

**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 # 14

**The Polish Minority
in Ukraine**

Belarus
Germany
Hungary
Latvia
Lithuania
Poland
Russia
Slovakia
Ukraine

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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 dividing 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.

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

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Abstract

The territory of Ukraine 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 - Crimean Tatars, Ruthenians, Romanians, Moldovans, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Poles are among them.

In context of the global world processes and trends, in Ukraine the cross-border ethnic minorities, whose so-called "mother nations" have already joined the European Union, become the subjects of special interest. Ethnic minority of Poles especially attracts the sociologists' interest. Ethnic Poles have a weighty number in the western Ukraine, and are among the groups that are the most active in public life as well. Ukrainian Poles live in special areas with the cross-border provision. This minority mostly support the Western vector of development of Ukraine, and to some extent could be a source of instability in Ukraine affecting the migratory moods and infringing on territorial integrity and unitary structure of Ukraine in the areas of their compact settlement.

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 Polish 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 Poles became respondents of the mass survey. 12 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

The history of cohabitation of Poles and Ukrainians numbers centuries and is characterized by extreme contradictions and complexity of the relationships. The Poles came to the Ukrainian lands in the era of Kievan Rus', i.e., about 11th century AD. Mass settlement of Western and Central Ukraine by Poles was happening during the expansion of the Polish state to the East from the XIV century. Poles, who were based in western Ukraine, gained a higher status than the indigenous population, drawn up the majority of the ruling landed elite, a significant part of the Catholic clergy and employees. Poles retained such a dominant position in the Ukrainian lands until the first half of the twentieth century, when the Soviet authorities forcibly evicted ethnic Poles in

Poland, and were punishing those who remained in the Soviet Union. Thus, due to the history of Poles in Ukraine the close and prolonged interaction of these ethnic groups can be appointed.

Novadays the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine numbers 144,130 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001¹. That is approximately 0.3% of the whole population of Ukraine. The density of the settlement of Poles in these areas is very low and ranges from 0,3% to 3,5%. Thus, it may be noted that the Poles in Ukraine are dispersed settled, that affects their ethnic identity, its preservation and transfer, promotes assimilation of Poles in Ukraine.

The size of the Polish community is falling due to growing assimilation. The pressure of assimilation is illustrated in the linguistic identity of ethnic Poles, 71% of whom speak Ukrainian as the native languages, 16% of whom speak Russian as their native language and only 13% of whom speak Polish as their native language².

Poles in Ukraine overwhelmingly settle in four regions: Zhytomyr (34% of all Polish ethnic minority), Khmel'nyts'ki (16%), L'viv (13%) and the city of Kyiv (5%). These four regions cover 68% of the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine (although the density of Poles in these regions does not exceed 5%). Around 14% of Poles live in six additional regions (Chernivtsi, Ternopil, Vinnytsia, Crimea, Rivne and Kyiv regions), but their density in these regions is very low.

The Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine in general is older that the whole Ukraine's population. Due to some expert's opinion, it is related to the assimilation of Poles as young people with Polish roots often consider themselves Ukrainians. Poles are a long-standing ethnic group in the structure of Ukrainian society, who managed to mingle with the Ukrainians, Russian and other ethnic groups. For example, among all Poles respondents almost one in five (17%) has an ethnic Ukrainian among parents.

Describing the features of settlement of Poles in Ukraine, their level of urbanization should be taken into account. If we talk about Poles 67% members of this ethnic group live in cities. The prevalence of the urban population among the Polish minority leads to its greater disunity: the Poles are more susceptible to pressure by the cultural traditions of indigenous nations, ie, Ukrainians on the one hand and by the city-wide urban culture on the other.

The overwhelming majority (91%) of the questioned Poles in Ukraine professes the Catholicism. For the Poles the Catholicism is an integrative part and the important mechanism of preservation and transmission of the Polish ethnic identity. Thus, 86% of the questioned people presume that being a real Pole means professing the Catholicism. The Poles are very, they go to church often. Two thirds (66%) of the questioned Poles go to church on service once a week or more often. The catholic attributes are the integrative elements of the decoration of the Polish houses in Ukraine. The catholic attributes are the hearths of the Polish culture for Polish people. The courses and the circles for children and youth as well as libraries are organized by the catholic churches in order to provide the financial aid to the poor and to organize the excursions throughout Ukraine and Poland aiming at the visits of religious catholic monuments. The Catholicism as a factor of the Poles' solidarization does not make this group closed and isolated at the same time: there are adherents of the Catholicism among the Ukrainians living in the occidental and central Ukrainian regions. The service in churches is both in Polish and Ukrainian languages.

1 <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

2 <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language/>

The Poles as a group of people integrated into the Ukrainian society is less united inside and therefore it is more open and shows a higher level of trust towards the Ukrainian people, (82%), the Polish people (89%) and people as a whole (84%). The Poles do not live as a community, they possess a peculiar dispersion and an individual way of living. Besides according to the expert statement they are an open community ready to merge to any ethnic group including the title nation.

Linguistic assimilation of Poles in Ukraine and the lack of clearly expressed desire of political representation should not be unequivocally interpreted as a degradation of this ethnic group: the Poles have adapted to life in Ukraine, they are well integrated into the Ukrainian society, at the same time adhering to the Polish folk customs and traditions and preserving their culture for them is still very important (54%).

Despite the high level of assimilation and the peculiarities of territorial settlement, the Ukrainian Poles are making active efforts to consolidate, expression and the preservation of their identity. Thus, in the territory of Ukraine operates several dozen of Polish ethnic organizations. In particular, in Lviv there are 17 such organizations, in the Lviv region – 34, in Khmelnytsky region – 25, in Zhytomyr region - 42. Polish ethnic organization have very different profiles. Thus, in various cities of Ukraine operate communities of Polish culture, Polish Houses, association of Polish doctors and teachers, the Polish scientific societies, organizations of Polish Veterans of World War II, natural history Polish organizations, cultural and educational Polish societies, training centers in Polish schools, Polish music organization, organizations of business initiatives, Polish youth organizations, centers of the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation, the Polish charity organizations, associations of veterans of the Polish Army, Polish sports and religious organizations. There are also so-called "over-organizational" associations, such as the Federation of Polish Organizations in Ukraine (Lviv), the Association of Poles in Ukraine (Kiev), etc. that unite several organizations into association. In general, the Polish ethnic organizations are engaged in the following activities: educational, publishing, cultural, scientific, and informational. Also among the functions of Polish organizations in Ukraine is support of the bonds of communication within the Polish minority in Ukraine or its groups, ensuring the implementation of leisure practices of Poles and others.

1 POLES IN UKRAINE: A BACKGROUND OVERVIEW

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova

1.1 Ukrainian majority-Polish minority relations

1.1.1 Historical overview

Waves of invasion and colonization, combined with assimilation and migration in the lands of today's Poland and Ukraine have produced an uneven but also interconnected history. For centuries the identities of the ancestors of today's Poles and Ukrainians were quite different to the identities and national experiences that we are familiar with today.

The history of Polish settlement in current territory of Ukraine dates back to years 1030–31, to the invasion of German and Kievan forces into Poland. Yaroslav the Wise, after campaign in Poland in 1030-1031, captured poles and settled them in the valley of the river Ros, where they were engaged in agriculture, and later assimilated. In Kyiv-city there was a separate Polish quarter near the Lyadsky gate where in the 12th century a catholic mission was established.

In the Galicia-Volyn principedom many Poles served in princely courts. The next episode was the accession of the Galician principality by Polish King Casimir in 1340. Thus, Galicia became the first East Slavic Ukrainian territory, which came under Polish rule. The first wave of Polish colonization was connected with a seizure of Galicia-Volhynia principedom by Poles in the 14th century. Polonization of this region was supported with a creation in 1275 of the Roman Catholic archbishop in Galych (which since 1412 has been known as Lviv) and the bishops in Przemysl, Chelm and Vladimir-Volyn (which was renamed Lutsk in 1428).

The Lublin Union in 1569, which created the single state Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was a milestone in the history of the region and led to the consolidation of a Polish elite. Most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Commonwealth. The colonization of present Ukraine by large number of Poles became more intense a century after the creation of the Commonwealth because growing oppression in Poland led Polish peasants in their hundreds of thousands to seek a better life in Ukraine.

Mass migration of Poles took place in the 17-18th centuries and was caused by the defeat of Poland in the war with Turkey and increasing oppression of the Polish peasants, who were looking for a better life in the Ukraine. During this period, Poles constituted the majority of proprietors, ruling elite, the Catholic clergy, and civil servants and to a lesser extent - among the nobility, burghers and peasants. The Poles took part in the military and agricultural colonization of southern Ukraine, established a number of villages within the settlers of Cossack regiment. Polish-Cossack wars of the 17th century were also a conflict stage in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.³ At the end of the 18th century there was nearly 350,000 Poles in the whole of Right-bank Ukraine.

³ The Great Cossack revolution in 1648 led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky was a turning point in the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations. Khmelnytsky and his supporters first did not think about leaving the Commonwealth. Their initial goals focused on addressing the complaints of the Cossacks and the Orthodox, as well as to receive some limited autonomy for Ukraine. However, from about 1650 Khmelnytsky's policy was aimed at a complete break with Poland. After Pereiaslav agreement in 1654, Ukraine adopted a protectorate of the Russian tsar. According to the Andrusovo contract in 1667, Russia and Poland shared the Ukraine along the Dnieper.



Even after Ukraine became a protectorate of the Russian tsar the Polish nobility retained its property. The Polish population in Ukraine suffered a lot after the defeat of the rebellion of 1830-1831. The Tsarist government confiscated the estates of Polish landlords who were members of the rebel movement. A number of repressive measures in Polish education and culture were taken. Thus in the 1830-1840s the Poles in Pravoberezhnaya Ukraine who had been the ruling nation became a socially depressed ethnicity, which further significantly reduced in its size. However, many Poles, who lost their possessions, settled in Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Mykolayiv and other cities.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire annexed the area of today's Western Ukraine and Southern Poland. The first confrontation between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia came during the revolution in 1848 when Poles tried to preserve the unity of Galicia, which they thought was mostly Polish territory. Ukrainians stood for the division of the province along ethnic boundaries, for separation of Ukrainian Eastern Galicia from Polish Western Galicia. As a byproduct of Austro-Hungarian compromise in 1867, political control over unshared Galicia passed into the hands of Poles. Poles used their dominant position for the denial of equal rights for Ukrainians to impede their social, economic and cultural development.

During the last decade before the First World War, Polish-Ukrainian confrontation was focused mainly on three fundamental points: the peasant question, the debate surrounding the university and the demands of electoral reforms.

The collapse of Austria-Hungary was the catalyst for the Polish-Ukrainian war in 1918-1919 for Eastern Galicia. On November 1, 1918 Ukrainians seized power in the whole of Eastern Galicia, which was officially renamed as the West Ukrainian National Republic. In the regional capital, Lviv, urban Poles, who formed a local majority, took up an armed rebellion against the Ukrainian state. Street battles in Ukraine soon broke into a full Polish-Ukrainian war. Military operations continued until July 1919 when the Ukrainian Galician Army was forced out in mid-eastern or Naddniprianska Ukraine, previously part of Russia. Ukrainian forces retreated and Hetman Petliura was forced to abandon claims to Ukrainian Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. The Soviet Union, having consolidated its assault on White forces in other areas, sent an army to defend Ukraine, which then invaded Poland before being repelled by Polish resistance. The peace agreement of March 1921 saw Poland claim Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's western provinces were Zhytomyr and Vinnitsiya.

In 1926 there were 476 435 Poles who made up 1.6% of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR. In that year a Polish Autonomous District located near Zhytomyr was created, reflecting the greater cultural freedoms of the early Soviet period, which also benefitted Ukrainians. However it was disbanded in 1935 as part of the clampdown on national minorities throughout the USSR, which particularly affected Ukraine. Between 1934 and 1938 many inhabitants of the Polish Autonomous District were deported to Kazakhstan in the first recorded deportation of a whole ethnic group in the USSR. Additionally tens of thousands of Poles became victims of the Great Purges in 1937-38, including members of the exiled Polish Communist Party, which was disbanded in 1938.

Apart from Poles in Ukraine in the inter-war period, Poles also lived in an area of today's western Ukraine that was then part of the Second Polish Republic. Poles accounted for 35% of the total population in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, a figure boosted by resettlement policies. In Lviv, the capital of Eastern Galicia, the Poles had accounted for a majority of the population even before Polish resettlement policies came into effect, although in rural areas Poles constituted a minority. In contrast to Eastern Galicia, which had been part of the Habsburg Empire, in which Poles had served as local administrators in a multiethnic empire, Volhynia had been part of the Russian Empire and the proportion of Poles was significantly lower. Polish resettlement was therefore particularly pronounced in Volhynia, where local Polish peasants were not trusted by the government to serve as local administrators.⁴

In 1939 as a result of the deal between Hitler and Stalin, the Soviet Union occupied eastern parts of Poland (*Kresy*). Estimates of up to and beyond six million Poles were deported to Kazakhstan and other areas in the USSR. However, following the German attack on the USSR Poles held in camps were granted an 'amnesty' and allowed to enroll in Polish army units. Poles who remained in Volhynia and Galicia after the campaign of mass deportations were subject to ethnic cleansing, this time at the hands of Ukrainian nationalists. Ukrainian-Polish conflict during World War II

⁴ In Nazi-held areas, which between 1941-3 included all of Poland and Ukraine, German high command exploited national tensions between Poles and Ukrainians. Ukrainians were recruited to serve as policemen, in which capacity they participated in the ethnic cleansing of Volhynian Jews, who had lived in the region since the times of the medieval state of the Duchy of Lithuania. When the German army started to retreat after its strategic defeat at Stalingrad, Ukrainians who served as policemen broke ranks en masse and formed partisan units and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists set up the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The actions of UPA in 1943-4 led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Poles and are a sensitive and often highly politicized issue in Poland and Ukraine. See Timothy Snyder's *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus, 1599-1999*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

has become particularly dramatic nature in the Volhynia region. In 1942 was organized the first action of the Ukrainian nationalists against the Poles, who worked in the agricultural and forestry administration. These actions gradually spread to rural Polish population of Volhynia. From spring 1943, the OUN and UPA resorted to mass anti-Polish actions – first in the eastern districts of Volhynia, and later in central and western. During the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in 1943-1944 years 70-100 thousand of Poles and 10-20 thousand Ukrainians were killed.⁵

After the war, the number of Poles in the Ukraine continued to decrease as a result of Sovietisation. Between 1955 and 1959, most Poles from *Kresy* were repatriated to Poland. 1.3 million stayed in the USSR. The Polish population fell, according to census figures, from 363,000 in 1959 to 219,000 in 1989 as a result of further repatriation. However the cultural life for Poles in Ukraine improved, with the spread of Polish language press, while diplomatic relations stabilized and remain friendly. Later census showed a steady decline of the Polish population in Ukraine: 1959 - 363 000, 1970 - 295 000, 1979 - 258 000 and 1989 - 219 000.

1.1.2 Political overview

Legislative changes towards the position of the Polish 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 October 13, 1990, Poland and Ukraine agreed to the Declaration on the foundations and general directions in the development of Polish–Ukrainian relations. Both countries promised to respect minority rights and to improve their situation. This declaration re-affirmed the historic and ethnic ties between Poland and Ukraine, containing a reference to "the ethnic and cultural kinship of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples". Under the Declaration of rights of nationalities of Ukraine (approved November 7, 1991), the Polish minority was guaranteed political, economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as the right to use the native language in every field of social life.

The Law on National Minorities adopted in June 1992 guarantees Poles the use of Polish, the right to education in Polish, to establish a system of cultural institutions, and to national-cultural autonomy. The law makes it possible to establish Polish interest-protection organizations, to use national symbols, to use names in accordance with the rules of Polish, and to maintain contacts beyond the borders with Poland.

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. I 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 the there is no legislation

⁵ However, as Timothy Snyder notes, it is possible that the UPA killed as many Ukrainians as Poles since it waged a campaign against Ukrainians who did not want to participate in ethnic cleansing.

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.

The break-up of the Soviet Union and the emergence of an independent Ukraine created new opportunities for the Polish minority. Various Polish non-governmental organizations were set up. On October 13, 1990, Poland and Ukraine agreed to the Declaration on the foundations and general directions in the development of Polish–Ukrainian relations. Both countries promised to respect minority rights and to improve their situation. This declaration re-affirmed the historic and ethnic ties between Poland and Ukraine, containing a reference to "the ethnic and cultural kinship of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples". An example of the greater interaction between the Polish minority and its neighbouring mother nation is the popularity of the Polish Identity card.⁶ This document confirms the identity of ethnic Poles and since its introduction in late March 2008 has entitled the holder of the card to get long-term multiple-entry Polish visas, legally work in Poland without the need of the permission; and use the system of free basic, secondary and higher education in Poland on the same basis as Polish citizens. However the Polish ID card is not is a basis for obtaining Polish citizenship, permanent residency or the right to visa- free entry into Poland. The Orange Revolution, which was enthusiastically backed by the Polish government, heralded a new phase in Polish-Ukrainian relations.

1.2 Demographic overview

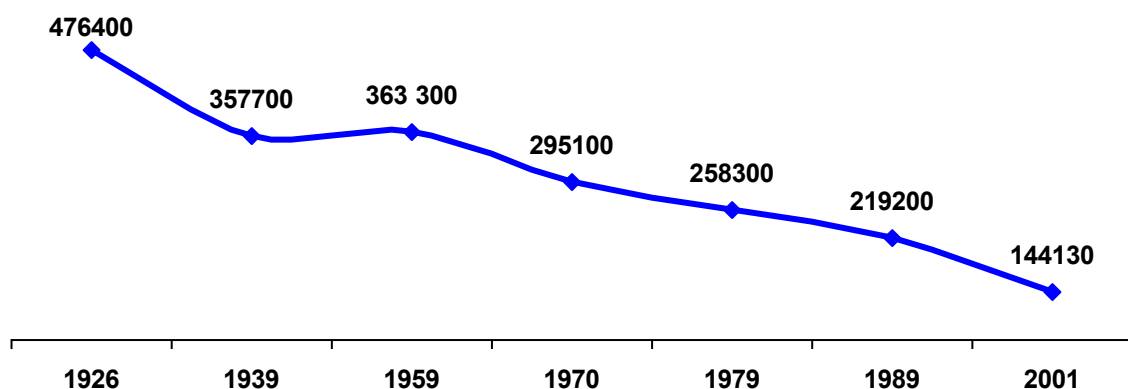
1.2.1 The 2001 Census

The Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine numbers 144,130 people according to the Ukrainian census of 2001⁷, which is approximately 0.3% of the whole population of Ukraine. The size of the Polish community is falling due to growing assimilation. The pressure of assimilation is illustrated in the linguistic identity of ethnic Poles, 71% of whom speak Ukrainian as the native languages, 16% of whom speak Russian as their native language and only 13% of whom speak Polish as their native language⁸.

⁶ <http://www.zagran.kiev.ua/article.php?new=420&idart=42020>

⁷ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/>

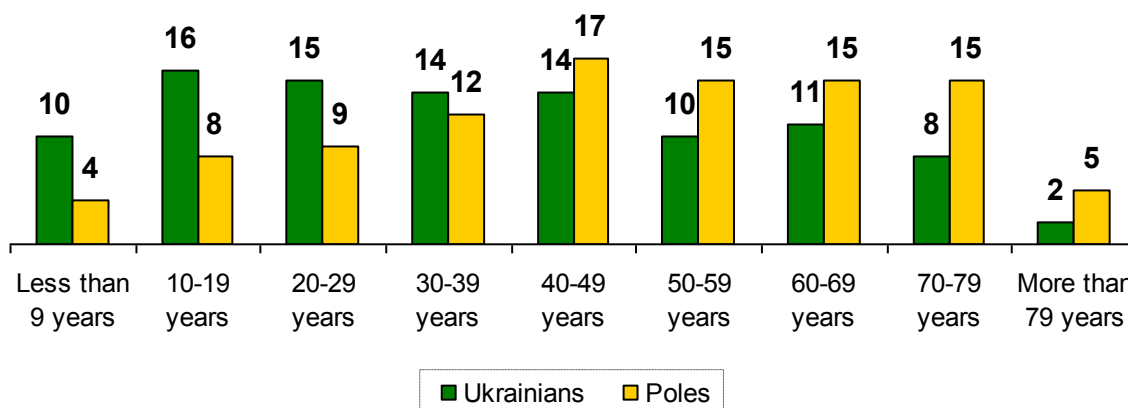
⁸ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language/>

Number of Poles in Ukraine in 1926-2001 (Census data)**1.2.2 Language Usage**

Ukrainian is the native languages for most (71%) of Poles living in Ukraine. 16% of Poles mentioned Russian as their native language. Polish is the native language for only 13% of Poles living in Ukraine⁹.

1.2.3 Age structure

The Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine in general is older than the whole Ukraine's population. Due to some expert's opinion, it is related to the assimilation of Poles as young people with Polish roots often consider themselves Ukrainians.

Age Structure of Ukrainians and Poles, %¹⁰

Array: the whole population of Ukrainians in Ukraine N=37541693
 Array: the whole population of Poles in Ukraine N=144130

1.2.4 Geographical Distribution

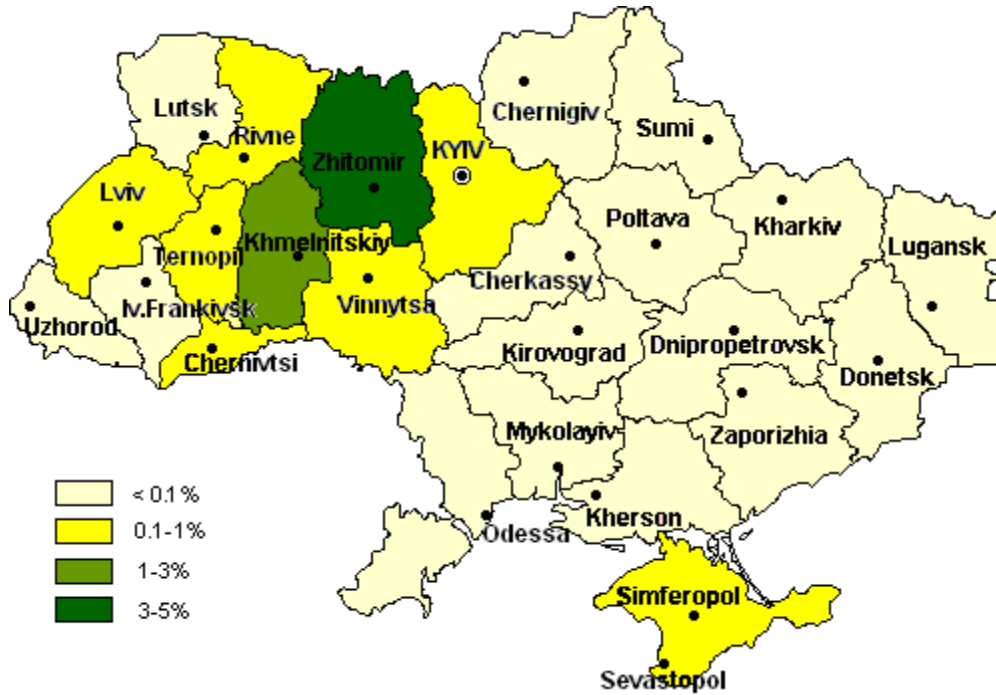
Poles in Ukraine overwhelmingly settle in four regions: Zhytomyr (34% of all Polish ethnic minority), Khmel'nyts'ki (16%), L'viv (13%) and the city of Kyiv (5%). These four regions cover

⁹ <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/language/>

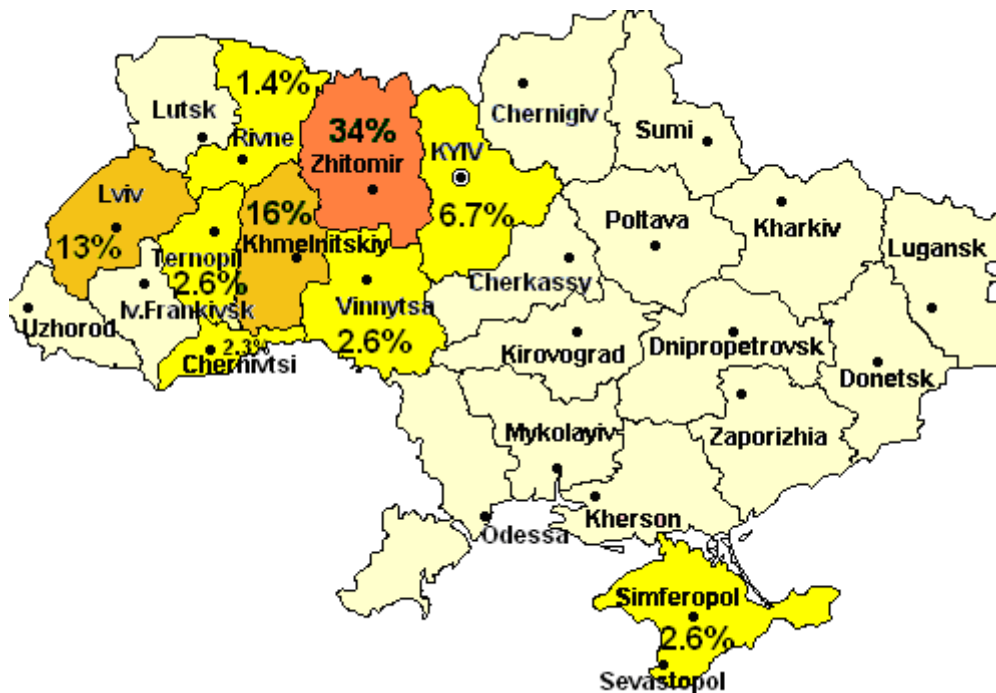
¹⁰ Percentage of age groups was counted on the basis of All-Ukrainian censorship in 2001 (Available at: <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua>)

68% of the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine (although the density of Poles in these regions does not exceed 5%). Around 14% of Poles live in six additional regions (Chernivtsi, Ternopil, Vinnytsia, Crimea, Rivne and Kyiv regions), but their density in these regions is very low.

Density of the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine (2001)



Distribution of the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine (2001)



1.2.5 Religious denomination

80-90% of them are Roman Catholics; most of the others are the Protestants or Orthodox believers.

1.2.6 Education

There are several Polish schools in Ukraine. There is a Polish weekend school for children and adults under the Zakarpats'ka Polish culture community. There are two Polish schools in Khmelnytskyi region – in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Horodok cities – where nearly 500 pupils study Polish. Two thousand more pupils study Polish as a native languages in 19 more schools of Khmelnytskyi region.

Polish is studied in several Ukrainian universities. Polish Senate partly funds several establishments where the Polish language could be studied. Among them are the Center of Polish Language and Culture in Berdyansk, Khmelnytsky University, educational Centre of Polish language and culture in Drohobych, the department of Polish language in Shevchenko Kiev National University and others. Many Polish organizations and associations functioning in Ukraine arrange language course (Polish). In Kiev there is Adam Mickiewicz Polish Library.

A fund "Semper Polonia" is the main organization which realizes programs for development and education of the youth. Since 2004 this fund cooperates with the Ministry of Health, on the basis of this cooperation was launched the project of annual medical training in Poland for the graduates of Ukrainian medical schools. Also it was started educational programs "Opportunities for youth" and "Ex Libris Polonia" by this fund. According this programs 7 thousand young Poles are permitted to study in their native countries, and more than 200 graduates were hired by Polish companies abroad. The Foundation launched a project "Polonijna Labour Exchange". The main goal of the project – a support of youth employment of Polish origin, and graduates from Central and Eastern Europe in the foreign branches of Polish companies or local companies interested in cooperation with Poland.

We can also mention such Polish-Ukrainian educational exchange program like "Osvita pol – 3 steps to the European education". This program gives an opportunity to Ukrainian students to study in one of the 12 participating in the program higher educational establishments in Warsaw.

1.3 Polish minority self-organisation

1.3.1 Civil society

Despite the high rate of assimilation, the Ukrainian Poles are making active efforts for consolidation, self-expression and preservation of their identity. Thus, in the territory of Ukraine several dozen of Polish ethnic organizations operate. In particular, there are 17 such organizations in Lviv, 34 more in the Lviv region, 25 in Khmelnytskyi region, 42 in Zhytomyr region. Polish ethnic organizations have very different profiles.

Thus, in various cities of Ukraine there are communities of Polish culture, Polish houses, associations of Polish doctors and teachers, Polish scientific societies, organizations of Polish Veterans of World War II, natural history Polish organizations, cultural and educational Polish societies, Polish music organizations, communities of business initiatives, Polish youth organizations, centres of the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation, Polish charity organizations, associations of veterans of the Polish Army, Polish sports and religious organizations operate. There are also federations that unite many organizations, including the Federation of Polish Organizations in Ukraine (whose

centre is in Lviv), the Association of Poles in Ukraine (based in Kiev), and the Zhitomir Association of Polish non-governmental organizations "Confederation of Zhitomir".

A number of organizations and educational establishments in Ukraine with the help and support of their Polish colleagues give an opportunity to ethnic Poles (first of all) to study Polish and to get the primary, secondary (more frequently) and higher (seldom) education in Polish.

Polish ethnic organizations are also engaged in publishing, cultural and scientific activities. Also among the functions of Polish organizations in Ukraine is support of the bonds of communication within the Polish minority in Ukraine and its groups, ensuring the implementation of leisure practices of Poles.

Poles living in Ukraine receive financial aid from the Polish Senate for preservation and development of Polish language and culture, various activities, participation in international festivals, schools and seminars. Polish Senate allocates funds for the Poles living outside the country since 1990. The major organizations responsible for the development of such projects are the Association "Polish Community", Foundation "Help the Poles in the East", and the foundation "Semper Polonia".

To these organizations account for three quarters (17.1 million dollars) of public purpose grants to programs for the Poles outside Poland. The work of these organizations with the following directions: development and support of Polish organizations abroad, educational programs, development of Polish culture and the preservation of Polish cultural heritage outside of Poland, the social and medical assistance, grants and charitable competitions. To support the Poles in the Eastern European countries Senate of the Polish Republic allocates about 2.4 million dollars. From which to support the Ukrainian Poles are about 13%. These funds are mainly for the construction, alteration and renovation of kindergartens, schools, churches, construction of Polish cultural centers, the courses of Polish language and others. In Ukraine, at the expense of funds allocated by the Senate of Poland, the schools have been rehabilitated and reconstructed a number of churches, is the restoration of monuments, open schools, centers and courses in Polish language, support to the Polish media in Ukraine

1.3.2 Arts and culture

There are several Polish theatres in Ukraine. The most famous of them are Krashevskij Polish theatre in Zhitomir and Zankoveckoj Polish theatre in Lviv. Creation of this theatres have been done by Polish Council in this cities.

The days of Polish cinema are take place in different Ukrainian cities including East region of the country. Cinemas of various genres of modern Polish producers during this festivals are shown.

1.3.3 Religious observation

Poles in Ukraine are very religious and observe most religious traditions. Whenever possible, the Poles try to go to church, to celebrate all the holidays (mostly - Catholic) and adhere to the post.

1.3.4 Publishing and the Press

Book publishing in Polish is rather rare in Ukraine – perhaps Polish Ukrainian writers are published in Polish in Poland? Conference materials, periodicals or publications concerning important dates or events of the Polish- Ukrainian relations present most of the published in Polish. Editions timed to memorable events are often published in Ukrainian (big edition) and less often – in Polish (and smaller edition). Books in Polish are mainly published by the representatives of

the Polish NGOs, charitable societies, academic centres, as well as the Consulate of the Republic of Poland. However, many books, monographs by famous Polish writers and academics are translated from Polish into Ukrainian in Ukraine.

Gazeta Lwowska, the oldest Polish newspaper in Ukraine, is published biweekly by the Association of the Polish Culture of the Lviv Region. Two Polish newspapers are published in Zhytomir region: «Gazeta Polska» (500 copies, once a week, in Ukrainian and Polish) and «Berdychiv mosaic» (1000 copies, once per two months, in Polish). «A call from Volyn» newspaper is published once per two months by the religious and social edition of the Lutsk Roman Catholic eparchy.

1.3.5 The media

A television program «The Polish word» (in Polish, lasting 25 minutes) is broadcasted weekly with two repeats by the «Zhitomir» TV-channel. «TV and Radio Union-TV» daily (amount of airtime - 3 hours. 30 min.) broadcasts programs in Polish for the Polish community in Ukraine according to the submission of the Polish state television «Polonia».

Polish transmissions are broadcasted on various radio stations in different regions of Ukraine. The programs of the Foreign Service of the Polish Radio are widespread in Ukraine at the Ukrainian radio stations. Foreign Service of the Polish Radio is a part of the public broadcasting in Poland. The task of the Foreign Service is to disseminate information about political, economic and social life, as well as about the directions of Polish foreign policy. Foreign Service is a source of objective information about Poland's position on the events occurring in Central and Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Audience Abroad service gets a complete picture of the life of Polish society, learns about his achievements in science and culture. Such Ukrainian radio stations like “Nezalejnist” in Lviv, “Takt” in Vinnica, “Podillja” in Chmelnickij, “Kraj” in Rivne, “Zhitomyrska hvilja” in Zhitomir, “Uxradio” in Ternopol, “Clasic radio” in Zaporozhe, “Vsesvit” in Sumy, “Nart” in Kiev, “Avtoradio” in Kharkiv, “Centre” in Donetsk and “Nart” in Dnepropetrovsk broadcast Polish radio programs both in Polish and Ukrainian.

1.4 Overview of existing surveys

There are no comprehensive sociological researches of Poles 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 the 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, Byelorussians, Jews, Americans, Canadians, Poles, Germans, Romanians, Afro-Americans, Gypsies and the French¹¹.

As for questioning Poles 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 fol-

¹¹ <http://www.kiis.com.ua/>, <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2005/0215/gazeta09.php#1>

lowing ethnic groups were examined: Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Slovaks, Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Gypsies, Caucasians and Rusyns¹².

1.5 Conclusion

The situation of Polish minority has improved when Ukraine regained independence. Various Polish non-governmental organizations were allowed to operate. Ukraine as a host nation does not feel threatened by the Polish minority, which is now very much a small minority. Accordingly the government is more tolerant towards the Polish minority, who, in their turn, are peaceful in their relations with the host nation and to an ever greater extent assimilating. The main problems facing the Polish minority in Ukraine are connected with the following issues: reduction of almost 30% in size (compared with 1991); denationalization of the Polish community (only 41% of Poles in Ukraine consider Polish as their native languages); reduction of external economic relations and contacts in science, education, entrepreneurship, due mainly to the introduction of a visa to enter Poland.

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¹² <http://rusinpresent.narod.ru/rupelin.htm>

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

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova/Vitaly Yurasov

2.1 Ethnicity and ethnic identity, national identity

To determine the hierarchy of identities in the minds of the Polish minority in Ukraine, respondents were asked to identify three specific features that are the most important to them in determining of themselves (Table 1). According to our data, the most important feature for self-determining was gender. So, a quarter (25%) of Poles thought of themselves primarily as a male or female. It should be said that gender is almost as good as religion in self-description - a quarter (24%) of Poles primarily presents themselves as Catholics. On the 3rd and 4th places are belonging to a particular profession and ethnic group. Thus, gender, religious, professional and ethnic identities are the basis for self-reflection for 75% of Ukrainian Poles.

In the second place in the hierarchy of identities for the fifth part (21%) of the respondents is ethnicity. Another 17% of respondents identify themselves by their religion in the second turn. Looking at the third level of the identity of the Poles, the role of regional identity (Ukrainian nationality and origin of a particular locality) grows in addition to that already been noted.

If to move away from the "ranking" of choice, then it should be noted that the most important among Poles is their religious identity: more than a half (56%) of Ukrainian Poles in total in the first, second or third turn identify themselves through belonging to their religion (Catholicism). In the second place is their gender identification: half (49%) of Poles could not identify themselves without it. The third-ranked is ethnic identity, which became mandatory in the set of identities for 43% of Poles. Regional identification of surveyed Poles is shown through their correlation with the Ukrainian state (25% of Poles in a total) and their regional origin (19% of respondents in general). European identity in the structure of social identities of Poles is on one of the last places: only 10% of Poles identifies themselves through belonging to Europe.

Table 1. Respondents' answers to the question: «Generally speaking which is the most important to you in describing who you are first of all, which is the second and the third important?», %

	1-st choice	2-nd choice	3-rd choice
... my gender	25	14	10
... my religion	24	17	15
... my current occupation	14	13	11
...being a Polish minority in Ukraine	12	21	10
... to be a citizen of Ukraine	6	7	12
... my age group	4	9	8
... coming from the settlement you live	3	5	11
... my social class	2	4	4
... being European	2	2	6
... my preferred political party, group or movement	<1	<1	<1
Don't know	7	8	13
Total	100	100	100

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

The hierarchy of identities is somewhat different in the minds of different age groups of Poles. For the respondents aged 18-30 and over 50 years religious identity (1st choice - 25% and 31%

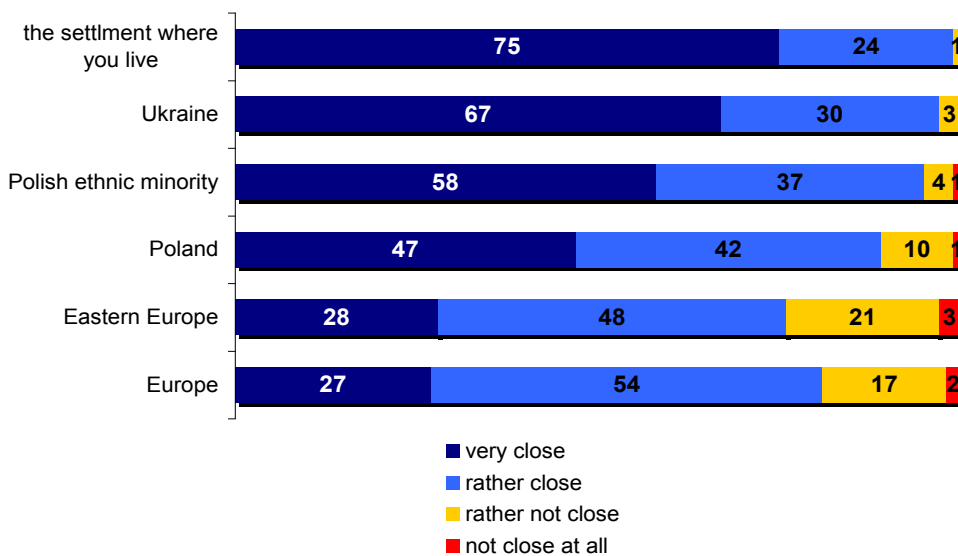
respectively) is in the first place. For middle-aged respondents gender (1 choice - 29%) is in the first place in their identification. The role of ethnic identity is less among the youth (1 choice - 6%) and increases among the respondents of middle age (10%) and older age (16%). This confirms the presence of an active assimilation processes among young Poles in Ukraine.

We can also note some differences in the hierarchy of identities depending on the level of education. Respondents with secondary education mainly choose religion as the ground of their identity (1st choice – 32%), but gender also matters for them (1st choice – 30%). For respondents with higher education their occupation is at the top of hierarchy of identities (1st choice – 28%), their gender is also important (1st choice – 23%), but belonging to a religion becomes less important (1st choice – 16%). Belonging to the Polish ethnic minority, i.e. ethnic identity, occupies only the third and fourth positions respectively in the set of identities of the respondents with secondary and tertiary education.

For respondents who live in rural areas, religion is more important in self-characterizing them (first choice 32% among rural respondents in contrast to 22% among urban respondents). Gender (25%) and occupation (22%) is a more important feature for respondents residing in cities.

In the course of study, there was a separate paragraph about the geographic identity. There were several questions asked to explore what territory the respondents feel closer to and how ethnic, regional, national and European identities are widespread among the respondents and how they interplay in the respondents' minds (*Figure 1*). The survey revealed that, in general only one of four (24%) Ukrainian Poles consider Eastern Europe and Europe as emotionally close to them. In this case, most respondents (75%) feel their settlement (regional identity) to be the most close. Comparing the respondents' emotional closeness to Ukraine and Poland, we can note that for Ukrainian Poles Ukraine as a country is still closer (66%) than Poland (46%). It should be noted that the degree of closeness to the proposed area does not depend on age, education, or on the type of respondents' settlement.

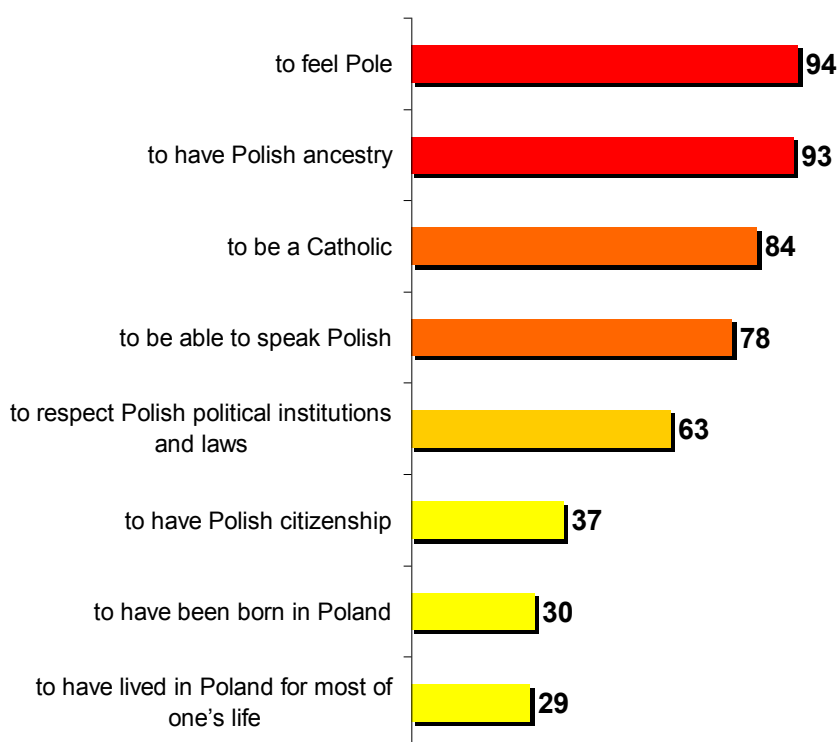
Figure 1. Respondents answer to the question: «How close do you feel to ... ?»,%



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

To determine the hierarchy of factors of Ukrainian Poles' identity during the survey they were asked to rate the importance of the elements to be a true Pole. Analyzing the responses of Ukrainian Poles in this matter, we note that the increasing importance respondents attach to the so-called "cultural" factors of ethnic identity (language, religion, etc.) and less choose the need for formal connections with Poland (Polish citizenship, the fact of birth in Poland, living in Poland) (Figure 2). Thus, Poles recognize identifying themselves as Poles (94%) and having Polish ancestors in family (93%) to be the most important predictors of ethnic identity. In the second place by the importance there are such factors as religion ("to profess Catholicism" - 84%) and language ("to speak Polish" - 78%). About two-thirds (63%) of all respondents believe that it is necessary to respect the political system and the laws of Poland to be a true Pole. And only one third (29-37%) of all respondents believe that people should have Polish citizenship (37%) or to be born in Poland (30%) or even live in Poland, most of their life (29%) to be a true Pole.

Figure 2. Respondents answer to the question: «How important each of the following things are for being truly Pole?»,%*



* For each of the positions respondents were asked to estimate if it is important or not. For each item "important"-responses are represented (the sum of "very important" and "rather important")

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

Should be added that although a hierarchy of factors of ethnic identity in general remains among various age groups surveyed, the importance of individual factors varies among individuals of different ages. For example, the Catholic faith as a factor of Polish identity has greatest importance among respondents older than 50 years (93%), among the same respondents of 18-30 and of 31-50 years the importance of religion is lower (75%). In part, this may be explained by the policies towards religion in the USSR in the 20 century, which resulted the decrease of importance of religion in society, and the performance of religious rites were not vaccinated to the young generations as stable social practices.

Knowledge and usage of Polish language for communication as a factor of Polish identity marks out the young Ukrainian Poles aged 18-30 (89%); among the respondents of 31-50 and over 50 years the importance of using the Polish language is comparatively reduced (78% and 74% respectively).

In addition, the hierarchy of the factors of ethnic identity in general remains among the respondents from different types of settlement. Only the importance of speaking Polish for the ability to call the person a true Pole varies among the urban population compared with the rural (84% and 75% respectively). Also a little more important seems to be religion for being a true Pole among the respondents living in the countryside (92%), compared with those who live in urban areas (79%). (For each position only the "important" answer - the sum of "very important" and "rather important" – is given).

The hierarchy of factors of ethnic identity does not have significant differences among respondents with different educational level. Should be noted the greater significance of the Catholicism for chargeability to "pure Poles" among respondents with secondary education (91% of them consider religion "very important" or "rather important" for being truly Polish) than among respondents with higher education (73% of them consider religion "very important" or "rather important").

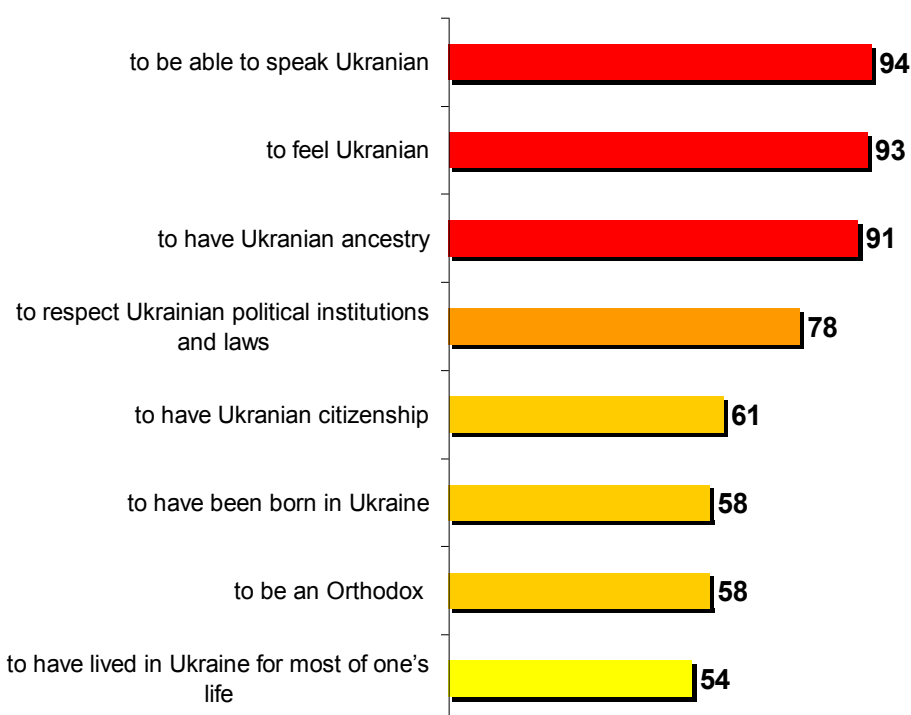
In addition, the Ukrainian Poles were asked to rate how important the same characteristics are for being a true Ukrainian. Considering the distribution of answers to this question it could be said that in first place of the hierarchy of indicators is Ukrainian language proficiency (94%). In order to be a true Pole, language skills of the ethnic group were on the fourth place. At the same time, such characteristics as feeling being Ukrainian and having Ukrainians among ancestors were among three top most important characteristics for the recognition of the individual as a true Ukrainian (93% and 78% respectively). These findings are similar to the previous distributions where feeling of being Pole and the presence of Poles among ancestors were fundamental (also included to the top three) characteristics of chargeability for the person in a "true Pole" definition. For being Ukrainian religion is less important than in the case of being Pole. Thus, the need to be an Orthodox for Ukrainians is less (58%) important than for Poles to be Catholic (94% and first place). These data certainly was obtained due to a higher degree of confessional differentiation of Ukraine in comparison with Poland.

It should be noted that, the hierarchy of factors of Ukrainian ethnic identity as a whole remains the same among different age groups and groups of settlement of the respondents and among respondents with different education levels. Nevertheless, there are some differences. Thus, the priority of Orthodoxy practice in order to define a person as a true Ukrainian is more important condition for the Ukrainian Poles who live in rural areas, 64% of respondents identified this factor as "very important" or "rather important", among urban respondents this rate is about 52%.

Some differences can be identified in the answers of respondents with different educational levels. Thus, the condition of having Ukrainian citizenship is "important" or "very important" for being a true Ukrainian for 64% of respondents with the secondary education and only for 53% of respondents with the higher education. Lifelong Ukrainian residence in this context is "very important" or "somewhat important" for 57% of respondents with the secondary education and only for 48% of respondents with the higher one. Practice of Orthodoxy is considered to be necessary for the identification of a real Ukrainian for 63% of the Ukrainian Poles with secondary education and for 43% of respondents with a higher one.

We should also note some age differences in the respondents' answers to this question. The significance of the Orthodoxy profession increases with the age: it is "very important" and "rather important" in the regard of 63% of respondents older than 50 years, of 58% of 30-49 years and of 63% of the Ukrainian Poles before 29 years. Respondents aged after 50 years consider the living in Ukraine for the most of the life to be more meaningful: the proportion of those who chose the item "very important" or "somewhat important" to identify themselves as Ukrainians made up 60% in the older age group, while the share of those among the respondents aged 30-49 is 52 % and among the Ukrainian Poles 18-29 years is 41%.

Figure 3. Respondents answer to the question: «How important each of the following things are for being truly Ukrainian?», %*



* For each of the positions respondents were asked to estimate if it is important or not. For each item "important"-responses are represented (the sum of "very important" and "rather important")

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

Despite a certain vagueness and seemingly comparative weakness of ethnic identity of Poles in Ukraine, membership in this national group is a matter of pride for the vast majority (92%) of the Ukrainian Poles (*Table 2*). Belonging to the Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine is a sense of pride for the 86% of Poles. Quite high sense of pride (79%) for the Poles is caused by their belonging to Europe. Eastern Europe is a vague concept (14% are not proud of such a belonging, 13% failed to answer the question) for the Ukrainian Poles. Finally, the least sense of pride is for the Polish belonging to the Ukraine (50%). One third (34%) of Poles even declared that this question is not applicable for them, because they believe that they are not Ukrainians in any way.

Table 2. Respondents answer to the question: «How proud are you of being?»,%

	Proud	Not proud	Not applicable	Don't know
...Polish?	92	5	<1	3
... member of Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine?	86	7	1	6
...European?	79	9	3	9
... Eastern European?	70	14	3	13
... Ukrainian?	51	10	34	5

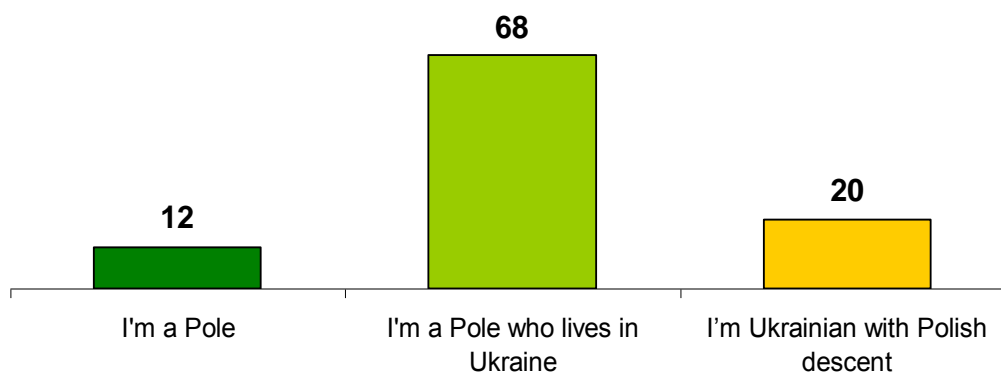
Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

The degree of the pride by their ethnicity is virtually independent of the level of education, and age. The only dependence is associated with the type of settlement of the respondents. Ukrainian Poles living in the village are more proud of their belonging to the Polish ethnic minority. 95% of the respondents from the village said they were "very proud" or "somewhat proud" of it, the people in the cities did it in 88% of cases. Also, on the basis of these findings, it can be noted that the settler differences that cause the identification of Ukrainian Poles with the Eastern Europe. 84% of respondents living in the village say that they were "very proud" or "somewhat proud" of their East-European origins, among urban residents there 77% of such choices.

To determine the ethnic Ukrainian Poles in the survey were asked to identify their own ethnic identity, based on the three options proposed: "Pole", "member of the Polish minority in Ukraine", "Ukrainian of Polish origin." Analyzing the results (Figure 4), we note that the vast majority (68%) of Ukrainian Poles consider themselves to be the group of "the Poles, who live in Ukraine (Member of the Polish minority in Ukraine)." One in five (20%) of respondents consider themselves Poles Ukrainian Ukrainian, Polish origin. I should add that this figure is increasing among young and middle-aged respondents (26% and 25% respectively) and decreased among respondents over 50 (11%). Finally, only about 12% of respondents consider themselves "pure" Poles. The share of "pure" Poles are higher among respondents of middle and advanced age (15% and 11% respectively) and lower among younger respondents (5%). This could be due to the assimilation process among the Ukrainian Poles: each successive generation has more ties with Ukraine and Poland with less. In addition, we can note an increase the proportion of people who consider themselves Ukrainians of Polish origin in connection with education. The share of Ukrainian Poles with secondary education who consider themselves Ukrainians from Polish origin 18%, among respondents with higher education of 18%. Accordingly, in connection with the level of education decreases the proportion of people who consider themselves "Poles who live in Ukraine" from 70% among respondents with secondary education to 62% among respondents with higher education.

Type of settlement of the respondent to some extent affects his identification. Respondents living in rural areas more identify themselves as Polish minority in Ukraine (73%) in contrast to the respondents living in urban areas (63%). Accordingly, the proportion of respondents who identify themselves with the Ukrainians with Polish roots with 26% is bigger in rural areas, while among the respondents from the cities such index is lower (14%). According to the identification of the respondents as Poles do not depend on education, age and type of settlement.

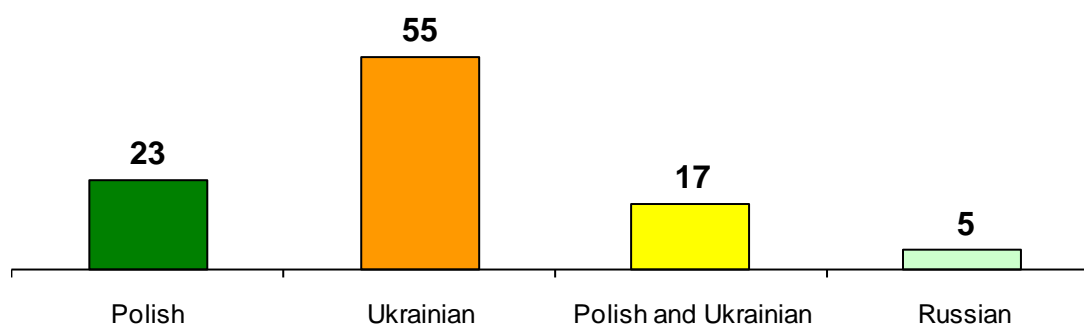
Figure 4. Respondents answer to the question: «Please choose the statement which best describes your ethnic status from the list», %



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

One of the most important factors in the identification of the Ukrainian Poles is the language of communication. According to the received data, about 55% of Poles often use Ukrainian language for communication at home (Figure 6). Only about a quarter (23%) of all respondents are talking mostly Polish at home. Another 17% of respondents use the Polish and Ukrainian languages in about equal measure, and 5% of the Ukrainian Poles are using mostly Russian at home. Polish as the language of the home communication is most common among young people (32%), and Ukrainian - among the respondents over 50 years (61%). Home language of communication of respondents depends on the type of settlement, in which they live. The share of Ukrainian Poles who communicate in Polish at home is above in the city, 33% and in rural areas the share of those is about 15%. The share of Ukrainian-language respondents is higher in rural areas and 66%.

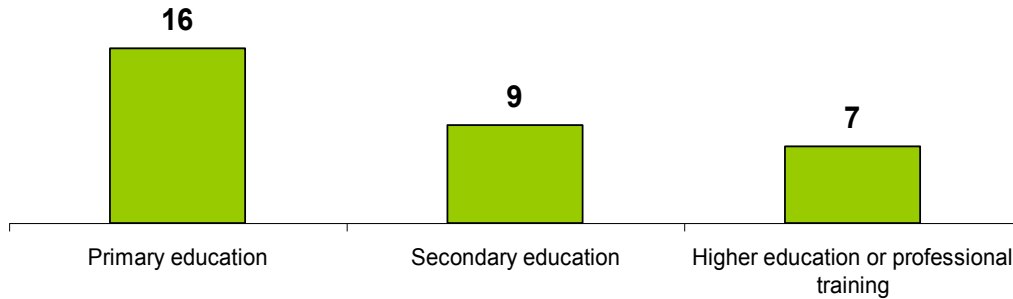
Figure 5. Respondents answer to the question: «What language or languages do you speak most often at home?», %



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

The prevalence of the Ukrainian language in the everyday practice of the Ukrainian Poles is largely explained by the following data. The study found that the percentage of the respondents who received at least primary education in their native language is quite low and is 16%. An even smaller share of the Ukrainian Poles received secondary education in Poland (9%), and only 7% of the respondents studied in faculties, universities and on the professional courses in the Polish language.

Figure 6. Respondents answer to the question: «Have you obtained education in Polish language?»,% («yes»-answers)

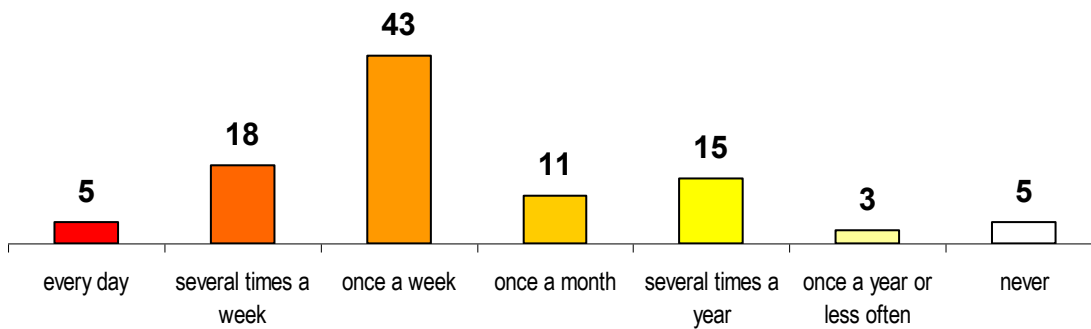


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Religion also has a great importance in the life of Poles living in Ukraine. And the homogeneous in their religion should be surely noted. Considering the data of the research, 91% of the respondents profess Catholicism, while 4% are Orthodox, 4% - atheists, and 1% - Protestants.

The high level of the religiosity of the Ukrainian Poles is detected by the relatively high frequency of their visits to the religious institutions, except funerals, christening and weddings. Thus, almost half of the respondents stated that they are attending the religious services weekly (43%), nearly a quarter (23%) of the respondents attend religious institutions every day or several times a week.

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



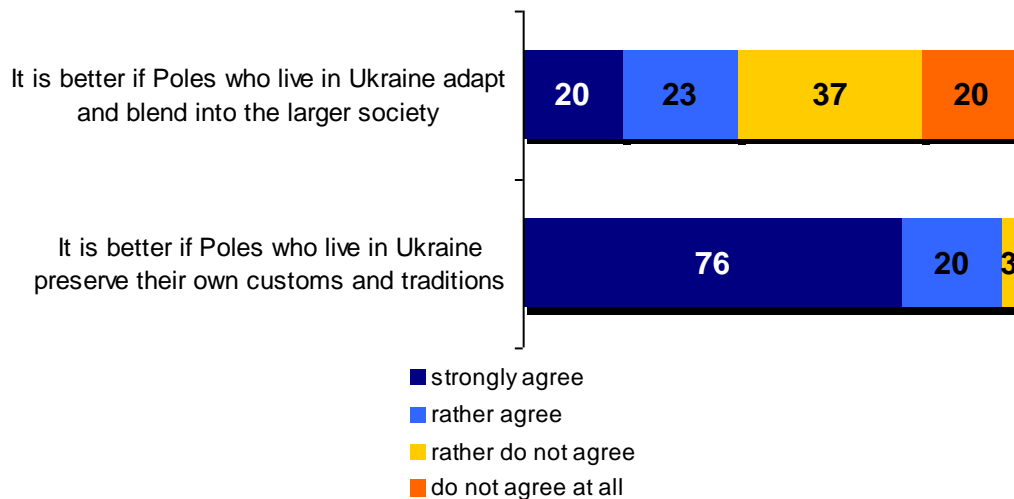
Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Analyzing the data on the degree of compatibility with the need and ability to integrate the ethnic minority into the residence country’s life, due to the estimates of the Ukrainian Poles, can be said that their opinions were halved, with a small margin in the direction of disagreement. Thus, 57% of respondents in general do not agree with the statement that the Poles living in Ukraine have to adapt to and blend with the Ukrainian majority and only 43% of the overall agree with the statement. The youngest respondents and the respondents of the older age (50%) mostly agree with this statement (selected "strongly agree" or "somewhat agree" response options), Ukrainian Poles aged 30-49 years, agree less that it would be better if the Poles, who live in Ukraine, adapt and blend with the whole society, their share was 38%.

At the same time, according to the poll the vast majority of the Ukrainian Poles (generally 96% of the respondents) believe that it would be better if the Polish minority in Ukraine keep up their

own customs and traditions. Thus, basing on the obtained data it can be said that the Poles living in Ukraine are ready to adapt and assimilate to a certain extent, but at the same time they want to maintain the cultural elements that are specific to their historic homeland.

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



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

The respondents were also asked to express how important for them the series of the statements characterizing their and their children's cultural and political life are as for the ethnic minority in Ukraine. From the figure 7 it can be seen that the most important for the Ukrainian Poles the chance to comply with the Polish customs and traditions (93%) and an opportunity for their children to get education in Polish (83%) are. Also the opportunity to have representatives of their nationality in the Ukrainian parliament (72%) and an opportunity to read newspapers and magazines in Polish language (69%) are important for the Poles living in Ukraine, somewhat less important features are an opportunity to speak Polish language in everyday life (66%) and an opportunity for their children to get education in Polish (65%), but these positions are nevertheless quite significant in the representations of the Ukrainian respondents.

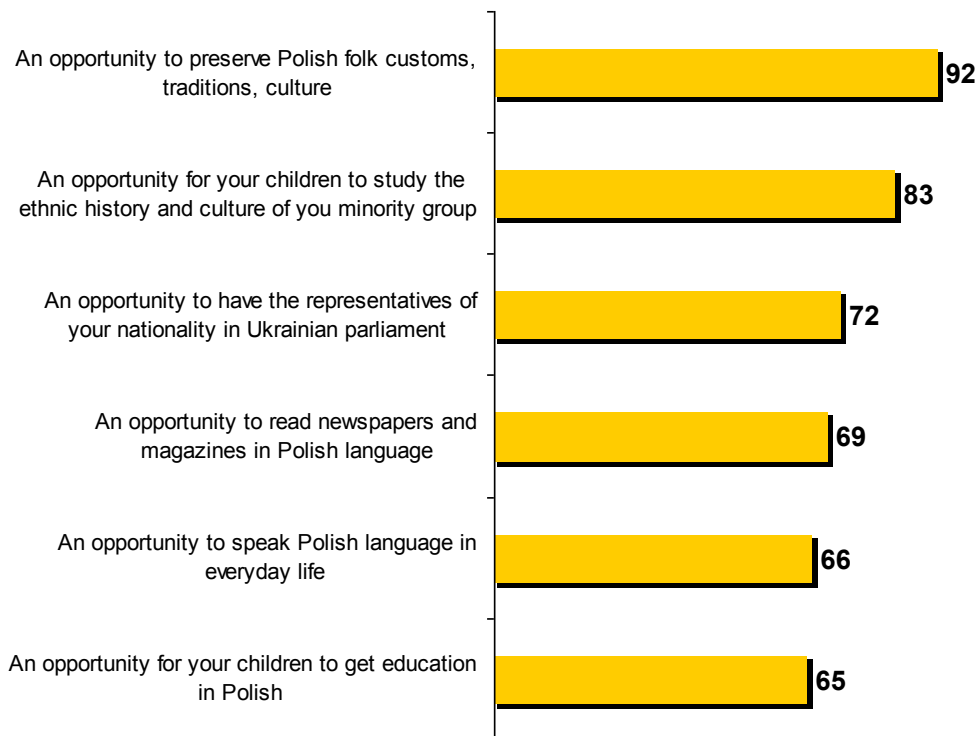
Analyzing the data the differences in the opinions of respondents who live in different types of settlements can be noted. So, for the urban residents the opportunity for their children's education in Polish is more significant (75% chose the options "very important" or "somewhat important"), among the respondents living in the rural areas there were 56% of such selections. Also more meaningful in the representations of urban residents the opportunities of reading the newspapers and magazines in Polish (75% chose the options "very important" or "somewhat important") and the ability to speak the Polish language in their daily live (70% chose the options "very important" or "most important"), for rural residents the above features are less important (62% and 60% respectively).

Basing on the data a certain dependence of the degree of importance of the studied elements of self-presentation of the Polish minority in Ukraine on the age of the respondents can be noted. Thus, to speak the Polish language in the everyday life has the greatest importance for the youngest Ukrainian Poles (ages 18-29), for 73% of them (options selected: "very important" or "somewhat important") and decreases with the age. In the age group of 30-49 years the ones who selected the items "very important" or "somewhat important" are already 66% and among the res-

pondents aged over 50 years there are 64% of such selections. The significance of the opportunity to have the representatives of the Polish ethnic minority in the Parliament of Ukraine, on the contrary increases with the age. It is the highest among the older age groups (78% chose "very important" or "somewhat important") and falls in the middle and younger age groups, 67% and 65% respectively.

There is no significant difference in the answers to this question according to the level of education.

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



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

The largest number of Ukrainian Poles has a chance to read newspapers and magazines in Polish (56%), approximately the same proportion of respondents mentioned the ability to watch television programs on the Ukrainian TV channels in Polish and educate their children in Polish (46% and 44% respectively). To listen to the radio stations in Polish (36%) is less possible for the Ukrainian Poles in their views. The access to the media channels in the language of their own ethnic group, as well as the access to the education in Polish is connected to some extent with the type of locality, represented by the Ukrainian Poles' respondents, as well as connected with the age and educational level of the concrete respondent.

For example, respondents living in the urban areas to a larger extent say about their ability to give their children education in Polish (63%) than the respondents living in rural areas (25%). In addition, rural Ukrainian contingent of Poles increasingly has the access to television programs (50%) in comparison with the urban (40%) ones.

The ability to give a child an education in Polish is more frequently reported by the respondents with the higher education (61%) than by the respondents with a secondary (36%). Ukrainian

Poles with the higher education are also more likely to mention their ability to read newspapers (66%) and listen to the radio broadcasts in Polish (45%) than respondents with secondary education (51% and 33% respectively).

We should also note the dependence of respondents' answers to the issue of their age. Thus, the opportunity to receive education in Polish for their children is more optimistically rated by the young (18-29 years) Ukrainian Poles (65%). With the age increasing, the percentage of respondents who recognizes an opportunity to educate his or her children in Polish language is reduced to 50% among the respondents aged 30-49 years and 32% among the respondents over 50 years. Also with the age increasing, the respondents least say about their ability to read newspapers and magazines in Polish. 62% of the Ukrainian Poles aged 18 to 29 years and as many middle-aged respondents (30-49 years) declared that they have such an opportunity, among the respondents over 50 years their are only 50% of such. Frequency of statements of the respondents of their opportunities to watch TV programs in Polish increases with the age (from 36% among the younger age group to 49% in older age groups).

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



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

2.2 Family, households and related ethnic aspects

Answering the question: *"Including yourself, how many people – including children – live here regularly as members of this household?"* the most common responses were 2, 3 and 4 people – these variants were chosen by approximately 20% of respondents. 16% of respondents live alone. The remaining respondents live in the households with a total number of members from 5 to 9.

According to the survey data, the quantitative composition of the households located in the city or in the countryside differs a bit. For example, in rural versus urban areas there is a large proportion of households comprising 1 or 2 people. In the city 13% of respondents live alone while in rural areas - 20% of the respondents. Households consisting of two people among the urban populations are observed in 13% of cases, while among the rural population there are 30% of them.

Households with 3 or 4 people are more prevalent in the urban than in the rural areas. Thus, there are of the interviewed representatives of the urban population 27% living trios and 14% of such

in the rural areas. Households consisting of four people have been reported in 23% of cases relating to the urban population and in the 17% of the observations relating to the rural population.

From our point of view, this situation can be explained by the fact that in rural areas mainly elderly people live, at the same time their family development is at a stage called "empty nest", i.e. characterized by the separation of parents/parent and children. The age structure of the urban population is characterized by the lower average age, compared with the rural population. In our opinion, a somewhat larger number of households with 3 or 4 people in urban areas in comparison with the situation in rural areas is due to the fact that in these families children live with their parents that is the family is at the so-called "full-nest" stage.

From a research perspective it is very interesting to see the ethnic composition of the households in which the Poles-respondents live. Thus, the majority of those who were surveyed the family members who live with them are the Poles by the ethnicity too (Table 1), but almost all of them have the Ukrainian citizenship (98% of the spouses, 99% of children and 100% of the parents of the respondents).

Table 3. Respondents' answers to the question: «What ethnicity/nationality does the person living with you have?», %

	Husband/wife/ partner	Son/daughter (inc. step, adopted, foster, child of partner)	Parent, parent-in-law, partner's parent, step parent
Pole / a member of the Polish ethnic minority group in Ukraine	60	67	81
Ukrainian	40	30	17

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

2.3 Xenophobia, conflicts, discrimination

The residence of the ethnic minority in the territory of any state makes particularly relevant the consideration of the inter-ethnic tolerance. In our case, the "social distance" which exists between the Poles and the titular nation, as well as the two largest ethnic minorities in Ukraine (Russians and Belarusians) is of interest, because it allows us in some approximation to judge the extent to which representatives of the Polish ethnic minority ready to integrate into the Ukrainian society, or conversely consolidate as a group. To measure this indicator, we used a scale similar in the sense to the Bogardus scale of social distance, developed in 1925 by the American social psychologist and regularly used in ethnic studies since that time. Despite the fact we used the scale different in its form from that Bogardus proposed, it's pretty accurate to evaluate the degree of tolerance of Poles 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 we can conclude that the social distance "from the Poles to the representatives of other nations" is very short, i.e. the Polish minority in Ukraine is characterized by the openness towards the people of other nationalities. In this case, the indicative data concerns the evidence that Poles equally agreed to see as the Poles so do the Ukrainians (99% and 97% respectively) as a member of their family. Thus, for the Poles the Ukrainians are socially closest among the representatives of the considered Slavic nationalities, then with increasing of social distance Russians and Belarusians follow, and the degree of tolerance to the Russians and Belarusians practically does not differ.

Table 4. 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), %

	Pole	Ukrainian	Russian	Belarusian
... family member	99	97	85	86
... friend	99	99	95	94
... neighbor on your street	99	99	96	95
... working colleague	99	99	96	95
... one living in the same settlement	99	99	96	96

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

According to the interviewed representatives of the Polish minority, there are tensions between some social groups in Ukraine. So, in general, 86% of Poles said about the fact of the tensions between rich and poor, 67% identified the tensions of varying intensity between elderly and young people, 49% said that there is tension between different religious groups, 43% indicated the presence of tensions between Russians living in Ukraine and representatives of the titular nation. In general, one-third of the surveyed Poles (34%) said that there is tension between the Polish and Ukrainian ethnic minorities in Ukraine.

Opinion on the presence/absence of the social tensions differs a bit among the respondents belonging to different socio-demographic groups. For example, 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 exist. Interviewees with higher education compared to those with secondary are more likely to mention that in all proposed cases the social tensions exist. Among the residents of urban areas compared to the countryside, a few more percentage of those who believes that the tension between these social groups exists is.

Table 5. 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	16	46	38
Old people and young people	33	54	13
Poles living in Ukraine and Ukrainians	66	30	4
Russians living in Ukraine and Ukrainians	57	35	8
Different religious groups	51	38	11

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

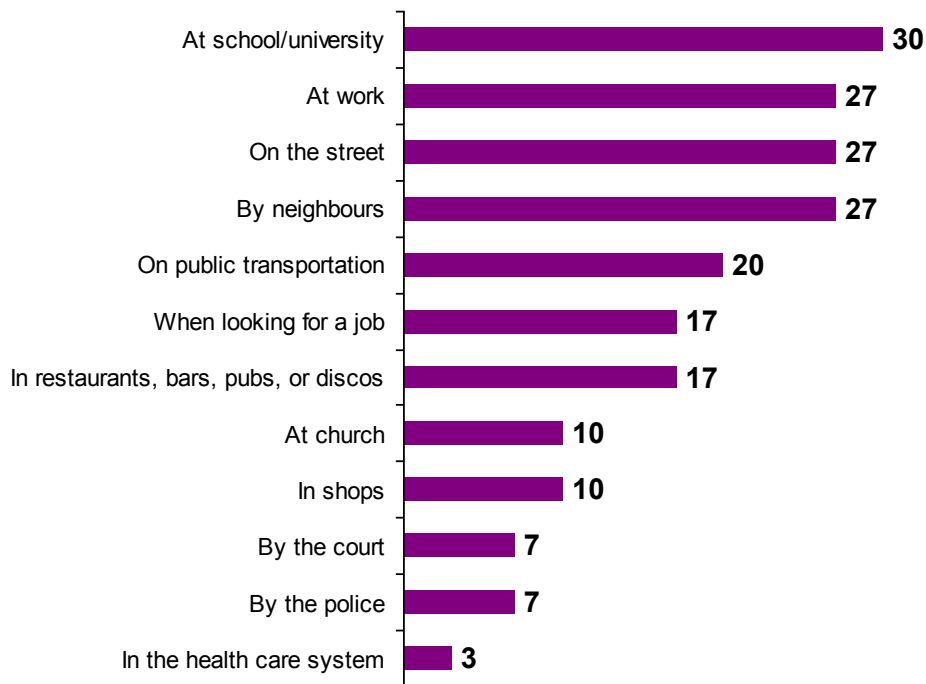
A key characteristic of any society is the presence / absence of discrimination of its members on any grounds. In our case, 8% of respondents said that over the last year they personally felt discriminated or prejudicial attitude to themselves on the basis of ethnic origin, 3% of respondents said that they had felt such an attitude because of their age or religion. Sex discrimination was felt by 1% of the interviewed representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine.

An analysis of the data revealed some differences in the response to the question of discrimination among the respondents belonging to different socio-demographic groups. For example, young people compared to the people of middle and elder age more frequently noted that they faced the discrimination on ethnic/national and religious grounds. Perhaps this fact is explained by the fact that young people are increasingly incorporated into the public life, and therefore more likely to face the facts of discrimination against themselves. Among urban residents com-

pared to the residents of rural areas, a few more percentage of those who was discriminated last year according to the relevant socio-demographic characteristics was indicated.

Thus, among the studied features which can be the basis of discrimination the most common was the ethnic/national origin. The places (sides) where the largest proportion of respondents were discriminated on these grounds were: school/university (30%), work (27%), street (27%), and the neighbors (also 27%).

Figure 11. 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), %



An array of all surveyed Poles living in Ukraine, which in the past 12 months were discriminated because of their ethnic origin (n = 30)

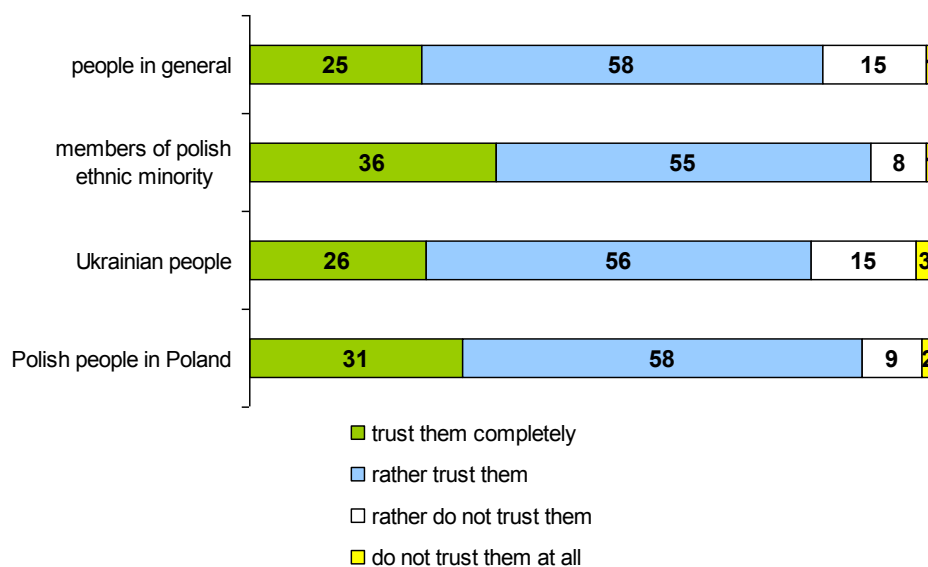
2.4 Social and political capital, participation, attitudes toward EU

In the community of Ukrainian Polish 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) 83% of Poles rely on people in general, while trust to the members of their ethnic group (members of the Polish minority in Ukraine) is on the level of 90% among the respondents. This difference of the significant 7% remains also in the comparison of answers to the questions of trust to Ukrainians in Ukraine and Polish people in Poland: 82% of respondents are ready to rely on Ukrainians and 89% on the Poles. As for the level of distrust, the Ukrainian Poles do not trust people in general and the Ukrainian people nearly in the same way (16% and 18%) and slightly less nonconfidence they evince to the Poles - Poles in Ukraine (9%) and Poles in Poland (10%).

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 any significant relationships were not found. Nevertheless, without taking into account the correlation coefficients qualitative analysis of crosstables shows that the degree of confidence, categoricity of judgments among the described socio-demographic groups differs. Thus, increasing level of education, lower age and

urban type of settlement corresponds to the fall of the categoricity in judgments of in people's trust. Nevertheless, the overall level of trust and distrust in the sample did not differ significantly.

Figure 12. Respondents' answers to the question: «How much do you trust...?», %

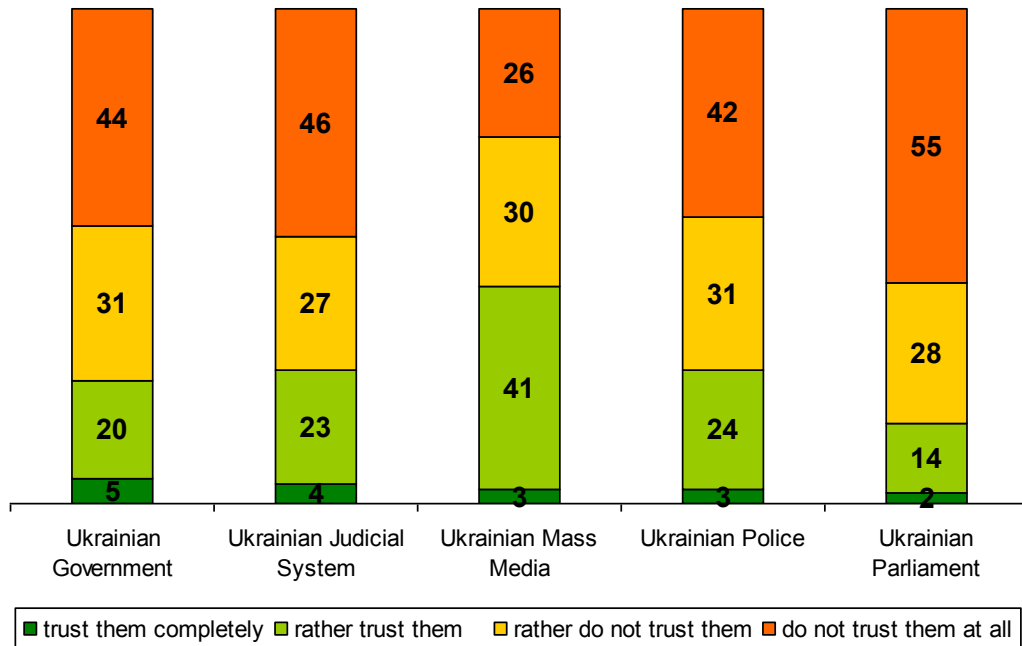


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Ukrainian Poles 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. Poles show low level of confidence (16%-26%) 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 Poles is higher (72%-83%) than among the Ukrainians (54%-70%). Against this background media are favorably allocated: they've been trusted by 42% of Poles.

Level of trust to social institutions differs only in the older age group (after 50). Groups of up to 30 years and 30 to 50 have less trust to any social institutions, unlike the older generation. At the same time, some increase in confidence may be traced in the distribution on the basis of settlement - rural people are also more inclined to trust the social institutions than urban residents. The remaining differences in the distributions of socio-demographic indicators pairing with trust to the social institutions consist only in the degree of trust or mistrust, but they do not have any significant differences in the choices of pole of relation to the institutions.

Figure 13. Respondents' answers to the question: «How much do you trust...?», %

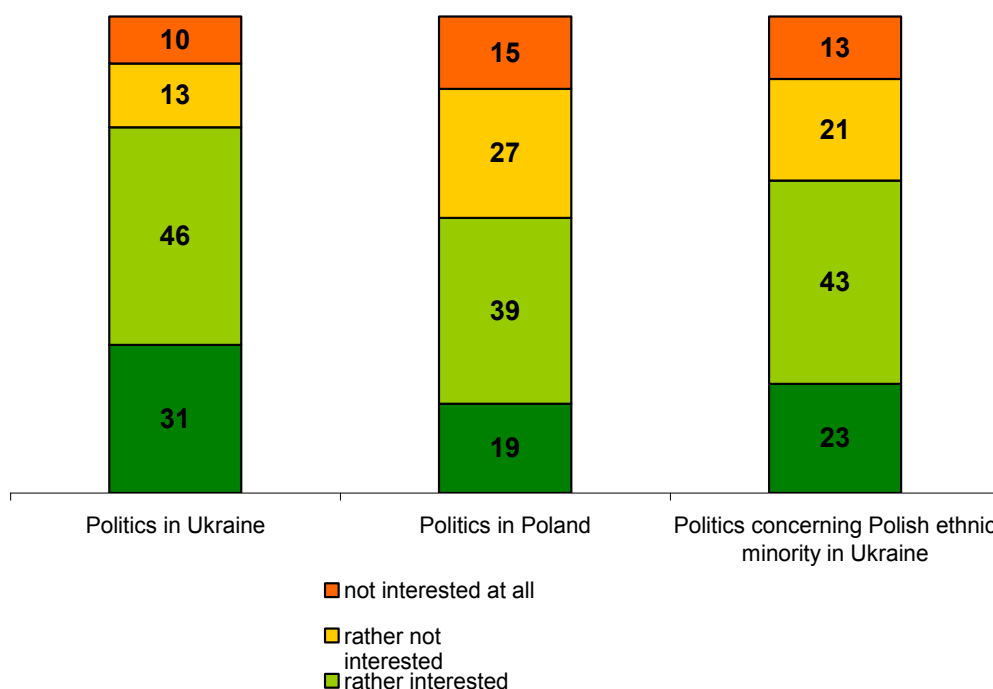


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Most of Ukrainian Poles are interested in politics. An interest to politics in Ukraine is shown by three-quarters (76%) of the surveyed Poles. An interest to the Polish politics among the Ukrainian Poles is slightly lower, it is shown by a little more than half of respondents (57%). Policy of Ukraine concerning the Poles living on its territory becomes the object of interest almost the two thirds (64%) of the surveyed Poles. 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.

While all socio-demographic groups are interested in politics the Ukrainian Poles in urban areas say that they are more likely “very interested” in politics, unlike the more popular position of "rather interested" in the rural areas in the distribution by type of settlement. At the same time, there is some difference in the responses and in the distribution by level of education. With the increasing of the level of education people are significantly more interested in Ukrainian politics in general and Ukrainian policy concerning the Polish ethnic minority in particular. At the same time, interest in politics in Poland is manifested by all socio-demographic groups equally.

Figure 14. Respondents' answers to the question: «How interested would you say you are in politics?», %



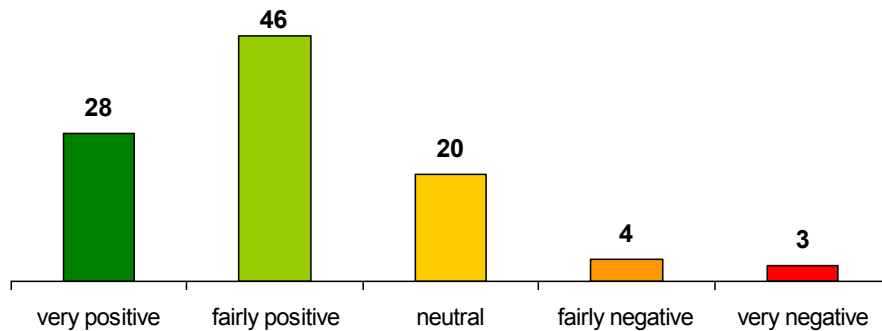
Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Ukrainian Poles actively participate in the political life of Ukrainian society. The vast majority of the surveyed Ukrainian Poles has the right to vote. The survey indicated that only 4% of Poles have a lack of the right to vote. 85% of Poles participated in the last parliamentary elections in Ukraine (early parliamentary elections in March, 2007). Another 10% said they did not take part in the elections, although they have the right to vote. Among the Ukrainian Poles who took part in the Parliamentary elections the most popular was "Our Ukraine - People's Self-Defense" bloc (33% of collected votes). 15% of the votes were collected by the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc, and 8% - chose the Party of Regions.

The Ukrainian Poles generally have a positive attitude towards the European Union. So, more than a half (73%) of Ukrainian Poles formed a positive image of the EU. Negative image of the EU is present in the minds of only 6% of Poles. The remaining respondents either have chosen the position of "neutral image" (20%). Must be mentioned that nearly fifth of Ukrainian Poles (20% 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 (76%), but the difference of the rates among people with secondary education is very slight (7% difference). Otherwise, the respondents' answers depending on their socio-demographic situation differ only on statistically insignificant levels.

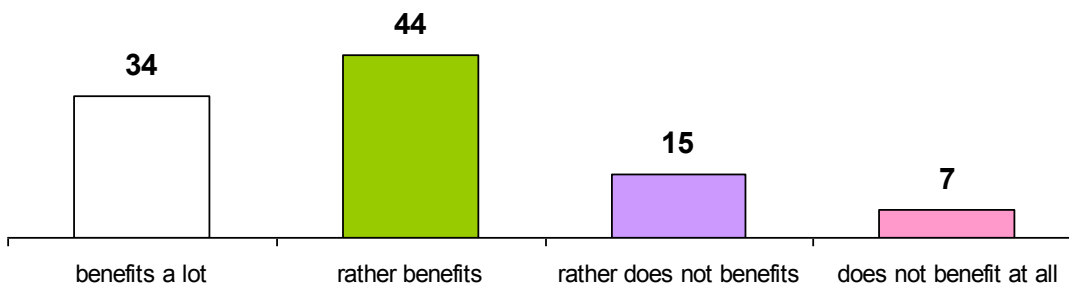
Figure 15. Respondents' answers to the question: «In general, do you have a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image of the European Union?», %



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

We can also see the positive attitude of Ukrainian Poles to the EU in their positive assessments of the possible consequences for Ukraine's accession to the European Union. So, again, more than half (78%) of Poles believe that Ukraine will benefit from EU membership, and only 22% of respondents believe that Ukraine would not.

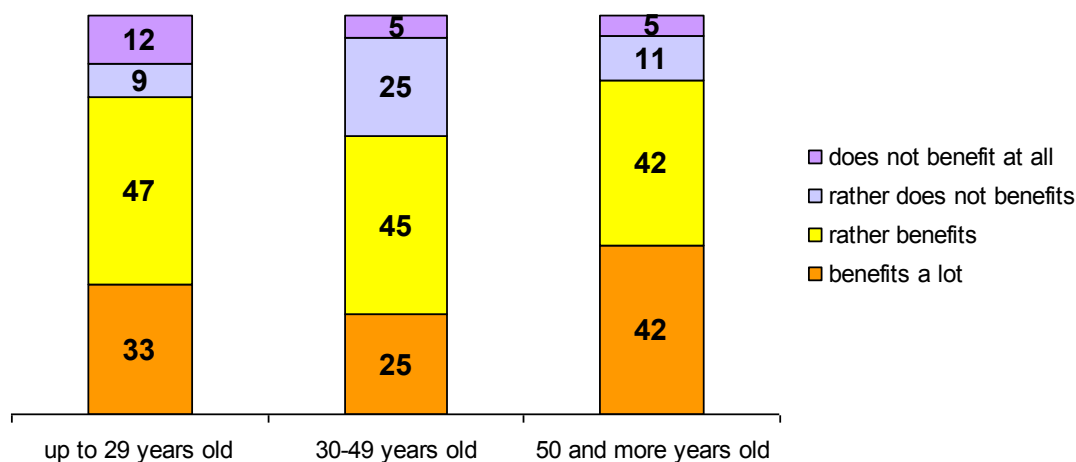
Figure 16. Respondents' answers to the question: «Generally speaking, would you say that Ukraine would or would not benefit from being a member of the European Union?», %



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

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.

Figure 17. Respondents' answers to the question: «Would you say that Ukraine would or would not benefit from being a member of the European Union?», %



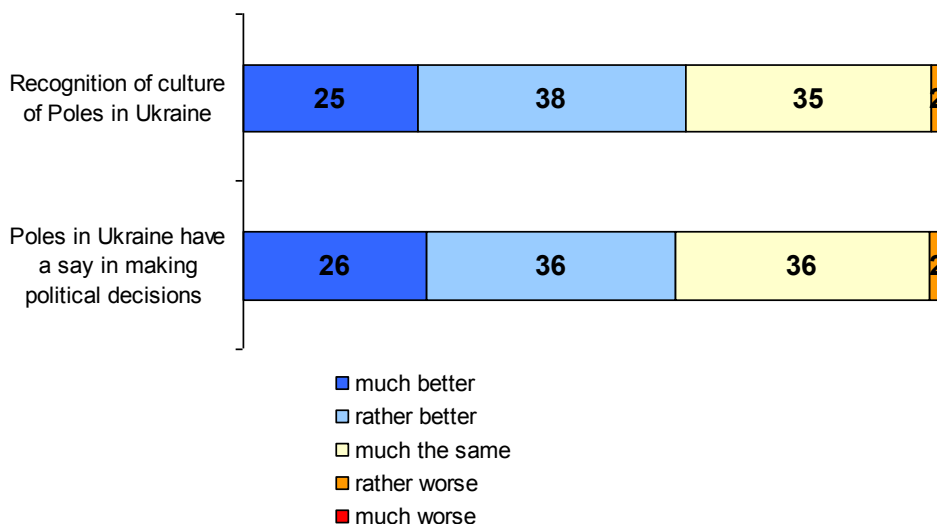
Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Pro-European sentiments are more typical for young people, respondents aged 18-30. Thus, a share of those who have formed a positive image of the EU is 66% among them (compared with 59% and 55% among middle-aged and older respondents), and those who believe that Ukraine will benefit from EU membership is 63% (compared to 52% and 49% among middle-aged and older respondents).

With the entry of Ukraine into the European Union Ukrainian Poles expect positive changes not only for Ukraine but for themselves also. Thus, according to the study, 61% of Poles expect that after Ukraine's EU accession the situation in terms of participation of Polish ethnic minority in the political decision-making will improve. Approximately the same number (63%) of Ukrainian Poles expect the situation of cultural recognition of the Polish ethnic minority to improve.

The best expectations about the possible entry into the European Union are to a greater extent observed in the senior age group. Also there is a bright tendency of increase of the percentage of choosing the position of "much better" according to the age of respondent: in group of Poles before 29 years there is 13-15% of such choices, in the middle age group there is 20%, while in the senior age group (after 50 years) there is 33-35% of such answers.

Figure 18. Respondents' answers to the question: «Compared to our situation after a 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...?», %

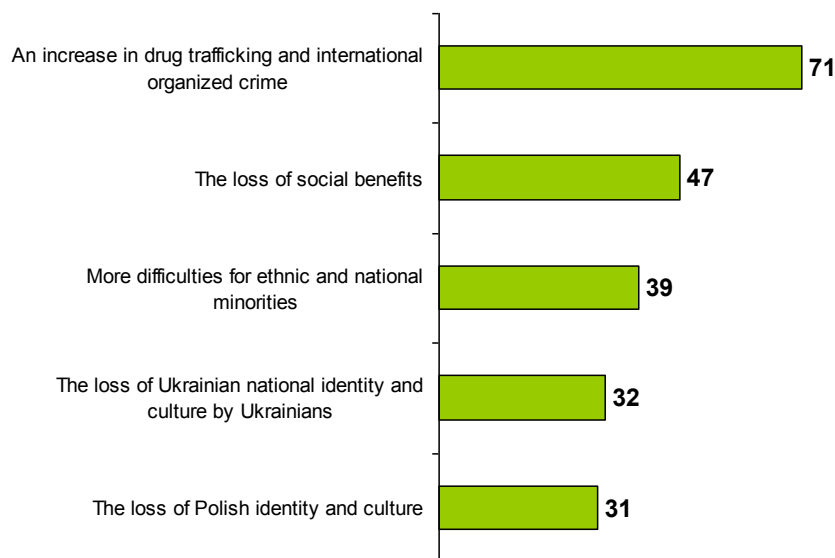


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

If we talk about the fears associated with the future of Europe, there is a pronounced fear of the Poles about the increase of drug trafficking and international organized crime. 70% of 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 Poles to a greater extent (69%, 67% and 61% respectively) do not fear about the loss by Ukrainian Poles of their cultural identity, of loss of Ukrainians of their own identity and of big challenges for 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 imaginary entry of Ukraine to the European Union - 47% of respondents called this fear urgent, 53% - did not.

The fact that about half of the respondents of the Poles under the age of 29 years have a fear not only about the losing of their Polish identity, but also have a fear about the loss of Ukrainian identity by Ukrainians living in Ukraine after joining the EU seems to be interesting. Such fears in such a percentage rate are not typical for any other socio-demographic group among the studied one.

Figure 19. Respondents' answers to the question: «Some people may have fears about the future of Europe. I'm going to read out a list of things which some people say they are afraid of. For each one, please tell me if you - personally are currently afraid of it?», % (number of respondents in % who are afraid)

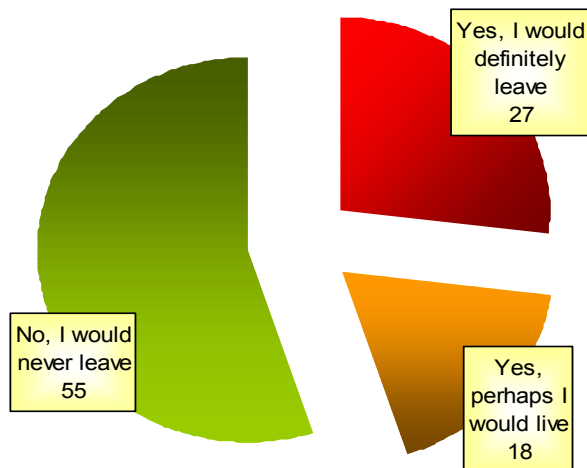


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

If we talk 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. 53% of Poles declared that they do not want to leave Ukraine, 28% of the total number of respondents answered that they choose Poland as the country of their possible emigration, some Poles chose between Western European countries (6,9%), north-eastern Europe (3,7 %) and North-American continent (2.3%). The remaining Poles respondents either failed to answer the question, or could not articulate clearly their position - such group was up to 18% among the respondents.

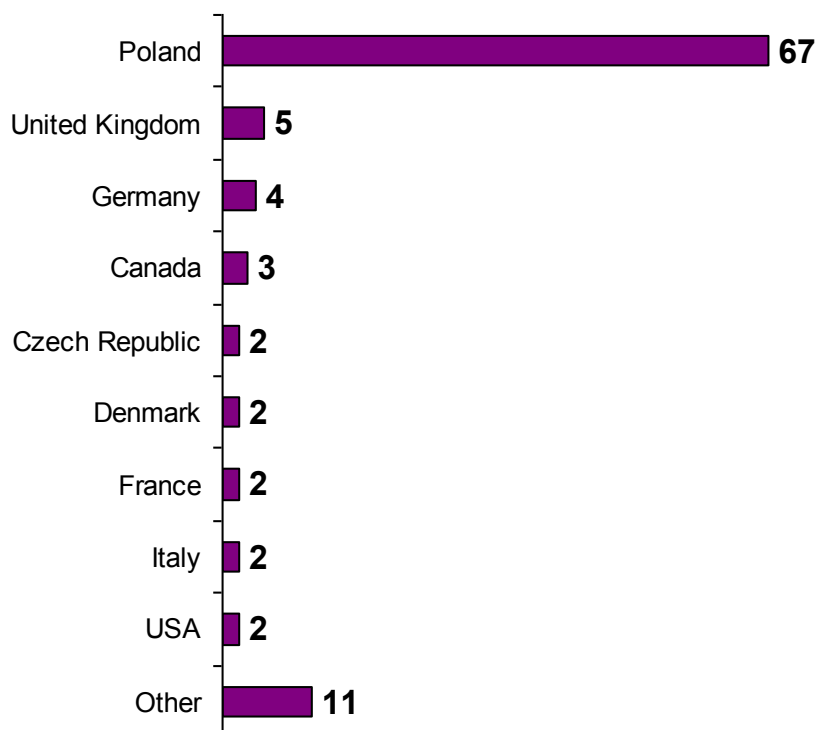
At the same time in the urban environment there is a 59% group of respondents who agree to leave Ukraine, while in rural areas such sentiments are typical only for 30% of respondents. Also the result, according to which 61% of respondents with have secondary education have expressed reluctance to change their place of residence even having such a possibility, seems to be important. The distribution of responses by age were also quite revealing: 76% of Poles under the age of 29 years announced their readiness to leave the country, while the middle age group have already showed 65% of readiness and the senior group showed only 27% of it.

Figure 20. 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 Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Figure 21. Respondents' answers to the question: «If yes, then where would you go?», %

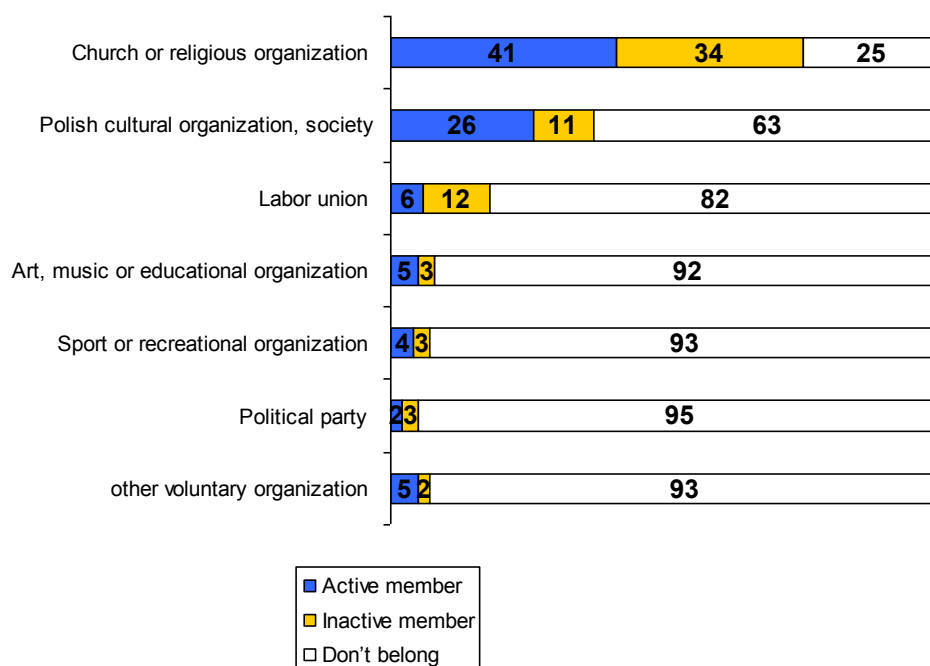


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 180) who would leave

An important indicator of research of the Polish national minority in Ukraine is the involvement of minority representatives into various voluntary organizations. Among the Poles the participation in collective activities is very poorly represented – almost in all surveyed question more than

80% of respondents noted the position of non-participation. So that 92% of Poles do not take part in sports, educational, music and art organizations. 95% and 93% of Poles do not take part in the activity of the political parties and other voluntary organizations. Another 63% of respondents did not participate in the activities of organizations of the Polish national minority (but 25% of respondents indicated their inactive participation in communities of this kind). The most popular organization, the percentage of active membership among the surveyed Poles turned out to be just above the maximum (12%) in all other cases, but drawn up 33%, was the church - only 25% of Poles declared their non-participation in church organizations and 41% of respondents said about their inactive involvement into the activity of the church organizations.

Figure 22. Respondents' answers to the question: «For each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member or not a member of voluntary organizations?», %



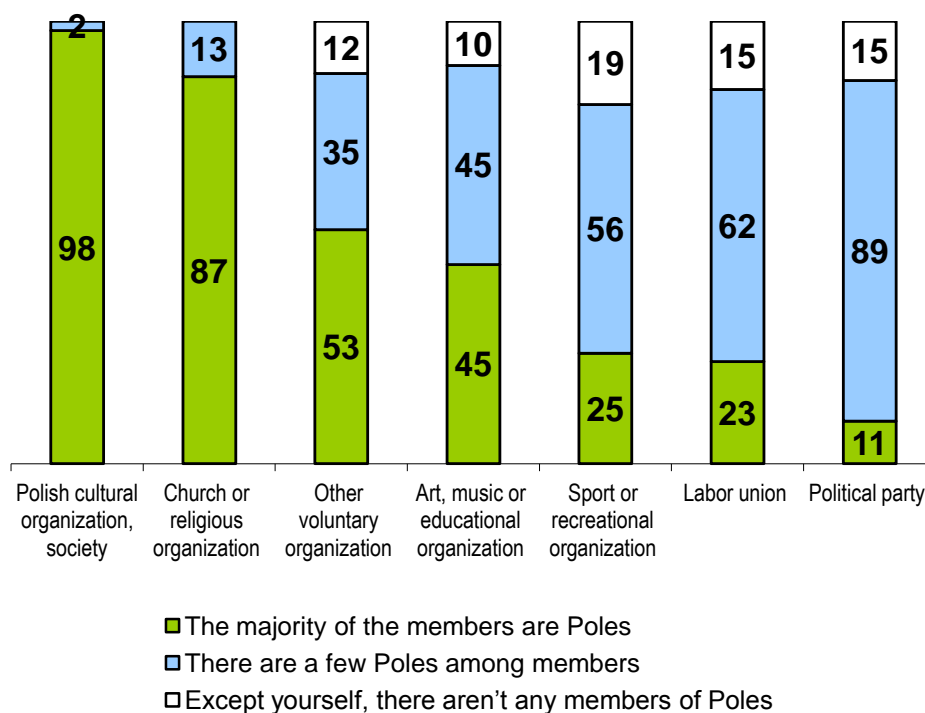
Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009)

Nevertheless, the important thing is a fixed assimilation of Poles in the organizations. Organization, which Poles join, according to the respondents' answers are composed of Poles in their majority only in case of religious organizations and (more than obvious) in organizations of the Polish minority. In other cases, only in the organizations from the "other" category Poles are the majority of members (52% of cases). 45% of respondents who indicated their membership in educational and art organizations said about the predominance of ethnic Poles in these organizations. In all other organizations in which respondents indicated their membership the Poles are few there (sports and recreational organizations (56%), labor organizations (61%), political parties (88%)). In sports and recreational organizations, labor organizations and political parties in the 18%, 15% and 15% accordingly no Poles except the respondent who took an active or inactive participation in the organization.

With such a high level of non-participation the only indicative bivariate distribution was by the type of settlement among the members of church organizations, where the level of non-

participation was significantly higher among Poles living in the city (31%) than among Poles living in rural areas (19%).

Figure 23. Respondents' answers to the question: «What is the ethnicity of the members of the organizations?» (if the respondents is a member of any organization), %

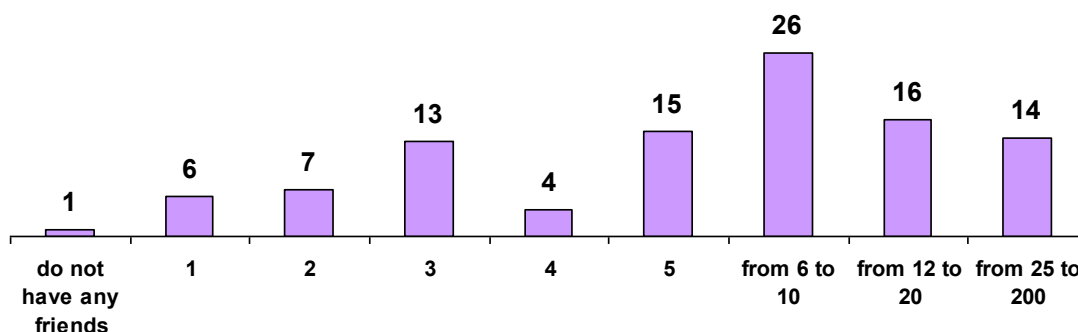


Data array: all interviewed Poles in Ukraine (n = 400) in the Enri-East survey (2009) who are members of any organization

The data on the circle of friendship among the respondents of Polish 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 Polish minority in Ukraine. Firstly, it should be noted that the majority of respondents (55%) said about the number of friends of more than five (from 5 to 200), another 14% named the number five, replying to a question about the number of friends. 29% of respondents chose from one to four friends.

It is important to note that the number of friends, which the respondent indicated did not depend on socio-demographic characteristics, that is, no matter where Poles lived, or what age and education did they have - an average number of friends which people named was alike in all groups.

Figure 24. Respondents' answers to the question: «Approximately how many friends do you have?», %



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

Secondly, 45% of respondents said that their friends belong to different ethnic groups, and almost in equal proportions (28% and 23% respectively) interviewed Poles declared that the most of their friends are Ukrainians or Polish Ukrainians. Only a small number of respondents stated that their friends mostly are Poles in Poland or people of some other particular nationality (1,5% in both cases).

Friendship mainly with representatives of the Polish minority was more frequently noted (40%) in rural areas, among people aged after 50 (39% versus average 18% in two other age categories), and among people of lower levels of education (35% VS 12% among the respondents with higher education).

Figure 25. Respondents' answers to the question: «Which statement describes your friends the most?», %



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

2.5 Main survey results: Poles in Ukraine

- Poles are rather reserved in expressing of their ethnic identity;
- Catholicism is a significant part of the culture of Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine and an important mechanism of preservation and transmission of the Polish ethnic identity;
- The Poles are a more open social group, they frequently recognize their attachment not only to the local community, but also to Ukraine, Poland and Europe;
- The Poles are more trustful to the representatives of all nationalities and people in general;
- Social distance "from the Poles to representatives of other nationalities" is rather short. The Poles are more open towards representatives of all other nationalities;
- Poles have mixed with the Ukrainians during many centuries of common history, young representatives of Polish ethnic minority frequently identify themselves as Ukrainians with Polish origin;
- Poles are rather well integrated into the Ukrainian society, feel themselves like its natural part.

3 MAIN FINDINGS OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS (ENRI-BIO)

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova/Nataliya Malikova

3.1 European identity

According to official policy, European integration is a key strategy of the Ukrainian state development. This trend is visible in the policy of Ukraine in various spheres, including economy, education, political statements of the leaders of the state. On the one hand, the geographical center of Europe is located in Ukraine; on the other hand, on number of indicators of its social and economic development Ukraine is far from the countries of European union which is frequently associated with Europe. In this regard, both in academic, political and business community and among the masses, debates on following topics whether Ukrainians are Europeans or not; what it means to be European; whether Ukraine should join the European Union or not; whether Ukraine is ready for this, and whether it would be better for its citizens in such supranational union. Particularly interesting is to study these issues in the submissions of Ukrainian citizens, who are members of national minorities, whose mother nations have already joined the European Union.

According to the data obtained from biographical interviews with representatives of Polish ethnic minority in Ukraine, respondents were rather unanimous in defining who is European and who is not. First of all it can be said that for representatives of Polish minority in Ukraine is typical definition of a European as a person who lives in Europe. And the definitions of Europe itself are different from solely the borders of the European Union to all areas of geographical Europe till the Urals. Those respondents who identify Europe with the EU first consider Ukraine being a non-European country. Those who identify Europe as a geographical continent consider Ukraine its part.

Galyna, female, 43, higher education, living in village, Western Ukraine: «Ukraine is in Europe, we live in Europe that means that we are Europeans. That is all. I was not thinking about it so much».

As the second basic indicator to measure Europeaness Ukrainian Poles offered special cultural and spiritual values and norms, particular mentality, being success, honest, tolerant and punctual, being a free person also.

Bogdan, male, 23, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «To be European always associates for me with the successful person. Person, who goes to work, has time to do everything, which is successful in business, in family, person who has really high cultural and spiritual values. Maybe even cultural and spiritual values I would put on the first place».

Although a few exceptions generally it is difficult for Ukrainian Poles who participated in the study to call themselves Europeans. The main reasons for this situation for the respondents are the lack of material resources and the impossibility of the free movement within Europe, which in this case is identified with the European Union.

Maria, female, 26, higher education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «Maybe I have some part in me but I don't consider myself as a European because I cannot move freely around European Union, European countries».

The same kind of statements we have received and from the more aged respondent.

Hanna, female, 74, specialized secondary education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «In Europe pensioner gets pension, he can allow himself to go there, to go to travel and I get this pension and save and save because something is always needed: repair or something else is necessary,

something is needed, or sand or clay. What kind of European am I? They live more for themselves. No, we are not Europeans. We were and are slaves».

It should be noted that in the last quotation, except those already listed reasons, added another, in our view, very interesting one - the Soviet mentality, education, experience, etc. not allow our respondents to fully feel themselves Europeans. In confirmation, we can add another quotation from the interview with another respondent's age older than 65.

Maria, female, 72, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «We have, do you understand, that Stalin thing inside. I speak about myself, not for present young people, even not for quadragenarians. That we had - collect water in your mouth and be quiet, you saw nothing and heard nothing. Here. And be quiet, deaf, - you will have less sin. It was so. And I think that Europe is more democratic, more .. we are far from their political life and their public life. We are very far from Europe».

The European Union and Europe in the interviews with representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine are presented in a very positive view, respondents with warmth and respect treat to them.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «Europe means civilization, economic forces and euro. Europe gave many things to the world like constitution, democracy, political science – everything».

Especially Ukrainian Poles have a positive view of mutual help and collaboration between countries-members of European Union. The respondents stressed the need and feasibility of such actions, it was listed as an advantage of this unification.

Maria, female, 26, higher education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «European Union helps, for example... this is such joint of the countries that help if there are some catastrophes, they help each other».

In addition, respondents see a number of positive changes that have occurred in Poland after its entry into the European Union, similar changes are expected by the respondents in the case of Ukraine's entry to the EU.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «The roads would become better. That's true that in Poland a lot of money is invested in the modernization of the roads, especially in Warsaw. Perhaps we would appreciate different values. We wouldn't tell lies. I think that would be like this».

According to the obtained data, Poles living in Ukrainian think that Ukraine has very low chances to join to the European Union in the near future. According to their opinion, our country must go through a long process of reforms and changes in the first place in the sphere of economy.

Mykhaylo, male, 71, secondary education, living in district center, Western Ukraine: «There are many goods in our shops. And whose goods are that? And where are our goods? We have to bring order in our country. We will flourish and Europe will offer its friendship. And why should it offer its friendship now?»

However, interesting is the fact that the respondents emphasize the need for change in the people minds living in the Ukrainian state. According to respondents, the Ukrainian population (here they include themselves) also is not ready for accession of Ukraine to the European Union. They note too large differences in mentality between our country and the countries that are members of the European Union.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «We have another way of management, other values and we don't use certain expressions. The Ukrainian life runs in

a different way. I can say that I will do the task starting from Monday, by the end of the week or something like that. It won't do such things in Poland».

Respondents mentioned the fact that for this idea of joining should come into the public minds, population should want this change.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «Well, first of all people must want these changes».

A generation of more mature age notes that Ukraine will be in the European Union only when the generation that lived in the USSR will leave.

Mykhaylo, male, 71, secondary education, living in district center, Western Ukraine: «The Soviet Union won't be forgotten until everyone like us dies».

Thus, in general, we have evidence that the Poles in Ukraine, set up to identify themselves as Europeans, but they have to say a number of reasons, which make this quite complicate. A typical formula of European identity in Ukraine is the following: though the geographical center of Europe is located in Ukraine, according to the living conditions and people culture in Ukraine it is difficult to feel yourself European.

3.2 National identity - relationship to the country of residence

For each national group, settled in the territory of another nation-state, a set of its possible scenarios of identity is located in the spectrum of options from complete assimilation to the total preserving their own norms, values and traditions by the community. Poles in Ukraine often tend to the middle position on such a scale, that means neither a complete loss of ethnic identity, nor an absolute abstraction from the influence of the local population. Poles in Ukraine are rather "Ukrainian Poles", that is not a discrete or temporal phenomenon, it is integral "just forever".

A series of biographical interviews showed that people with Polish roots at least got used to live in Ukraine, and consider this country to be their homeland. Respondents feel the land on which they grew up, the Ukrainian land to be their motherland, a place where they would like to grow old:

Hanna, female, 74, specialized secondary education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «Presumably, I was born here, I have already remained here and it is almost impossible to leave somewhere in my age, I should live here... And when someone will say to me now that we will bring you and make comfortable there in Poland, and there you will live better and have everything, then I presumably will not agree. Maybe, if were twenty years ago, then I would have agreed. And now – no».

Vitaliy, male, 43, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «I Love Ukraine because I live here. Because all my life passed here. Though, as much as I loved Poland, as much as I love Polish people, Polish culture, but it seems to me that I couldn't live there, because ... I do not know».

The last quotation is more indicative for the reason that the phrases with the words 'culture', 'tradition', 'people' are most often formed with the adjective "Polish", but not "Ukrainian" by the respondents, thereby they suggest denying the local discourse of the right to be the subject of their identification. Ukrainian Poles associate themselves with the "land", with places where they grew up, what they hold dearest of all, with their memories, but not with the local Ukrainian traditions or culture.

Everything related to the values and norms of being connected with Ukraine, is regarded with some rather negative characteristics, people in Ukraine according to the respondents are less friendly, less honest.

At the same time, the word 'Ukraine' is sometimes associated among the respondents not so much with the people and their values, personal and group characteristics, but with the state, its ruling circles. For example, one respondent, speaking about the situation in Ukraine, not devoting the interviewers into his own unique context, the context of his understanding of "Ukraine", equals Ukraine to its ruling elites "on the hoof":

Mykhaylo, male, 71, secondary education, living in district center, Western Ukraine: «What is good here? I don't even know how to call them. They get there to become rich. They are very far from people. They need us only for elections. To receive votes. They don't need us for anything else. I can say that to everyone and I'm not afraid of it. Nobody needs you here».

More often, however, referring to the Ukraine, the respondents say about the problems associated with self-realization. In their view, Ukraine is a country where there are not so many opportunities to build a successful future, for the upbringing and education of their children.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «Poland is the first country on the way to Europe, of course Polish people have better possibilities».

And often it is associated with some financial, organizational difficulties, that is, "Ukraine" becomes a set of social, economic and political institutions, but not the communities of people, their traditions and personal characteristics.

The very local population, Ukrainians, usually remain "behind the scenes" of the descriptions of the world of Polish respondents in Ukraine. Ukrainians remain in the neutral zone between the positive evaluation of the "Poles-men" and rather negative "Ukraine", emerging not from the people and communities but of social, political and economic institutions.

At the same time all the good things in Ukraine - it is its "nature", that is the respondent's surrounding, physical space to which he was accustomed.

Maria, female, 72, higher education, living in district center, Western Ukraine «Of course, Ukraine is closer. Here each stone, every tree and grass – everything is native. Here I was born. Ukraine is closer».

Vitaliy, male, 43, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «I love Ukraine, I so love Zhitomir. I love these woods, these small rivers, this nature, this sky». Because it is true, I checked it up, the sky over Poland is not so blue, it's with grayish shade. And I love it, I love it so much. Here are those national songs which I sing with pleasure».

The last phrase, which refers to the Ukrainian folk songs, is almost the only departure from the description of Ukraine as a set of institutions or territory of residence of the respondent. Another example of a description that is associated with an appeal to a set of values and norms, rather than to the physical space and institutional characteristics, is the mentioning about the Ukrainians celebrating their religious holidays, particularly Christmas, when local Ukrainians show their friendliness and openness, in the opinion of the respondents, it is not so much in-peculiar to them at another time but still manifested in the period of religious celebrations more vividly.

As for the religion itself, in many descriptions of the Poles of their religious life, goes to the church or "to the catechism", the Ukrainians, who in most cases also attended the religious services or such classes, are perceived to be neutral, do not cause some kind of positive or negative

emotions. That is, based on the biographical interviews, it can be said that the profession of Catholicism can hardly be a sufficient base for the rise among local Poles and Ukrainians of some special unity, brotherhood, at least, the evidence of such solidarity was not verbalized by the respondents, was not shown surely.

Thus, it is difficult to talk about some of the value identity of the Ukrainian Poles to their country of residence, Ukraine. Ukraine for them is a territory with alien to them social institutions which prevent to live rather than help, causing in this way more negative emotions. At the same time, Ukrainians, their traditions, values and norms in the descriptions of the life of the Poles are not some kind of active element for further identification too. It can be said, that on the contrary, Ukrainians are less friendly and more passive in the descriptions of the Poles and logically become a neutral background of their life, that is one that does not interfere to live, but at the same time arises no positive emotion at all.

It should be also mentioned that the Poles for their history of residence in the territory of Ukraine were preserving rather than were developing their Polish identity, that is there self-consciousness was built “despite”, not “because of” their external, Ukrainian (or more precisely, of course, Soviet) environment.

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «Well, I would say I am a Pole from Ukraine. Nothing else. Not just a Pole but a Pole from Ukraine. Because we suffered prisons, persecutions and trials and we still saved our nationality in our hearts. I am a Pole from Ukraine!»

Memories about the repressions are practically the only "stories" about the joint Ukrainian-Polish past, that is the history of Ukraine in the biographical interviews (very exaggeratedly) can be called a history of repression of Poles. Of course, the identification with Ukraine in this context is extremely questionable, though everyone of them has called Ukraine his Motherland.

Bogdan, male, 23, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «I have very big, huge plans for the future, I have a lot of dreams and I want all of them to come true but first of all I want to find the place to work after finishing University. I even don't know, maybe it will be Poland and maybe our Motherland, Ukraine».

3.3 National identity – relationship to the mother country

Interviewed Ukrainian Poles in the majority of cases consider Poland to be not some distant or forgotten country, but rather actual and near area. Some respondents need to spend less than an hour to cross the Ukrainian-Polish border; many of them often come to the home country for their family and for themselves also.

However, for each of them, Poland is a separate sovereign state, but not the motherland, not Ukraine. Speaking of Poland, the respondents are more likely to say "their", while talking about Ukraine they tend to say "our", often even speaking about the Poles in Poland the pronoun "they" can be evidently heard. However, a direct question about the identity arouses a confident and certain answer of each of them: “I am a Pole”.

It should, however, be considered that the grounds of the claims of the Polish identification among the Polish Ukrainians differ.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «My father was written as a Pole, he was a military man but he said once: «Why shall I be Polish? I am not Polish because I don't know the language». My mother wanted me to be Ukrainian. When I was getting my passport, I suddenly signed myself up as a Polish. My mother did not like it very

much. Why did you sign up like this? – she asked. – You won't be able to enter the party [communist party of the Soviet Union]».

Often to the Ukrainian Poles to be a Pole means to be Catholic - or rather, to be Catholic means to be a Pole. All the respondents, telling the story of their life, called the church to be a place where they began to realize that they have their own, special, ethnic past. Through studying the Polish language in religious institutions, as well as attaching to the going to the church, spending a lot of time there, the Ukrainian Poles constantly have reminded and are still reminding themselves about the their roots.

Moreover, one of the respondents answering the question about his "Polishness" constantly talked about the church, about Catholicism, replacing the word "Polish" with the word "Catholic." Unconsciously, for many of them Catholic faith is the foundation of the self-identification as a Pole:

Irina, female, 37, secondary education, living in district center, Western Ukraine: «Well, considering the fact that I am Pole, I can say that we go to the Roman-Catholic church. Considering the fact that we are Poles like individuals or something like that I have no such feelings».

Thus, it is the faith needed to be emphasized, describing the identity of the Ukrainian Poles and their relationship with their historical past.

With specific regard of Poland, should be mentioned that this country is certainly perceived to be more prosperous, as a country of larger than in Ukraine possibilities. In this sense, Ukraine and Poland are opposed by the respondents as states, and in this opposition Poland looks much better.

Maria, female, 26, higher education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «I would also agree to work in Poland as a saleswoman, because the salaries are quite different there in comparison with our level».

However, it should be noted that Poland is perceived by the Ukrainian Poles as a freer, more democratic country, and this freedom is associated not only with the governmental systems, abstract institutions but directly with the public, Polish population, Poles. Respondents talked about some very special "gonor" (semantically close to "honour" but linguistically to "conceit", "arrogance"), peculiar to the Poles, their desire to assert their rights and freedom, their pride, and even some daring associated with self-confidence and self-righteousness. This arrogance being inherent to the Poles in Poland, the respondents found in the list of their own characteristics.

It should be also noted that the themes of repression often surfaced in the interviews and in this sense the identity of the Poles, their union with Poland is perceived as the identification "against" rather than identification "owing to".

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «I never felt any pride about being Pole. You know it was suppressed in those times, and I suffered because I had no grandfather and my father felt that. Each time I remembered that. But now I am proud that I managed to do it... because many people rejected it».

In this sense, the impression about the Poland as a country of freedom, and Ukraine as the country lacking it are doubled in the descriptions of the Ukrainian Poles, however, Ukraine remains their home country.

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «Because we suffered prisons, persecutions and trials and we still saved our nationality in our hearts. I am a Pole from Ukraine!»

Thus, speaking about the Poles in Ukraine and the core of their identity, it should be said about the religion as a bright indicator: «I'm a Pole and I'm Catholic. That's all!», - in these seven words one respondent said something for what the others spent the paragraphs of lengthy reflections coming to the same resume: they all sooner or later realize their Polish roots thanks to the church and do not forget about their roots through the Catholic faith also. Not Poland with its European orientations and the relatively high wealth makes Ukrainian Poles think of their ethnicity, but the systematic communication with the master of the Polish tradition with Catholicism does.

Nevertheless, Poland for the Ukrainian Poles being physically close, located just in few tens of kilometers is still a foreign country. The respondents would like to see their children and grandchildren, but not themselves in Poland. Maximum, at which they agree, is the tourism, short trips to their ancestral homeland, visits of their relatives, the trips reminding themselves about their roots and their past, but only with the one aim - to come back to there present, to Ukraine.

Bogdan, male, 23, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «Feelings towards Poland are feelings towards my second Motherland. Maybe if I were born on the territory of Poland there could be a bit different feelings but as I were born in Ukraine... The propinquity is bigger here».

However, Ukrainian Poles can't stay without Poland too.

Vitaliy, male, 43, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «I would suffer if I lived there because I could not do certain things there; if I lived only here, it would be horrible, I would die. Poland is an outlet for me, when I come there I feel like passing into a different world full of positive non-Ukrainian things. Still I remain between two worlds. And it hurts me very much that there is that border».

3.4 Regional identity

Particular attention within the project was paid to regional identity of the Polish minority in Ukraine. Respondents, as a carrier of ethnic identity of the neighboring country (Poland), living in Ukraine, where the majority of the population is a titular nation. In this regard, it would be useful to examine the extent of their attachment to the place of their residence and its local community.

According to obtained information, the respondents have very warm feelings to the settlements and regions, where they live, where they spent most part of their life, where they always come back. An example is a quote from an interview in which the respondent says the reason for his attachment to his village

Maria, female, 26, higher education, living in a village, Western Ukraine: «I was brought up here, here are my parents, my roots ...here my childhood have pasted».

Representatives of the Polish minority living in Ukraine, fit very well into the life of Ukrainian settlements, have become quite well known, respected people in even in the fairly large cities, including regional centers. In general, the respondents have a comfortable life in these settlements. In confirmation one quote:

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine «I still feel proud walking down the city because many postgraduates come across trying to be noticeable, to say hello to their teacher, to remember old days of their studies in the university. There are many familiars. Once I went to the shop with the father superior not far away from Saint Varvara cathedral. He said to me: «You know, 26 people said hello to you. How many they could be? That's why I appreciate my town and the place where I had worked».

Representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine have a sense of unity and closeness to the people with whom they live together in one community, despite differences in their ethnic origin. During the years of cohabitation among the respondents and the rest of citizens formed a stable social relations in the region of residence, which they highly appreciate.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «I have many friends, students know me very well and I'm often on TV. I see that many young people know me. Zhitomir is a comfortable place because everybody knows one another. At any time and in any place you may find a person who knows you or the one who knows your friend ...If there are seven professors in political science, I know them all».

Ukrainian Poles know the history of cities where they reside, from which they originate. They are proud of their antiquity

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «What do I like in my town? I like its historical past, it's an ancient town».

Respondents are aware of famous people who lived in their hometowns, feel inspiration from their experiences of the city, even when they are not exactly flattering

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «Honore de Balzac said that "buildings dance a polka" in Berdichev and the streets are so muddy like nowhere in Europe».

Representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine consider their place of origin is the most rewarding place.

Mykhaylo, male, 71, secondary education, District center, Western Ukraine: «... for me Berdichev is the best of all regional centers beauty and culture».

Respondents in the biographical interviews made declaration of love to the cities from which they originate, spoke lovingly about their attractions and beautiful places

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «I would say that I am from Kyiv because I like it very much. My youth was spent there and I adore Kyiv. God, 36 parks, the region of exhibitions, park Golosevsky, Podol! Kyiv is the best!»

According to the study, representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine, jointly with the population of the city are actively involved in settlements festivals. Respondents are encouraged by the unity of the people who are celebrating birthdays of their native city, as well as going on the main streets in other social activities and events.

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «I like when we celebrate our town's birthday: there are exhibitions at the central street, painters, photographers and embroiderers make their products and show, schools also show their talented works. All you have to do is walk and watch. Stars are invited to perform for the youth till the midnight with the fireworks at the end. It's like a unification of people... I think, holidays unite people, they feel something common. I like this unification because it protects us from being reserved».

Ukrainian Poles who participated in the study, monitoring the changes in their settlements, they are happy because of its development.

Vitaliy, male, 43, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «Zhitomir, well it's so native, but it changed without doubt. They built up the kostel, and there was a shed there, a stable where the horses were driven in».

Representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine feel a kinship with the areas where they live, think their living solely there.

Vitaliy, male, 43, higher education, living in regional center, Western Ukraine: «it is (city where I live) so native. I couldn't live somewhere else. I wouldn't be able to live somewhere else».

Many citizens of Ukraine with Polish origin have an opportunity to move in Poland for permanent residence: some have relatives there; young people can go for study. Part of the Ukrainian Poles enjoy these opportunities, but according to the data obtained during the study, respondents were not set up to move because of the sense of home towards the locality where they were born, lived for all their lives or for a great its part.

Maria, female, 72, higher education living in district center, Western Ukraine: «I could have gone to Krakow, As for me, no matter how Polish, catholic I am, I feel that my home is here. All my friends live here. I can share my sorrow and joy with them. What do I have there? There are many strange Poles».

The Ukrainian Poles have strong sense of unity not only with the settlement where they live, but also with a part of Ukraine, where this settlement is located. Ukraine is often divided into Western, Eastern and Central Ukraine. The Polish minority lives mainly in West and Central parts. At the request of the interviewer to specify the territory which the respondent associated himself with to a higher level than the town, sometimes was mentioned not Ukraine itself, but its part.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in regional center, Central Ukraine: «In this case it's the region of Zhitomir. Then it's the Central Ukraine, it's very important because the Central Ukraine has different attitude towards the Western and the Eastern Ukraine».

Thus, the Polish ethnic minority has strong regional identity. They are largely tied to the land, the territory of their hometowns, as well as the native settlement community.

3.5 Civic participation and ethnic organization

Public life of Poles in Ukraine is very active. They are members of various Polish non-governmental organizations; attend the Polish House, local Polish communities. Poles have also founded specialized Polish organizations, such as "Society of Polish Physicians", Polish Sports Association, the Polish theater etc. Representatives of the Polish ethnic minority organize, conduct and participate in various activities, such as "Days of Polish Culture", the song and dance competitions and festivals. Such events are held in large towns (Zhitomir, Lviv, Khmelnytsky), where the number of Poles is high enough, and in small picturesque villages, where representatives of Polish non-governmental organizations are active or where such contests and festivals have historically cherished secrets.

It is important to note that an important direction of work of Polish organizations is organization of various trainings and classes for pupils, students, teachers, parishioners of the church. These trips have different objectives. This study tours devoted to studying of Polish language, Polish history, and the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations. Also travel arrangements for representatives of Polish non-governmental organizations are organized, during which the Poles have an opportunity not only to visit historic and cultural centers of the Republic of Poland, but also to meet with their relatives and friends in Poland. Teachers and professors of the Polish language from various educational institutions frequently attend training courses in Poland in order to improve their language skills and get acquainted with modern methods of teaching and working with students. Representatives of the Polish minority in Ukraine being higher school students are frequent attendants of camps in Poland, where leisure is combined with training. Trips organized for parish churches, are under a religious background: participation in the pilgrimage, visiting the

famous shrines, participation in religious activities and festivals. The above trips are often fully or largely funded by the hosting Poland.

Poles do not disregard other areas of public life. Polish scientific societies, NGOs publish newspapers in Polish, which cover the news of their region, have also reported on major events in the Polish Republic. Scientific life of the Polish ethnic minority is also well-developed: the periodic scientific conferences devoted to a particular stage of development of Polish-Ukrainian relations, training seminars for teachers, teachers of Polish language, Student Paper Contest are carried out frequently.

Sergiy, male, 50, Higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «The preparation of some events, meetings, children's trips for the competitions in Poland, learning of Polish. There are specialized organizations like the Polish theater and the Association of Polish doctors, the Sport association. They do various things although they cover their activity. We began as the Organization of the scientists, then we published our newspaper, then we broadcast our radio and this year we have launched our TV-program. You see, it's a lot: books, trainings».

In the Polish scientific societies, Polish houses small libraries are organized, which provide an opportunity to become familiar with Polish literature in Polish, to get text-books to study the Polish language. There are nearly 36 such libraries in Ukraine, and the biggest one was founded in Berdychiv with the support of the population of Poland.

Members of the Polish ethnic organizations are not only the Poles. Membership in Polish organizations can also have people with other ethnic origin who are simply interested in Polish history and culture. For example, the actors of the Polish theater troupe have different ethnic origin, but they on a par with the others participate in all the performances.

Vitaliy, male, 43, Higher education (theatre institute), living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «No. Certainly, there are Ukrainians, there are Russians and there is even one Turk there who agreed to cooperate and why not? Why isn't present? If it is interesting for the person if Ukrainians like Polish language, he likes Polish culture, he likes Polish traditions and he came and say: I want to become a member of this organization, to participate, to study Polish language and to play performance. For God's sake! Why not?»

One of the motives to enter the Polish ethnic organization is possibility to get the Polish ID card, which allows free access to Poland - to take part in various trips to the Republic of Poland. Membership in such organizations makes it easier for representatives of the Polish minority to get this card.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Some organizations sell the Polish card proposing their support. After becoming a member of the organizations without being Polish just having the Polish origin a person can get the Polish card and obtain some support. You may see it everywhere».

Members of Polish ethnic organizations are representatives of various age groups. Formally membership in any such organization is possible at the age of 18 years old and older. But representatives of Polish organizations often work with youth of school age who organize various events. Pupils often assist organizations on their activity, and after graduation became its official members. Only older people (over 65) are rarely members of Polish ethnic organizations due to the fact that their health does not permit to engage in vigorous activity, but also memorable because of the Soviet era with a negative bias against the Poles.

There is a large number of Polish non-governmental organizations. They are mainly concentrated in the regions where the percentage of the Polish population is the highest, and there are several

large organizations in the Ukrainian capital – Kyiv. But at the same time there is a kind of fragmentation and inconsistency in the activity of these organizations.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Well, it's quite difficult there because some organizations pretended to it but they couldn't do it. Now there is a defragmentation. Once we wanted to do it but we could not. There's a coordination council and other organizations. But they can't unite the Poles because they have centric tendencies. Nowadays Polish life is in prime although in fact nothing happens».

Representatives of various organizations often do not find a common language; they act contrary to each other. The reasons for this situation are different. There is some struggle for funding from the Polish side that is received by the most successful and active organizations. Also, large organizations are struggling for power among themselves, that is, every organization wants to dominate, to coordinate the work of other organizations, to distribute the budget, etc. Therefore, many organizations claim to unite the Poles in the territory of Ukraine, but because of the diverse differences they still have not established a common unifying organization.

Maria, female, 72, higher education, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «For example, in Zhitomir there are 11 associations. They don't like one another because everybody wants to get more. But if we talk about working with people more, they are not interested».

Representatives of the Polish minority are rather active participants in political life in Ukraine. They take part in parliamentary and presidential elections, supporting different political parties, win or lose of this party in the elections is not considered rather than by positive or negative influence on the life of the Polish minority, but from advantages or disadvantages for Ukraine as a whole. Moreover, the Poles point out that participation in elections is their direct civic duty; their relationship to it is serious and responsible. Poles take part in rallies and demonstrations only occasionally, along with other representatives of ethnic organizations or members of the parties they support or which are composed.

In Ukraine there are no Polish political parties, although in the country's political life quite there are many Poles, who are members of various political parties and committees. It should be noted that the Poles are proud of their work, although it is not aimed primarily at improving their quality of life or protection of their interests. At the same time, representatives of the Polish ethnic minority say that they need their representative in the country's political life, which would express and defend their interests. Poles do not see any particular need to create a Polish political party, the reasons for which were called different. One of them is the fact that the Poles living in Ukraine are not compact enough, which entails a certain fragmentation of interests and their assimilation. The main argument for a party creation is the possibility of association for preservation of traditions and cultural peculiarities.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «The Poles are not able to keep this party through being too weak. The Hungarian can do it as they live tightly and they are strong. As for the Poles it's impossible to do. I don't believe it. It's a public authority. I don't think that's true. It's not a strong consolidated group. The Poles occupy a rather comfortable place in the Ukrainian society united by this principle. I believe it. As for the Hungarian, the situation is quite different. They are a larger group, they have different traditions without taking into account the fact that they are 40 thousands larger and they create strong political parties. They live in a compact way near Hungary. The Poles are not so strong and compact».

Also, one of the reasons why the Poles do not lobby creation of the Polish political party, is that they can not identify any of the Polish political leader who could not only work towards the creation of such a party, but successfully lead it.

Victor, male, 73, higher education, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Well, at first, who will organize such a party? I will not. Someone else also won't. The Ukrainian community will laugh at us, they will be "splitting" at us».

It should be emphasized that the Poles do not disregard the fact that they would not support the Polish political party only on the basis of ethnicity of its members. Far more important are its political program and goals for improving the living standards of residents and development of the country as a whole.

Galyna, female, 43, higher education, living in village, Western Ukraine: "Let them battle for everybody's interests. If they protect everyone living at this territory it will be fine».

Hanna, female, 74, Specialized secondary education, living in village, Western Ukraine: «It depends on what political program it had».

3.6 Ethnic conflicts and discrimination experiences

Contemporary Polish-Ukrainian relations to a large extent are justified by the historical development of both nations. In the past Poles and Ukrainians did not form their political relations on a tolerant and sturdy base. These problems, as well as the Polish-Ukrainian protracted conflicts have their repercussions for relations between these people and at the present stage.

Speaking of the collision cases of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, respondents emphasize that they can not identify some global problems in this area, resulting to date. On the question of whether they have faced with infringement of rights, or bias against the humiliation, the respondents confidently answer "no." But then they give different examples of small-scale conflicts, when the Polish ethnicity is mentioned as a negative personality trait.

Victor, male, 73, higher education, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «I think no. Nowadays we do not have such things. Anybody could say something bad being drunk. That's possible. It happens like that».

Hanna, female, 74, specialized secondary education, living in village, Western Ukraine: «No, I have never heard. I had not such situations. I had my mother-in-law and nearby lived Poles. Well such, well they were not good people, as neighbors. Well they were not good. Sometimes she screamed at him... then he occupied the piece of her garden or something there, or he chopped up some trees. They were so. Then she, when we came, and she said: "Oh, this Pole has chopped!"»

Vitaliy, male, 43, Higher education (theatre institute), living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Well, the matter is that she lived in Chernyakhovskiy district, in Gylsk village. That village is really Ukrainian. And it's always even ... well, neighbours, village ... neighbours among themselves:

- You are peasant.

- And you are Polish gentry».

At the same time the Poles themselves mention their inherent traits, which often cause negative attitudes among the representatives of the titular nation, but also lead to conflicts among themselves.

Vitaliy, male, 43, Higher education (theatre institute), living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «And why Ukrainians should love Poles? As I already told - that people is very naughty. And here it is, that Polish arrogance, sometimes it brings ... and more likely that Poles will have quarrels with Poles, but not with Ukrainians. Because you know, there is an opinion that if there are two Poles there are heads of organization. So, it means that everybody wants to be the head of organization».

It should also be emphasized that often the respondents live in such settlements, where Polish neighborhood is usual. Any differences on ethnic grounds are made between the residents of such settlements: acceptable is the marriage between the Ukrainians and Poles, the study of Polish by Ukrainians, Ukrainian membership in the Polish organizations and etc.

Dissatisfaction with the current standard of living in specific localities is primarily related to low material level, the lack of prospects for professional growth, lack of jobs, etc. Ethnicity does not appear as such that affect the presence or absence of certain goods. However, most Poles get Polish ID card, which allows free entry to Poland to work in Poland, simplifies the procedure for obtaining a Schengen visa. These features are particularly relevant to young and middle aged Poles. Representatives of the Polish ethnic minority, who are already in advanced age, although sometimes get Polish ID card, but in practice do not use its capabilities.

It is also important to note the fact that the Poles feel pride because of their ethnic origin, hold their traditions, retain cultural characteristics, while not denying the fact that life in Ukraine has made them partly Ukrainians. Respondents noted that there is almost no difference between Poles and Ukrainians, the level of assimilation of Poles is rather high, there is no more or less privileged ethnic origin, which would affect the definition of personality in a positive or negative way.

Hanna, female, 74, specialized secondary education, living in village, Western Ukraine: «I would not say, that it differs. Maybe only their faith, that those go to the church, and those to the Polish church. And so, I would not say, that they differ so much».

Maria, female. 26, Higher education, living in village, Western Ukraine: «No, in other regions there may be another attitude towards Poles but we do not have differentiation like "Ukrainian", "Pole", "you're better", "you're worse».

At different stages of the Soviet Union was changing the situation with inter-ethnic tensions. Years 1930-1940 were rather difficult for the Polish population in Ukraine. Representatives of the Polish minority were afraid to identify themselves as Poles, they tried to identify themselves as Ukrainians in the passports, did not speak Polish or use it only when nobody could hear them. In the indicated time the Poles were not able to freely visit the churches, to conduct baptisms, celebrate religious holidays.

Vitaliy, male, 43, Higher education (theatre institute), living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Well, as I already told, my grandmother was afraid to say that, she only repeated: «I 'm not Pole, I'm not Pole, I'm not Pole»».

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «Of course they had repressed my grandfather because he was Pole and everybody had been taken away. Of course, in the Soviet Union being Polish was very bad, almost prohibited. Of course, the same thing was with the Polish language».

For the Poles, members of the Communist Party also treated more carefully, meticulously. Belonging to the Polish ethnic minority might well be the reason for refusing to join the Communist Party / Communist League.

Sergiy, male, 50, higher education, PhD, Professor, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «My mother had said that being Pole was not good, that everybody had to sign up as Ukrainian because the attitude of the party towards the Poles was bad».

But after the 1950s the situation began to change. The Polish ethnicity became less to pay attention, that is, it was no longer seen as a negative characteristic or one that arouses suspicion. For Poles it became possible more openly to go to church, to celebrate national holidays, stick to their

tradition. In the 1980's belonging to the Polish ethnic minority in general ceased to be ashamed of, because of the views of the ruling political forces of the time, and with a forced assimilation of the Poles.

Maria, female, 72, higher education, living in Regional center, Western Ukraine: «You see we felt it everywhere in the childhood. Then in college we paid less attention. In the university we paid any attention at all».

4 MAIN FINDINGS OF EXPERT INTERVIEWS (ENRI-EXI)

Vil Bakirov/Alexandr Kizilov/Kseniya Kizilova

According to the sample, the Ukrainian team conducted four expert interviews with representatives of the Polish ethnic minority. Two of them were conducted with government officials at national and regional level dealing with different ethnic minorities in Ukraine, and the other two experts were the representatives of Polish ethnic cultural organizations.

- Sergey V. Rudnitsky is associate professor of the philosophical department at I. Franko Zhitomir State University, Associate professor of the philosophical department at the Zhitomir branch of the European University in Ukraine and also is the founder and the first head of the Polish scientific society of Zhitomir. The expert represents regional/local ethnic minority scientific organization, is coordinator and organizer of many society's activities, organizer of scientific conferences and round tables of Polish thematic. Polish Scientific Society is the most developed and active organization in the city of Zhitomir, has an office, publishes the newspaper, and broadcasts on the local radio. Sergey V. Rudnitsky is actively working with the Polish population of Zhitomir, mostly with young people in scientific and social fields. He participates in and organizes conferences and roundtables on the Polish minority issues, writes his doctoral dissertation on Polish public organizations in Ukraine.
- Mykhola K. Syuravchik is Vice-head of Zhitomir Regional Institute of Postgraduate Pedagogical Education and is the last Ex-head (2002-2010) of the Department of Internal Policy and Public Relations of Zhitomir Region State Administration, which is official governmental organization of regional level. At the regional level, issues of ethnic minority groups had engaged in special departments in the regional and city administrations, and now those duties are assigned to the Department of Internal Policy and Public Relations in Region and State Council. Choosing an expert at this level Ukrainian team was consulting the leaders of Polish organizations in Zhitomir and Lviv, and the most competent and experienced in the issues under consideration due to their reviews was Mykhola K. Syuravchik. Mykhola K. Syuravchik since 2002 was engaged into the work with ethnic minorities, since the Regional administration's Department of nationalities, religions and migrations started existing separately. In August 2010 due to the changes in the political power in the country, Mykhola K. Syuravchik was removed from his post, but his experience and knowledge were certainly more valuable than the knowledge of his colleagues who came to replace him or held this position earlier. The selected expert was concerning ethnic minorities in different conditions, within the political and economic crises and different political leaders.
- Emiliya P. Khmelyova is the Head of Federation of Polish organizations in Ukraine, which is ethnic minority cultural organization of national level. But this organization mostly operates at regional level, its main office is located in the city of Lviv, Lviv region, Ukraine. The expert is the coordinator and organizer of all society's activities, also performs representative functions. The Federation of Polish Organizations - one of the oldest and currently most active organizations engaged into the diverse activities for the maintenance and development of the Polish Diaspora in Ukraine, which has several offices in the regions inhabited by Poles. Its leader - Emilia P. Khmeleva, according to representatives of the majority of Polish non-governmental organizations, is the most active

and experienced person in the Polish social movement in the city of Lvov (city, where expert lives and where the central office of the organization is) and in Ukraine as a whole.

- Vladimir Evtukh - Professor, Director of the Institute of Sociology, Psychology and Management of the M.P.Dragomanov National Pedagogical University; Head of the Department of Theory and Methodology of Sociology at the T.G.Shevchenko Kyiv National University; Head of the Department of Political Sociology of V.N.Karazin Kharkiv National University. The expert was working as the Minister, Chairman of the State Committee of Ukraine for Nationalities and Migration (1995-1997). In 1997-2000 he was involved in diplomatic service working as an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in the Republic of Italy, in Malta, in the Republic of San Marino. The respondent is a great specialist in the sphere of ethnic sociology, ethnicity, nationalities etc. The expert represents official Ukrainian authorities at the national level.

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

According to the data collected during the expert interviews, the life of Poles in Ukraine in general could be drawn in positive colors. They are rather good integrated into Ukrainian society, education in native language is not a vexed problem for them – most of them obtained education in Ukrainian and those who wanted attended schools with Polish language of study which are not so numerous but their number fully satisfies the existing need.

At the same time, the most powerful factor of solidarity among the Poles is religion – the Catholicism. For the Polish the Catholicism is an integrative part and the important mechanism of preservation and transmission of the Polish ethnic identity. Catholic churches have a great role in the life of Poles, are the centers of Polish culture and its distribution. Religious needs of Polish Diaspora in Ukraine are also satisfied – there a lot of Roman Catholic churches in places, where Poles live in Ukraine.

Poles in Ukraine are geographically a very dispersed ethnic group. Such conditions of their residence and the conditions of a more rare contact with each other contribute to the smaller consolidation of this ethnic group. Problems of using of the native language and getting education in their native language are not relevant to the Poles. This confirms the fact that the Polish minority is more integrated into the Ukrainian society, feels itself quite comfortable inside it. Analyzing the characteristics of settlement of Poles in Ukraine, comparing Polish and Hungarian ethnic groups, experts point out trends of assimilation of Poles in Ukraine, reveal the processes of preservation of their ethnic identity by the Hungarians, pointing out the underlying causes of what is happening:

Expert 1: «That is a fact of dispersed residence, the fact that they are located in the Ukrainian environment, they feel comfortable that they are not allocated from the environment. Well, here, among these factors. For Hungarians, that is a little different because they live in Transcarpathia, so, the relative amount of 90 percent or 98 living in Transcarpathia that is such a group living compactly. For Ukrainian Poles, because they live in such a dispersive way, that doesn't have such a value here. Simultaneously, they do not differ... in their appearance...»

Expert 3: «Poles are a group that is not bad integrated into Ukrainian society. You can talk about assimilation, of course, yes, of course ... they have lived for long here, they do not constitute any alien item, and they keep the same customs, traditions and culture as Ukrainian people, they do not differ. This is such a group that is for a long time living here».

At the same time we may say a different thing about the Polish national minority. The Polish do not live as a community, they possess a peculiar dispersion and an individual way of living. Besides according to the expert statement they are an open community ready to merge to any ethnic group including the title nation.

Expert 3: «As I am responsible for this at various quorums we should remark and say definitely that the Polish in Ukraine are a part of an open community. They actually are an open society».

Such features of Poles living in Ukraine - lack of frequent interpersonal contacts with each other, significant linguistic assimilation, absence of external threats and discrimination by society - cause less level of solidarity among Poles. Poles rarely claim their rights in terms of their ethnicity, are less worried about their political representation, and their social organizations are less active than in case with the Ukrainian Hungarians. For Polish minority it is much more difficult to work together: situations when they need to unite for the benefit of its diaspora often lead to internal conflicts among them.

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. Thus, there is a greater solidarity within the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine, compared with the Polish ones.

Expert 1: «The laws give more opportunities and more practice in order to realize the vested interests. Surely, there are national groups that do not grow up to this. For example, the Poles».

Thus, we should divide the civic and ethnic identity of the Ukrainian Poles. Ukrainian Polish civic stand is caused by the common history of Poles and Ukrainians, Poles relative territorial fragmentation, their active assimilation among the Ukrainians. At the same time as an ethnic group Poles support the distinctiveness of their culture. Significant factor in the maintenance of ethnic identity and culture of the Ukrainian Poles are numerous ethnic Polish cultural organizations (Society of Polish culture, libraries, theaters, scientific societies, etc.). In Ukraine there are many Polish national organizations, Polish communities, schools and courses of Polish language. Among the Ukrainian Poles social institutions that provide development, support and transfer of the Polish national heritage are very well developed. Poles are tolerant towards the Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian traditions. Nevertheless, support of their own ethnic cultural traditions, values, transfer of Polish national "heritage" to subsequent generations for the Ukrainian Poles is of particular importance. Poland gives great support to the Ukrainian Poles. Ukrainian Poles associate the possibility of various cultural events first of all with Poland's support and funds from Polish organizations. Insufficient funding of both Polish and Hungarian ethnic organizations in Ukraine contributes to reduction of the role and importance of this country in the lives of ethnic minorities, promotes their autonomy.

4.2 Relationship to the mother country

The Polish minority in Ukraine is in a dual situation. On the one hand, they fit in with the Ukrainian community life pretty well; on the other hand, having Polish origins, they are trying to keep their affiliation with another culture. In this situation an impact and help of the mother country may have a special importance in order to maintain and develop the values and culture of its people living in another state.

In the frameworks of the third stage of the ENRI-EAST project a few experts shared their observations and experience of the interaction of the Polish minority in Ukraine and Poland. According to data obtained during the expert interviews, Poland has started to support the Poles in the

Ukraine since 1980s, when the country itself went through not that easy time. However, according to the experts, it has acquired a special force since 2004. The experts explain the reasons of the situation through the increased prosperity of the country, its entry into the European Union, as well as through the warming of political relations between the states and friendship between their leaders. Such activity, according to the experts, helps the Poles assimilated already, to realize their ethnicity, prevents further assimilation, and also increases the number of people who can call themselves ethnic Poles, including during the census.

The experts say there is a wide range of areas and directions where the Polish state works for the benefit of the Poles living in Ukraine. Poland finances the activities of Polish ethnic organizations in various fields, their conferences, festivals, exhibitions and other events, book publishing, newspapers, churches, and organizes educational and introductory programs for children and young people on its territory. The experts indicate large sums appropriated by Poland to support the diaspora, and they call this support one of the largest among the supports given by other countries to other ethnic minorities in Ukraine. A significant step in the development of interaction between the Polish state and the Polish minority in Ukraine was an implementation of the Card of the Pole, which gives plenty opportunities for the Ukrainian Poles to travel, study and work in the mother country. The support of Poles living in Ukraine is made both from the Polish state budget and by public organizations "Spilnota Polska", "Pomoc Polakom na Wschodzie" and foundation "Semper Polonia".

This great support of the Polish diaspora of Ukraine, according to the experts, leads to some tension in relations between the Polish side and Ukrainian officials. Because representatives of the Polish Parliament, allocating money for an event, visit the event like bosses, establishing the rules. The Ukrainian state is unable to meet all requests of Ukrainian Poles in Ukraine that is why Ukrainian officials and local authorities feel uncomfortable and somewhat constrained during such events.

Expert 2: «The whole programs finance such events exist in Poland. That's why they come here feeling masters not guests. It is the source of some discomfort among the government and national minorities».

However, according to the experts, in perception of the broad masses of Ukraine the Polish minority and the Poles in general are considered as a positive community. It is not closed; the Ukrainians can also attend the Roman Catholic Church, Polish holidays and events, work in the Polish ethnic organizations and participate in various trips.

Expert 1: «Poland itself is perceived positively, Poles and the Polish state are praised for it. That the Poles here, they have the Polish House in Zhitomir, Honorary Consulate, and their kids could go somewhere. Great importance is the fact that the beneficiaries of this, the recipients are also Ukrainian children, who may also go somewhere or go somewhere with a kostel (Catholic church), for example».

According to the experts who participated in the survey, Poland, allocating substantial sums to support the Poles in Ukraine, has not developed a definite policy towards them. The experts say there is the following dilemma in the Polish state: on the one hand, one can make it even easier to migrate to Poland in order to improve the demographic situation or, on the other hand, it might be more reasonable to improve the funding of the Polish diaspora in Ukraine, that would lobby for the interests of Poland in Ukraine. Today the money is distributed among all directions.

Thus, we can say about close and active relationship between the Polish minority in Ukraine and its mother country. Poland plays a significant role in the lives of Poles in Ukraine, has the image

of a benefactor. The Polish government supports the culture, traditions and values of its people, who live in a neighboring state, such as Ukraine.

4.3 If they are from a local authority then summarize policies introduced and their problems

In the framework of expert interviews there was an attempt to find out how according to the experience of experts the national policy on ethnic minorities is carried out, and what challenges both Ukrainian officials and leaders of the Polish ethnic organizations face in the pointed field.

The main regulatory instrument that underlies the interaction between ethnic minorities and the Ukrainian state is the Law of Ukraine "On national minorities in Ukraine". The law, signed in 1992 is a pretty full and gets enough appreciation according to the experts. According to the Law the Ukrainian state has to fund schools in which instruction are in the languages of the ethnic minorities, as well to fund the training and the salary of the teachers of ethnic minority languages in the Ukrainian-language schools. There also have to be six newspapers of the ethnic minorities, including a Polish one, to be funded from the state budget. The Law also supports the activities of ethnic organizations, presupposes the funds for the festivals and holidays. The mechanism of this support is rather complicated. First, there must be an account in the treasury, where money can be transferred. Not every organization has such an account. Nevertheless large enough organizations according to the experts have such accounts while small organizations interact with the large ones to solve their own problems. According to the obtained in the course of interviews data the funding of the organizations of ethnic minorities has decreased significantly in the period after the 2008 crisis, and in the recent times was residual. Support is provided on a grant basis. To get some help for providing an event the leaders of ethnic organizations must submit an application describing the activities and the amount of money necessary for its implementation. According to the experts, the degree of ethnic organizations funding depends on how much they are strong and active. Poles in this area occupy a middle position among other ethnic minorities in Ukraine.

Expert 3: «It supports us very much but usually but it surely does not support those who do nothing. There is no support for the support. There is support for work».

Because of the limited material resources Ukrainian government provides financial support not for everyone, but only for the most interesting projects or projects that bring together many ethnic minorities, for example, the festival "We are all your children, Ukraine!".

Expert 4: «So, there is some support coming from the government but.... And I think that it is a correct policy because one cannot satisfy everybody. The events where the representatives of different ethnic minorities are mixed are usually supported the most. The festivals, for example».

In addition to the material support Ukrainian state seeks to help where it's possible. For example, provides free of charge facilities for parties, concerts and other activities of ethnic minorities. The Polish minority, experts say, often uses such opportunities to realize its interests.

In addition, experts note the compliancy of the Ukrainian officials in the return of the Polish historical buildings (Polish houses and churches) into the conduct of the Polish ethnic organizations. According to the obtained in the course of interviews data, the Polish diaspora have returned a number of buildings for the revival of museums, churches, etc in Ukraine recently.

However, there are some disadvantages of existing legislation, which requires additions and changes. The first defect, which was marked by the experts, is that the existing Law on National Minorities focuses only on the compensatory rights, i.e., providing the opportunity to learn the languages of the ethnic minorities, providing support for the activities of their ethnic organizations, etc. But ethnic minorities in Ukraine have other problems also. For example, the Law of Ukraine does not prescribe the actions arising in the case of ethnic or racial discrimination. In addition to our legislation, according to experts, there is an old system of financing the activities of national cultural societies assigned. There is no law on volunteers, there is no possibility of donations to community organizations in exchange for payment of tax simplification, it is not possible to transfer 1% of the profits on the activities of public organizations. Experts also say about no clarity in the wording of the existing legislative framework which deals with ethnic minorities. So, the legal status of the representative of the ethnic minority group is indistinctly prescribed. All these imperfections of the Ukrainian legislation significantly impede the activities of public organizations in Ukraine, including making the difficulties for the Polish ethnic organizations.

Thus, experts say about the absence of single ethnic policy of Ukraine. Current policy towards ethnic minorities has a number of shortcomings, but this is typical for the Ukrainian politics in general. According to the experts, the improvement of the situation, ethnic policies of the European model would be possible in Ukraine only after it creates a national idea that will help to solve the internal problems of the country and to be able to write and arrange the interests of ethnic minorities. Nevertheless experts ascertain more advantageous situation of the ethnic diasporas in Ukraine than of Ukrainians themselves today, i.e., diasporas in Ukraine are supported by the parent nation in extremis, while Ukrainians have nowhere to appeal.

Expert 1: «The Ukrainian state can not generate any Ukrainian national idea, which would fit the national minorities. It is clear, that it is not paying any attention at minorities – the same as to its citizens (=Ukrainians). Ukrainians sometimes get less attention than national minorities. Where to get ... there is some kind of national conference, right? We can hold a conference easier than, for example, the Institute of Journalistic. They just do not have money. We can ask for money in Poland, they can not. That is all. Sometimes it happens worse. I can go to Poland for a conference, get a scholarship there, I do not know, ask colleagues about something, there is some sense of group solidarity. Ukrainians can not do so, because here is their mother country, they can take money only here, and it is not always good. It's such a paradox».

4.4 Relationship (if any) to European events and organizations

Poland is a member of the European Union and strongly supports its diaspora in Ukraine. This fact promotes an active participation of the Polish minority in Ukraine in the Polish and European events. According to the obtained from expert interviews data, Poland arranges many conferences, festivals and other events, which involve Ukrainian Poles. In this way Poland covers the payments, accommodation and personal expenses of the visitors. According to the experts, there is also a number of European programs which may be involved by the Ukrainians of Polish origin, the program "Youth in Action" is among them. The Pole Card, which can be got by a person who can prove his Polish origin, allows coming to Poland for studying and working to become a citizen of Poland and further to move freely throughout the EU countries. Separately, experts say that European Union of the Polish Communities which is presented by the leaders of Polish organizations from 42 European countries, whose members are the leaders of Polish organizations in Ukraine also.

Poland generally provides policy of support of the initiative of Ukraine to be a member of the European Union and other supranational organizations such as NATO. According to experts, the Polish government sees in Ukraine a buffer that will protect them from Russia. Such support of the European initiatives in Ukraine from Poland, according to experts, is very positively perceived by the Ukrainian public, thereby enhancing the status of the Polish diaspora in Ukraine. Also, the presence of ethnic Poles in Ukraine leads to an increase of pro-European sentiments in the Ukrainian society, what also receives a positive evaluation from the experts.

Cooperation with Europe, particularly with Poland, as a part of ethnic policy according to the experts is very useful and necessary for Ukraine. Such interaction promotes activation of the activities of the Ukrainian state in the context of working with ethnic minorities. Officials on the work with ethnic minorities provide an annually report to the OSCE High Commissioner. Experts who participated in the study were very positive about this practice. Recognizing however the complexities which are created in such a close relationship with Europe in this field. Ukraine is not an economically strong country that can interact with ethnic minorities at the same level as it is done in Europe.

Expert 4: «It stimulates the cultural regeneration and sometimes even provides highest expectations of the leaders of the ethnic organizations when they address these unsolvable problems to the government or to the local self-government».

5 CONCLUSIONS

If we talk about the Poles in Ukraine, they are geographically a very dispersed ethnic group. Such conditions of their residence and the conditions of a more rare contact with each other contribute to the smaller consolidation of this ethnic group. Problems of using of the native language and getting education in their native language, which are painful for the Hungarian community in Ukraine, are not relevant to the Poles. This confirms the fact that the Polish minority is more integrated into the Ukrainian society, feels itself quite comfortable inside it, and according to experts, we can even speak about the assimilation of Poles in Ukraine. Such features of Poles living in Ukraine - lack of frequent interpersonal contacts with each other, significant linguistic assimilation, absence of external threats and discrimination by society - cause less level of solidarity among Poles. Poles rarely claim their rights in terms of their ethnicity, are less worried about their political representation, and their social organizations are less active. For Polish minority it is much more difficult to work together: situations when they need to unite for the benefit of its diaspora often lead to internal conflicts among them.

At the same time, the most powerful factor of solidarity among the Poles is religion – the Catholicism. For the Poles the Catholicism is an integrative part and the important mechanism of preservation and transmission of the Polish ethnic identity. Catholic churches have a great role in the life of Poles, are the centers of Polish culture and its distribution.

Thus, we should divide the civic and ethnic identity of the Ukrainian Poles. Ukrainian Poles' civic stand is caused by the common history of Poles and Ukrainians, Poles relative territorial fragmentation, their active assimilation among the Ukrainians. At the same time as an ethnic group Poles support the distinctiveness of their culture. Significant factor in the maintenance of ethnic identity and culture of the Ukrainian Poles are numerous ethnic Polish cultural organizations (Society of Polish culture, libraries, theaters, scientific societies, etc.). In Ukraine there are many Polish national organizations, Polish communities, schools and courses of Polish language. Among the Ukrainian Poles social institutions that provide development, support and transfer of the Polish national heritage are very well developed. Poles are tolerant towards the Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian traditions. Nevertheless, support of their own ethnic cultural traditions, values, transfer of Polish national "heritage" to subsequent generations for the Ukrainian Poles is of particular importance. Poland gives great support to the Ukrainian Poles. Ukrainian Poles associate the possibility of various cultural events first of all with Poland's support and funds from Polish organizations. Insufficient funding of Polish and other ethnic organizations in Ukraine contributes to reduction of the role and importance of this country in the lives of ethnic minorities, promotes their autonomy.

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