. Ivan Dianiška)
- Sociological agency GfK Polonia (Dr. Beata Steczowicz)
- Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, Warsaw University (team led by Prof. Renata Siemienska)

ENRI-East International Advisory Board:

- Prof. Christian Haerpfer (Chair), University of Aberdeen
- Prof. Alexander Etkind, Cambridge University
- Prof. Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan
- Prof. Leonid Ionin, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
- Prof. Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, University of Warsaw
- Prof. Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
- Prof. Alexei Miller, Central European University, Budapest
- Prof. Robert Miller, Queens University Belfast
- H.E. Ambassador Karl-Erik Norrman, European Cultural Parliament
- Prof. Paul Robertson, European Cultural Parliament
- Prof. James Scott, Joensuu Karelian University, Finland
- Prof. Renata Siemienska, Warsaw University
- Prof. Stephen White, University of Glasgow

Project Website:

www.enri-east.net

Project funding:

Primary funding for the research project ENRI-East is provided by the European Commission through an FP7-SSH grant #217227.

For further information on the Socio Economic Sciences and Humanities programme in FP7 see:

http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ssh/home_en.html

http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/index_en.html

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	7
1.1 Abstract	7
1.2 Summary of the study.....	7
2 HUNGARIANS IN UKRAINE: A BACKGROUND OVERVIEW	10
2.1 Ukrainian majority-Hungarian minority relations	10
2.2 Demographic overview	12
2.3 Hungarian minority self-organisation	17
2.4 Overview of existing surveys	23
2.5 Conclusion.....	23
2.6 Bibliography.....	24
3 MAIN FINDINGS OF THE ENRI-VIS SURVEY (ENRI-VIS)	25
3.1 Ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity	25
3.2 Family, households and related ethnic aspects.....	34
3.3 Xenophobia, conflicts, discrimination.....	35
3.4 Social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU	37
3.5 Main survey results: Hungarians in Ukraine	49
4 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)	50
4.1 European identity.....	50
4.2 National identity - relationship to the country of residence	52
4.3 National identity - relationship to the mother country.....	54

6	ENRI-East Research Report #13: The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine	
4.4	Regional identity	55
4.5	Civic participation and ethnic organization.....	57
4.6	Ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences.....	59
5	MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)	62
5.1	Main issues associated with that minority in the country of residence.....	62
5.2	Relationship to mother country	65
5.3	Relations with Ukrainian State	66
5.4	Relationship (if any) to European events and organizations.....	69
6	CONCLUSIONS	70
6.1	Research conclusions.....	70
	ABOUT THE AUTHORS	72



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Abstract

The territory of Ukraine territory is inhabited by many different ethnic groups, forming numerous ethnic minorities. According to the Ukrainian population census, Ukraine is home for representatives of 130 nationalities. Representatives of ethnic minorities in total comprise 22% of the Ukrainian population.

Despite its ethnic diversity, Ukraine lacks a number of problems specific to the national life of other post-soviet countries - there is no mass labor immigration, no process of ethnic expansion and there is a total absence of armed ethnic conflicts. However, there are regional problems of development of traditional ethnic groups in Ukraine - living in compact Crimean Tatars, Ruthenians, Romanians, Moldovans, Bulgarians and Hungarians are among them.

Western Ukrainian region is a special one in the described circumstances. Its territory has complex political and cultural history, characterized by constant migration and frequent changes of government entities.

Among the studies and projects dealing with the situation with ethnic minorities in the modern world, there is an international research project ENRI-EAST "Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union". Within the frameworks of the international research project ENRI-East, the Ukrainian team studies the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine. The aim of the research is connected with a detailed study of the problems of formation and interaction of social and ethnic identities, their social well-being, cultural and ethical identity, social and political integration. Different research methods were used in the project. 400 Hungarians became respondents of the mass survey. 13 members of ethnic minority were interviewed during biographical interviews and 4 ethnic organization leaders and government officials of various ranks were interviewed during the expert interviews. The report consists of five main parts: contextual report, ENRI-VIS results, ENRI-BIOG results, ENRI-EXI results, ENRI-BLOG results.

1.2 Summary of the study

Hungarians came to the territory of modern Transcarpathian region eight centuries ago in the result of the Tatar-Mongol invasions and Ottoman colonization of the territory of modern Hungary. However, Hungarians appeared in the Ukrainian state only 65 years ago - after joining the Transcarpathian region the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic in 1945.

The Hungarian minority in Ukraine numbers 156,600 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001¹. That is approximately 0.32% of the whole population of Ukraine.

The Hungarian ethnic minority in the Ukraine settles almost exclusively in one region only: Zakarpat'ska Oblast' (with the center in Uzhgorod). 151,000 (97%) out of the 156,600 Hungarians in Ukraine live in this region that is bordering to Hungary. The minority constitutes about 12% of the total population there. In those districts of Zakarpat'ska Oblast' that are most populated with the Hungarians, their density could rise up to 75% of the whole population.

Most Hungarians live in river valleys, and in flatlands suitable for farming. They usually reside

¹ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

in sparsely populated villages. Among the larger towns, Berehove is the only one in which Hungarians constitute a majority.

The age structure of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Ukraine in general is similar to the age structure of the Ukrainian population. Young Hungarians in Ukraine retain their ethnic identity.

Describing ethnic identity of polled Hungarians, we should note that the most part (72%) of them consider themselves being Ukrainian Hungarians – members of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine. Only few (13%) of the studied Hungarians think about themselves as “pure” Hungarians and almost the same part (15%) of respondents said that most likely they are Ukrainians with Hungarians descent.

Native language and proficiency in it is an important component of ethnic identity of Hungarians. For example, 78% of Hungarians believe that it is very important to speak Hungarian to be a true Hungarian.

Linguistically Hungarians are a rather closed and isolated group in the Ukrainian society. Among Hungarians surveyed in Ukraine, almost all (98%) know the Hungarian language, while only two-thirds (63%) of respondents can speak Ukrainian. The vast majority (75%) of Hungarians use the Hungarian language more often at home and communicate in it with their family. Ukrainian as a language of home usage is used only by 5% of Hungarians. Other respondents talk a mixture of their and the Ukrainian language. However, Hungarian language has neither state language status in Ukraine, nor regional language status in Zakarpat'ska Oblast'.

For the Ukrainian Hungarians the connection with their ethnic group occupies the different place in this hierarchy being a signpost of the group solidarity. Hungarian people presume that the place of their living and their ethnic minority are very close social institutions (for 58%). The country where the mother nation is living is «very close» only to one third of the Hungarians (31%). As the country of living Ukraine became very close only one third of the Hungarians (31%). Europe remains the most distant social institution for the questioned Hungarians: every fifth Hungarian (22%) assume his closeness to Europe. It may be connected with a not so favorable image of the European Union for the Hungarians. Thus, one half (50%) of the questioned Hungarians consider that Ukraine would apparently lose from being a member of the EU.

Hungarian people are more oriented on their community and do not trust much the Ukrainian people as well as the Hungarian people and people as a whole. The Hungarians are a more united and less open community: they are less disposed to trust other people and the level of trust of the Hungarians towards the members of their ethnic group is 20% higher than their trust to other people – Ukrainian and Hungarian.

Life of an ethnic minority in the territory of any state makes a particularly relevant consideration of inter-ethnic relations and tolerance. In our case of great interest is the "social distance" that exists between Hungarians and the titular nation, as well as the other ethnic minorities in Ukraine (biggest ones - Russians and Belarusians). Based on the collected data we can conclude that the social distance "from the Hungarians to representatives of other nationalities" is longer than "from the Hungarians to the representatives of their ethnic group". In our case, it is indicative that only 2/3 (66%) of the Hungarians would feel positive about having a Ukrainian as a family member. It should be noted that for the Hungarians, among the members of the Slavic nations, most socially "close" are the Ukrainians, then, according to the reduction of social distance, follow Russians and Belarusians.

All the cultural and linguistic needs are of a great interest for the Ukrainian Hungarians. The

possible realization of the needs connected with the utilization of a language stands aside. So the overwhelming majority (85%) of respondents deems it very important to use Hungarian daily for reading newspapers and magazines (61%), teaching their children at school in Hungarian (52%).

Hungarians in Ukraine are among the most politically active groups. Ukrainian Hungarians have two registered political parties in the Ministry of Justice: The Democratic Party of Hungarians of Ukraine (DPUU) and KMKS "The Party of Hungarians of Ukraine" (abbreviation KMKS in Hungarian means "Society of the Hungarian culture of Transcarpathia" - Karpataljai Magyar Kulturális Szovetseg). It should be noted that, unlike the Hungarians, no other ethnic minorities have their own political parties. In view of densely populated, the Hungarians have an absolute majority in local government in some settlements and territorial units, such as the city of Beregovo and the Beregovo district. Hungarians in Ukraine are the only ethnic minority group in the Ukrainian state, which has achieved placement of Hungarian national flags at government buildings in the localities where they live in compact.

In Ukraine there is a number of Hungarian NGOs. Thus, the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine is the only registered Hungarian organization comprised 135 ethnic Hungarians associations of Transcarpathia, Lviv and Kiev, offering multidirectional activities (primarily cultural and professional). The objectives of this organization are the general legal representation and protection of the interests of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, as well as coordination of activities of the organizations within the Federation.

2 HUNGARIANS IN UKRAINE: A BACKGROUND OVERVIEW

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova

2.1 Ukrainian majority-Hungarian minority relations

2.1.1 Historical Overview

Hungarians have been living on the territory of modern Ukraine since IX A.D. After IX A.D. there were two other big waves of migration: in the second half of XIII century (after the Tatar-Mongol invasion) and in the second half of XVI century (when Hungary had wars with the Ottoman Empire).²

The territory where Hungarians have been living is now called Zakarpats'ka Oblast'. In different historical times Zakarpats'ka Oblast' had various names: "Carpathian Rus'", "Hungarian Rus'", "Podkarpats'ka Rus'", "Carpathian Ukraine", "Transcarpathian Ukraine". The history of Transcarpathia is a constituent part of the Ukrainian history. In spite of this fact, it has a good number of peculiarities, which influenced the economic as well as political and ethnic development of the region. Occupying an important geographic position on the southern slopes of the Ukrainian Carpathians, the region has been a bridge between Northern and Southern, Eastern and Western Europe. Not only the ways of connection intersected here but also the political conceptions of European and especially East-European history ran across each other at this place.³ This history was reflected by the existence of a flourishing Jewish community, most of whose members spoke Hungarian and had played for centuries a prominent role in the economic and cultural life of the territory.

The ancestors of Hungarians living in Ukraine can be traced back Hungarians who settled in Transcarpathia when it was part of Kingdom of Hungary (first part since IX century) and subsequently a constituent part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the latter demise at the end of World War I. After the defeat of the remaining Hungarian armies in 1919, the Paris Peace Conference concluded the Treaty of Trianon that awarded Transcarpathia to the newly formed Czechoslovakia, which renamed the region Subcarpathian Rus.⁴ In the build-up to World War II Nazi Germany occupied the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, while southern Czechoslovakia was annexed by Hungary under the First Vienna Award in 1938. Ruthenia declared its independence (Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine) but it was immediately occupied and later annexed by Hungary.

When the Soviet Army crossed the pre-1938 borders of Czechoslovakia in 1944, the Soviet authorities refused to allow Czechoslovak governmental officials to resume control over the region, and in June 1945, President Edvard Beneš formally signed a treaty ceding the area to the Soviet Union. It was then incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. Hungarian-language schools, following

² http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Венгры_на_Украине

³ <http://www.carpathia.gov.ua/en/28.htm>

⁴ According to the 1921 census, there were 86,000 Hungarian-speaking Jews in Transcarpathia, accounting for 12 percent of the population. The Jewish community was practically all annihilated as a result of the Holocaust and then emigration. The number that survived the war is estimated at 30,000. As a result of the emigration that began in the 1950s and continues to this day, only 3,000 have remained in the county according to official data. The emigrating Hungarian-speaking Jews have been replaced by Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking Jews from the interior of the country. There are synagogues in Hust, Mukacheve, Uzhhorod, Berehove, and Vinohradiv.

a brief ban after World War II, began to reorganize as early as 1946. Religious organizations faced more sustained persecution. The Greek Catholic Church was subjected to the most severe assault and it was banned after 1949.⁵ The Reformed Church and the Roman Catholic Church were also attacked and their representatives brought to show trials. The persecutions of the previous decades left their deep marks on the Churches. The lack of clergymen was a serious cause for concern for all denominations.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union Zakarpats'ka province remained part of Ukraine.⁶ The Hungarian minority in modern Ukraine emerged as a result of moved borders in the twentieth century, though its history goes further back than the incorporation of Zakarpats'ka province in Ukraine.

2.1.2 Political Overview

Legislative changes towards the position of the Hungarian minority began to be effected as early as October 1989 when the Supreme Soviet of USSR adopted a law "On Languages in Ukrainian SSR". On May 31 1991 the Foreign Ministers of Hungary and Ukraine signed a declaration safeguarding the rights of national minorities. The parties established an inter-governmental joint committee made up of representatives of the minorities living in both countries to protect national minority rights. The joint committee has met eleven times. It draws up proposals for the governments of the two countries with regard to issues of particular importance to their respective minorities, which include the preservation of national identity, education, cultural development, and the settlement of minority problems. In 2006, the joint committee signed an environmental and water management agreement aimed at alleviating the flood concerns of the population living along the section of the Tisza river connecting the two countries. The agreement includes joint plans for environmental protection and water management.

The Basic State Treaty signed in Kyiv by both parties on 6 December 1991, and ratified by the Ukrainian and Hungarian parliaments in 1992 and 1993, respectively regulates relations between Hungary and Ukraine. Article 17 of the document provides the mutual protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of national minorities.

The Law on National Minorities adopted in June 1992 guarantees Hungarians the use of Hungarian, the right to education in Hungarian, to establish a system of cultural institutions, and to national-cultural autonomy. The law makes it possible to establish Hungarian interest-protection organizations, to use national symbols, to use names in accordance with the rules of Hungarian, and to maintain contacts beyond the borders with Hungary. In December 1992 the representative of the Ukrainian President in Zakarpats'ka province issued a Decree on the practical implementation of the language law and of the law on national minorities. The decree prescribes that wherever a national minority constitutes the majority of the population, the language of that national minority may also be used along the Ukrainian state language in state and social organizations, enterprises, and institutions. Under the terms of this decree, bilingual signs may be used and national minorities may also use their own symbols in addition to state symbols. Another piece of national legislation that has had a particular effect in Zakarpats'ka is the law on self-government, which was adopted in 1997 and allows for the establishment of area self-government associa-

⁵ Hungarian-language believers were either forced to accept the Orthodox liturgy or to convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarians_in_Ukraine

tions. The Ukrainian Constitution was adopted on 28 June 1996. According to Article 10 "in Ukraine, the free development, use, and protection of national minority languages are guaranteed". Article 11 promotes the development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics of all the native nations and national minorities of Ukraine.

Ukraine became a member of the Council of Europe in 1995. In December 1999 the Ukrainian Parliament ratified the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages. The law on the ratification of the European Charter on Regional or Minority languages was passed by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on April 15, 2003 but the use of minority languages in state administration has been completely removed from it, the assumed guarantees to ensure the use of minority languages have been narrowed down in every sphere, and the prohibition to restrict the network of nationality institutions has also been removed. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages came into effect in Ukraine on January 1 2006 but there is no legislation to define the powers of local authorities concerning the recognition of languages as prevalent in the corresponding administrative-territorial units. And the territories where the items of the Charter can be applied are still legally undefined. The above mentioned makes any effective activity on the application of the European Charter impossible.

On April 15, 2005, at the initiative of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine, a Hungarian–Ukrainian joint committee of historians was established. The committee is to examine the common historical events of the two nations.

2.2 Demographic overview

2.2.1 The 2001 census

The Hungarian minority in Ukraine numbers 156,600 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001⁷. That is approximately 0.32% of the whole population of Ukraine.

2.2.2 Language Usage

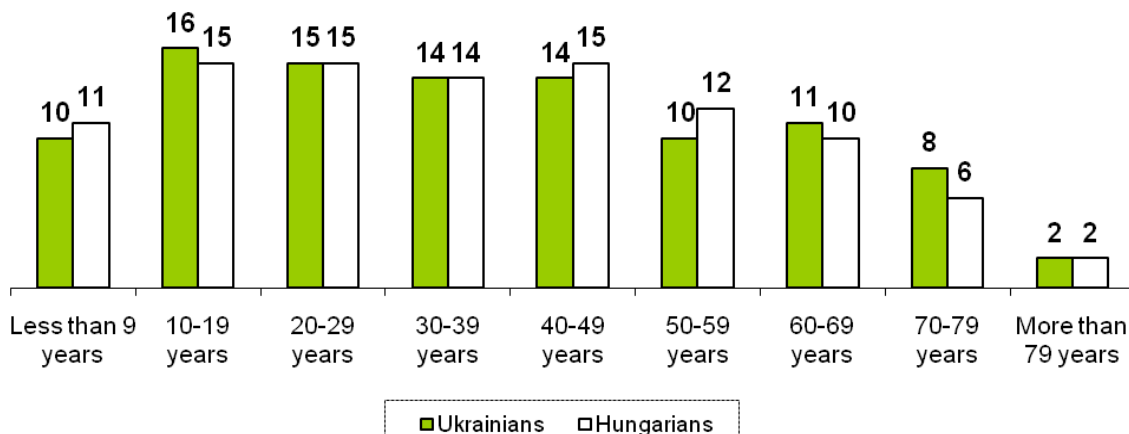
Hungarian is the native language for almost 95% of Hungarians living in Ukraine. 3,5% more Hungarians named Ukrainian as their mother tongue, 1,5% - Russian language. Hungarian language has neither state language status in Ukraine, nor regional language status in Zakarpat'ska province.

2.2.3 Age structure

According to the Census data, the age structure of the Hungarians does not essentially differ from the age structure of general Ukraine's population.

⁷ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

Age Structure of Ukrainians and Hungarians, %



Array: the whole population of Ukrainians in Ukraine N=37541693

Array: the whole population of Hungarians in Ukraine N=156566

2.2.4 Geographical Distribution

The Hungarian ethnic minority in the Ukraine settles almost exclusively in one region only: Zakarpat'ska Oblast' (with the center in Uzhgorod). 151,000 (97%) out of the 156,600 Hungarians in Ukraine live in the region that borders Hungary. According to 2001 Census data, there are ethnic Hungarian communities in Lviv, Kyiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, and Odesa, but they number only a few hundred persons.

Density of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine (2001)



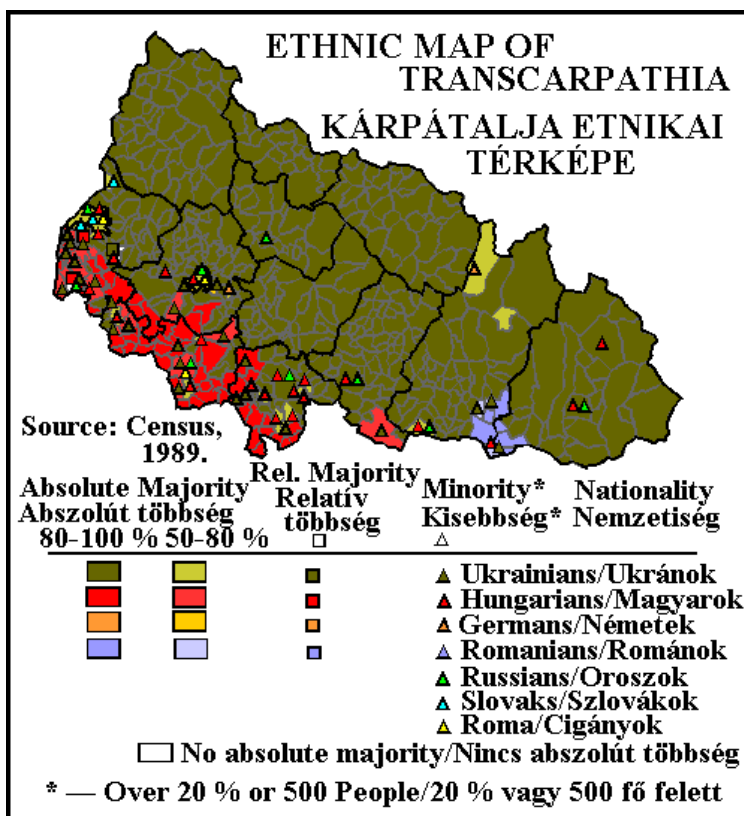
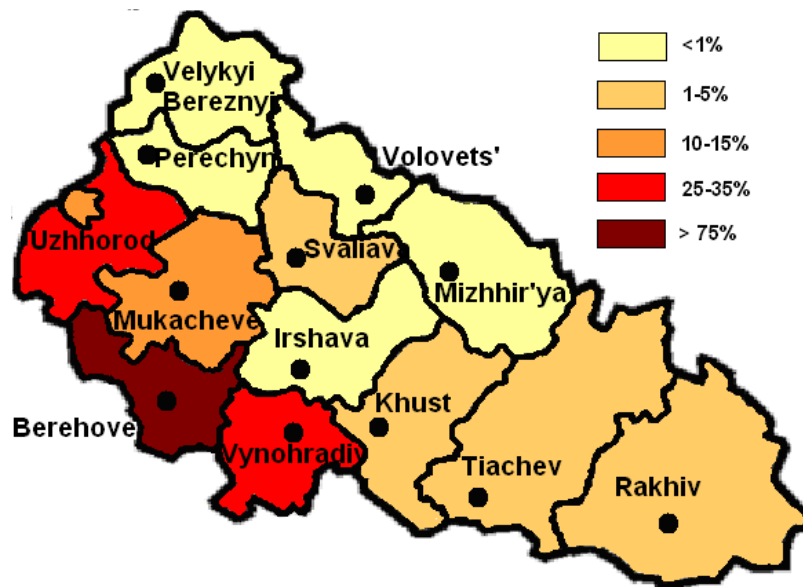
Distribution of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine (2001)



The Hungarian minority constitutes about 12% of the total population in Zakarpat'ska Oblast' but in districts that are most populated with Hungarians their density rises up to 75% of the whole population. According to the official data, 90% of all persons of Hungarian ethnicity of Zakarpat'ska Oblast' live in four districts (raions) - in the Berehove (36%), Uzhhorod (22%), Mukacheve(13%) and Vinohradiv (20%) districts.

Isolated ethnic Hungarian communities inhabit the Upper-Tisza region. Ethnic Hungarians live in scattered communities in the valleys of the Upper-Borzsa (Bilke, Irshava), the Upper-Latorca (Svalyava), and the Upper-Ung (Perechin, Velikiy Bereznyi). However, 84% of the Hungarian population is concentrated in a 20-km strip along the Hungarian border. Most Hungarians live in river valleys, and in flatlands suitable for farming. They usually reside in sparsely populated villages. Among the larger towns, Berehove is the only one in which Hungarians constitute a majority. Most Hungarians (65%) in Zakarpat'ska Oblast' live in villages. And only one thirds (35%) of them constitute urban population. Urban population: 53,598 ethnic Hungarians (Uzhhorod – 8,000; Mukacheve – 7,000; Berehove – 12,800; Vinohradiv – 3,171; Tachiv – 2,640; Rahiv – 1,282; Hust – 1,759; Chop – 3,659; Irshava – 107; Svalyava – 322).

The Hungarian ethnic minority in Zakarpat'ska Oblast' of Ukraine (2001)



2.2.5 Religious denomination

The members of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia belong to the Reformed (Calvinist), Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. According to church estimates, in Transcarpathia approximately 100,000 ethnic Hungarians belong to the Reformed Church, 65,000 Hungarians belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and 30,000 to the Greek Catholic Church.

2.2.6 Education

Based on the statistical data published by Zakarpats'ka's school inspector's office, there were in the 1991/92 school year 63 kindergartens in which 3,157 children were taught only in Hungarian. A total of 322 children were enrolled in mixed, Russian–Hungarian and Ukrainian–Hungarian–Russian language kindergartens. In the 1994/95 school year, Hungarian-language instruction was given in 90 kindergartens (68 Hungarian, 21 Ukrainian–Hungarian and 1 Ukrainian–Hungarian–Russian). In the villages where Hungarians constitute the majority, most kindergartens are Hungarian-language ones. As a result of the adverse economic trends of the 1990s, several kindergartens were closed because most of the parent lost their jobs. This was a general phenomenon and did not apply only to Hungarian-language kindergartens. From 2000 on the number of entirely Hungarian-language kindergartens increased, with Hungarian-language education given in 57 kindergartens in 2001 and 64 today. In addition, there are 1 Russian–Hungarian and 9 Ukrainian–Hungarian language kindergartens in Zakarpats'ka province. Unlike in previous years, there is at present no Ukrainian–Hungarian–Russian kindergarten.

The situation of public education for the Hungarians of Zakarpats'ka province has made considerable progress since Ukraine became an independent state, and the efforts to halt the atrophy of the Hungarian school network have been successful. In several villages, many schools where instruction was given in two or three languages have become independent Hungarian schools. Elementary schools (grades 1–4) have reopened in several villages, or existing elementary schools have been reorganized into primary schools (grades 1–9). The number of students in Hungarian-language classes has increased. While in the 1987/88 school year, only 7.2% of the children enrolled in the province's schools went to Hungarian-language classes, in the 2001/2002 school year there were 8 independent Hungarian-language and 3 mixed language elementary schools, 40 independent Hungarian-language and 11 mixed language primary eight-grade schools, and 19 independent Hungarian-language and 16 mixed language secondary schools in Zakarpats'ka. A total of 20,468 students were receiving education in the Hungarian language in these schools. There are a total of six Hungarian-language high schools in Zakarpats'ka province. Four are run by the Reformed Church: in Berehove with 98 students, Velika Dobron with 107 students, Petrove with 87 students, and Tachiv with 120 students. The other two are Roman Catholic high school in Mukacheve with 59 students, and a Greek Catholic high school in Karachin with 33 students.

There are no Hungarian-language vocational school in Zakarpats'ka province but Hungarian-language classes have started in the past few years in three vocational middle schools (in the Ivanivka branch of the Agricultural Technical School of Mukacheve, the Sanitary Training School of Berehove, and the Educational Vocational School of Uzhhorod).

Six institutions for higher education are functioning in Zakarpats'ka province: the National University of Uzhhorod, the State College for Informatics, Economics, and Law of Uzhhorod, the Fe-

renc Rakoczi II Hungarian College of Zakarpats'ka, the College for Humanities and Pedagogy of Mukacheve, and the Zakarpats'ka Branch Institute of the Slavic Studies University of Kyiv.

Since 1990, it has become possible for young people in Zakarpats'ka to continue their studies in Hungary. 11 students began that year their university studies in Hungary. Their number rose to 27 a year later, then to 53 in 1992, to 80 in 1993, to 84 in 1994, and to 88 in 1995. During the 1995/96 academic year, a total of 350 students from Zakarpats'ka were enrolled in various institutes of higher education in Hungary. 66 students from Zakarpats'ka completed their higher education studies in Hungary in 1996, 70 in 1997, and in 1998. However, 75% of these students did not return home after graduation. Young Hungarians from Zakarpats'ka, albeit in a limited number, are now also able to study at church institutions of higher education in Hungary and in Transylvania.

Currently, most of the problems faced by Ukrainian educational institutions, including Hungarian schools, are financial in nature. There also have been serious concerns with the supply of textbooks for Hungarian schools, which also had an effect on the situation of the Hungarian educational institutions. The conditions for the adequate mastering of the Ukrainian language are not met, and there is a lack of Ukrainian textbooks, trained Ukrainian language teachers for Hungarian-language schools, and bilingual dictionaries.

2.2.7 Employment

75% of the members of the Hungarian minority live in small-size communities. Since they pursue professions of a lower social status because of the shortcomings in native-language training opportunities (for example, there are hardly any Hungarian lawyers), they are more threatened by the danger of unemployment. Official data give a very favorable picture about unemployment, with the rate of registered jobless reported to have been 2.4% in 1998, 5% in July 1999, 7% in December 2000, 6.5% at the end of 2002, and 7.4% at the end of 2003. There were some positive trends in 2004: as of 1 January 2005, 28,600 jobless persons were registered at the employment center, 12.9 percent less than a year earlier. Social problems are further aggravated by latent unemployment such as forced holidays, reduced shifts, and working hours.

Average wages in 2005 were 730 UAH per month or about US\$120, compared to the national average wage of 883.9 UAH. A major part of the region's Hungarian population survives in the current circumstances by means of cross-border trade. A major part of the foodstuffs are imported by entrepreneurs from Hungary, Slovakia, and from neighboring and more remote Ukrainian counties and are sold in privately owned stores and to markets. Many people take on illegal seasonal farm work in the neighboring Szabolcs–Szatmar–Bereg county in Hungary. For most of the year, a significant part of the Hungarian male population works at various construction sites in Hungary. (The number of Transcarpathians (not only Hungarians, but among all the inhabitants of Zakapatska Oblast) working, for the most part illegally, in the neighboring and mainly South European countries is estimated at 100,000 to 150,000.)

2.3 Hungarian minority self-organisation

2.3.1 Political Organisation

The ethnic Hungarian community in Zakarpats'ka province has two political parties. On February 17, 2005, the Ukrainian Ministry of justice registered the "KMKSZ," the Hungarian Party in Ukraine, whose establishment was initiated by the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Zakarpats'ka province (KMKSZ). In March 2005, the Ministry of Justice also registered the Hungarian Demo-

cratic Party in Ukraine upon the initiative of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine (UMDSZ). The two Hungarian organizations opted to establish parties because under the amended electoral law, only parties are allowed to nominate candidates. From 2002 to 2006, Zakarpats'ka Hungarians were represented in the Ukrainian parliament by István Gajdos, the chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine. His predecessor during the previous 1998–2002 parliamentary cycle was Miklós Kovács. Mihály Tóth, Chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine, participated in the 1994–98 parliamentary cycle. Following the 2006 parliamentary elections, there is no longer any ethnic Hungarian deputy in the Ukrainian Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada).

Hungarian representatives hold the absolute majority in numerous local self-governments. However, a major problem is the shortage of well-trained civil servants, which results in the exclusion of Hungarians from local administrations (there are only few ethnic Hungarian public officials) even where it is possible to use the Hungarian language in administrative office work. Even in the Berehove district where Hungarians constitute a majority, except for the top officials the native language of 95 percent of the public employees is Ukrainian.

2.3.2 Civil society

The interest protection activity of Hungarian cultural and professional groups is currently directed mainly at preserving the national consciousness and culture of the Hungarian community, developing native-language education, maintaining the Hungarian-language educational system, and establishing an autonomous Hungarian educational district. The creation of various forms of autonomy figures among the long-term goals of every Hungarian organization, but the various organizations have differing concepts about how to achieve this objective.

Recognizing the fact that the indispensable condition for remaining in the homeland is existential security, Hungarian organizations pay considerable attention to participation in the economic processes of Transcarpathia, to the utilization of the opportunities offered by privatization and the dismantling of the Soviet-type economic system, as well as by cross-border cooperation (establishment of enterprise development centers, farmers' associations, and farmer training).

The Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine (UMDSZ) is the only national-wide registered Hungarian organization. It was established in October 1991 by the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Zakarpats'ka, the Cultural Federation of Hungarians in Lviv, and the Association of Hungarians in Kyiv. The chairs of the UMDSZ have been Sándor Fodo (1991–1995), Mihály Tóth (1995–2002) and István Gajdos (since December 2002). The objectives of the organization as set by its founders include the general legal representation and interest protection of Hungarian minority in Ukraine, the unconditional support of the efforts aimed to implement the goals and principles laid down in the statutes of the member organizations, and coordination of the organizational activities. The UMDSZ supports individual and cultural autonomy, the creation of a Hungarian Nationality District and, based on the result of the 1991 referendum, the establishment of a Special Self-Administrative Territory in Transcarpathia.

The structure of the UMDSZ provides an indication of the high degree of organisation possessed by the Hungarian minority. The UMDSZ decision-making and leading bodies are the Congress, National Council, National Control and Mandate Committee, National Ethics and Regulation Supervisory Committee, National Presidium, 16 permanent special committees. The Federation has 12 middle-level district and town organizations in Transcarpathia, 14 organizations outside Transcarpathia, and 12 collective member organizations. The membership of the UMDSZ is

grouped in 135 basic organizations, including among others the Community of Hungarian Intellectuals of Zakarpats'ka; the Forum of Hungarian Organizations of Zakarpats'ka; the Balaton Hungarian Cultural Federation of Ivano-Frankovsk; the Petöfi Sándor Society of Hungarians in Crimea and the Farmers' Federation of Zakarpats'ka.

The Hungarian Cultural Federation in Transcarpathia (KMKSZ), established in 1989, was the first and remains to this day the largest social interest protection organization of ethnic Hungarians of Zakarpats'ka. In March 2006, the Federation had a membership of 42,000. To serve the community's long-range interests, the statutes of the Federation aim to protect the interests, preserve and cultivate the national culture and traditions, promote native-language education and instruction, ensure the collective rights and shape the national consciousness of Hungarians in Zakarpats'ka. The program of the KMKSZ sets as a goal the establishment of nationality self-administration, which the organization aims to achieve through the creation of nationality self-government or territorial autonomy. The KMKSZ has mid-level branch organizations in the Uzhhorod, Mukacheve, Berehove, and Vinohradiv districts, and in the Upper-Tisza region. In addition to the above organizations, ethnic Hungarians in Zakarpats'ka province have several local and residential district cultural organizations. In order to coordinate the activities of the regional organizations, the Forum of Hungarian Organizations in Transcarpathia (KMSZF) was established in August 1994 at the initiative of the KMKSZ.

One of Zakarpats'ka's Hungarian civil organizations with the most illustrious past is the Community of Hungarian Intellectuals in Zakarpats'ka, which since its foundation in 1993 has seen as its main task the joining together of Zakarpats'ka Hungarian intellectuals for the promotion of their cultural, scientific, and economic activities. It is active in three societies for science, literature and arts, and business management. Its principal objective is to create favorable conditions for Hungarian intellectuals in Zakarpats'ka, thereby slowing down the extent of emigration from their homeland. On 17 December 2003, the Prime Minister of Hungary presented the Prize for Minorities to the Community.

The Hungarian organizations of Zakarpats'ka made use of the opportunities offered by the law on self-government of 1997 when they established in February 2001 the officially registered Self-Governmental Association of Border Settlements of Zakarpats'ka. The Association's aim is to promote self-organization for the province's Hungarians, to ensure a more effective protection of the rights and interests of local communities, and to develop economic and community relations with the border regions of the neighboring countries. The Association also gave assistance in establishing several sister settlement ties.

The most important among professional interest protection organizations are the Federation of Hungarian Teachers in Zakarpats'ka, the Imre Revesz Fine and Industrial Arts Society, the Dezsö Zador Music Society in Uzhhorod, the Society of Hungarian Scientists in Zakarpats'ka, the Federation of Hungarian Health Workers in Zakarpats'ka, the Society of Hungarian Librarians in Zakarpats'ka, the Zakarpats'ka Writers' Group of the Hungarian Writers' Union and the Zakarpats'ka Federation of Hungarian Journalists (1998).

Major youth organizations include the Hungarian Scouts Association of Zakarpats'ka, the Pro Patria Youth Association, the Youth Organization of the KMKSZ, the Youth Branch of Community of Hungarian Intellectuals in Zakarpats'ka, the Youth and Sports Special Committee of UMDSZ, the Gordius Hungarian Youth Democratic Federation in Zakarpats'ka and the Federation of Hungarian Students and Young Researchers in Zakarpats'ka (KMDFKSZ).

The re-establishment of the Hungarian educational system is still going on today. The Ukrainian Law on National Minorities allows for the establishment of national-cultural autonomy and of the framework of educational autonomy. The Federation of Hungarian Teachers in Zakarpats'ka (KMPSZ), founded in December 1991, today has a membership of 2,140 (April 2004 data) and wishes to make use of the opportunities provided by the law. Its most important task is to have the Hungarian educational institutions from nursery schools to higher education under unified direction.

The training of Hungarian language and literature teachers has been going on since 1963 at the Hungarian Faculty of Philology of the National University of Uzhorod. Until the 2002/2003 academic year, a total of 709 students got here teacher's certificates in Hungarian language and literature. At present, 130 regular students are pursuing their studies there. Next to instruction, the teachers of the faculty also carry out scientific research since 1966. As a result, it has been possible to publish a Hungarian-Ukrainian dictionary (2001), an atlas of the Hungarian idioms in Zakarpats'ka province (1992–2003), and the first anthology of the Hungarian literature of the province (1993). The Hungarian faculty maintains close ties with institutions of higher education in Hungary and other countries abroad, with centers for Hungarian studies, and with scientific and academic institutions. The Center for Hungarian Studies of Uzhorod was set up in 1988 under the aegis of the faculty, and it was upon its recommendation that the Ukrainian parliament restored from the 1990s on to this day the historical names of 55 localities inhabited by a Hungarian-majority. In April 2000, the Highest Certification Commission of the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Science authorized the functioning of a Scientific Special Council at the Faculty for the defense of candidate dissertations in Hungarian language and literature.

In September 1994, college training was started in Berehove in four departments of the branch college of the Gyorgy Bessenyei Teachers Training College of Nyíregyháza, Hungary. This non-state educational institution – set up by a foundation established by the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Zakarpats'ka, the Federation of Hungarian Teachers in Transcarpathia, the Reformed Church of Zakarpats'ka, and the Berehove Mayor's Office – has been operating as an independent institution since 1996 with the financial support of the Hungarian state. In December 2003 the college took the name of Ferenc Rakoczi II Hungarian College in Zakarpats'ka. The institution also serves as an instruction center for off-campus Hungarian higher education instruction and had in the 2005/2006 academic year 569 day-time students, 32 corresponding (second diploma) students, and a further 252 students enrolled in off-campus instruction. 181 students are enrolled in the various sessions and courses advertised by the college. The Ferenc Rakoczi II Hungarian College in Zakarpats'ka is maintained by the Foundation for Hungarian College in Zakarpats'ka, which is supported almost exclusively from Hungarian government sources, primarily the Ministry of Education.

The LIMES Social Research Institute, established in 1999 within the college, was succeeded in 2001 by the Tivadar Lehoczky Social Research Institute and the Antal Hodinka Language Institute. The aim of the two institutes is to organize and coordinate social science and philosophical research carried out in Zakarpats'ka, and to collect and classify documents related to the local Hungarian community. The college's Students' Self-Government was set up in 1996. A total of 1,034 students were enrolled in the institution during the 2005/2006 academic year and until now, 249 students earned there their teacher certificates.

The Teachers' Training College of Mukacheve founded in 1914 functions since 2003 as a college and its present official name is the College for Humanities and Pedagogy of Mukacheve. Following the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, Hungarian-language education was discontinued for a long time

but Hungarian-language groups were resumed in the 1950s. There are presently 1,000 students in the college, including 126 ethnic Hungarians who thus make up over 10% of the student body. In 2004, the Hungarian branch of the College for Humanities and Pedagogy of Mukacheve took the name of Ilona Zranyi Branch. At present, Hungarian students may absolve six-year studies. After completing the IVth year, the students earn middle-level teacher's certificates, those who successfully complete the Vth year receive bachelor's degrees, and those who complete the VIth year obtain "elementary school teacher" certificates. The students study 80% of the subjects taught in the Hungarian language. Next to Hungarian-language education, the graduates also acquire excellent qualifications in the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Over 90% of the graduates find employment as teachers or in the sphere of public administration in the Hungarian-inhabited localities of Zakarpats'ka.

Many other Hungarian associations are active in the spheres of culture, tradition preservation, and literary life. Cultural circles and pensioner's clubs in particular belong to this category.

2.3.3 Arts and culture

A professional theatre, the Gyula Illys Hungarian National Theatre, has functioned in Berehove since 1996. Several Hungarian organizations function or functioned in Transcarpathia in the fields of culture, literature and the preservation of traditions. They include close to 20 cultural circles, pensioners' clubs, and literary circles.

2.3.4 Religious observation

The collapse of the totalitarian system improved conditions for the exercise of religion. Currently, 29 priests are active in the Transcarpathian dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church and 16 Roman Catholic seminarians are studying in Hungary. The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary is seeking to alleviate the chronic shortage of priests by sending over monk priests. The bishop of the Transcarpathian Roman Catholic Apostolic See is Mgr. Antal Majnek. Pope John Paul II in a 2002 edict has elevated the apostolic diocese to the rank of church diocese and appointed Mgr. Majnek as its first diocesan bishop. Amidst the difficult economic situation, the Catholic Church, along with spiritual work, is carrying out extensive and indispensable charitable activities among its faithful, many of whom turn to the church in the hope of receiving financial aid. Presently, charity groups are active in nearly every Zakarpats'ka settlement with Roman Catholic residents. In addition to organizing the distribution of aid shipments, the Catholic Church operates seven free pharmacies, with their center in Vinohradiv, and free kitchens in Vinohradiv and Tachiv respectively. At the initiative of church leaders and with the support of the New Handshake Foundation in Hungary it was possible to supply many people with seed grain and to start four bakeries. The church has established in Mukacheve its own high school for the education of Roman Catholic youth.

A total of 97 congregations are functioning within the Reformed (Calvinist) Church function today (their number was 81 in 1988). In recent times, 15 new parsonages have been built and education is taking place in three high schools belonging to the Reformed Church. There are close to 40 ministers and over 50 students are studying theology abroad. The Reformed Church is headed by Bishop is Laszlo Horkay. In the fall of 1999, with the cooperation of the Reformed Church, a waterworks station (costing HUF33 million) was put into service in the flood-stricken settlement of Vary, whose residents became the first among Transcarpathia's villages to receive clean drinking water. In addition to the county's three Reformed and one Roman Catholic high schools in the county, the church also contributes to the education of ethnic Hungarians by offer-

ing for permanent use to the Hungarian Teachers Training College of Zakarpats'ka its parsonage, recently returned by the state and located in the center of Berehove.

The Greek Catholic Church has 101 churches in Zakarpats'ka today (compared to 400 in 1941). The number of officially registered Greek Catholic parishes is 264. The restitution of its confiscated church properties is the most burning concern of the church. Ten years after the Greek Catholic Church was again allowed to function, its followers must still attend religious services in the open. To alleviate the shortage of priests, the training of clergymen takes place in the Seminary of Uzhhorod and abroad. The bishop is Mgr. Milan Sasik.

2.3.5 Publishing and the press

Until the early 1990s, two state institutions, the Zakarpats'ka Publishing House in Uzhorod and the Hungarian Textbook Editorial Office of Uzhorod of the Soviet School Textbook Publishing House in Kyiv, published Hungarian-language books. Witnessing the crisis faced by the state book publishing, a few Hungarian editors and writers in Zakarpats'ka launched private book publishing with the assistance of foundations in Hungary. At that time, Hungarian-language schools in Zakarpats'ka suffered from a chronic shortage of textbooks. Private publishers have largely been superseded by the publishing activity of Hungarian associations that aim to keep the Hungarian language alive in the region and to acquaint the wider public in Hungary and in international forums with the literary achievements of Transcarpathia's Hungarians. A joint newspaper and book printing shop has been established with Hungarian government support in Vinohradiv under the name of Ugocsa Print. Half a dozen smaller private publishers continue to release one or two Hungarian-language books a year through financial support from Hungary by means of annual ministerial competitions for Hungarian book publishing companies operating outside the borders of Hungary.

The Ukrainian state does not support the nationalities' press and book publications. The only national Hungarian-language newspaper is *Zakarpats'ka True Word* with subscribers from 14 of Ukraine's counties. It is published three times a week (on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday) and has a circulation of 11,000. The KMKSZ has published a political and cultural weekly since 2001, issuing 15,000 copies at present. Three local papers, each of which are published by a city or district council, also appear in Hungarian translation. A number of other cultural and social organizations produce their own press publications. Most of the Hungarian-language newspapers can now be reached via the internet.

2.3.6 The media

Previously, the broadcasts of the Hungarian state television could be received practically everywhere in Zakarpats'ka, except for the mountainous area of Rahiv. The 04 channel transmitter in Tokaj, which broadcast the first program of Hungarian Television ceased operations on 31 December 1995. This is causing a problem particularly for those inhabitants of Zakarpats'ka who have outdated or black-and-white television sets. The Duna Television broadcasts transmitted via satellite are available only to a small number of viewers due to a lack of proper receivers. Since there are practically no subscriptions to newspapers from Hungary and since many Hungarian families cannot even afford to subscribe to local newspapers, the radio and the television broadcasts are their only sources of information.

The air time of Hungarian-language radio broadcasts in Zakarpats'ka is 470 hours per year, and that of television broadcasts, 70 hours. *The Editorial Office for Hungarian-Language Broadcasts of the Transcarpathian Studio of Ukrainian Radio and Television* maintains ties on a contractual

basis with the Hungarian State Television and Radio. Since autumn 2003, it appears every two weeks with an independent program in the "Regions" public life magazine of Duna Television.

2.4 Overview of existing surveys

There are no comprehensive sociological researches of Hungarians in Ukraine. Mainly attitude of Ukrainians to different ethnic minorities living in Ukraine is under investigation. For instance, there are many investigations conducted by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology: since 1994, level of xenophobia has been under consideration. Within these investigations the Bogardus Social Distance Scale is in use. Social Distance Index for the following ethnicities has been counted: Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Americans, Canadians, Poles, Germans, Romanians, Afro-Americans, Gypsies and the French.⁸

As for questioning Hungarians living in Ukraine we should mention the investigation "Dynamics of relations between ethnics in Zakarpatska region" (1995-1998) conducted by the Department of Social Problems in Carpathian Region of the Institute of Sociology of Ukrainian National Academy of Science together with Uzhgorod Linguistic Centre "Lick". Within the research the following ethnic groups were examined: Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Slovaks, Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Gypsies, Caucasians and Rusyns.⁹

Also important contribution to investigation of Hungarians living in Ukraine is made by Ukrainian researches I. Mygovych, I. Granchack and L.Poti. At the centre of their attention is specificity of Hungarian ethnic minority acting in social and political life of Zakarpats'ka. In particular they describe the participation of political parties and national and cultural associations representing interests of ethnic Hungarians in the Parliament Elections. We should pay great attention to the monograph written by L. Loiko as well. This book tells us about ethnic and national civic organizations existing in Ukraine. Special emphasis is put on the point how Hungarian ethnic civic organizations influence the results of elections on the territory where Hungarians live compactly.¹⁰

2.5 Conclusion

The Hungarian minority in Ukraine numbers 156,600 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001¹¹. That is approximately 0.32% of the whole population of Ukraine. The Hungarian ethnic minority in the Ukraine settles almost exclusively in one region only: Zakarpat'ska Oblast'. For the Hungarians, who live in compact villages, where from 50% up to 100% of the population is Hungarian, culture of the titular nation is less important, while preserving their own traditions, lifestyle, language and identity, and the union on this basis becomes not so difficult. Thus, for objective reasons – due to its settlement structure and to a lesser degree of interaction with the titular nation the Hungarian ethnic group is less integrated into the Ukrainian society. The age structure of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Ukraine in general is similar to the age structure of the Ukrainian population. Young Hungarians in Ukraine retain their ethnic identity.

The members of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia belong to the Reformed (Calvinist), Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. 75% of the members of the Hungarian minority

⁸<http://www.kiis.com.ua/>, <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2005/0215/gazeta09.php#1>

⁹ <http://rusinpresent.narod.ru/rupelin.htm>

¹⁰ http://www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/Soc_Gum/Npchdu/Politology/2008_66/66-22.pdf

¹¹ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

live in small-size communities. Since they pursue professions of a lower social status because of the shortcomings in native-language training opportunities, they are more threatened by the danger of unemployment.

The ethnic Hungarian community in Zakarpats'ka province has two political parties. On February 17, 2005, the Ukrainian Ministry of justice registered the "KMKSZ," the Hungarian Party in Ukraine, whose establishment was initiated by the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Zakarpats'ka province (KMKSZ). In March 2005, the Ministry of Justice also registered the Hungarian Democratic Party in Ukraine upon the initiative of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine (UMDSZ). The interest protection activity of Hungarian cultural and professional groups is currently directed mainly at preserving the national consciousness and culture of the Hungarian community, developing native-language education, maintaining the Hungarian-language educational system, and establishing an autonomous Hungarian educational district. There are no comprehensive sociological researches of Hungarians in Ukraine. Mainly attitude of Ukrainians to different ethnic minorities living in Ukraine is under investigation.

2.6 Bibliography

1. National composition of the population of Ukraine and its language features. According to Census 2001 – Kyiv, 2003.
2. Text of the Laws of Ukraine (Language Law, Education Law, etc.)
3. Transcarpathia - the multinational land // Current archive of the Office for Nationalities and Migration of the Transcarpathian Regional State Administration. - Uzhgorod, 2008.
4. Loiko L. I. (2007), Public organizations of ethnic minorities in Ukraine: nature, legitimacy, activity: Monograph. - Kyiv: Folio.
5. Myhovich I., Granchak I. (2008), Hungarians in Ukraine // "Veche", № 7. - Pp. 143-153.
6. Poti L. (2005), Juxtaposition of Ukraine and the EU: closed borders or new impetus to cooperation? // International round table of experts (Uzhgorod, 7-9 November, 2002). – Uzhgorod.
7. Turner P. (2002), The national movement in Transcarpathia: 1988-1993: Sociological and Political Analysis. - Uzhgorod.
8. Pelin A. (2009), Dynamics of interethnic relations in Transcarpathia 1995 -1998 // Scientific notes of Simferopol State University. 1999. - № 11 (50). – Pp.76-84.
9. Doroshenko D.I. (2004), Essay on the history of Ukraine. - Lviv.
10. Ethnic and national development of Ukraine. Terms, definitions, personalities / Edited by Rymarenko I., Kuras I. - Kyiv, 2001.
11. Zastavetska O., Zastavetsky B., Weaver D. (2007), Geography of Ukraine's population. - Ternopil.
12. Shypka N.P., Hungarian National minority in elections in the independent Ukraine (2004) // Scientific works of the Chernivtsi Natinal University. Volume 79. Issue 66. pp. 49-55.
13. Lozko G. (2010), Ethnology of Ukraine: Theory and theoretical and religious aspect. Tutorial / Kyiv: Artek.
14. Bereni A. (2005), Ukrainian historiography of the problem of socio-political, spiritual and cultural life of Hungarians in Transcarpathia (1991-2005) // Carpatica-Karpatyka. Issue - 25. Actual problems of the Ukrainian political science. - Uzhgorod: Uzhgorod National University Publishing House. - S. 163-183.
15. Bereni A. (2004), Legal basis for the development and functioning of national minorities: Ukrainian international standards and Reality // Scientific Bulletin of Uzhgorod University. Series: History. Vol. 10 / Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, Uzhgorod National University. - Pp. 97-102.
16. Materials of the Governmental office for Hungarian minorities abroad <http://www.hhrf.org/htm/>

3 MAIN FINDINGS OF THE ENRI-VIS SURVEY (ENRI-VIS)

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova/Irina Kuzina

3.1 Ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity

One of the central problems of the ENRI-EAST project in Ukraine was the identity of the members of Hungarian ethnic minority, who reside at the territory of modern Ukraine. In this regard, special attention was paid to the basis of identity – how in the first, second and third place the members of this group identify themselves, what social groups they refer themselves to. According to the collected data, the most important feature for the respondents' identification is their gender (28% of Hungarians living in Ukraine describe themselves primarily by means of identifying themselves as male or female). A quarter (25%) of the members of the studied ethnic minority identifies themselves through their occupation first. Also important for the respondents are such features like their religion, ethnicity, and age, the priority of these qualities are marked by 15%, 14% and 12% of Ukrainian Hungarians respectively.

Respondents were asked to choose a feature that is secondarily important to describe their personality. It should be noted that the second place in the hierarchy of identities among the Hungarians living in Ukraine is mostly occupied by the ethnicity and religion (28% and 21% respectively). The weight of regional identity increases concerning the third level of identity. Thus, 25% of respondents, making the third choice, choose the option “coming from the settlement where I live”, as a feature, that characterizes them the best.

Paying no attention to the ranking of the characteristics, it can be noted that Ukrainian Hungarians mostly define themselves by their ethnicity. Thus, 62% of respondent one way or another (in the 1st, 2nd or 3rd place) chose their ethnic group as the most important characteristic describing themselves.

European identity is an outsider in the hierarchy of identities of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine, thus only 7% of respondents somehow associate themselves with Europe.

Table 1. Respondents' answers to the question: «Which is the most important to you in describing who you are?»,%

	1-st choice	2-nd choice	3-rd choice
... my gender	28	16	10
... my current occupation	25	10	7
... my religion	15	21	10
... my ethnic group	14	28	20
... my age group	12	10	9
... coming from the settlement you live...	3	6	25
... to be a citizen of Ukraine	1	1	4
... my social class	1	5	10
... being European	1	2	4
... my preferred political party, group or movement	<1	1	1
Total	100	100	100

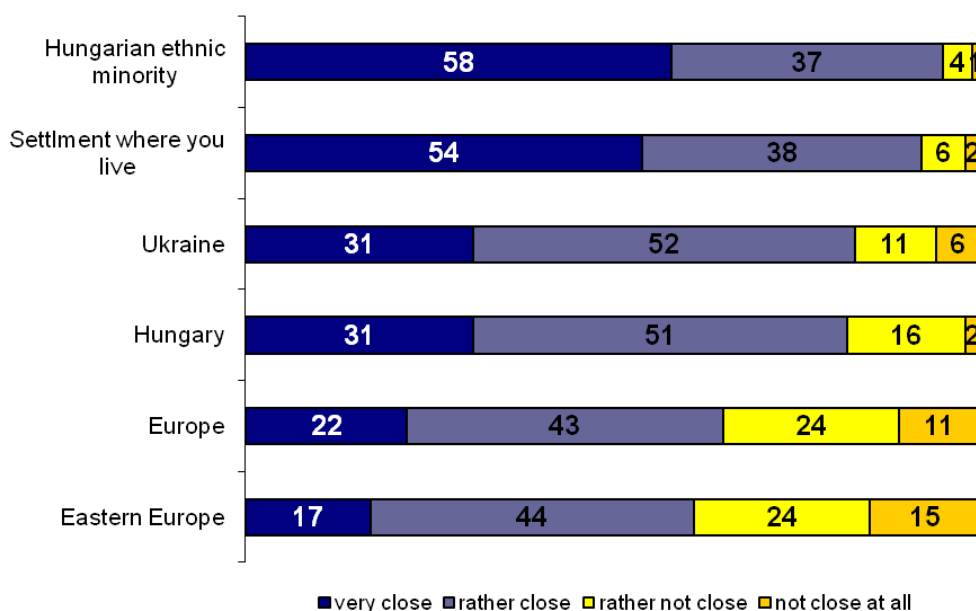
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Some age differences can be noted in the list of identifications of the representatives of the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine. Thus, with growing age the percentage of respondents who primarily identify themselves by gender decreases (among a group of "up to 29 years" there are 35% of such choices, among a group of "30-49" - 33%, among a group of "older than 49 years" - only 21%). The importance of religion and belonging to their ethnic group as characteristics through which Ukrainian Hungarians describe themselves, on the contrary, increases with the growing age. Thus, among the youngest group of respondents only 8% as a part of the first choice described themselves through religion, 6% through their ethnicity. Among the group of "30 to 49 years old" there are 10% and 12% of such choices respectively, among those who are older than 49 years there are already 20% and 20% of such choices.

According to our data, the hierarchy of identities is affected to some extent by the level of education. So, the first place in the hierarchy of identities in the composition of first choices of the Hungarian diaspora members in Ukraine with secondary education occupy the gender (28%) while the respondents with higher education have their occupation leading (29%).

The geographical identity of members of the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine should get a special emphasize. Thus, according to the obtained during the study data, most of the respondents feel more emotionally attached to the Hungarian ethnic group and locality in which they live. Respectively 58% and 54% of the Ukrainian Hungarians who took part in the survey consider themselves very close to these communities. Ukraine and Hungary are considered to be very close only to 31% of the respondents. The proximity to Europe is mentioned only by the fifth part of the Ukrainian Hungarians.

Figure 1. Respondents' answers to the question: «How close do you feel to ... ?», %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The proximity of the proposed communities correlates with the age. The older is the respondent, the closer he feels to all the proposed communities.

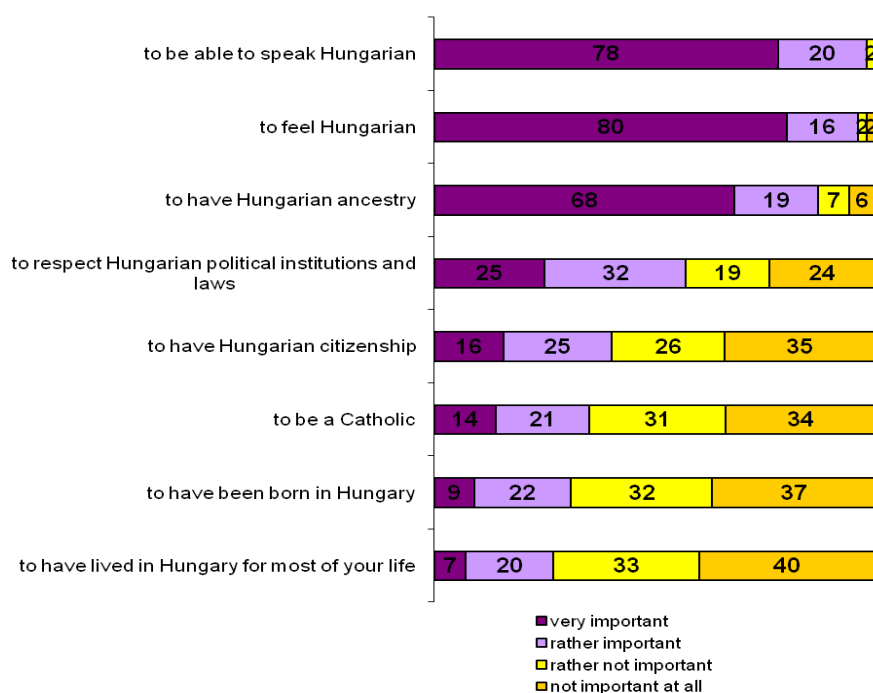
Table 2. Respondents' answers to the question: «How close do you feel to ...?» depending on the age, %*

	18-29 years old	30-49 years old	50 years old and older
Hungarian ethnic minority	89	96	98
Settlement where you live	87	91	95
Ukraine	69	83	89
Hungary	73	81	88
Europe	53	59	74

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

* Position "close" (sum of "very close" and "rather close") is presented in the table

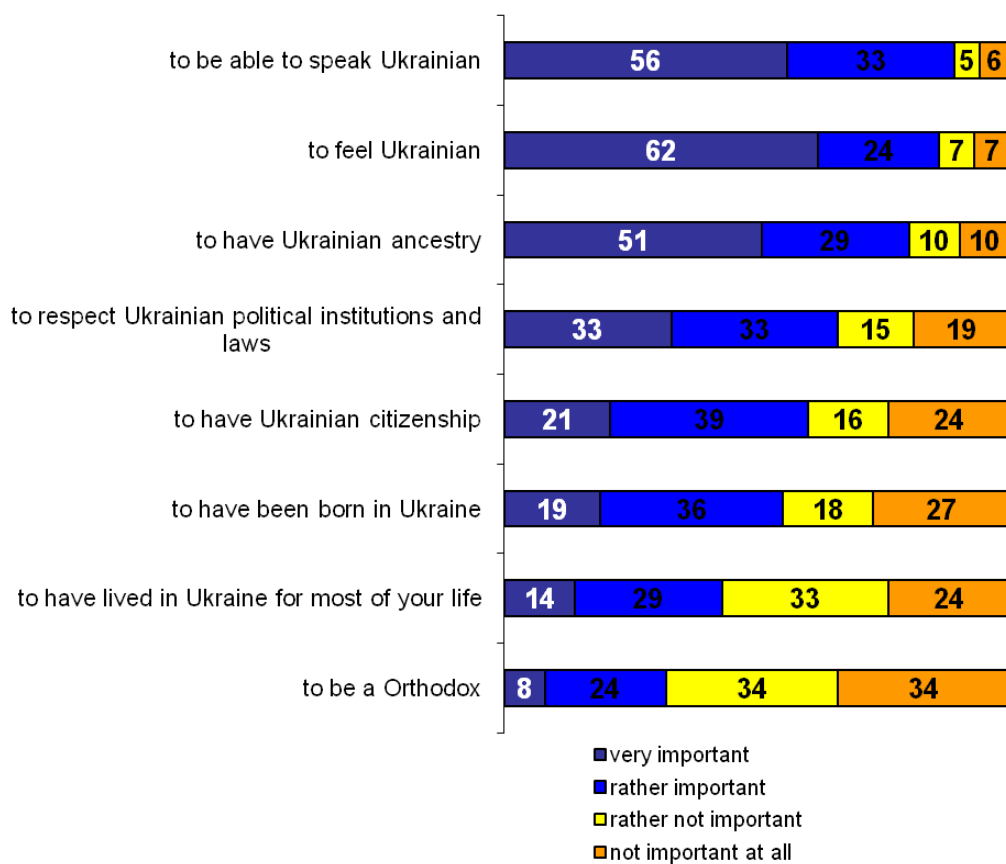
In addition, the data obtained from the study suggest some degree of the dependence of the proximity to Europe in the perception of the respondents on the type of settlement, in which he resides. Thus, the percentage of the Ukrainian Hungarians living in cities who feel close to Europe is bigger (68%) than in rural areas (53%). During the study there was an attempt to find out what features a person must possess to be considered a true Hungarian. According to the collected data, the most important is knowledge of the Hungarian language - this factor of the identification of the true Hungarian was noted as important by the vast majority of respondents (98%). Equally important was self-perception of the ethnicity (96% of respondents marked it as important). Next one in the hierarchy of the factors determining a person as a true Hungarian ethnicity, according to the respondents, is the presence of Hungarian ancestry (87%) and respect to Hungarian political institutions and laws (57%). The lowest noted value among the named factors was the fact of birth in Hungary (31%) and the residence in Hungary for the most of life (27%).

Figure 2. Respondents' answers to the question: «How important do you think each of the following things for being truly Hungarian?», %*

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Similar data was obtained concerning self-identification of truly Ukrainian. The most important factors are the Ukrainian language proficiency (89%), feeling of being Ukrainian (87%) and the presence of the Ukrainian roots (80%). It should be also noted that all the proposed factors of self-identification of a real Ukrainian in the responses of the respondents have a less weight than in the case of self-identification of a real Hungarian. i.e., despite the leadership of the same factors for the ethnic identification, their importance for determining the true Hungarians was more frequently observed than in case of determining the true Ukrainian. Attention also should be drawn to the fact that in the ideas of the Ukrainian Hungarians the religious beliefs have the smallest importance for determining a true Ukrainian, while for the real Hungarian it occupies a higher position in the hierarchy of the determining factors.

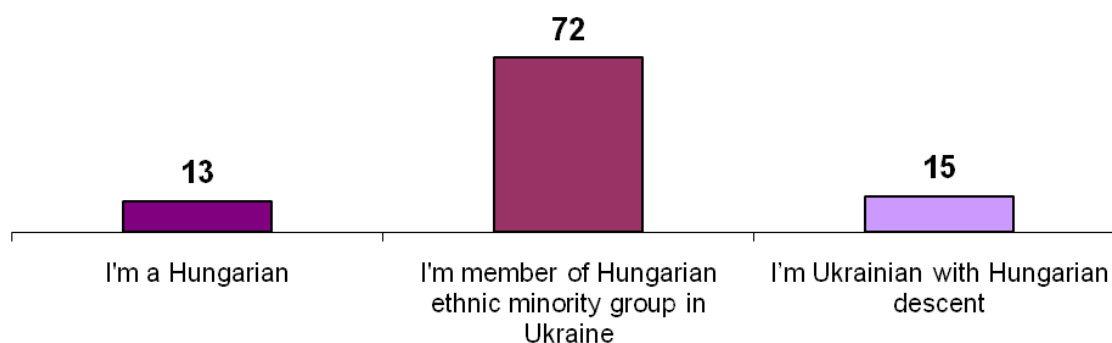
Figure 3. Respondents' answers to the question: «How important do you think each of the following things for being truly Ukrainian?», % *



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Ethnic identity of members of Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine is quite strong, what can be evidenced from the following data. Thus, 72% of respondents identify themselves as members of Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine, fixating their ethnic identity in conjunction with the state of their residence. 13% of respondents make a sole focus on their ethnicity. Approximately the same number of the representatives of the Hungarian Diaspora in Ukraine (15%) identify themselves as Ukrainians but still feeling their Hungarian descent.

Figure 4. Respondents' answers to the question: «Please choose the statement which best describes your ethnic status from the list?»,%



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The ethnicity is slightly different due to the age. For example, younger respondents (aged 18 to 29 years) rather believe that they are the members of the Hungarian ethnic minority group in Ukraine (76%), than older respondents (69% and 71% in the "30-49" and "50 and over", respectively). At the same time, respondents of the elder age groups often consider themselves to be Ukrainian with Hungarian descent than the younger ones (group of "50+" - 18%, the group of "30-49" - 16%, the group of "18-29 years" - 9%).

There is some relationship between the ethnic identity and the level of education. For example, respondents with the higher education have a stronger Hungarian identity than respondents with the secondary one. The first ones say less that they are Ukrainians with Hungarian descent (9%) in contrast to the latter (18%). Respondents with higher education more often say that they are Hungarians (17%) in contrast to the respondents with the secondary education (12%).

An overwhelming number (89%) of the representatives of the Hungarian diaspora living in Ukraine who participated in the study are proud that they are Hungarians. The same percentage of respondents is proud of the fact of being representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine. Pride of the fact of being Ukrainians is indicated in the 35% of the respondents' choices. Half of Ukrainian Hungarians are proud of being Europeans.

Table 3. Respondents' answers to the question: «How proud are you of being?»,%

	Proud	Not proud	Not applicable
...Hungarian?	89	5	6
... member of Hungarian minority in Ukraine?	89	11	<1
...European?	50	30	20
... Ukrainian?	35	28	37

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

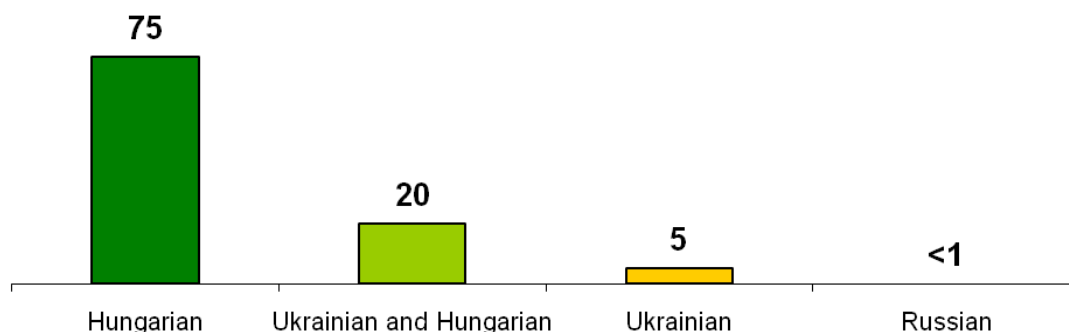
It is interesting to note that according to the obtained data, respondents from the older age groups often report that they can not answer the question concerning pride of being the Ukrainians because they are not (in the "over 50 years" group there are 44% of such choices, in the group of "30-49" - 41%, in the group of "18-29" only 18%). Such data may indicate a tendency of the younger generation of the Hungarians living in Ukraine to assimilate or to have a stringer national identity.

Representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine maintain their ethnicity using Hungarian language in their everyday life. According to the study only 5% of respondents use primarily state language of the country in which they live in their everyday life. The rest of the Hungarian Diaspora in Ukraine in one or another way speaks Hungarian or Ukrainian (20%) or only Hungarian (75%).

The usage of Hungarian language in everyday life correlates with the age of the respondents. The younger is the respondent, the more he uses Hungarian language. Thus, among the Ukrainian Hungarians in the age up to 29 years old, 85% in their everyday life are mainly talking Hungarian, while among the respondents aged 30-49 there are 75% of such people, and in the age group older than 50 this rate is on the level of 70%. Accordingly, the use of Ukrainian in conjunction with the Hungarian among the Hungarians living in Ukraine increases with growing age (12% among the group of up to 29 years use Ukrainian and Hungarian, 20% among the 30-49 group and 21% in the group of 50 and older years).

The dependence of the language of everyday communication on the type of settlement that is home to the respondent can be also noted. Representatives of the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine, living in rural areas speak Hungarian in their everyday life more frequently than Hungarians in urban areas do (81% and 59% respectively). Accordingly, the urban Hungarian population uses Ukrainian in conjunction with Hungarian more often than the respondents in rural areas (38% and 13% respectively).

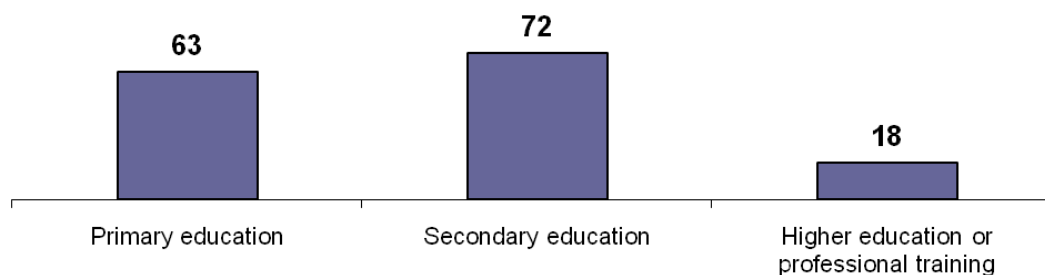
Figure 5. Respondents' answers to the question: «What language or languages do you speak most often at home?»,%



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine has enough opportunities to get education in Hungarian. Thus, 72% of respondents obtained secondary education in the language of their own ethnic group. Due to the fact that there are the faculties and universities teaching in Hungarian in Ukraine, and there are plenty of options for Ukrainian Hungarians to study at the universities in Hungary, the representatives of the Hungarian Diaspora are able to receive higher education in Hungarian language too. Thus, 18% of respondents indicated that they had obtained higher education in Hungarian.

Figure 6. Respondents' answers to the question: «Have you obtained education in Hungarian language?», %



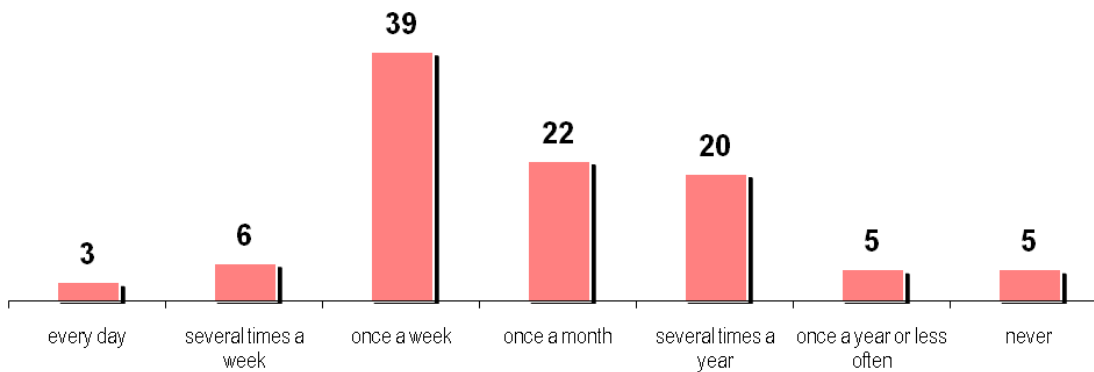
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Percentage of Ukrainian Hungarians, who obtained secondary education in Hungarian language, depends on the age of the respondents. Thus, the younger is the respondent, the more chances he has to obtain education in Hungarian, the more frequently he says he got education at school with the Hungarian language of study (in the group of "18-29 years" there are 84% of such respondents, in the group of "30-49" - 74%, in the group of "50 and older" - 65%). The same things are indicated within the respondents who have obtained higher education in their native language. Younger respondents were more likely to obtain higher education in Hungarian (31% of respondents aged from 18 to 29 years, 20% of aged 30-49 years and 10% in the age of 50 years old or older). These data suggests a greater share of opportunities and desires of today's young Hungarians living in Ukraine to obtain education in the language of their ethnic group.

The study was also focusing on the religious identity of Ukrainian Hungarians. Analyzing the data, it can be said that the biggest part of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine profess Protestantism (70%), 27% of respondents said about the Catholicism as their religion. Less than one percent of the Ukrainian Hungarians are Orthodox Christians, Baptists, or Jehovah's Witnesses according to the collected data. A little more than a percent of respondents (1.3%) do not belong to any confession. Another interesting fact is that the younger group of respondents more often professes Protestantism (79% among respondents aged 18-29 years, 75% among aged 30-49 years, and only 64% among aged 50 and older). Catholics are to a greater extent among the older respondents - 33% among those aged over 50, 24% among the middle-aged (30-49 years) group and 19% among the younger respondents (18-29 years).

According to the collected information religion plays a significant role in the life of Ukrainian Hungarians, they actively live a religious life, perform religious rites, including visiting the places of worship. Thus, almost half of the respondents (48%) do it at least once a week, and only 10% less than once a year.

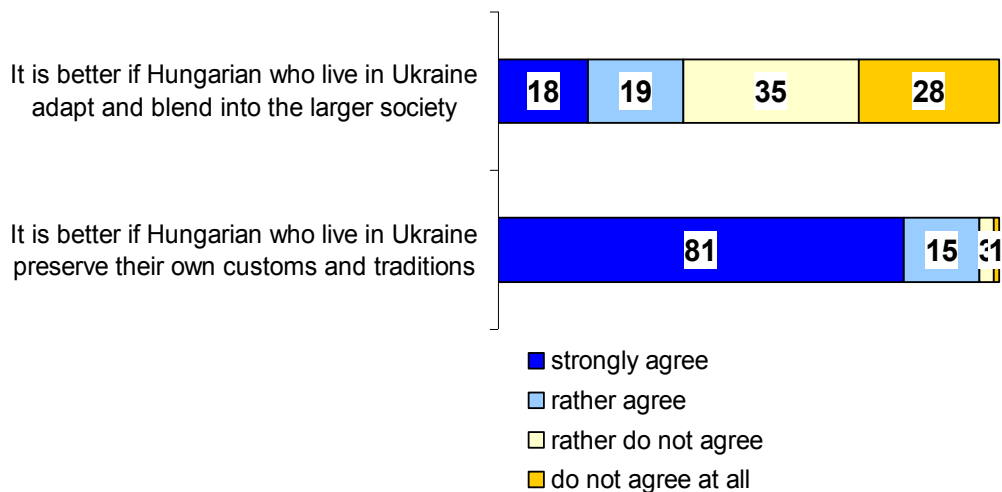
Figure 7. Respondents' answers to the question: «Apart from funerals, christenings and weddings, how often do you practice your religion for example by attending religious gatherings, servings?»,%



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine is quite strong. This is confirmed by the data obtained during the project. Thus, the majority (97%) of the Ukrainian Hungarians believe that members of their diaspora should preserve their own customs and traditions (81% strongly agree with this statement).

Figure 8. Respondents' answers to the question: «How much do you agree with the statement...?»,%



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

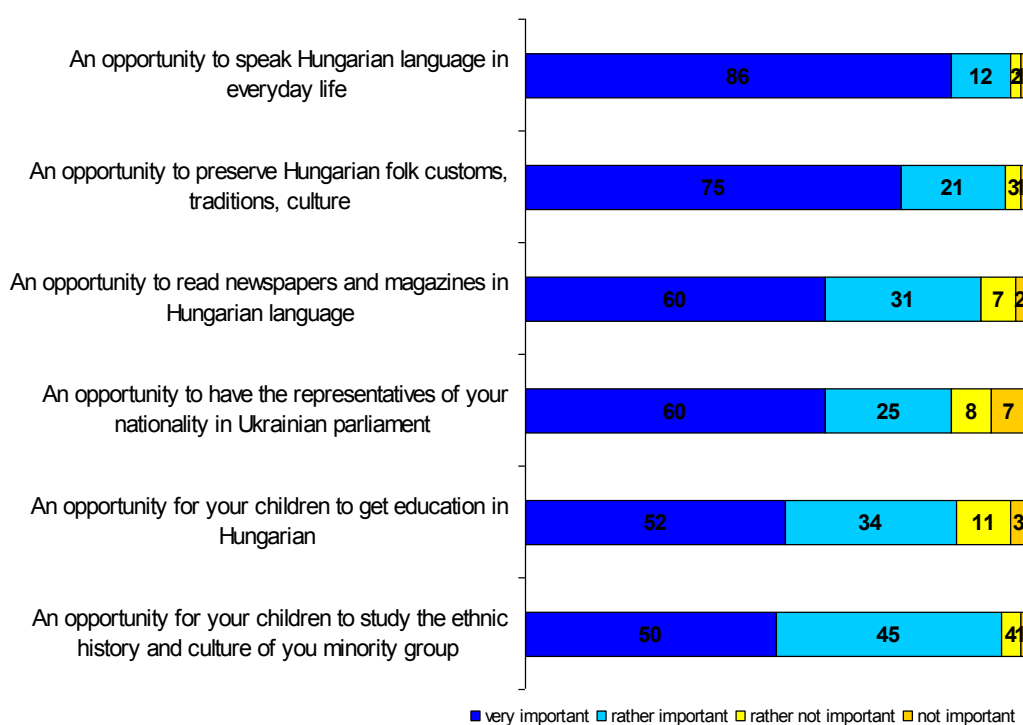
Also, the data proves that Hungarians living in Ukraine mostly do not agree that their minority group must adapt and blend into the larger society, 63% of respondents do not agree with it. However, the presence of 37% of respondents who did not reject such possibility should be noted, and 18% of respondents even fully agree that it is even necessary.

According to the survey results, the older is the respondent, the more frequently he agrees it is better if Hungarians who live in Ukraine adapt and blend into the larger society. Thus, in the elder age group there are 48% of such respondents, in the middle age group there are 30%, and in

the group of "up to 29" - 26% (sum of the "strongly agree" and "partially disagree" answers been counted).

To maintain the self-consciousness of the ethnic group certain conditions must be there. The study offered a number of statements describing the methods of development and maintenance of ethnic groups, and respondents were invited to note the degree of their importance. According to the collected information, the most important for respondents is the ability to speak Hungarian (for 86% - it is very important for the 12% it is rather important), and to keep their Hungarian customs and traditions (for 75% it is very important, for 21% - rather important). Also rather important for Hungarians in Ukraine is to have the representatives of their ethnic group the Ukrainian parliament (85%) and the opportunity for their children to get education in Hungarian (86%).

Figure 9. Respondents' answers to the question: «To what degree is it important for you?», %



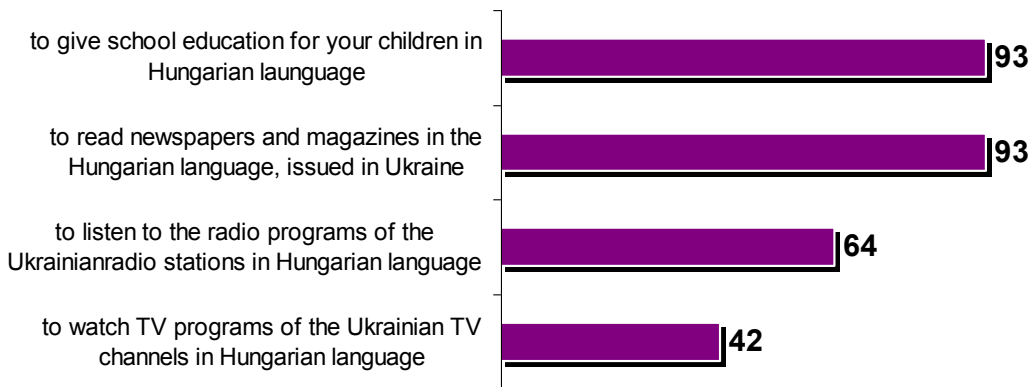
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The Hungarian ethnic minority feels comfortable enough in Ukraine. This is confirmed by the data. Thus, 93% of respondents noted they have opportunity to give school education in Hungarian language to their children and to read newspapers and magazines in Hungarian language issued in Ukraine. 64% of Ukrainian Hungarians listen to the radio programs of the Ukrainian radio stations in Hungarian language. Less than a half of the respondents have the opportunity to watch TV programs on Ukrainian TV channels in Hungarian language.

According to our data, there are some age differences and differences depending on the type of settlement in the possibilities of the Ukrainian Hungarians to get information from the mass media in the language of their ethnic minority. Thus, the older are the respondents, the more often they say that they have the ability to watch TV programs of the Ukrainian TV channels in Hungarian language (in the group of the "up to 29 years" and "30-49 years" are 35% of such people, and in the group of "50 years and older" there are 49%) and to listen to the radio programs of the

Ukrainian radio stations in the Hungarian language (in the group of the "up to 29 years" there are 27% of such choices, in the group of "30-49 years" there are 30% of such respondents, and in the group of "50 years and older" there are 44%). In addition, representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine who live in rural areas have fewer opportunities to watch TV programs of Ukrainian TV channels in Hungarian language (39% of respondents living in rural areas have such a possibility, while among the respondents living in urban areas there are 48% of people) and to listen to the radio programs of the Ukrainian radio stations (30% of rural Ukrainian contingent of Hungarians and 38% of the urban one).

Figure 10. Respondents' answers to the question: «Do you have an opportunity...?», %



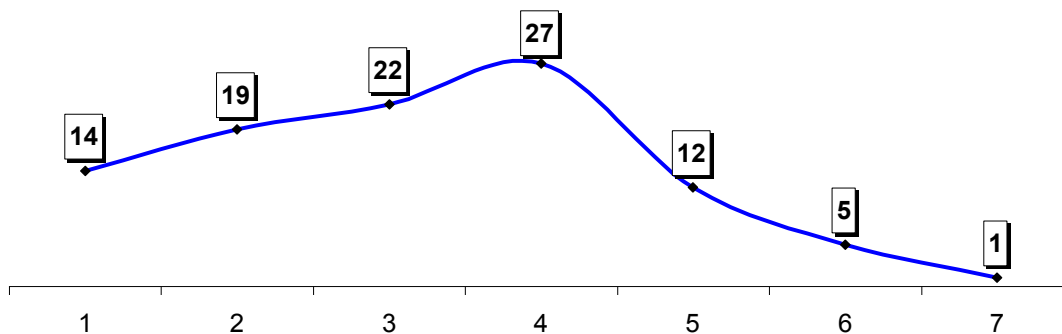
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

3.2 Family, households and related ethnic aspects

A number of questions were devoted to the description of household members of the respondents. They were asked how many people live with them; in what relationship are they to the respondents; their ethnicity/nationality and citizenship.

Answering the question "Including yourself, how many people – including children – live here regularly as members of this household" the most popular answer is "4 people" (27,3% of respondents). Approximately equal number of respondents lives together with 1 or 2 people – 19% and 22% correspondently. 14% of the people polled in the survey live alone.

Figure 11. Respondents' answers to the question: "Including yourself, how many people – including children – live here regularly as members of this household?", %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

According to the data received, there is no difference between number of the respondents' household members in urban and rural area. But there is a difference between numbers of household members among people of different age. We can say that 23% of people of age 50 and older leave alone, and only 5% of people below 50 years old have nobody to live with.

That is rather interesting to look at ethnicity/nationality of the people living with the members of Hungarian ethnic minority group polled within our survey. We can see that the majority of them are Hungarians / members of the Hungarian ethnic minority group in Ukraine. For example, 84% of our respondents are married to the representatives of their own ethnicity/nationality. 91% described their children the same way, and 92% have parents-Hungarians.

It is quite natural that all most every member of the respondents' household members has Ukrainian citizenship. Concerning people living with our respondents, 98% of their spouses and 100% of their children, parents and brothers / sisters have the citizenship.

Table 4. Respondents' answers to the question: «What ethnicity/nationality does the person living with you have?», %

	Hus- band/wife/partner	Son/daughter (inc. step, adopted, foster, child of partner)	Parent, parent-in- law, partner's parent, step parent	Brother/sister (inc. step, adopted, foster)
Hungarian / a member of the Hungarian ethnic mi- nority group in Ukraine	84	91	92	98
Ukrainian	14	9	8	2
Other	2	<1	<1	<1

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

3.3 Xenophobia, conflicts, discrimination

Any ethnic research can't be full without the special interest to the inter-ethnic relationships and attitudes. Studying the Hungarian ethnic minority the inter-ethnic tolerance was observed due to the data received with the help of consideration of "social distance" between the Hungarians and the titular nation, as well as the two largest ethnic minorities in Ukraine (Russians and Belarusians). That allows in some approximation to judge the extent to which the representatives of the Polish ethnic minority are ready to integrate into the Ukrainian society, or conversely consolidate as a group. To measure this indicator, the scale similar in the sense to the Bogardus scale of social distance was used. Despite the fact we used the scale different in its form from the one proposed by Bogardus, it allows to pretty accurate evaluate the degree of tolerance of Hungarians living in Ukraine to the representatives of the titular nation and the other most numerous ethnic minorities, namely the Russians and Belarusians.

Based on these data it can be concluded that the social distance "from the Hungarians to the representatives of other nations" is no so short as it could be, i.e. the Hungarian minority in Ukraine is characterized by the relative closeness towards the people of other nationalities. In this case, the indicative data concerns the evidence that Hungarians more probably agree to see the Hungarian (98%) as a member of their family, while in case of Ukrainians such a rate is much lower (66%). Thus, for the Hungarians the Ukrainians are socially distanced, so do the other Slavonic representatives in Ukraine (Russians (57%) and Belarusians (54%)). Concerning the other dis-

tances (distance of friendship, neighboring, working and settling) here are more positive attitudes of the Hungarians to other nationalities in Ukraine observed. Nevertheless, Hungarians are more likely to deal with Ukrainians, that with Russians, and in the third term Belarusians.

Should be mentioned that elder Hungarians have a more short social distance to the Ukrainians, Russians and Belarussians than the younger ones, that is Hungarians up to 29 years less likely except even the imaginary possibility of having the surrounding consisting of the representatives of the biggest ethnic minorities in Ukraine, the dominative ones. The social distance to the Hungarians is equally short among the Hungarians of all ages.

Table 5 Respondents' answers to the question: «Please tell me would you agree to have a representative of your ethnic group, Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian as a family member, friend, neighbor, colleague, a resident of your settlement?» (affirmative response rate), %

		Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian	Belarusian
1	... family member	98	66	57	54
2	... friend	98	90	81	75
3	... neighbor on your street	98	92	85	78
4	... working colleague	98	92	85	79
5	... one living in the same settlement	98	93	88	80

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

According to the interviewed representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority, there are some tension (43-51% of response) and even a lot of tension (from 12% to 27%) between some social groups in Ukraine. In general, 78% of Hungarians said about the fact of the tensions between rich and poor, 67% identified the tensions of varying intensity between elderly and young people, 65% said that there is tension between different religious groups, 66% indicated the presence of tensions between Russians living in Ukraine and the representatives of the titular nation. In general, only one-third of the surveyed Hungarians (34%) said that there are no tension between the Polish and Ukrainian ethnic minorities in Ukraine (Table 3).

Opinion on the presence/absence of the social tensions differs a bit among the respondents belonging to different socio-demographic groups. Thus, among young people compared to people of middle and elder age there are slightly more of those who believe that tensions between different social groups really exist.

Table 6. Respondents' answers to the question: «In your opinion, how much tension is there between each of the following groups in this country?», %

	No tension	Some tension	A lot of tension
Poor and rich people	22	51	27
Old people and young people	33	55	12
Hungarians living in Ukraine and Ukrainians	40	43	17
Russians living in Ukraine and Ukrainians	34	49	17
Different religious groups	35	48	17

Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

An important indicator of the lack of social tensions in the country is the fact that citizens are not victims of oppression by others or the state in connection with any grounds. According to respondents' answers, a quarter (26%) of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine, who participated in the study, during the last year personally felt discriminated or prejudicial to attitude on

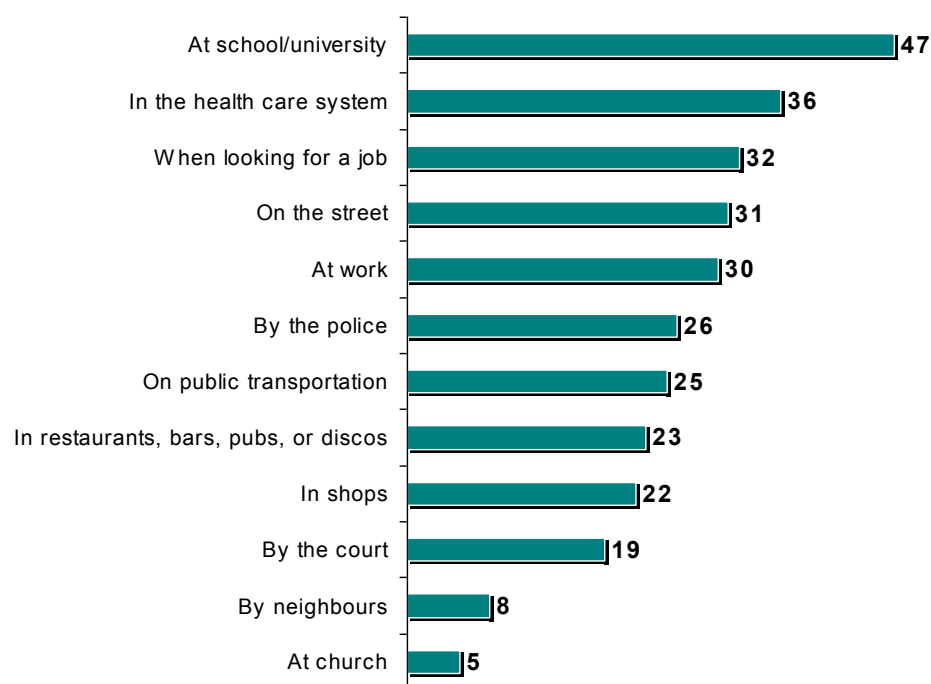
the basis of their ethnic origin, 9% of respondents discriminated because of their religion, 6% and 5% of the respondents respectively discriminated because of their age and gender.

Ethnic discrimination has some differences among the respondents of different age, education and type of settlement, in which the respondent resides. For example, the youngest respondents more often than others felt discriminated. Respondents with higher level of education were more often a subject of discrimination during the last year on grounds of their ethnic origin compared to respondents with lower educational level.

Among the respondents who live in cities compared with residents of rural areas a few more percentage of those who last year was discriminated on the basis of ethnicity / national origin.

It is interesting to note that according to the obtained data, almost half of Ukrainian Hungarians, who took part in our survey and felt discriminated or harassed because of their ethnic origin in the last 12 months, felt it in educational institutions (school, university - 47%), 36% of the respondents were discriminated in the health care system institution, 32% when they were looking for a job, 31% respondents felt discriminated on the street and 30% at work.

Figure 12. Respondents' answers to the question: « In which of these environments did you felt discriminated or harassed because of your ethnic origin in the last 12 months?» (affirmative response rate),%



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 96) in the Enri-East study 2009, who felt discriminated or harassed because of their ethnic origin in the last 12 months

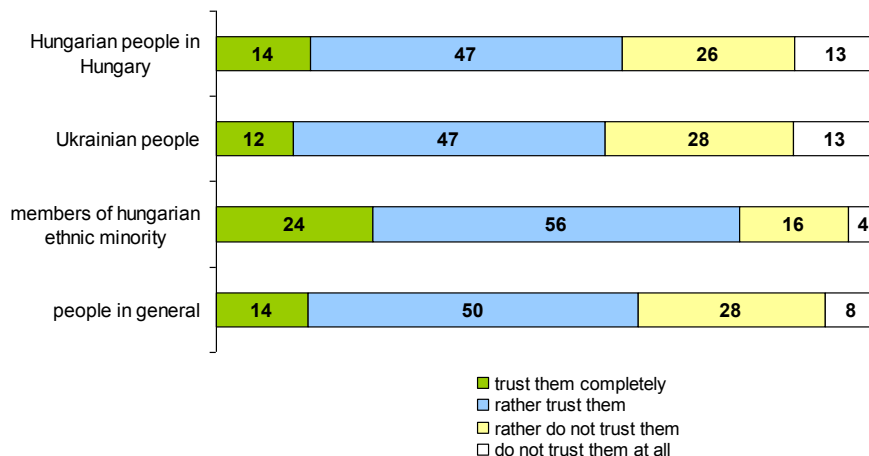
3.4 Social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU

In the community of the Ukrainian Hungarians the level of social capital is pretty high: to some extent due to the valid percent (excluding missing answers of I don't know or blanks) 64% of Hungarians rely on people in general, while trust to the members of their ethnic group (members of the Hungarians minority in Ukraine) is on the level of 80% among the respondents (“trust them completely” and “rather trust them” selections). This difference of the insignificant 2% is

indicated in the comparison of the answers to the questions of trust to Ukrainians in Ukraine and Hungarian people in Hungary: 59% of respondents are ready to rely on the Ukrainians and 61% on the Hungarians. As for the level of distrust (“rather do not trust them” and “do not trust them at all” selections), the Ukrainian Hungarians do not trust people in general, the Ukrainian people and surprisingly the Hungarians in Hungary nearly in the same way (36%, 41% and 39% respectively) while slightly less non-confidence they evince to the Hungarians in Ukraine (20%).

Regarding the impact on the nature of respondents' answers of their age, educational level and nature of settlement (urban or rural), it should be noted that the indicated differences are more connected with the age structure of the respondents in the answers to these questions. Thus, the respondents of the younger group rather don't trust (35%) or does not trust at all (11%) to people in general, while in other groups such a rate is much lower (26% and 7% respectively at average). It is also interesting that the trust to the Hungarians in Ukraine becomes complete with the age, from 16% of the “trust them completely” in the group of the age up to 29, through 22% in the middle age group (30-49 years) to 28% in the senior group (after 50), while the level of distrust remains the same in all three groups. The trust to the Ukrainians is more complete in the senior age group (20% against the average 6% in two other groups) rather than incomplete trust (52% against the average 43% in two other groups). The trust to the Hungarians in Hungary is less in the younger age group – the total (“trust them completely” and “rather trust them” selections) 52% correspond to the 66% in the senior group and 64% in the middle age group. Should be also mentioned that due to the education level there is a slight difference in the trust of Hungarians in Ukraine to the aboriginal population – Ukrainians: Hungarians with higher education trust them more (64% against the 57% in the group with secondary education).

Figure 13. Respondents' answers to the question: «Could you tell me how much do you trust...», %



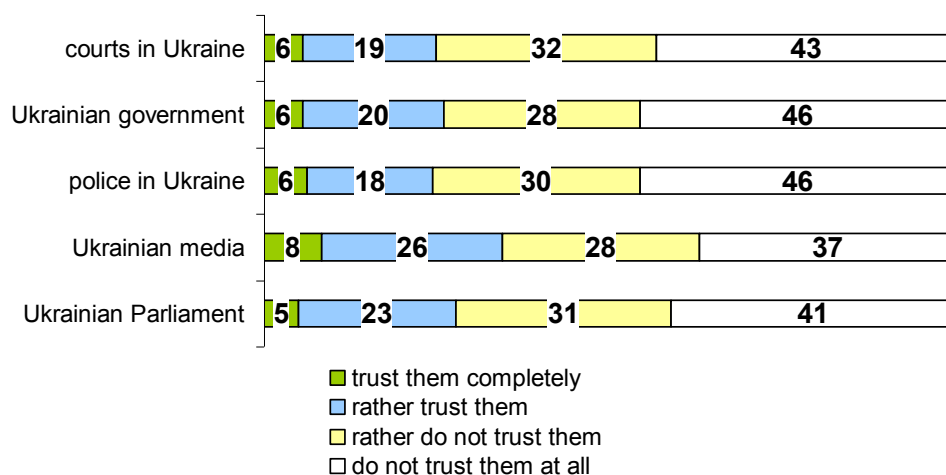
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Ukrainian Hungarians as well as the other residents of Ukraine, and Ukrainians in the first place, are not particularly inclined to trust public authorities and law-enforcement agencies. Hungarians show lower level of confidence (24%-28%) to the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's government, the judicial system of Ukraine and the Ukrainian militia. The level of distrust to these social institutions among the Ukrainian Hungarians is higher (71%-76%). Against this background media are favorably allocated: they've been trusted by 34% of Hungarians.

Level of trust to the institutions in Ukraine depends on the age and education. Thus in the younger group the level of total distrust to the Ukrainian Parliament is 48% against the 36% and 31% in

the middle and senior age groups respectively. According to the designated tendency the when the level of trust to the social groups and institutions increases with the age the trust to the police is more categorical in the senior age group (10% against 4% in average in two other age groups), while the level of incomplete trust and distrust doesn't differ due to the age and more categorical distrust is shown by the Hungarians of the younger age group (61% against 41% in average in two other age groups). The growth of trust with the age is indicated in the answers to the questions of trust to the Ukrainian government and courts also. Should be also mentioned that the level of trust grows with the level of education among the Ukrainian Hungarians. Thus the respondents with the secondary education distrust more to the police and courts in Ukraine. But concerning the trust to the media structures – here the situation of trust depending on the level of education differs – Hungarians with the higher education have more complete distrust to the media (43% against 36%), nevertheless the cumulative level of distrust doesn't differ in these two educational groups (66% VS 65% due to the summing of the “incomplete trust” selections).

Figure 14. Respondents' answers to the question: «Please tell me how much do you trust each of the following institutions?», %



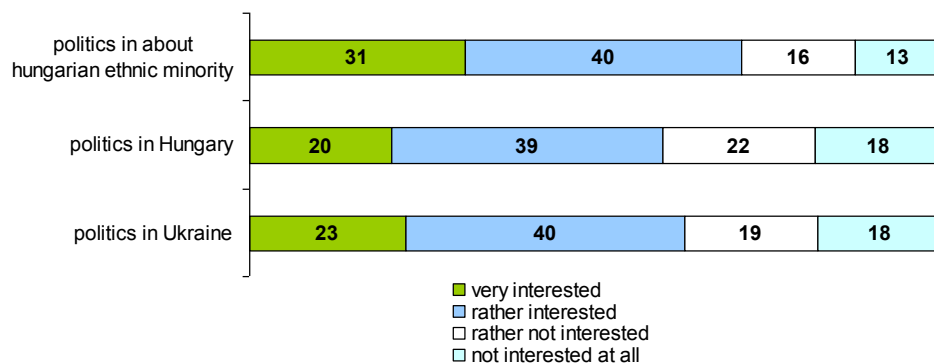
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Most of Ukrainian Hungarians are interested in politics. An interest (“very interested” and “rather interested” selections) to politics in Ukraine is shown by more than a half (63%) of the surveyed Hungarians. An interest to the Hungarian politics among the Ukrainian Hungarians is a bit lower; it is shown by more than a half of respondents (59%). Policy of Ukraine concerning the Hungarians living on its territory becomes the object of interest almost the two thirds (71%) of the surveyed Hungarians. In comparison, due to the World Values Survey during the year 2005 there was only a half (49%) of Ukrainian respondents to some extent interested in politics.

Ukrainian Hungarians of the younger age group have less interest in the politics in Ukraine: 41% against 73% and 68% in the middle and senior age groups respectively due to the cumulative indications of the “very interested” and “rather interested” selections, also younger Hungarians have more categorical un-interest: 36% against 8% and 15% in two other age groups (middle and senior respectively). The similar situation of the bigger interest in the middle group, slightly less in the senior one and relatively un-interest in the group up to 29 years is indicated in the answers to the question on the interest to the politics in Hungary, while the politics about the Hungarian ethnic minority interests the younger age group more – just on the level of the senior group (68%) with the remaining interest leadership of the middle age group (76%). Should be also men-

tioned that the Hungarians with the higher education (in comparison with the ones with secondary) are interested in the politics in Ukraine more (68% against 61%) and more categorically (31% of “very interested” selections against 20%). The Hungarians with the higher education are also more interested in politics about the Hungarian ethnic minority (82% VS 67% of the “total interest” – sum of “very interested” and “rather interested”).

Figure 15. Respondents’ answers to the question: «How interested would you say you are in politics?», %

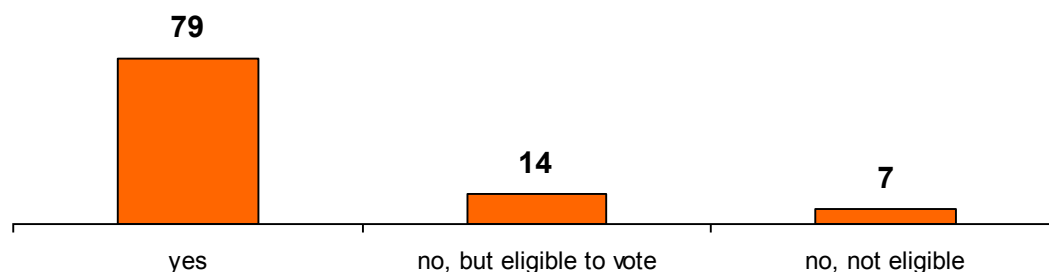


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Ukrainian Hungarians actively participate in the political life of Ukrainian society. The vast majority of the surveyed Ukrainian Hungarians has the right to vote. The survey indicated that only 7% of Hungarians have a lack of the right to vote. 79% of Hungarians participated in the last parliamentary elections in Ukraine (early parliamentary elections in March, 2007). Another 14% said they did not take part in the elections, although they have the right to vote. Among the Ukrainian Hungarians who took part in the Parliamentary elections the most popular were Block “Our Ukraine – Peoples’ self-defense” (25% of respondents declared their support of this party), “Block of Yulia Tymoshenko” (23%) and the Party of Regions (11% of respondents’ declared choices). Nevertheless, should be mentioned that 25% answering the question of political selections during the last parliamentary race chose the alternative “hard to say” (the very popular one in the situation of Ukrainian political incontinence and even fear).

Answers to the question of the voting predictably depended on the age – people of the age up to 29 voted less, cause 27% of them were not eligible to vote, nevertheless the group of the young Ukrainian Hungarians was the one who preferred not to vote but even having such an eligibility (28% of cases against the 12% and 10% in two other age groups – middle and senior respectively).

Figure 16. Respondents' answers to the question: «Did you vote in the last national parliamentary elections in Ukraine?», %

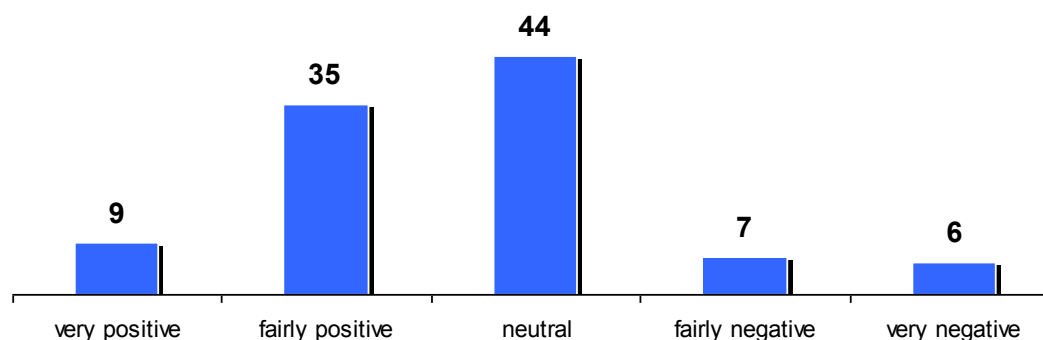


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The Ukrainian Hungarians generally have an attitude close to positive towards the European Union. Less than a half (44%) of Ukrainian Hungarians formed a positive (“very positive” and “fairly positive” selections) image of the EU. Negative image (“very negative” and “fairly negative” selections) of the EU is present in the minds of only 13% of Hungarians. The remaining respondents have chosen the position of “neutral image” (44%). Must be mentioned that nearly fifth of Ukrainian Hungarians (17% of respondents) did not answer the question of attitude to the EU at all. In this occasion percents and valid percents significantly differed.

It is significant that people with higher education generally have more positive attitude towards the European Union (50%), but the difference of the rates with the people with secondary education is very slight (7% difference). It is also interesting that Ukrainian Hungarians of the age more than 50 were more neutral (50% of cases against the 39% and 38% in two other age groups – younger and middle respectively), while others have more positive vies: cumulative (“very positive” and “fairly positive” selections) positive rates are equal in the middle and younger age group (47%) and are somewhat bigger than in the senior group (40%).

Figure 17. Respondents' answers to the question: «In general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union?», %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

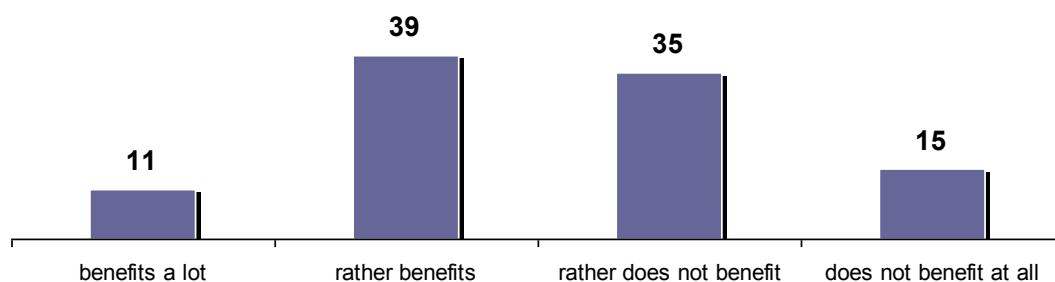
We can not really see the positive attitude of Ukrainian Hungarians to the EU in their assessments of the possible consequences for Ukraine's accession to the European Union. So, again, exactly a half (50%) of Hungarians believes that Ukraine will benefit from EU membership (“benefits a lot” and “rather benefits” selections), while another half (50%) of the respondents

believes that Ukraine would not (“does not benefit at all” and “rather does not benefit” selections).

The difference in the respondents' answers about the prospects of Ukraine after the entry to the European Union depends to some extent on age. Since respondents of senior age group are more confident in the benefits of European integration, while among answers to this question of Poles of middle age group there is a rather massive group (25%) of those who believe that Ukraine will not receive any benefits of joining the European Union.

Pro-European sentiments are more typical for older Ukrainian Hungarians, respondents aged after 50. Thus, a share of those who have formed a positive image of the EU is 48% among them (compared with 26% and 36% among the younger and middle-aged respondents respectively). Should be also mentioned, that younger respondents are more categorical in their non-confidence in the optimistic European future for Ukraine (27% of cases against the 11% and 13% in two other age groups – middle and senior respectively) and less confident at all (61% of “does not benefit at all” and “rather does not benefit” selections against the 11% and 13% in two other age groups – middle and senior respectively).

Figure 18. Respondents' answers to the question: «Generally speaking, would Ukraine benefit or not from being a member of the European Union?», %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

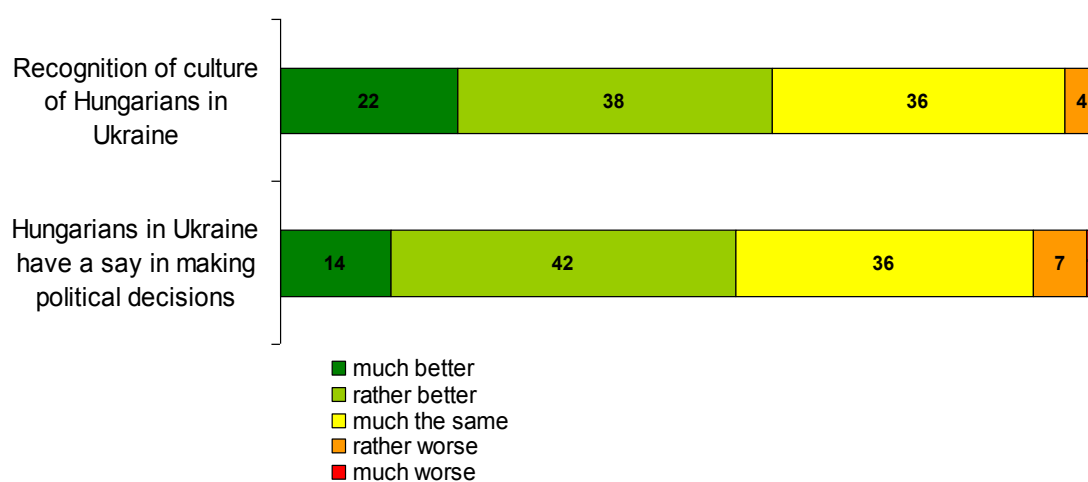
With the conditional entry of Ukraine into the European Union Ukrainian Hungarians expect positive changes not only for Ukraine but for themselves also. Thus, according to the study, 56% of Hungarians expect that after Ukraine's EU accession the situation in terms of participation of Hungarian ethnic minority in the political decision-making will improve. Approximately the same number (60%) of Ukrainian Hungarians expect the situation of cultural recognition of the Hungarian ethnic minority to improve.

The best expectations about the possible entry into the European Union in the political decision-making sphere for the Ukrainian Hungarians as a national minority are to a greater extent observed in the middle age group (65% of “much better” and “rather better” selections against the 46% and 54% in two other age groups – younger and senior respectively). Also there is a certain tendency of increase of the percentage of choosing the position of “rather better” according to the growth of education of the respondent (40% in the group of secondary education against 47% in the group of higher one), which is nevertheless compensated by the “much better” answers making the total rate of positive attitudes statistically equal (55% in the group of secondary education against 59% in the group of higher one).

Ukrainian Hungarians who expect the recognition of culture of their ethnic minority group increases after the conditional joining of the European Union by Ukraine are of the years up to 50

years saying “much better” or “rather better” in the particularly question more (63% against the 56% in the group after 50). Concerning the education of the respondents should be mentioned that Ukrainian Hungarians with the secondary education are more categorical than the ones with the higher answering “much better” in the 24% of cases against 16%, nevertheless the cumulative optimism on the issues of privileges in the recognition of culture of the Hungarian ethnic minority after the conditional joining of the European Union by Ukraine (“much better” and “rather better” selections) are not so diverse (58% VS 66% respectively) but still differ. That is because in the same time in the group with secondary education there’s a bigger group of skeptics, who think “it all be much the same” (but still not worse) – 39% VS 27% in the group with higher education.

Figure 19. Respondents’ answers to the question: «Compared to our situation after conditional joining of the European Union, would you say our current situation is better, much the same, or worse than the old system in terms of whether....?», %



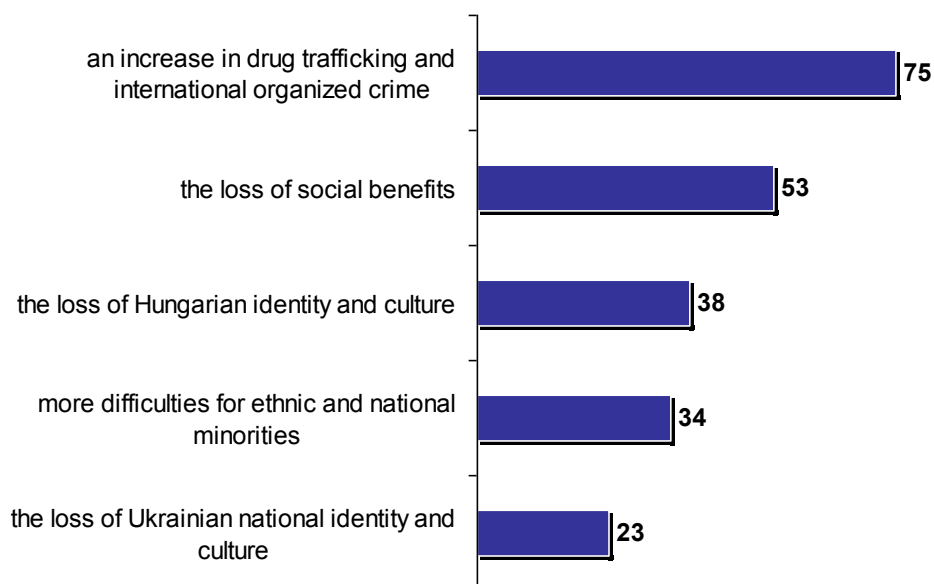
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Talking about the fears associated with the future of Europe, there is a pronounced fear of the Hungarians in Ukraine about the increase of drug trafficking and international organized crime. 75% of the respondents believe that it is the increase of drug trafficking and association of national criminal organizations poses a threat to Europe. At the same time, talking about their European future the Ukrainian Hungarians to a greater extent (62%, 77% and 66% respectively) the do not fear about the loss of their cultural identity, about the loss by the Ukrainians of their own identity and culture and about the appearing new big challenges for the national minorities in Ukraine. At the same time, the opinion of the respondents is equally divided on the issue of loss of social privileges after an conditional entry of Ukraine to the European Union - 53% of respondents called this fear urgent, 47% - did not.

The fact is that respondents of 50 and more years afraid less of the loss of Hungarian identity and culture (31% against 43% and 42% in the younger and middle age groups), but afraid more of the loss of social benefits. In the last case the growth of this fear is indicated with the growth of age: 44% of respondents before 29 years said about it, while among the respondents of the middle age group there were 52%, and in the senior age group – 59% of such answers. Considering the fear of the loss of Ukrainian national identity and culture should be mentioned that the one was indicated more in the middle age group (20% of cases against the 28% and 24% in two other age groups – younger and senior respectively). Concerning the education level it is interesting that Ukrainian Hungarians are afraid more of the loss of Hungarian identity and culture (48% against

34%), loss of social benefits (41% against 17%) and of more difficulties for the ethnic and national minorities (47% against 31%) in case of having a higher education, while in other cases no differences were indicated.

Figure 20. Respondents' answers to the question: «Some people may have fears about the future of Europe Please tell if you - personally - are currently afraid of the following or not?», %

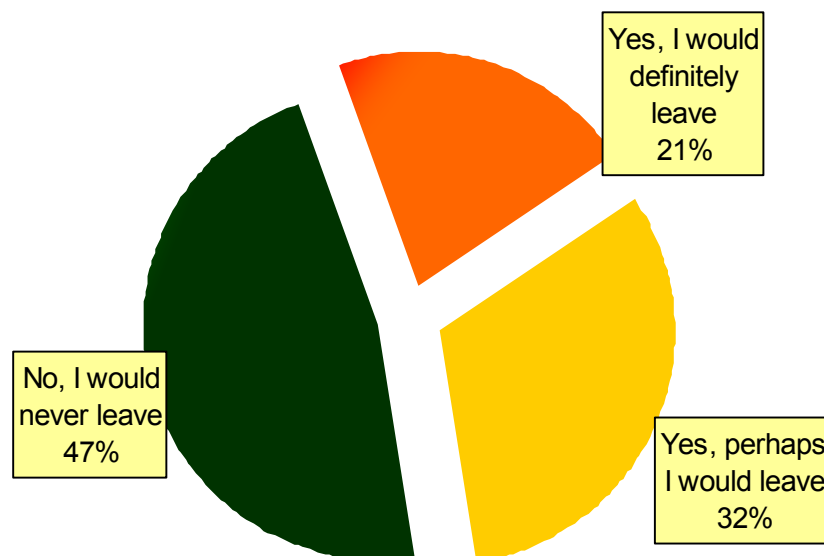


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Talking about the migration assumptions, it is important to mention that there is a large percentage of those who even taking into account the imaginary ability to leave Ukraine is unwilling to avail this opportunity. 38% of Hungarians declared twice that they do not want to leave Ukraine (so that even imaginary), 19% of the total number of respondents answered that they choose Hungary as the country of their possible emigration, some Hungarians chose between Western European countries (18%) and North-American continent (USA or Canada, 6%). The remaining Hungarians respondents either failed to answer the question, or could not articulate clearly their position - such group was up to 22% among the respondents. Should be also mentioned that only one fifth (21%) of the surveyed Hungarians in Ukraine is surely ready to leave the country (“yes, I would definitely leave” selection).

Concerning the age of the respondents the growth of the uncertainty in the need of immigration should be mentioned. Thus Ukrainian Hungarians of the younger age group are surely going to leave the country in 32% of cases, while there are only 22% of such in the middle age group and 14% in the senior, less certain in the imaginary emigration young Hungarians are in 53% of cases while in the middle age group and there are 42% of such and 15% in the senior. 71% of the Hungarians of the senior group definitely won't leave the country in their words. More confident in the necessity for emigration is demonstrated by the group of respondents with higher education – 71% of them are sure to leave or “perhaps would leave”, while in the group of respondents with secondary education this rate is on the level of 48%.

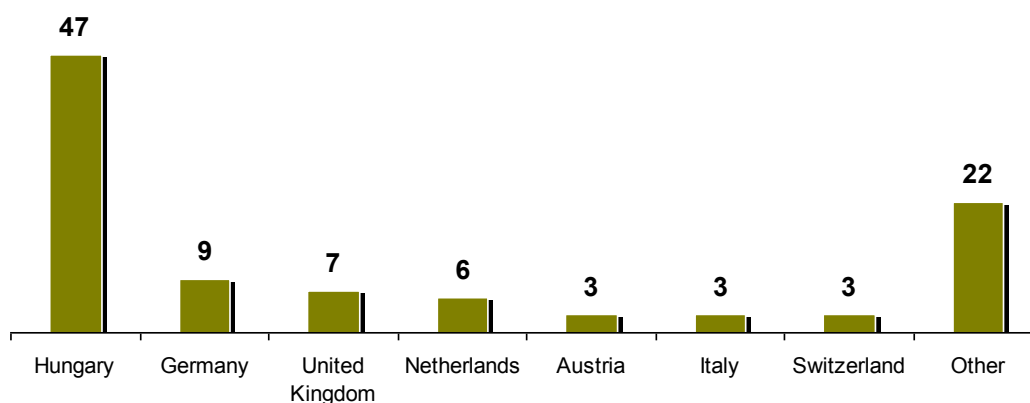
Figure 21. Respondents' answers to the question: «If you had an opportunity to leave your country and move for another one either alone or with your whole family and a good deal of monetary and social support, would you go?», %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Should be mentioned, that more young people choose Hungary (25% of selections in the group before 29, 24% in the middle age group and 13% in the senior group), Germany (8% of selections in the group before 29, 4% in the middle age group and 2% in the senior group), UK and US (11% and 14% respectively of selections in the group before 29, 2% and 6% respectively in the middle age group and 1% in both cases in the senior group) more often as a country for their imaginary emigration. Hungary and Germany is more frequently a choice of more educated people (26% and 8% respectively of the selections of the respondents of with the higher education and 17% and 3% in the group with secondary one).

Figure 22. Respondents' answers to the question: «If you can choose, which country would be your preference?», %



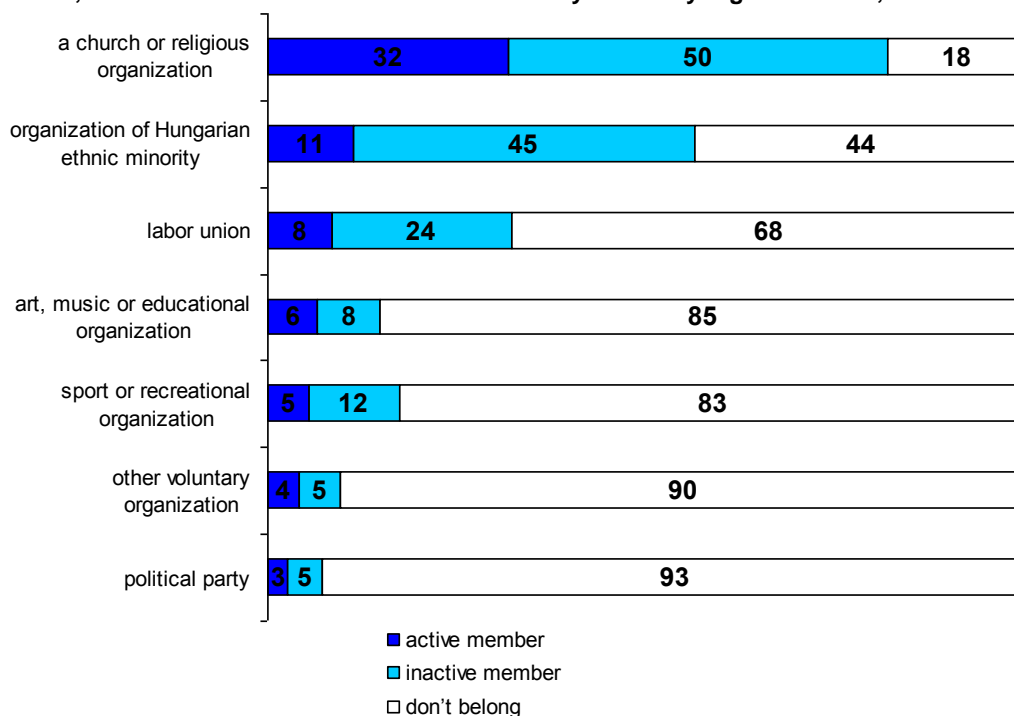
Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine who would leave (n = 212)

An important indicator of research of the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine is the involvement of minority representatives into various voluntary organizations. Among the Hungarians the participation in collective activities is very poorly represented – almost in all surveyed questions more than 80% of respondents noted the position of non-participation. So that 84% at the average (83% and 85% respectively) of Hungarians do not take part in sports, educational, music and art organizations. 93% and 90% of Hungarians respectively do not take part in the activity of the political parties and other voluntary organizations. Another 68% of respondents did not participate in the activities of the labor organizations (nevertheless 24% of the surveyed Hungarians indicated their inactive membership in the labor organizations and 8 more percents declared the active membership). The most popular organization, where the percentage of active membership among the surveyed Hungarians turned out to be just above the maximum (11%) in all other cases, but drawn up 32%, was the church - only 18% of Hungarians declared their non-participation in the church organizations and 50% of respondents said about their inactive involvement into the activity of the church organizations.

Another interesting fact is the distribution of the answers on the issue of the membership in the organization of Hungarian ethnic minority – while 44% declared there un-involvement into such groups another 45% said about the inactive membership and 11% declared themselves to be active members of the organization of Hungarian ethnic minority even.

In case of the church organizations should be mentioned that young Hungarians don't belong more in this case (24% of selections against 19% in the middle age group and 16% in the senior group), while they are more active (39% of "active member" selections against 28% in the middle age group and 31% in the senior group) if they talk about their membership. Concerning the sport or recreational, art, music or educational organizations there is a growth of non-belonging with the growth of age indicated. At the same time people of middle age more often are the members of the labor organizations (50% of "don't belong" selections against 72% in the young age group and 78% in the senior group) and in case of ethnic minority's organizations the number of memberships grows with the age (54% of "don't belong" selections in the young age group, 43% in the middle and 39% in the senior ones). Concerning the education the sports organizations are entered by the Hungarians with higher education more (85% VS 76 in the group with secondary education) and this group of people is more active too (11% of "active member" selections against 3% in the group with secondary education). In case of sport or recreational organizations, art, music or educational organizations, labor unions, representatives for Hungarian minority's organizations Hungarians with the secondary education don't belong more (the gap between two educational groups is from 7-17%) and in case of church organizations, sport or recreational organizations, labor unions, representatives for Hungarian minority's organizations and "other voluntary organizations" (except political parties and art, music or educational organizations) respondents with higher educations are more active members if they are so.

Figure 23. Respondents' answers to the question: «Could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of any voluntary organization?», %

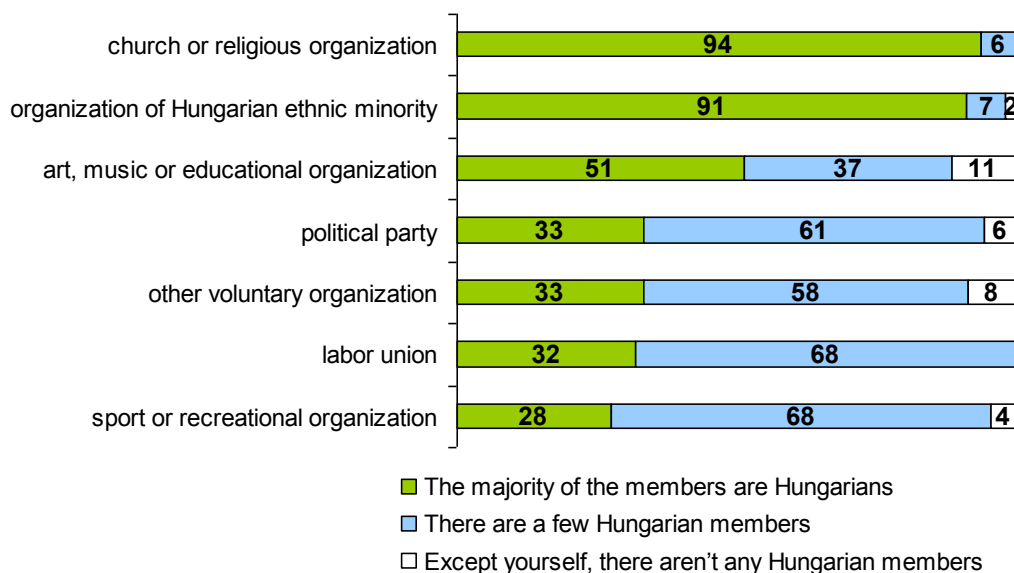


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Nevertheless, the important thing is a fixed absence of the assimilation of Hungarians in the organizations. Organization, which Hungarians join, according to the respondents' answers are composed of Hungarians in their majority in case of religious organization, organizations of the Hungarians minority and art, music or educational organizations. In other cases the respondents indicated minimum few Hungarians in their organization, while the cases of the sole membership of the respondent in the organization ("Except yourself, there aren't any Hungarian members" selection) were rather rare (31% of "The majority of the members are Hungarians" and 64% of "There are a few Hungarians members" (but they still are there) selections at average in the other not mention groups of participation).

In case of sport or recreational organizations respondents indicate their more Hungarians if they have secondary education (in 96% of cases against 87% in case of the group of higher education).

Figure 24. Respondents' answers to the question: Are there any Hungarian members in this organization?

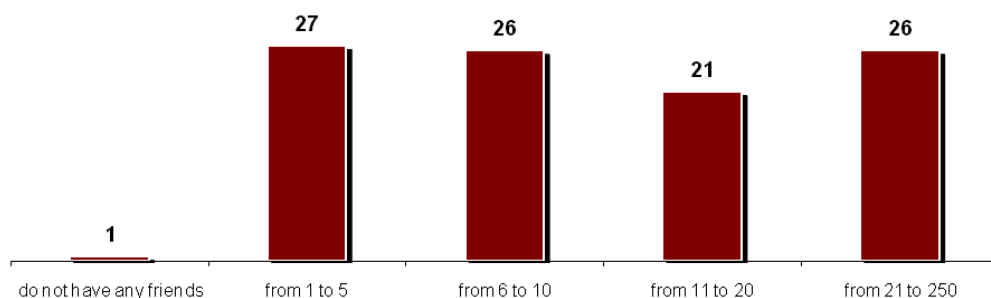


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The data on the circle of friendship among the respondents of Hungarian ethnic minority as well as the ethnic composition of people, which respondents identified as their friends says about the high level of assimilation of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine. Firstly, it should be noted that the majority of the respondents (72%) said about the number of friends of more than five (from 5 to 250), another 27% named the number from one to five, replying to a question about the number of friends. Less than a percent of respondents chose the alternative “do not have any friends”.

Answers about the number of friends depended on the age of the respondent – thus, 51% of the group of young Hungarians said they had from 21 to 250 friends, while respondents of the middle age group more frequently said about 11-20 friends (34%) and the Hungarians of the senior group were even more restrained naming the numbers from 1 to 5 in 39% of cases.

Figure 25. Respondents' answers to the question: «Approximately how many friends do you have?», %

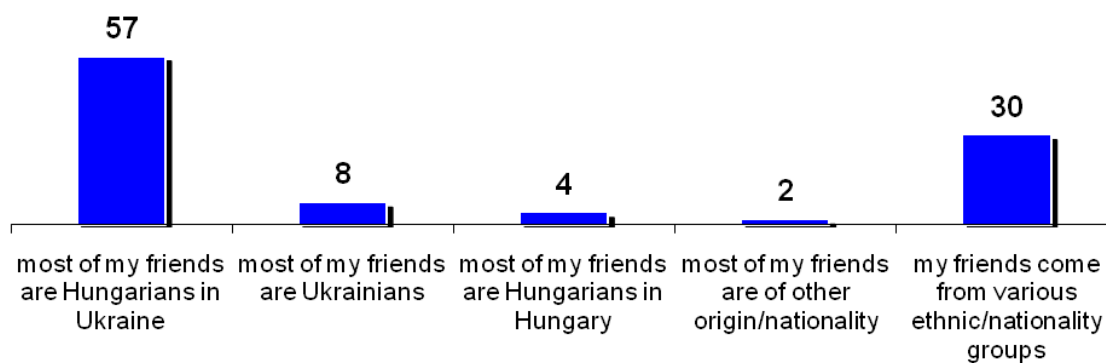


Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Secondly, only 30% of respondents said that their friends belong to different ethnic groups, and more than a half (57%) of the surveyed Ukrainian Hungarians declared that the most of their friends are Hungarians in Ukraine. Only a small number of respondents stated that their friends are mostly Ukrainians (8%), Hungarians in Hungary (4%) or another origin/nationality (2% of cases).

The respondents of the younger age group declared having friends among the Hungarians in Ukraine more (65% of cases against 54% in both other age groups), while the same choices respondents with the secondary education had (59% of cases against the 47% of selections among the group of with higher education). And on the contrary the friends coming from various ethnic/nationality groups are less indicated among the respondents with the secondary education (28% of cases against the 36% of selections among the group of with higher education) and of the age up to 29 years (22% of cases against 33% at average in other age groups).

Figure 26. Respondents' answers to the question: «Which statement describes your friends the most?», %



Data array: all interviewed Hungarians in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

3.5 Main survey results: Hungarians in Ukraine

- Very strong ethnic identity, manifestation of ethnic identity in everyday and public life;
- Language is a significant component of the Hungarian ethnic identity; many Hungarians use only their language in everyday life and do not know other languages;
- Active political representation: the only minority in Ukraine having 2 registered and actively functioning political parties;
- Ethnic and regional identity dominate in the identity structure of Hungarians in Ukraine;
- Young Ukrainian Hungarians do not have a formed and stable system of identities being in search and hesitation;
- Hungarians feel discriminated more frequently and not only on the basis of their ethnic origin;
- Hungarians are more reserved: they feel more trustful to the members of their ethnic minority in Ukraine and less trustful to Ukrainian people and people in general;
- “Social distance from the Hungarians to other ethnic groups” is longer, Hungarians communicate more with representatives of their own ethnic group and feel much closer to them;
- Hungarians are more consolidated as a group and less integrated into the Ukrainian society.

4 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova/Asia Rapoport

4.1 European identity

Owing to the dynamic process of development of the united Europe, that originates from the middle of the twentieth century, now coming to the fore questions of relationship of individual cultures and histories of European nations. Search for the origins of European identity in history, religion, science and culture is becoming increasingly popular subject of many social science studies. The phenomenon of European identity is actualized in scientific, political, media and everyday discourse. Such discourse is of particular relevance in the context of countries that are geographically located in Europe, but are not EU members yet. One of such countries is Ukraine. In 2004 Ukrainian state became a close neighbor of the EU and in its official position expresses the desire for joining the European Union. In addition, many people who feel their roots in countries that today are already the countries of the European community are living in the modern Ukrainian state today. These people have relatives there; they quite often visit EU countries. Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine is one of such groups of people. Hungarians in Ukraine live compactly in the immediate proximity to the parent nation, which for last seven years is a full EU member. In this regard, of particular relevance becomes consideration of the level of European identity, which is inherent for the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine.

According to collected information, the respondents of Hungarian ethnic origin have different thoughts about being European and the characteristics and qualities that this person should have. First, in the opinion of Ukrainian Hungarians, Europeans are those who live in Europe. However, the notion what is Europe is different among them. The overwhelming majority associate Europeans with people who live in countries that are EU members, i.e. they use political definition of Europe. In this regard, according to the data obtained during the interviews, the Hungarians in general do not consider themselves being Europeans according to this indicator. Although it should be noted that there are respondents who say that according to geographical definition of Europe, this continent reaches the Urals. Ukraine in this case is located in the heart of Europe. Based on this school knowledge they are deeply convinced that they are Europeans. There are respondents, who think from the opposite, classify themselves as the Europeans because of their obvious affiliation to the European race.

Morika, female, 55, higher education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «European, why not European? Am I an Asian? And not African. I'm European».

The second condition of individual identity as European, according to the respondents, is the presence of a number of cultural characteristics and norms. For Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine these characteristics are high level of culture, decency, accuracy, high level of education, kindness, tolerance, spirituality, politeness, communicativeness, language skills, in addition, the respondents think that Europeans live in peace and harmony. Separately is marked cleanliness in the streets in EU countries.

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «It's more cultural and educated than people who live in Ukraine. For me Europe is more culture, carefulness and keeping to the rules. For example they litter minimally».

Alexandr, male, 25, higher education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «People there are friendlier and more polite, they always say you "hello", "please" and "thank you».

So, by this criteria, according to the Hungarian ethnic minority, people who live in Ukraine (here they talk also about themselves) can not be considered as Europeans in the full sense of the word.

The next criterion of individual identity as European is economic well-being. According to the Ukrainian Hungarians, there are considerably lower rate of welfare, salaries and living standards in Ukraine. The opportunity to get a job, especially the good one in Ukraine is tends to zero unlike Europe does.

Alexandr, male, 25, higher education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «Being European.. Well, it means living in a developed country. Not as Ukraine which grows and then stops on a certain level. The country must grow constantly. Europe is Europe and its technology is recognized in the whole world. There are more work places and the work is better paid. The countries are developed in the economical and spiritual way. European countries are much better developed than Ukraine».

According to respondents, people who live in Ukraine can afford a much smaller quantity of goods, leisure and recreation at a lower level than Europeans can.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «In Europe it's better to work and to have holidays with your family. And we're sitting here before the TV-set».

The difference in economic condition between Ukraine and Europe is frequently stressed by respondents of retirement age. The pension in Ukraine does not allow providing the necessities of first order, while the Europeans, according to respondents, in this age have much more options and resources to live and even spent good time.

Ilna, female, 73, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «I heard that they live well and have good pensions. They also can go on sea, can have holidays whatever they want, but we cannot do it because of our pension».

The solution of economic issues that could help Ukraine to achieve the European level, the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine imposes on the government and in particular on the president. The last one does not currently meet expectations of the respondents, that is why desired well-being at the European level is delayed.

Joseph, male, 62, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «Well, I guess that in some period of time the government will develop everything good enough to enter the European Union. But much water should run down Tisa for it. And the government should do a lot».

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «All our government should be changed. We won't be in the European Union when we have such President. This is disgrace».

One of the indicators of Europeaness according to the respondents is freedom of movement across Europe. Now Ukrainian Hungarians feel limitations in comparison with Europeans in moving across Europe.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «You are free if you live in Europe. You may go to any country».

Overall, despite some positive characteristics of the EU, the respondents mostly tend to opinion that Ukraine should not join this union. The majority of Ukrainian Hungarians who took part in the study worried about Ukrainian small and medium businesses that could disappear because of impossibility to compete with European tycoons. Respondents also worried about rising prices, utility bills, etc. This kind of fear is based on the experience of Hungary that is known by the respondents. According to the opinion of Ukrainian Hungarians, life in Hungary after the joining

the EU became worse and they are sure that life in the Ukrainian state after joining the EU will become more difficult.

Adriana, female, 36, higher education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «Before joining the European Union, yes. And in Hungary, and Slovakia. I see how their salary grows, prices also grow, the prices for housing also grow. More people are poor now. They have less work, generally people can not find work for themselves. They are forced to go to another country to seek for something. So my attitude is that I would not go to the European Union».

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «No, I don't think that Ukraine should enter anywhere. Ukraine is a big and rich country. If it enters the European Union, it will lose many things. Of course, people think they will win. But in fact they'll lose like the nation as a whole».

Thus, we can note a rather low level of European identity among the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine. Respondents do not feel unity with Europe, which is identified with the European Union, even under the condition that their parent nation is the part of this association. In a direct question – whether you are European or not – the overwhelming number of respondents at once give negative answer. Ukrainian Hungarians produce a range of cultural, economic and political indicators, which hampers the formation of European identity. Towards European Union respondents have generally neutral feelings, highlighting both positive and negative moments. They express the emotions from the delight to the belief that this alliance will live not very long time and soon disintegrates. Representatives of the ethnic Hungarian minority express their negative attitude towards the accession Hungary in the EU. They explain such attitude by deterioration of living standards in the country and by difficult living conditions to cross the border to get to Hungary. After 2004 ethnic Hungarians living in Ukraine have difficulties with the documents and have to pay for a Schengen visa for their trips to Hungary. Before this time, they could cross this boarder only with their passport and for free as persons who live in border territory and who have Hungarian origin.

4.2 National identity - relationship to the country of residence

A long and eventful history of the Hungarians' living in the Transcarpathian region makes this minority special and even to some extent unpredictable in terms of their national identity. Hungarians are certainly aware of their ethnic roots; know the story of previous generations and the fact of their ethnicity, not being a secret, cannot stay behind the scenes of their self-description.

However, national identity, associating of oneself with one of the nations, with one of the nation-states is coped by the Hungarians in Ukraine with some difficulties. Neither Hungary, nor Ukraine is a subject of self-determination for them; the Hungarians hardly count these countries to be native and the people of these countries to be their family. Their homeland is Transcarpathia; their people are the people of Transcarpathia. Here, in Transcarpathia not only Ukrainians are equal with the Hungarians, but also Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenians, and many other people in the mosaic of the Carpathian multiethnic population are one united family.

Ukraine for the Hungarians is a present moment of the long history of Transcarpathia. Ukraine is a state that owns the right to manage the affairs of Transcarpathia in this concrete period of its historical development. However, there were other periods, and, possibly, the others also would be. Thus, speaking about Ukraine respondents could speak about "them", implying that the other side is Transcarpathia, not separating Hungarians from Ukrainians:

Tibor, male, 44, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «Transcarpathian region, you perfectly know that even if there are any problems in Ukraine, here, thanks God, it is very calm».

At the same time, it can be also said that the Hungarians are not as categorical in the definition of Ukraine as Motherland, as categorical were the interviewed Poles. And even despite the fact that Poles are constantly repeated that their homeland is the "nature of Ukraine", that is, its mountains, rivers and fields, the Hungarians started talking about their families and friends, whom they would not want to lose.

Tibor, male, 44, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «You know, so even though I travel a lot, I'll go and whom do I have there? Nobody, no friends - my friends are here, relatives here, parents here. So, I have a tradition here ... not even a tradition, more like a habit».

It should be recognized that the Hungarians still are less sentimental and more rational in their identification with their native land.

Joseph, male, 62, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «I thought about changing the place of living when I was 40-50 years old. My wife agreed with me. There were some offers and we chose Debrecen in Hungary. The family agreed but the relatives who had lived there and promised to help us with living and getting a job moved to Budapest. Our children have grown up. There were also many relatives. Why not? A fish searches where it's deeper and human - where it's better. But we couldn't change it».

Oniko, female, 49, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «I like to live here because I like my home, the place which I belong to; I like my work, my friends here... First I am a mother and wife. Then I am a teacher, and only then goes everything other, that I am a Hungarian and live in Ukraine».

It should be also noted that the Hungarians, whose identity is constructed primarily through the knowledge of Hungarian language, were often associating Ukraine with the Ukrainian language and the need to study it. In this sense, it can be said that word "Ukraine" for the Hungarians has a more culturally grounded meaning than for the Poles, who associated Ukraine with the governmental institutions, public institutions, or with the territory occupied by the country of their residence.

The statement about Ukraine as a complex of language practices provoked mixed emotions within the Hungarians. While some of them believe that "the coming of Ukraine" is associated with "rising of Ukrainian language" is an obstacle, the practice persuaded from the outside, of external nature, the other Hungarians reasonably notice that the Ukrainian language should be taught. However, when it comes to the discussion on the need for the knowledge of the Ukrainian language, Hungarian respondents often talk about Ukraine, not bearing in mind the Ukrainians (the need to communicate with them), but the Ukrainian state, its traditions.

Joseph, male, 62, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «We have to improve Ukrainian and know it at a high level because we had been born here».

In the same vein, in the vein of the perception of Ukraine as a state in opposition (not in the sense of violent confrontation, but in the sense of contrast between the Hungarians and the environment) one of the respondents "blamed" the Ukrainian government for that Hungarians do not know Ukrainian language. Thus, it can be said that the Hungarians in Ukraine have "working", "rational" relationships with the country of their residence: they live here, trying to meet some

formal requirements, make friends with the local Ukrainians, but do not consider themselves one of them, as a part of the Ukrainian history:

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «At first I would say that I'm from Transcarpathia, not from Ukraine, because I can't call myself complete Ukrainian, I always say that I'm Transcarpathian. I can't call myself complete Hungarian because Hungary isn't my homeland, and I don't think that Ukraine is my homeland at all. My homeland is Transcarpathia».

4.3 National identity - relationship to the mother country

Hungarians in Ukraine are compactly living in a few tens of kilometers from the territories where their ethnic group has formed their own, Hungarian, nation-state. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Hungarians are a very special community, which almost formed a national enclave in Transcarpathia, who do not hurry to identify themselves with Hungary and do not hurry to emigrate there.

It should be noted that the main basis of the Hungarian identity is definitely the Hungarian language. If the Poles, when asked about their "polishness" are talking about religion, the Hungarians and all speaking of their "hungarianess" talk only of their own language, being mindful of its complexity and low prevalence.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «I am proud that I know this language».

Victoriya, female, 19, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «I'm very proud that I am Hungarian because they say that the most difficult is to learn Hungarian language».

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «Well, my thoughts are always in Hungarian», answering the question of what does being Hungarian mean».

In this sense, one respondent regretted that his children speak Ukrainian, because to forget the Hungarian language means to stop being Hungarian.

Joseph, male, 62, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «It's a pity but they speak mostly Ukrainian».

The identification by native language is so strong among the interviewed Hungarians that of the respondents even leans to being even to some extent Ukrainian because of his knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «For example, I don't have negative feelings about being Hungarian because I speak Ukrainian well, I guess».

In the history of one of the polled Hungarians, language also becomes a central figure in an unsuccessful attempt to identify himself with the Hungarians in Hungary and the Hungarian state itself.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «Here everything is different, if you cross the border and speak some Hungarian they don't consider you one of them. They think if you are from Ukraine, you are Ukrainian. They don't care that you know Hungarian».

The presence of the characteristic Carpathian accent did not allow the respondent to feel the unity with the rest of Hungary, self-determining himself through the evaluation of his Hungarian surrounding.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «They [Hungarians] hear it [the accent] and understand that you are not from Hungary».

So, Ukrainian Hungarians define themselves as Hungarians due to their language in Ukraine and for the same reason, due to the Hungarian language they can not identify themselves with the Hungarians in Hungary. Perhaps for this reason, because of the failure of acceptance in Hungary of the particularly "hungarianess" of the Transcarpathian Hungarians (perceiving them as "others", "visitors"), makes the Ukrainian Hungarians to push their ethnic origins into the background in the construction of their own hierarchy of identities, claiming that the "nationality" is not valuable for them.

Oniko, female, 49, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «That [nationality] is important, but not so important to build everything on this», «First of all I am a mother and wife. Then I am a teacher, and only then goes everything other, that I am a Hungarian and live in Ukraine».

At the same time, the Hungarian language is virtually the only link with Hungary for the respondents.

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «I'm Hungarian, my native language is a language of Hungary, and in any case I'll feel myself Hungarian till the rest of my life».

But in any way Hungary for Ukrainian Hungarians is definitely more advanced and promising country in comparison with Ukraine. Economic, social and cultural development of Hungary is undeniable, and its appeal for a successful life is justified. Nevertheless, understanding the relative prospects of the Hungarian state in comparison with the Ukrainian, speaking of the possible emigration Ukrainian, Hungarians very rarely call Hungary a preferred destination for their expatriates, even in case there were their acquaintances, friends and relatives. At the same time, the other European countries attracted them. Hungary in this sense was a "profitable relative" who can serve in the relocation abroad, from Ukraine across the EU border. Nevertheless, the desire to leave Ukraine is not common among the Hungarians, who believe in their mass that Transcarpathia is their motherland.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «It is different country with different [to us] people».

4.4 Regional identity

The region, where lives the overwhelming majority of representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority, has a rather complex fate. As we know from history, the territory of Transcarpathia only after the World War II became an administrative part of Ukraine, and before that, the region was a period of time when it was a part of a number of states (Austria-Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Karpatian Ukraine, Hungary, USSR).

Tibor, male, 44, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «My grandfather has lived in a sixth countries, though he never went anywhere from Salovki. It's my fault? No. His fault? No. This is power, the world changed, but so what?».

Based on such historical circumstances favorable field for the formation of a rather strong regional identity of the residents of the Transcarpathian region was formed. It is also worth noting that Transcarpathia is a multiethnic region where people of different cultures live side by side and in some parts of this region Ukrainians are a minority. Hungarians are also densely populated in this region for many centuries, adapting to the emerging political, economic and cultural change.

According to the obtained data in the course of the study the Hungarians feel themselves quite comfortable in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, they consider these lands as their home. It is worth noting that in the phrases with the name of their settlement respondents often used the word "my", "native", "home". When respondents were asked to name the territory with which they identify themselves primarily, they certainly call their village / city, and Transcarpathia. Overwhelming majority of the Hungarians in Ukraine do not associate themselves with any larger territory, nor with national entities or with any supranational. To answer the question about the territory from which they associate themselves to a higher level for the majority of respondents it was difficult or impossible. It can be assumed that such data were obtained from two causes. The first was put forward above and it is historical-political. The second cause is language. Because the Ukrainian Hungarians often poorly know or do not know the Ukrainian language at all, it is sometimes difficult for them fully to associate themselves with Ukraine. They know Hungarian language but according to their own statements, the Hungarians, who live in Hungary, feeling accent in their speech, and automatically rank them to Ukrainians. This fact makes complicate full-dimensional association with Hungary. In the biographical interviews respondents admitted that they love their town, very attached to him. Here they were born, here they spent their childhood and youth, and here their lives have passed. It should be noted that because of difficulties with the Ukrainian language Hungarian ethnic minority any internal migration is impossible for them, they live compactly in the Transcarpathian region. Only few of them can learn state language to a high level and move to other cities and regions of Ukraine. Part of them, of course, moves to Hungary, where they stay forever. However, many of Ukrainian Hungarians stay in their hometowns and villages and they feel that the settlement where they live is their real home, that they love.

Victoriya, female, 19, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «Yes, I like. And do you know why? Because I have been living here since my childhood and I have used to everybody, here there are all our friends. We have very good neighbours, here are all my friends and I wouldn't like to go to other village».

Ilona, female, 73, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «My childhood. I grew up there. There was all my life. Evrybody loves me here, here I give birth to a child, I live here. I also have good neighbors».

From the quotations above can be noted the importance of socio-psychological climate to respondents that they note in their settlements. In interviews with the Ukrainian Hungarians the great importance they give to people who live with them is felt. The high level of respondents' sense of community with neighbors, friends, relatives and other residents of towns and villages up to those who have died, and lies in the cemetery may be noted. Residents of their home communities are described as very good and kind people who are always ready to help and whom respondents would not want to leave. Such data was obtained unconditionally also as a result of the fact that the Ukrainian Hungarians mainly live in villages and small towns where everyone knows each other, and have patriarchal way of life. The respondents themselves, on their own mind are also respected people in these settlements. Good relationship is formed in spite of ethnic origin, because, as noted in Zakarpattya live dozens of ethnic groups. It is formed solely on the basis of personal qualities, kindness and decency. Thus, people with whom respondents are living together in the village, are the main thing that Hungarians remind while talking about their native village and associating themselves with it.

Second most frequent mention association was the nature that is typical for Transcarpathia. Respondents admired the beauty of countryside that surrounds them. These are mountains and fo-

rests, fields and rivers. Those beautiful places where they spent youth, and where now they go with their families on vacation.

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «I am glad to be born in this city because we are living in a really nice place. There are mountains nearby; I may go skiing there in winter or to gather mushrooms in autumn, or to climb mountains in summer without going to any other place. And it is very good when you ask a person what is important and he (she) says that everything around him (her): the air, the water. Many people forget these things. The main things are love and air. Other things are not so important».

Despite the affection of Hungarians towards the territories where they live, they also admit some of their shortcomings. Among them are difficulties to find a good job with a good salary and problems in infrastructure, for example, lack of the canalization in some localities. However, respondents also noted positive changes in the development of their native settlements. They consider that the life becomes easier. For example, large European plants were built in the region, which create thousands of job positions. The towns and villages are built up and ennobled.

Karl, male, 64, secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «And this city becomes so beautiful, roads are repaired, stucco lead in its originally view, so very-very nice».

Thus, we can say that representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine have very strong regional identity. Respondents like their towns, feel close to them and to the people, who live nearby, are proud because of the nature and beauty of their native lands, enjoy positive changes in the appearance and life of their native settlements.

4.5 Civic participation and ethnic organization

Representatives of the ethnic Hungarian minority living in Ukraine are enough active members of the public sector. For consolidation of their own interests, they create a large number of ethnic Hungarian organizations such as the "Hungarian Cultural Society", "Union of Hungarian teachers' and others. Common practice is to bring together community organizations to associations and federations for a more cohesive and productive work. Thus, the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine is the only registered Hungarian organization comprised 135 ethnic Hungarians associations of Transcarpathia, Lviv and Kiev, offering multidirectional activities (primarily cultural and professional). The objectives of this organization are the general legal representation and protection of the interests of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, as well as coordination of activities of the organizations within the Federation.

Activities of Hungarian ethnic organizations are very different. This is creating and maintaining of children's educational organizations and schools with Hungarian language of study, organization of festivities in honor of the most significant events of Hungarian history, organization of travels and study tours to Hungary and Ukraine for children and youth, publication of newspapers, books, books in Hungarian and restoration of architectural monuments and creation of new monuments etc.

Adriana, female, 36, higher education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «Language schools, kindergartens are completely in Hungarian. So they have more of those organizations. What are they doing? Well, firstly, they develop Hungarian culture. Next, they provide, respectively, financial aid or financial assistance to those Hungarians who need it. I know they provide the schools with the textbooks, provide humanitarian assistance for children. Well, they exchange concerts. Or they go somewhere to have some rest. That is, they take children, our Hungarian children, they take them somewhere to the camps for a week, 2 weeks or a month to have some rest. Well, they conduct great programs».

Members of Hungarian ethnic organizations are Hungarians while representatives of other nationalities very rarely come to these organizations. Almost all members of these organizations speak Hungarian, are adherents of the Hungarian traditions and customs and religious beliefs. It is important to note that these organizations are mostly located in areas densely populated by Hungarians, which also reflects the fact that other nationalities are not their members. Some of the Hungarians themselves in particular emphasize that membership in their ethnic community organizations is somewhat private.

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «No, I am not. I try not to enter such organizations because it's a kind of a club. If some people participate in it, the other ones are rejected».

The most active members of civil society organizations are still middle-aged people, because young people often after school are moving to other locations to continue their studies or to find more prestigious work. The elderly because of ill health can not always contribute to the development of these organizations.

Among the Hungarian ethnic community organizations, the most ambitious, active and influential are the two – KMKS "The Party of Hungarians of Ukraine" (abbreviation KMKS in Hungarian means "Society of the Hungarian culture of Transcarpathia" - Karpataljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség) and the Democratic Party of Hungarians of Ukraine (DPHU). These organizations act in two capacities - as non-governmental cultural organizations and political parties of a regional scale.

As non-governmental organizations the direction of their activity are versatile and ambitious, as the composition of these community organizations are small organizations of various kinds: cultural, educational, scientific and religious.

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «Well, for example our university keeps tighter connections with KMKS. It helps the university to organize different conferences, invite the poets and writers. They've always helped and supported us. And they protect Hungarians; you can read about it in the newspaper. They also try to get rights in education. I think that they've helped us to protect our rights as soon as our university was opened. Their presence is important for Hungarian minority. For example they give us necessary papers and documents for getting Schengen visas».

The responsibilities of the heads of these organizations also include the receipt and distribution of financial and humanitarian assistance to the Hungarian representatives of their ethnic group living outside Hungary. Such activities, as well as widely known the work of these organizations in various areas contribute to their considerable popularity among the Hungarian population in Zakarpattya. Even those members of Hungarian ethnic minority, who do not belong to any organization are aware of existence and some of the activities of KMKS "Party of Hungarians of Ukraine" and the Democratic Party of Hungarians of Ukraine (DPHU).

Oniko, female, 49, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «Both UMDS and KMKS are represented here. I don't relate to any of them. But I know, they for example distribute money which our children who learn in schools with Hungarian language of tuition get, they get these money from Hungary. I know exactly that they are concerned with this matter. I know that they are concerned with this, because I also got money in that way. Also I got books from them, they deal also with this matter. They ask for books in Hungarian language for us, write letters. An organization can write a letter to the Ministry and a plain person can not write a letter that he or she is a Hungarian and wants that his or her child passed the test in Hungarian. Being a Hungarian organi-

zation they make requests which are so to say to make our life simpler. So they are concerned with such questions, and this is all I can say about them».

As regional political parties KMKS and DPHU are also very visible and active. In districts densely populated by Hungarians, they have majority in local governments in some settlements and territorial units, such as the city of Beregovo and the Beregovo district. Hungarians in Ukraine are the only ethnic minority group in Ukraine, which has achieved placement of Hungarian national flags at government buildings in the localities where they live in compact. Hungarians also have a fairly high level of political activity, not only regionally but also at the national level are involved in the presidential and parliamentary elections. Although the Hungarians do not welcome participation in political rallies and demonstrations, they do not participate in such activities, preferring to focus more on scientific, cultural, religious areas of public life.

The existence and operation of the Hungarian political parties and public organizations representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority considered relevant and necessary for the consolidation of the interests of Hungarians in Ukraine and their protection.

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «It is! It is important that people don't get hopeless that they are alone abroad. They need it because it gives moral force and support to many Hungarian people abroad. Not everybody perceives the world like I do. Everyone thinks that he is Hungarian and it's important for him».

At the same time, Hungarians underline that today Ukraine has a sufficient number of Hungarian ethnic groups and political parties, and to create new is impractical.

Tibor, male, 44, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «In principle, you know I, I have told already that nothing new is needed to be done and these ones that already exist, there should go youth somehow».

4.6 Ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences

Today representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority almost have no experience with cases of their discrimination based on ethnicity. The reasons for this may be called the following. First of all, Hungarians in Ukraine live in a compact way, there is a relatively large number of villages inhabited by Hungarians only, where the only language spoken is Hungarian language, where Hungarian kindergartens and schools, recreational organizations are created. Many of the residents of these villages speak only in Hungarian, do not know the Ukrainian language at all, their cultural and religious beliefs are consolidated. Those Hungarians who leave their native villages come to study to Ukrainian schools or continue their education after leaving school, often do not reveal their origin, if there are no problems with the knowledge of Ukrainian or Russian language.

Dmitriy, male, 22, specialized secondary education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «No, I didn't. In the army I didn't feel any attitude either. At the end of my service my captain hardly knew that I knew Hungarian and studied in the Hungarian school. He was surprised. He said he was glad when he knew it».

Secondly, the modern democratic system in Ukraine, taking into account the basic values of European society, contributes to the formation of its citizens in a tolerant attitude towards people of other cultures.

Joseph, male, 62, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «Well, I think that freedom and democracy are given and there aren't any persecutions or infringements».

Respondents also emphasize that neither their relatives nor their friends are not faced with the problem of ethnic discrimination. The negative focus on ethnic identity may be made only in small domestic quarrels or conflicts.

Istvan, male, 35, secondary education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «No, personally I did not. Well, I heard a couple of times phrases like “Hey, Magyar!” and that’s all».

Quite acute among Hungarians is the problem of the Ukrainian language. Thanks to its compact living Hungarians in consumer, professional and cultural fields only use the Hungarian language. Since Hungarian schools and kindergartens are established, the children have a small chance to learn the Ukrainian language. Therefore, among those members of the ethnic Hungarian minority, who want to pursue higher education or employment outside their homes, there is a problem of language barrier.

Timea, female, 24, higher education, living in district center, Zakarpattya: «No, there were not, but once I talked to a woman at the bank in Beregovo. She said that Hungarians visit her and talk to her in Hungarian, she can’t understand them; they don’t want to learn Ukrainian, it’s impossible to live such way. I can imagine her reaction when somebody talks to her in Hungarian. The taxi driver can say that he speaks Ukrainian and why they talk to him in Hungarian, though he understands it. It’s a big problem that there is no chance to learn Ukrainian in Hungarian villages. If they speak Hungarian at home with parents, at school, at the shop, with neighbors, I’d like to look at those who can study Ukrainian. Education doesn’t give any chance for Hungarians to learn Ukrainian at Hungarian schools at all at the moment».

Although the Hungarians do not flaunt their own origins, they are still proud of them, proud of their roots, knowledge of the Hungarian language. They adhere to Hungarian traditions and customs, religious observance. Although Hungarians are sufficiently consolidated ethnic group, they are quite tolerant to other ethnic minorities and to the representatives of the titular nation. Such a situation could arise due to the fact that the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine is multiethnic, Ukrainians have been living here together with the Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, and others since childhood, Transcarpathian region residents learn, work and spend leisure time, have families from different ethnic minorities.

Tibor, male, 44, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «This is Slovakia, Hungary, Romania... So you go there to the market. So there are Hungarians who sell, there, Ukrainians who sell there. So you may go and ask: sell, please for me. And they sell, am I wrong? Not like you’re Ukrainian I won’t help you. Because we can also go to Srednee. There the majority of population is Slovak, right? And Ukrainians are also living there, well, so what, what’s the difference. And Slovak guy marry Ukrainian girl. And marry because when I make court to somebody I don’t ask: “What is your nationality?” Who cares? I haven’t mentioned anything like this. Or when you study in the University, like you choose friends like Hungarian – not Hungarian. Does it matter?»

The situation of ethnic discrimination on the basis of ethnicity was in Soviet times. The most difficult years in terms of discrimination against the respondents called the war and postwar years. Hungarians had to face many challenges. For example, a rather painful question of deportation of Hungarians in 1944 or those postwar years, when the Hungarians were taken to the recovery works.

Elizabeth, female, 74, specialized secondary education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «The Hungarians were taken for 3 days for some small work. And then these 3 days were increased up to 3 years. And our dad came back to the Davydkove village in 3 years».

In the Soviet Union the Hungarian minority had also other problems. In Soviet passports Hungarians were unable to identify their ethnicity, so the passport nationality of Hungarians has been designated as the "Ukrainian".

Morika, female, 55, higher education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «Well, let's say the only thing that was, that probably other people didn't like is that when they started to give Soviet passports after the joining to Transcarpathian region there if you were Hungarian or you were Gypsy or you were Romanian maybe or I don't know, they wrote you were Ukrainian. So, for example in my Mom's passport it was written that she was Ukrainian. However nowhere none was Ukrainian but in her passport it was mentioned that she was Ukrainian».

There was also a problem in education: there were no schools with Hungarian language of study. Therefore, children who before school communicated at home only in Hungarian, at school faced many challenges. For example, their performance was lower, negative attitudes arised from classmates.

Adriana, female, 36, higher education, living in Uzhgorod, Zakarpattya: «Well, there were some situations at the beginning. Not now, but somewhere at the beginning again, when we studied at school. If we were speaking Hungarian, then they could say us something or do something. That was some kind of treatment, respectively. Now we don't have this anymore».

Communication in the Hungarian language in everyday life is also not welcome, because during the Soviet Union cultivated such notions as equality and fraternity. And the use of Hungarian language allocated its carriers, which sometimes caused them a negative attitude. The same situation was with the religious views of the Hungarian ethnic minority. Belonging to any religious denomination was not welcomed in principle, and especially the fears and hostility aroused religious views of Hungarians.

Alexandr, male, 25, higher education, living in village, Zakarpattya: «I can give you a very good example. My mother told me this story. During the time of the Soviet Union she was still a little child. She went to the shop and there was no bread at all. There was a big line in the shop and she began talking to her sister meanwhile. An older lady cried on her: «What language are you speaking? You should speak Russian. Whose bread do you eat? It is Russian bread!». But my mother's Hungarian friend spoke a little Russian and addressed this lady in Russian that we all eat the bread of the state, not the Russian one so we may speak any language we want. Then it was better not to speak Hungarian as well as not to profess our religion. Everything was forbidden by the communists».

Must be called and the problem faced by the Hungarians in the professional area in USSR. Belonging to the Hungarian ethnic minority for Hungarians closed the career growth, opportunities to assume leadership positions, regardless of their education, work experience, skills and abilities.

5 MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova

In Ukraine 4 expert interviews with representatives of Hungarian ethnic organization, national and local authorities were conducted. Expert, who participated in the interview, and organizations that they represent:

- Jurij I. Guzinez – the head of the Nationalities Department of the Transcarpatian Regional State Administration that is an official regional governmental organization located in Uzhgorod, Transcarpatian region, Ukraine. This organization is reviewing and solving all issues relating to national minorities in Transcarpathia. Its head participates in meetings with representatives of national minorities, assists in their needs and conducts different events etc.
- Gabor J. Kinch is the Vice head of Beregovo City Council and deputy of the Transcarpatian Regional Council which are official local government bodies. The expert is also board member of Democratic party of Hungarians which is one of two existing in Ukraine Hungarian political parties and the Head of the Forum of Hungarian organizations of Transcarpathia which regional ethnic cultural organization, the biggest association of Hungarian ethnic organizations in Transcarpathia. The expert deals with representation of interests and solving of problems of Hungarian ethnic minority in Transcarpathia both in the field of official authorities and in non-governmental sphere of public organizations.
- Kovács Miklós is Politician, Head of the Subcommittee of Indigenous Peoples, National Minorities and Ethnic Groups issues of the Committee on Human Rights, Ethnic Minorities and International Relations (since 1998), Board Chairman of KMKSZ - “Transcarpathian Hungarian Culture Association” and “Hungarians’ Party in Ukraine”. Expert’s activity is mainly related to leading of KMKS – regional ethnic Hungarian organization which activity is realized in the spheres of culture, education and politics. KMKS is one of two Hungarian ethnic organization in Zakarpattya. Main office of KMKS in located in Uzhgorod, Transcarpatian region, Ukraine. Expert is coordinator and organizer of all KMKS’s activities, representative functions etc.
- Mikhail Tóth is Senior Researcher at the Institute of State and Law named after V.M.Koretsky of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine. The expert is a great specialist on ethnic minorities in Ukraine, particularly Hungarians in Ukraine. His thesis for the degree of Candidate of Science was "International legal protection of national minorities (the trend of modern development)". The experts represent Union of Hungarians of Ukraine - ethnic cultural and political organization that operates at national level, its main office is locate in Kiev, Ukraine.

5.1 Main issues associated with that minority in the country of residence

Characterizing the life of ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine, experts reminded some problems related to low level of integration of this ethnic minority into Ukrainian society that generates problems in different life spheres like education, job placement, representation of interest etc.

According to the experts' opinion, if we characterize the Hungarian integration in the Ukrainian social system we should underline that the level of integration is not so high, the Hungarians remain separated. The Hungarian minority is more orientated on the preservation of their identity in Ukraine and it possesses all necessary reasons for it.

Expert 4: «...if we investigate the situation in Hungarian villages we could say that the Hungarian group is still separated till now. In the rural locality there were almost no mixed cities and villages: the village could be either Hungarian, or non-Hungarian».

Expert 3: «...while we preserve our identityin a certain way, it makes our total integration in the system impossible. That is the situation at the moment. This system will provoke the reverse reaction. At the biological level as well as at the level of public subconsciousness those who will produce this reaction will not even realize that they do so but at least it will work. The stage of twenty-two or twenty-three years in this domain... gives me the right to affirm it as an empiric fact... a foreign element».

According to the expert data, the problem of the language and education as a derivative part is a very important one unifying the Hungarians in the modern Ukraine. This conclusion may be drawn from biographical and expert interviews. Almost all the experts of the Hungarian diaspora note that its most representatives are ignorant of the official language which creates great difficulties in obtaining the education and further comfortable coexistence and self-realization in the Ukrainian society. The whole network of schools is created in Ukraine in the places of compact living of Hungarian people. Besides there is the Hungarian faculty in the national university of Uzhgorod and the pedagogical university of Beregovo where the education is in Hungarian. All these institutions are mostly financed by Hungary although all these measures do not provide the complete adaptation and comfort coexistence of the representatives of the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine furthermore.

Expert 2: «I remember when I entered the institute during my first lectures I did not know the difference between full stop and dash. I did not know it because we finished the Hungarian school. So we were not taught that much. A good thing is that I studied and could distinguish them afterwards. Everybody is not capable of it. You see? Everybody does not pass. It is better to go working. Why do we need those problems? Why should I save Hungarians and save the world? You see? It's better to go and sell cigarettes and gasoline and to earn more than here, in the city council. The whole generation grew in such a way. Since 90s the whole generation knowing only how to sell cigarettes and gasoline grew up. It is horrible».

The problem of language limits substantially the possibilities of building a career and status promotion the representatives of the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine.

Expert 2: «I am going to tell you an example. Before I came here I had worked in a society. I posted the announce in a newspaper that we sought young people to work. Several young people who have already finished the university and the high school came to us. They could type on the computer and knew how to manage ECDL, they also passed international computer programs knowing all kinds of computer programs and communications very well. The only thing they did not know was Ukrainian. I could not employ them».

It leads to an incomplete representativeness of the Hungarian national minority in the Ukrainian elite.

Expert 3: «We are not represented in high education and accordingly in nomenclature. It means that we represent less students, doctors, lawyers and officials in percentage. We are not talking about ... It is quite logic. The language is quite different from the official one. That's why those who possessed certain knowledge according to the normative standards cannot pass only because of

the ignorance of the official language. Less people are can get high education thereby. Thus there are less leading and intellectual posts ...».

Usually scarce and even total ignorance of the Ukrainian language and all the derivatives, unite the Ukrainian Hungarians and create the fundamental basis for consolidation and support of the representatives of their ethnic group. The same reasons interfere the integration into Ukrainian reality.

Expert 2: «We solve our problems ourselves. If we need to translate the school tests, then we do it. If we need any Manuals, here we have already done two tranches, tranche from Europe and we do Manuals for Hungarian national schools in Ukraine. We are doing everything ourselves. We find money, print, distribute, children begin to learn ... once again I should say that the Hungarians save themselves, try to save».

We can also pay attention at the need of political representation of interests of ethnic groups: nearly two-thirds (60%) Hungarians would like it very much to have a representative in parliament, among the Poles the number of such people is less (36%).

Solving of emerging issues by political means, according to most experts, is an indicator of strength, organization, consolidation, and according to the most ambitious estimates indicates the viability of a national minority to survive in an alien culture.

Expert 3: «Well, it can be considered an indicator. If there is the one who would answer your question, that politics does not matter, that he is not engaged into politics, then it is the end for this group. This is not the nation. This is ethnic businessman who has the ability in some public funds something to grab on the pretext that he is still young».

In the structure of identity of Hungarians in Ukraine regional or local identity as well as their ethnic identity plays a big role. Hungarians feel close to their native lands, their community and more seldom identify themselves as being a part of Ukraine, its nation and culture. Ukrainian Hungarians often join to achieve common goals and solve their problems by applying various methods, primarily political. Hungarian national minority, using the language of experts, feels alien element in the Ukraine. Hungarians in Ukraine have developed a closed, autonomous way of being. They are settled fairly compact, that provides a high frequency of interpersonal contacts within the community. The main factor of solidarity of Hungarians is their language. The language barrier in many respects is the main obstacle for Hungarians integration into Ukrainian society. Both the Ukrainian and Russian language could not become native to most of them, and that is why the Hungarians have a range of assimilation and adaptation problems. Study of the Ukrainian language by Hungarians is complicated by both objective factors (significant differences between the Ukrainian and Hungarian languages, a relatively short period of interaction of Hungarians and Ukrainians in historical terms) and the policies pursued by the Ukrainian State in the sphere of education. According to experts-Hungarians, the teaching of Ukrainian language in Hungarian schools should be implemented according to a special program similar to programs of foreign language teaching in Ukrainian schools. Study of the Ukrainian language by the Hungarian students as a foreign language would be more effective and would increase the proportion of Hungarian students in Ukrainian universities. Increasing of the share of Hungarians with higher education would increase their involvement in the economic, political and other spheres of public life in Ukraine, greater integration into Ukrainian society.

5.2 Relationship to mother country

Hungary as a governmental formation has shaped differently both in the state building and in the territory of coverage during the twentieth century. In the borders, where it exists today, it was formed according to the Treaty of Trianon, which was concluded after the First World War by the victorious countries. Under this agreement, Hungary lost a considerable part of the areas where ethnic Hungarians were living. This event is called Trianon trauma In the Hungarian political circles - it necessitated a serious interaction and support of compatriots who were on the other side of the border of the parent state. The obligation of such a support from the Hungarian side is written in its Constitution, and the necessity of its expansion is noted in the speeches of most political leaders of the Hungarian state.

Expert 3: «So for Hungary, for Hungarian state this is the political topic of immediate importance. So there can't be such a Hungarian political force that wouldn't have to react somehow on this».

Experts who participated in the study noted that Hungary is following a comprehensive support for Ukrainian Hungarians. The assistance is implemented on a grant basis, but it is easy enough to receive a grant, according to experts, it is sufficiently to clarify the budget and to estimate how this study will help the cultural and national revival and support of Hungarian ethnicity. Hungarian state finances activities of Hungarian ethnic organizations, a wide spectrum of them: from cultural and academic to trade unions of the Hungarian workers from different fields. Hungary provides financial and organizational support to festivals, conferences, events that are associated with the celebration of memorable for the Hungarian people dates and events, etc. Also close cooperation of organizations with similar activities in Ukraine and Hungary is prevalent - joint activities are held, and the trips to visit one another for getting new experience are organized.

A special issue of the Hungarian ethnic minority living in Ukraine lies in the fact that its representatives do not know at all or do not know at a sufficient level the state language - Ukrainian. This problem is related to the derivative educational problem – a problem of getting high and even secondary education. The Hungarian state, and non-Hungarian, including the religious, organizations according to experts have a huge support in the creation and development of schools, gymnasiums and lyceums with Hungarian language of instruction. There are both secular and religious secondary schools among them. Children who study in such schools are paid by the Hungarian state the so-called "tuition" of \$100, which is a pretty powerful argument and a considerable amount especially for children from small villages of Transcarpathia. To get a quality education the textbooks in the Hungarian language are needed to be written according to the curriculum of the Ukrainian state. According to experts, Ukraine has insufficient funds for the creation and updating of such textbooks, almost everything that is printed and what children in schools with Hungarian language of instruction use is created due to the grants from the Hungarian side. Experts note the number of library programs, through which the Hungarian minority in Ukraine has an opportunity to get acquainted with Hungarian and world literature in their native language. To prepare the teaching staff to teach in schools with Hungarian language of instruction in one of the district centers there was a Hungarian Pedagogical University opened with the financial support of Hungary. Its work is entirely funded by the Hungarian side. Besides with the financial support of Hungary there was a Hungarian faculty at Uzhgorod National University opened. Thus, the Ukrainian Hungarians have the opportunity to receive secondary and higher education in their native language in Ukraine. This feature was a 100% initiative promoted by Hungary. In addition there are a number of programs through which young Ukrainian Hungarians can get scholarships for higher education in Hungary.

For the cultural development of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine Hungary finances activities of the Hungarian theater in the city Beregovo. Also concerts, exhibitions, etc are promoted, financed and organized. Hungarian musicians and artists act in the Hungarian language. Thus, according to the experts, apart from financial support from Hungary, Hungarians in Ukraine get a moral support also.

Expert 1: «Moral support, which makes it clear to the average Hungarians, he is not forget by the homeland, which cares and thus can see the exhibitions of the Hungarian national artists, hear the music... modern or ancient music of their former. Listen to bands coming. That way they are supported».

According to the obtained in the framework of expert interviews data the Hungarian government provides grants for the installation and maintenance of the monuments of famous people of Hungarian origin and soldiers who died during the war also. Besides the Hungarian side is funding the restoration and rehabilitation of historically significant for the Hungarians buildings, churches. Supports the initiative to create a museum, a commemorative plates, etc. According to the experts in the Carpathian region it is difficult to find a village where something would not have been built or repaired at the expense of Hungary's trenches.

Experts who participated in the project, stressed the charity of the Hungarian side. Systematic, and particularly strong on holidays, the transfer of property and food for the homeless and poor is. Most often such activities are carried out on the basis of Hungarian religious institutions.

The Hungarian government issued a so-called identity card of the foreign Hungarian. People who can prove their Hungarian origin can obtain one. According to the experts they receive a symbolic recognition of the membership of the Ukrainian Hungarians to the Hungarian community. This certificate is similar to a passport of Hungary, but it is not the one. According to this identity card a Ukrainian Hungarian can get the benefits to travel in Hungary, as well as to visit the Hungarian museums. Also it makes it easy to deal with a Schengen visa.

In early 2011, Hungary announced that it was ready to give Hungarian passports and Hungarian citizenship to all people who prove their Hungarian origin. Such action of the Hungarian state has been very welcomed by the Ukrainian Hungarians who formed a huge waiting list for the Hungarian passport. However, it was rated negatively by the Ukrainian state because due to the Ukrainian legislation dual citizenship is prohibited and those who receive the Hungarian citizenship should deny their Ukrainian one before. As a result, there was some tension in relations between the two countries, which is somewhat subsided only after the official declaration of Hungary that it will grant a citizenship only after passing the Ukrainian passport.

Thus, the extremely close relationship of the Hungarian ethnic minority with their parent nation can be noted. According to the experts Hungary has invested huge efforts and resources to support the Hungarian ethnicity, language and culture of the Ukrainian Hungarians.

5.3 Relations with Ukrainian State

After World War II Ukraine (in that times the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of USSR) became a country, which includes the territory of Transcarpathia, the land is densely populated by ethnic Hungarians. During Soviet times, the topic of ethnic minorities was ignored. After Ukraine became an independent country the law on national minorities was adopted, which experts estimate as a quite progressive one. In addition, Ukraine became a member of the European convention on the rights of national minorities, the Seventh Framework Convention, the Convention for minority languages and minorities and the European Convention of Local Self-

Government. Ukraine is also the participant of all human rights conventions and the rights of minorities - is a part of human rights. Separately, the expert interviews were allocated to existing programs dealing with national minorities at Transcarpathia regional level, as well as subordinate acts and session solutions to ensure the rights of national minorities of Transcarpathian Regional Council. Thus, experts were very positive about the existing legal framework in Ukraine for national minorities.

Expert 4: «Ukraine for formal and legal regulation of national minorities can be estimated on mark "B+"».

Experts who represent state departments for work with national minorities, noted widespread practice of interaction with all national minorities of Transcarpatia, including representatives of the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine.

Expert 1: «We have established such a practice that at any time, any leader of national-cultural society can come to me and not only at reception hours - at any time, well, of course, there are some circumstances when I'm in a business trip or on a meeting, or anywhere else he can not. At any time he comes, expresses his desires... or even orally. If we can – we help orally, if not - in writing and this issue is decided as effectively as it's possible, better and fully when an opportunity occurs.

Hungarians are favorably differ from other national minorities in Ukraine in terms of opportunities to represent their interests. They have two political parties, their leaders have been the deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament. Before 2004 the part of deputies were elected in a majoritarian way. In that times it was Beregovo electoral district in which the Hungarians had a majority of voters, allowing them to delegate representatives of their ethnic community in the parliament during 1994-2006. Today, the Ukrainian Parliament there is no deputy, who would defend the interests and rights of the Hungarian diaspora at the state level but at regional level, a one Hungarian party has four mandates, the other – three. And in the Beregovo City Council 50% of deputies are representatives of the Hungarian parties. Thus, the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine is represented in political life, which contributes to a more comfortable living of ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine.

Hungarian Diaspora has an opportunity to express their concerns and receive information in the Hungarian language also through the mass media due to the existing regional channel TV 9, and through Transcarpathian Regional State TV and Radio Company, where all national minorities have the time. Hungarians have the largest amount of airtime .

According to the data obtained in the course of interviews, the Ukrainian government gives a certain amount of money for projects and activities that are realized by national minority organizations. According to the experts, including those who are public officials, these amounts of money is not enough for all the activities of the Hungarian diaspora. This financing realize in accordance with the Ukrainian state's economic situation and fluctuate from year to year. Experts admit that the main part of funding of a large number of festivals, conferences and other events held the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine comes from Hungary. Ukrainian state does not fund the every day activities of organizations of national minorities, but attempts to give all possible support for it. Thus, in the Carpathian region exist a center of culture of national minorities, where the minority who do not have their own office can carry out its activities, festivals and meetings in any pre-designated time.

The main problem of the Hungarian diaspora in Ukraine, as was already noted, is that they do not speak state language at the high level, sometimes they don't speak Ukrainian at all. According to

experts, especially those who are members of Hungarian organizations, the Ukrainian government does not support the Hungarian national minority in the sphere of language, and often violates its rights. Thus, according to the experts, Ukraine fulfill its obligation only in some parts, for example give the permission to open schools with Hungarian language of education, pay salaries to the teachers, etc. However, recent years a unified language of national independent testing have introduced, according to its results people achieve a certificate of secondary education and can enter the universities. This fact, according to the experts, violates the rights of young ethnic Hungarians to equal opportunities in education. Because they study all school subjects in the Hungarian language and it is difficult for them to pass final tests in Ukrainian language, which they don't know at the high level, sometimes don't know at all. Especially difficult for them is to understand specialized terminology of studied science. Because of this, experts say, ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine are under-represented in the key areas of public life, which makes the not equal opportunities for achievement the success in life by ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine.

Expert 3: «We lack representation in higher education and accordingly in nomenclature. I mean we represent less in percents in students starting from doctors till lawyers, state workers an so on, not taking into consideration...».

The same kind of violation, according to experts, it may be noted in the field of expression of the electors' will. According to Ukrainian law, the ballots used in elections must be printed in the national language, the language of national minorities. However, in recent years, this law is violated, the ballots come only at the Ukrainian language, which makes it impossible for an honest vote in many settlements of Transcarpathia because of language barrier and differences in the alphabet of the Ukrainian and Hungarian languages. In addition, residents of such settlements without knowledge of the Ukrainian language have limited opportunities to express their interests in public institutions, including the post, hospital, etc. in other settlements of Transcarpathia, such as Uzhgorod (regional center) and Mukachevo (district center). They are locked into their community and can solve their problems only within it. Also, representatives of local government in all Ukrainian settlements have to lead the session of the local council and make paper work in the Ukrainian language. But in Transcarpathia there are a lot of settlements, where the majority of citizens including political leaders are ethnic Hungarians, who don't speak Ukrainian. It makes a problem for both sides- for Ukrainian Hungarians and for Ukrainian State. In opinion of experts - leaders of Hungarian ethnic organizations, the Ukrainian state is severely ratified the European Charter for minority languages at 50% level. Thus, only in the settlements where the percentage of Hungarian population more than 50% Hungarian language can may be used in a public sphere. Experts are more likely to support barrier at 20% level, which ratified by Romania and Slovakia. However, experts note, that European Charter rules do not work even in the Beregovo district where the Hungarian population is more than 50%.

In addition, the experts fix a number of other disorders, problems and misunderstandings in collaboration with the Ukrainian state. For example, Hungarian diaspora has a desire to create Pyatisansky district in Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, which would include the localities densely populated by Hungarians. This desire was rejected by the Transcarpathian region Council. Hungarian national minority is not given the opportunity to rename the city of Beregovo into Beregzas, the historical name of the city in Hungarian style. Commemorative plaques, which are installed on the historically significant for the Hungarian diaspora buildings, according to the requirement of the Ukrainian authorities, should include the first inscription in the official language, and only then in Hungarian. Plaques with violation of this rule, Ukrainian officials de-

mand to torn down and redone. Thus, it can be noted a number of issues which, according to the experts, create the tensions between the Hungarian ethnic minority in Ukraine and the Ukrainian state. Experts have noted a positive moments in their relations. For example Hungarians can use Hungarians flag at administrative buildings as well as Ukrainian flag.

Thus, despite fairly strong and progressive legislative framework experts can not to say that 100% rights and freedoms of national minorities in Ukraine are respected. According to experts, this is due to the fact that Ukraine is not a legal state, and the adopted laws are not always abide.

5.4 Relationship (if any) to European events and organizations

After Hungary joined the EU in 2004, Ukraine became a direct neighbor of the supranational and the Ukrainian diaspora in Ukraine found itself in a dual position. On the one hand, it became harder to cross the Ukrainian-Hungarian border, on the other hand, it can be crossed without difficulty to travel throughout Europe. This is important both for ordinary Hungarians, who tend to visit their relatives in Hungary, and for many activists of ethnic Hungarian organizations in Ukraine, because they are actively involved in the Hungarian international conferences, festivals and other events both in Hungary and in other EU countries.

According to the information obtained in the course of interviews, constantly conducts international conferences and round tables to discuss issues of rights of national minorities in Transcarpathia. Such events take place in different EU countries such as Hungary, Romania, Slovakia etc. Participants of conferences and round tables from Ukraine are Ukrainian officials and representatives of ethnic organizations. They discuss previous agreements, the status of their implementation, as well as the nowadays problems of national minorities. Such activities, according to experts, make a very positive impact on improving the interaction between ethnic minorities and the Ukrainian state. After them intergovernmental commission of Ukraine and Hungary, Romania and Slovakia are took place to discuss prospects for cooperation. Such committee shall meet annually, although the Ukrainian-Hungarian intergovernmental commission for the last time was held in 2008.

Experts who participated in the study, ascertain the close cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, represented by Hungary at the level of cities and nongovernmental organizations. So, practically every city of Transcarpathia, in which there are significant numbers of Hungarians has a partner city in Hungary, with which it conduct different activities.. Also, Hungarians nongovernmental organizations and trade unions of Hungarians in Ukraine find their partner organizations in Hungary with a similar sphere of actions. Through such organizations in Hungary the Hungarian Diaspora in Ukraine can receive financial support for their needs. And, according to experts, Ukraine needs to strengthen its relations with the EU, through such organizations to extract maximum benefits.

Expert 2: «So our Hungarian language and Hungarian ethnic organizations could provide such help and be such a bridge to lead Ukraine towards Europe if this is our aim».

Members of Hungarian national minority in Ukraine, according to experts, often visited Hungary and other EU countries. There they see European quality of life, trying to correspondent to it also in Ukraine. Even their watches show European time (European time differs from Ukrainian for an hour).

Thus, the Hungarian diaspora has close relations with European organizations, often involved in their activities, but most often this organizations and events are Hungarian.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Research conclusions

The Hungarian minority in Ukraine numbers 156,600 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001¹². That is approximately 0.32% of the whole population of Ukraine. The Hungarian ethnic minority in the Ukraine settles almost exclusively in one region only: Zakarpat'ska Oblast'. For the Hungarians, who live in compact villages, where from 50% up to 100% of the population is Hungarian, culture of the titular nation is less important, while preserving their own traditions, lifestyle, language and identity, and the union on this basis becomes not so difficult. Thus, for objective reasons – due to its settlement structure and to a lesser degree of interaction with the titular nation the Hungarian ethnic group is less integrated into the Ukrainian society. The age structure of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Ukraine in general is similar to the age structure of the Ukrainian population. Young Hungarians in Ukraine retain their ethnic identity.

The members of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia belong to the Reformed (Calvinist), Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. 75% of the members of the Hungarian minority live in small-size communities. Since they pursue professions of a lower social status because of the shortcomings in native-language training opportunities, they are more threatened by the danger of unemployment.

The ethnic Hungarian community in Zakarpats'ka province has two political parties. On February 17, 2005, the Ukrainian Ministry of justice registered the "KMKSZ," the Hungarian Party in Ukraine, whose establishment was initiated by the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Zakarpats'ka province (KMKSZ). In March 2005, the Ministry of Justice also registered the Hungarian Democratic Party in Ukraine upon the initiative of the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine (UMDSZ). The interest protection activity of Hungarian cultural and professional groups is currently directed mainly at preserving the national consciousness and culture of the Hungarian community, developing native-language education, maintaining the Hungarian-language educational system, and establishing an autonomous Hungarian educational district.

In the structure of identity of Hungarians in Ukraine regional or local identity as well as their ethnic identity plays a big role. Hungarians feel close to their native lands, their community and more seldom identify themselves as being a part of Ukraine, its nation and culture. Ukrainian Hungarians often join to achieve common goals and solve their problems by applying various methods, primarily political. Hungarian national minority, using the language of experts, feels alien element in the Ukraine. Hungarians in Ukraine have developed a closed, autonomous way of being. They are settled fairly compact, that provides a high frequency of interpersonal contacts within the community. The main factor of solidarity of Hungarians is their language. The language barrier in many respects is the main obstacle for Hungarians integration into Ukrainian society. Both the Ukrainian and Russian language could not become native to most of them, and that is why the Hungarians have a range of assimilation and adaptation problems. Study of the Ukrainian language by Hungarians is complicated by both objective factors (significant differences between the Ukrainian and Hungarian languages, a relatively short period of interaction of Hungarians and Ukrainians in historical terms) and the policies pursued by the Ukrainian State in the sphere of education. According to experts-Hungarians, the teaching of Ukrainian language in

¹² <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

Hungarian schools should be implemented according to a special program similar to programs of foreign language teaching in Ukrainian schools. Study of the Ukrainian language by the Hungarian students as a foreign language would be more effective and would increase the proportion of Hungarian students in Ukrainian universities. Increasing of the share of Hungarians with higher education would increase their involvement in the economic, political and other spheres of public life in Ukraine, greater integration into Ukrainian society.

We could underline that the Hungarians in Ukraine remain a rather closed and united ethnic group: they do not feel very close neither to Ukraine nor to Hungary and they are focused on their ethnic group and the region of their living. Thereby we can say that ethnic and regional identities dominate in the Hungarian structure of identity. It should also be added that elder and adult Hungarians feel a stronger closeness to all the social institutions. So we may say that young Ukrainian Hungarians are not completely formed as a stable system of identity being in search and hesitation.

There are no comprehensive sociological researches of Hungarians in Ukraine. Mainly attitude of Ukrainians to different ethnic minorities living in Ukraine is under investigation. However, Hungarians are a great object for a sociological or ethnographic research. Of great interest are Hungarians' attitudes towards Ukraine, their historic Motherland and the EU; life strategies and life plans of Hungarians in terms of Ukrainian and other languages obtaining, occupation preferences and etc.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Prof. Vil Bakirov is President of the East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research, Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Head of the Department of Applied Sociology of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University, Rector of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University. His scientific interests include: sociology of higher education, socio-cultural transformations, social changes. Prof.Bakirov has an extensive experience in research and educational projects management.

Alexander Kizilov is Executive Director of the East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research, PhD in Sociology, Head of the Department of Methods of Sociological Research, Director of Social and Humanitarian Research Institute of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University. Dr.Kizilov has a great experience in research projects, both developing the research and conducting fieldworks. His scientific interests include: urban sociology, social and political transformations, social structure of the society, methods of sociological research, electoral sociology, sociology of higher education.

Kseniya Kizilova is scientific associate of the East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research, PhD student in Sociology at the Department of Applied Sociology of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University. Her scientific interests include: social capital, ethnic identity and ethnic groups, social and political transformations, methods of sociological research, sociology of higher education.

Irina Kuzina is scientific associate of the East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research, PhD student in Sociology at the Department of Methods of Sociological Research of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University.

Asia Rapoport is scientific associate of the East-Ukrainian Foundation for Social Research, PhD student in Sociology at the Department Sociology of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University.

Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich is professor emeritus of political science. He has a background in empirical research, conflict and project management in Eastern Europe and the (Ex-) Soviet Union and is currently working as lecturer for empirical methodology at the School of Economics and Humanities in Lodz (Poland). He has a track record as policy advisor for international organisations and NGOs (UN, OSCE, GTZ).

Olga Alekseeva was a visiting research fellow at the CEASS-Center at the IHS-Vienna in 2010-2011. Olga graduated in German language and literature studies and pedagogics from Minsk State Linguistic University and obtained her Ph.D. in political science at the University of Vienna. Since 2003 her research topics include politics, law state and economy in transition in Eastern Europe (focus on Belarus) as well as democracy, civil society, and participation.