



HUNGARY'S NEIGHBORS AS KIN-STATES



*Political, Scholarly and Scientific Relations
Between Hungary's Neighbors and Their Respective Minorities*

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and Their Respective Minorities*



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Minorities in Ukrainian science

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After becoming independent, Ukraine inherited the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.¹ The Ukrainian nation, which managed to achieve the status of a real state only by the end of the 20th century, has undergone different stages of national development to a greater extent than the majority of European nation states. The situations of ethnic Ukrainians living outside of today's Ukraine and the ways they are seen within their given countries are also different from the situations of ethnic Hungarian communities living abroad. From a Hungarian point of view, the critical issue is the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minorities that found themselves in a foreign country after the borders had been moved by force, while from a Ukrainian perspective, the only positive legacy of the Soviet era was that a region larger than what had ever been anticipated came under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic by drawing the new borders.

Ukrainian science defines minority groups on the basis of ethnic affiliation as minorities within the country, but outside the national borders, they are seen as part of the diaspora, irrespective of their origin.

1. Ukrainian communities outside of (today's) Ukraine

We do not have precise data on the number of Ukrainians living outside the national borders (and as the first and as yet only census was conducted in 2001 in the sovereign Ukraine, social scientists do not have reliable data on the current demographic situation in the country either). According to the estimate of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is somewhere between 12 and 20 million.² The book entitled *Ukraine in Maps*, jointly published by the Institute of Geography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2008), estimated the number of ethnic

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¹ Smolyi, Valerii, "Specific features of historical evolution", In: Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid – Schweitzer, Ferenc (eds.) *"Ukraine in Maps"*, Kyiv–Budapest, 2008, pp. 19–24.

² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015); <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

Ukrainians living abroad at 7-8 million.³ According to other studies, 37.5 million Ukrainians (about 81%) live in Ukraine out of the total of 46.2 million Ukrainians living in the entire world; the number of those living outside the national borders is close to 4.5 million in the successor states of the former Soviet Union and 4.2 million to the west of Ukraine.⁴ According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Ukrainian community living in Russia is the largest: the official statistics report 1.93 million people, but according to some estimates over 10 million live in the largest neighbor nation of Ukraine.⁵ At the same time, according to the World Bank there are over 6 million Ukrainians – the fifth-largest number in the world – who had left the country in the two decades before the current crisis.⁶ Although the persistent consequences of the current crisis are difficult to foresee at the moment, it is clear that the radical decline in the population continues to point toward a negative trend.

The ethnic Ukrainian communities abroad can be classified on the basis of their evolution as follows:

1. *Native Ukrainian minorities outside today's national borders.* In the early 20th century, the Ukrainian ethnic space was divided between two empires: most of the Ukrainians belonged to Tsarist Russia and the rest to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Later, these regions were gradually transferred to the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Independent Ukraine became one of the largest states in Europe in size. Nonetheless, some of the peripheral regions of the Ukrainian ethnic space remained outside the borders of the Ukrainian state (partly in Poland, Slovakia, and Romania, but the majority of them in the frontier zone of the neighboring post-Soviet republics, Russia, Moldova and Belarus).

2. *Groups of Ukrainians (or people of Ukrainian origin) who remained in the post-Soviet states due to the Soviet resettlement policy.* Another group of ethnic Ukrainians abroad comprises those “colonizers” who were settled down in the member states during the Soviet era as well as their descendants. It is obvious that the several thousand Ukrainians living in e. g. Kazakhstan or the post-Soviet Baltic States do not belong to the ethnic Ukrainian regions abroad. There are also a large number of Ukrainians living in the Asian regions of Russia. The native language of most of these Ukrainians is Russian and they belong to the Russian-speaking population of the given country. For example, according to the 2009 census, only 29.2% of the people of Ukrainian origin living in Belarus declared themselves as Ukrainian, and 61.2% of them as Russian native speakers. Nearly

³ Bochkovs'ka, Alla – Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid, “Ethnicity, Language and Religion”. In: *“Ukraine in Maps”*, *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

⁶ Риндзак, Ольга, „Чинники еміграції та проблеми інтеграції українських мігрантів за кордоном”, *ScienceRise*, 2/2014, pp. 138–142.

80% of the Russian-speaking Ukrainians living in Latvia did not have Latvian citizenship even by the beginning of the 2000s, because they had not acquired the official language required for citizenship.⁷

3. *Political and economic migrants from overseas countries.* Numerous Ukrainians began to immigrate to the American continent as economic migrants as early as the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially from present-day Western Ukraine. There were several waves of migration in the Soviet era, when Ukrainians left the country for political considerations, creating a diaspora with national sentiments that had a decisive influence on the content of science being developed among them. In the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, another wave of Ukrainian migrants arrived in North America.

Some studies estimate the number of people of Ukrainian origin in the United States and Canada at two million.⁸ According to the estimate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kiev, 2.7 million people of Ukrainian origin live in these two countries.⁹ The Ministry estimates the number of people with Ukrainian origin living in South American states at more than 800,000 (500,000 in Brazil, 250,000-300,000 in Argentina, 10,000-12,000 in Paraguay and 1,000 in Chile).¹⁰

4. *Economic migrants who settled down temporarily or permanently in European states.* There are political refugees or their descendants living in Western Europe as well, but the Ukrainian migrants in these countries are primarily economic migrants. The unsuccessful attempts to become independent at the beginning of the 20th century, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the creation of Soviet Ukraine gave rise to a diaspora with several thousand Ukrainians in central and western European countries. The permanent economic crisis of Ukraine after its independence achieved in 1991 (in 2015, the Ukrainian GDP was still below the level recorded in the last full Soviet year, 1990¹¹) made even more people take a job abroad, especially in Southern European countries, though people from Transcarpathia choose Hungary and Slovakia, and today the primary destination for Ukrainians are the Czech Republic and Germany.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine data includes 86,000 Ukrainians working in Spain, 42,000 in Portugal, and 32,000 in Greece,¹² but some studies estimate the number of Ukrainian nationals permanently working abroad between 1.5 and 7 million.¹³ The number of Ukrainians who settled down outside the na-

⁷ <http://www.belstat.gov.by/perepis-naseleniya/> (17-11-2015)

⁸ Bochkov's'ka, Alla – Kocsis, Károly – Rudenko, Leonid, "Ethnicity, Language and Religion". In: *"Ukraine in Maps"*; *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

⁹ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹⁰ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹¹ IMF: World Economic Outlook Database, GDP, Ukraine, April 2014. (16-01-2016)

¹² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015)

¹³ <http://www.lp.edu.ua/node/2014> (17-11-2015)

tional borders in Western Europe in order to rescue their property accumulated in Ukraine is also quite large. The Foreign Ministry reported 123,300 Ukrainians living in Germany, 30,000 in Great Britain, 30,000 in France, 22,000 in the Czech Republic and 12,000 in Austria.¹⁴ The number of children of Ukrainian oligarchs studying at leading North American universities may also amount to several thousand.

5. Ukrainian nationals who have fled from the East Ukrainian war since 2014.

It is yet to be seen how the annexation (“temporary occupation”) of Crimea by Russia and the military operation – officially called an “Anti-Terrorist Operation” – of the (hybrid) war in Eastern Ukraine will influence the ethnic and linguistic composition of the country’s population. It is certain though that several hundred thousand people were forced to leave the front-line zone (many of them for foreign countries such as Russia), and several thousand men of military age left Ukraine out of fear of mobilization, and no one knows how many of them will return home. In view of the danger of war, Poland, Greece and the Czech Republic are evacuating their minorities living in Ukraine or are assisting them to relocate. By all accounts, the number of Ukrainian nationals living abroad has considerably increased as a result of the armed conflict.

2. Ukraine’s academic structure

The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine¹⁵ was officially founded on November 27, 1918. This academic body came into being during the Civil War period when the Ukrainian People’s Republic was striving for independence. The majority of today’s Ukrainian territory, along with the Academy, was soon to become part of the Soviet Union. The work of the Academy had been determined by the Soviet academic structure up to 1991, when Ukraine became independent. The persistent economic difficulties of the sovereign Ukraine and the inherited Soviet stereotypes have made the revival of the Academy difficult. The president of the Academy has been Boris Paton since 1962, - he was reelected for another term just recently, in April 2015.

The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine has 14 research departments within three sections: 1) the Section of Physical, Engineering and Mathematical Sciences including mathematics, informatics, mechanics, physics and astronomy, geoscience, physical and technical problems of material science, physical and technical problems of power engineering, nuclear physics and power engineering; 2) the chemistry and biology section including chemistry, biochemistry, physiology and molecular biology, general biology; and 3) the social sciences and humanities

¹⁴ <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

¹⁵ Національна академія наук України / National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. <http://www.nas.gov.ua/EN/Pages/default.aspx> (22-10-2015)

section including economics, history, philosophy and law, literature, language and art criticism. It has a comprehensive institutional network. The regional science centers include the following: 1) western center (in Lviv), 2) southern center (in Odessa), 3) north-east center (in Kharkiv), 4) the Dnieper center (in Dnipropetrovsk), and 5) the western center in Kiev. Earlier, there used to be a sixth regional research center in Crimea, but its funding was stopped in 2014 after the annexation of the peninsula by Russia. The structure of the Academy also includes the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine,¹⁶ as well as 168 research institutions and 46 research-production units.

Only a few of the institutions working under the Academy address minority issues in some respect (such as the Institute of Sociology,¹⁷ the Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies,¹⁸ the Koretsky Institute of State and Law,¹⁹ the Rylsky Institute for Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology,²⁰ the Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies,²¹ the Institute of Ukrainian Language,²² the Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies,²³ etc.). Regional research has a central role in the area of social sciences and liberal arts, where the linguistic and cultural issues of the minorities living in the country are addressed primarily from an ethnic-political perspective. The (national and ethnic) minority is primarily seen as a political issue determined by historical conditions. It is especially the Hungarians, the Romanians and the Crimean Tatars that represent a political factor – the same ethnic communities that are characterized, along with the Russians, with a strong endeavor to preserve their language and that are clearly visible as a nationality at the county level, as their ratio comes close to 10% in certain regions. Until recently, the Ukrainian Russians have not emerged as a minority issue or as an ethnic minority in scientific research. Their social organizations represent the Russian-speaking people, the consumers of Russian culture rather than ethnic Russians – irrespective of their ethnicity. 95% of Ukraine's population comprised

¹⁶ Національна бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського / Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/> (17-11-2015)

¹⁷ Інститут соціології / Institute of Sociology. <http://i-soc.com.ua/ukr/index.php> (17-11-2015)

¹⁸ Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І. Ф. Кураса / Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies. <http://www.ipiend.gov.ua/> (17-11-2015)

¹⁹ Інститут держави і права ім. В. М. Корецького / Koretsky Institute of State and Law. <http://idrnan.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²⁰ Інститут мистецтвознавства, фольклористики та етнології ім. М. Т. Рильського / Rylsky Institute for Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology. <http://www.etnolog.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²¹ Інститут демографії та соціальних досліджень імені М. В. Птухи / Ptoukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies. <http://www.idss.org.ua/> (17-11-2015)

²² Інститут української мови НАН України / Institute of Ukrainian Language. <http://www1.nas.gov.ua/institutes/ium/Pages/default.aspx> (16-11-2015)

²³ Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича / Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies. <http://www.inst-ukr.lviv.ua/uk/> (16-11-2015)

Ukrainians and Russians, and at least a quarter of them belong to the ethnic Russian group.

At the same time, special attention is devoted to the minorities in Ukraine by each of the affected mother countries. Poland, Slovenia, Hungary and Romania provided a card that recognizes nationality and grants certain privileges in the given country, and two of these countries – going against Ukrainian regulations – even extended dual citizenship generously in order to forge closer relationships with their fellow citizens. Romanian diplomacy has been making constant efforts to ensure that Moldovans and Romanians are not separated in Ukraine. The Polish community, with its 150,000 people, is roughly as large as the Hungarian population, but the ethnic Polish people – unlike the Hungarians, who have strong ambitions to preserve their native language, have a low level of proficiency in the official language, and are less integrated into society – have been assimilated almost entirely, and the majority of them have become Ukrainian-speaking. At the same time, the Poles in Ukraine have a highly organized community with close ties with the mother country: Polish physicians and teachers go to Poland to acquire professional experience, while kids and young people spend their holiday in Polish youth camps and pursue their studies at Polish universities. Membership in social organizations specially supported by the Polish state is strictly subject to being a member of the Polish ethnic community. Hungary plays a leading role in research in that its Academy undertakes to manage the scientific activities of Hungarian communities living outside its borders, including Ukraine, and pursue organized multidisciplinary research into the given ethnic community.

Russia also supports “compatriots abroad” [соотечественники за рубежом], that is, the Russians living outside its national borders, as well as the representatives of the native nationalities living within its borders who live abroad. As interpreted by Russian politics, the former category comprises a demographic reserve, and is an important factor in Russian foreign policy. In accordance with the 1999 Russian Federal Law “On State Policy of the Russian Federation in respect of compatriots abroad” are Russian citizens permanently residing outside the Russian Federation, persons and their descendants residing outside the territory of the Russian Federation and related as a rule to peoples historically living on the territory of the Russian Federation, persons who made a free choice in favor of the spiritual, cultural and legal relationship with the Russian Federation and whose relatives in the direct ascending line formerly resided in the territory of the Russian Federation (persons who used to be citizens of the USSR, those who live in the countries that were part of the Soviet Union, persons acquired the citizenship of those countries or those who become stateless citizens; immigrants from the Russian State, the Russian Republic, RSFSR, USSR and the Russian Federation who used to have the proper citizenship and have become citizens of a foreign

country or stateless citizens).²⁴ Since 2006 there has been a Decree of the President on Measures to provide assistance to voluntary resettlement into the Russian Federation of compatriots living abroad.²⁵ The inclination to return home is growing every year; according to the state migration office data, over 160,000 people returned home in 2015.²⁶ According to the estimate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are 17 million Russian nationals and “fellow citizens” living outside the borders of Russia, the majority of them in Ukraine (Kazakhstan is in second place with 5 million people).²⁷ Another important concept in Russian political communication is “Russkiy Mir” (Russian World) – the community of people dispersed globally who are representatives of the Russian language and culture, or foreigners who study in Russia, have family, cultural and intellectual ties with Russia, and see it as a friendly country.²⁸ There are several foundations (also) financed by the state that participate in the implementation of these programs (Russkiy Mir Foundation, Alexander Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund, Foundation for Supporting and Protecting the Rights of Compatriots Living Abroad), which also take part in research projects by announcing competitions.

3. Programs and research projects for ethnic Ukrainians abroad

According to Article 12 Chapter I of the Ukrainian Constitution, “Ukraine provides for the satisfaction of national and cultural, and linguistic needs of Ukrainians residing beyond the borders of the State”.²⁹ A law of Ukraine on the legal status of foreign Ukrainians in 2004³⁰ also provides for this. The preamble of the law says that “The Ukrainian state helps development of national consciousness of the Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine, strengthening of ties with the homeland and to their return to Ukraine.”

24 Федеральный закон от 24.05.1999 № 99-ФЗ (ред. от 23.07.2013) О государственной политике Российской Федерации в отношении соотечественников за рубежом. <http://base.garant.ru/12115694/> (15-01-2016)

25 Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 22 июня 2006 года, Москва № 637 О мерах по оказанию содействия добровольному переселению в Российскую Федерацию соотечественников, проживающих за рубежом. *Российская газета*, 28 июня 2006 г.

26 http://www.fms.gov.ru/fms/activity/stats/Statistics/Statisticheskie_svedeniya_po_migracionno/item/50443/ (15-01-2016)

27 <http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/50643> (15-01-2016)

28 <http://council.gov.ru/activity/documents/54355> (15-01-2016)

29 Constitution of Ukraine. <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/constitutions/country/52> (17-11-2015)

30 Law of Ukraine About foreign Ukrainians. <http://zakon0.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1582-15> (17-11-2015); Orosz, Sándor, “Törvény és érdekvédelmi program a határon túli ukránok szülőföldi/anyanyelvű státuszáról”, *Pro Minoritate*, 1/2011, pp. 82–97.

In accordance with Article 1 of the law a foreign Ukrainian is a person being the citizen of another state or the stateless person, having Ukrainian ethnic origin or having origin from Ukraine. Those persons are considered to have the Ukrainian ethnic origin, who (or whose ancestors) belong to the Ukrainian nation and recognize Ukraine the homeland of their ethnic origin. Article 3 of the Act defines the criteria for having the status of foreign Ukrainians. These people include the following: the person considers himself as having Ukrainian identity; Ukrainian origin or ethnicity; lack of Ukrainian citizenship; age under 16; and a written application for obtaining the status of an ethnic Ukrainian living abroad. Pursuant to Article 10 of the Act, satisfying the ethnic, cultural and linguistic needs of Ukrainians living outside the national borders and the protection of the right of national minorities are an inalienable part of Ukraine's political activity. The status of ethnic Ukrainians living abroad is granted by issuing a card for "ethnic Ukrainians living abroad".

The Ukrainian government created the National Commission for Matters Concerning Ukrainians Worldwide by Government Decree No. 1024 of August 8, 2004.³¹ The commission has a meeting every quarter. Its key task is to evaluate the applications for the status of ethnic Ukrainians living abroad. According to the data issued on July 11, 2014, a total of 8,448 persons were granted this status. The website of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a separate section that provides information on the application for the status of ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³²

In its decree No. 682 issued on June 18, 2012, the government approved the official program of liaising with the ethnic Ukrainians abroad for the period between 2012 and 2015.³³ This official program is designed, among other things, to slow down the assimilation of young ethnic Ukrainians abroad, organize Ukrainian-language courses for ethnic Ukrainians abroad, and use the intellectual, cultural and scientific achievements of Ukrainians living abroad in order to strengthen Ukraine's international prestige and image. The annexes to the documents list the various aids provided for ethnic Ukrainians living abroad, the amount of funds allocated for this purpose, and their source in the budget. The 20-page list includes very few items that are related to science, such as financial support provided for the organization of conferences.

Ukraine's Ministry of Education and Science has a separate program for Ukrainians living abroad. According to the information material posted on the ministry's official website,³⁴ the government provides 1,000 scholarships every

³¹ Національна комісія з питань закордонних українців при Кабінеті Міністрів України / National Commission for Matters Concerning Ukrainians Worldwide at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/about-ukraine/ukrainians-abroad> (17-11-2015)

³² <http://mfa.gov.ua/ua/consular-affairs/otr> (17-11-2015)

³³ <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/682-2012-%D0%BF> (17-11-2015)

³⁴ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/> (17-11-2015)

year for foreign nationals of Ukrainian origin, which can be used in 200 higher-education institutions (that have the relevant permissions) in the following subject areas: teacher training, humanities, artistic training, journalism, sociology and political science. The government does not provide scholarships for foreign Ukrainians in medical and health-care training.

According to the information provided by the ministry, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary also support the higher-education training of ethnic Ukrainians abroad through scholarships on the basis of an interstate agreement. Only students of Ukrainian origin are eligible to apply for the scholarship that do not have Ukrainian citizenship but have a card issued to ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³⁵

The knowledge of Ukrainian is not a precondition for having the status of ethnic Ukrainian abroad on the basis of either the law on ethnic Ukrainians abroad, or the interpretation of the term *mother tongue* as defined by the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Science. According to the interpretation of the ministry published on its website, *mother tongue* [рідна мова] “is the language of the parents (or one of the parents), the grandparents or the great-grandparents, with which the given person identifies himself and through which he is related to a particular national and/or ethnic group”.³⁶ Thus, in this interpretation, *mother tongue* is not the language first acquired, nor is it the most frequently used or the best-known language; rather, it is a kind of language of origin. For this reason, the Ukrainians abroad who do not have a command of Ukrainian sufficient for pursuing university studies can enroll in preparatory language courses for tuition of USD 1,500 per year.³⁷

In Ukraine, there is no intellectual and scientific center organized centrally as an organic part of the academic institutional structure whose task is to study the Ukrainian communities living outside the national borders, which are in significantly different situations from one another. On the other hand, the state archive network has its own archives for ethnic Ukrainians abroad.³⁸

Perhaps the most significant institution of foreign Ukrainians is the *International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations of Lviv Polytechnic National University*.³⁹ Their key sponsors are the Norway Fund and the Open Ukraine Foundation.

³⁵ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/ymovi.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁶ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zagalna-serednya/bagatomovna-osvita/slovnichok.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁷ <http://mon.gov.ua/activity/education/zakordonnim-ukrayinczyam/ymovi.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁸ Центральний державний архів зарубіжної україніки / Central State Archives of Foreign Archival Ukrainian. <http://tsdazu.gov.ua/index.php/en.html> (30-12-2015)

³⁹ Міжнародний інститут освіти, культури та зв'язків з діаспорою Національного університету Львівська політехніка / *International Institute of Education, Culture and Diaspora Relations of Lviv Polytechnic National University*. <http://www.lp.edu.ua/miok> (18-11-2015)

According to its website, the foundation of the research institute was justified by the fact that with Ukraine becoming independent, the relationship of official bodies with the Ukrainian diaspora in the West, which is well-organized and has much better financial possibilities, changed considerably, and so did the attitude of the diaspora, which defined itself as the opposition to the Soviet regime, towards sovereign Ukraine as a politically independent country. In the first half of the 1990s, the Ukrainian state needed the support of the Ukrainian emigrants that were integrated into the host states in the West in order to establish its legitimacy and consolidate its international position. On the other hand, the Western scientific approach, free from the communist ideology, and literature that suddenly became available, provided inspiration for social scientists at home.

The research projects of the Institute give priority to the revival of the language of Ukrainians living abroad, and to the studies carried out in connection with the teaching of the Ukrainian language. Currently, the key project is concerned with the study of more recent waves of immigration from Ukraine, providing assistance for Ukrainian nationals taking a job abroad for a particular period of time to return home, as well as studying and supporting their reintegration into Ukrainian society. It is also the task of this research program to explore the reasons behind mass emigration and analyze its (demographic, social, economic, political, legal, etc.) consequences and challenges.

The majority of Ukrainians working abroad leave behind their families. The study of issues related to children who are socialized in Ukraine without one (and often both) of their parents for a long time and the organization of Ukrainian language courses for and the study of the identity-consciousness of those children who are socialized abroad with their parents far away from the homeland are also part of the Institute's research program. The concept of so-called "social orphans" and "national orphans" has become a central topic in Ukrainian social science research as a result of this research program. The former category includes children who grow up without their parents who are working far away in another country; the latter category includes those who are living outside Ukraine with their parents working abroad during a period of time that is so crucial for socialization and the development of national identity. The research Institute raises issues worthy of serious studies in connection with the psychological development of the children who belong to the first group, and in connection with the development of a Ukrainian national identity and the acquisition of the Ukrainian language for the second group.

The Diaspora Research Institute in Kiev also deserves mention as a center of studying Ukrainians living beyond the national borders. Created at a civil initiative in 1994, this nonprofit institution is mainly concerned with historical research. Although it has numerous scientific publications and projects of its own,

it does not have its own website; it is present on another website as a guest as well as on Facebook, where a Wikipedia entry is posted on it.⁴⁰

The institutions working outside the national Academy and public higher-education institutions satisfy market demand and/or engage in heated debates with academic historiography.⁴¹

The key issue in the current complicated situation in Ukraine is one of the basic elements of Ukrainian national identity: the language issue. The language of the people living in the diaspora, and the results achieved in the standardization and codification of language by Ukrainian emigration, constitutes an integral part of the history of the Ukrainian language. Therefore, the traditions and viewpoints of the millions of Ukrainians living outside Ukraine cannot be disregarded in the codification of a modern and uniform Ukrainian standard language.

Until Soviet Ukraine was created and until Ukraine became independent in 1991 on this territory, the ethnic Ukrainian regions were under the rule of several different states. As a result, the standardization and codification of the standard variety of Ukrainian⁴² were taking place simultaneously in several places rather than in a single center. At the turn of the 19th-20th centuries, very few people emigrating from the western regions of today's Ukraine had a Ukrainian identity: most of them identified themselves as Rusyn or Transcarpathian Ukrainian, etc., since at that time there was no solid Ukrainian national identity among the emigrants. The struggle for preserving their own language was not being fought for keeping the standard Ukrainian variety, but rather for preserving the regional variety that they had acquired at home.

For example, in the early 1930s slightly different study norms were followed in Ukrainian within the Soviet empire in Soviet Ukraine, in Podkarpatska Rus belonging to the Czech Republic (on the territory of present-day Transcarpathia), and in present-day Western Ukraine, which was under the jurisdiction of Poland at that time. After World War II, when the majority of the ethnic Ukrainian regions were united under the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a member of the Soviet Union, the consolidation of Ukrainian spelling rules and Ukrainian linguistic standards began in accordance with the objectives of the Soviet language policy and language planning. At the same time, the majority of the Ukrainian emigrants fleeing from communism and the Soviet regime did not recognize the

⁴⁰ Інститут досліджень діаспори. https://www.facebook.com/Інститут-досліджень-діаспори-410455139079730/info/?tab=page_info (18-11-2015)

⁴¹ As for critical reflections, the most popular platform is: <http://historians.in.ua/index.php/en/> (16-01-2016)

⁴² Standardization: the process in which a language is codified in some way, creating its standard (literary) variety. Codification: the process in which variants are selected from grammar and vocabulary that collectively characterize this particular linguistic variety. The results of codification are generally summarized in grammars, dictionaries and spelling dictionaries. See for instance: Trudgill, Peter, *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh, 2003, pp. 23–24, 128.

Soviet-Ukrainian spelling norms, and despite the Ukrainian spelling rules and dictionaries published in Soviet Ukraine, those living in emigration continue to observe the norms that were in place before their emigration. One of the most remarkable examples of this is the consistent use of the spelling *гГ* [gG] by Ukrainians living in the West in their newspapers, journals and books, which was banished from Soviet Ukrainian spelling. Although the Ukrainian orthographic rules restored the use of *гГ* in the Ukrainian alphabet, the codification of new Ukrainian spelling rules based on consensus is still to come.⁴³

In addition to research pertaining to Ukrainian emigration, the studies of traditional ethnic minorities living outside of Ukraine constitutes a special trend. Among these, the debates on the identity of ethnic Ukrainians abroad, especially those of ethnic self-identity, deserve attention.

According to the official Ukrainian academic position – in line with the approach of the former Soviet Union – the Rusyns are not a separate ethnic group but an ethnographic group, and the language spoken by them is one of the dialects of Ukrainian.⁴⁴ On the other hand, some of the states neighboring on Ukraine recognized both Ukrainians and Rusyns as separate nationalities, ethnic minorities.

There are scholars in Ukrainian science who regard the Rusyns both within Ukraine (Transcarpathia) and outside its borders clearly as a politically motivated movement with separatist ambitions that threaten Ukraine's integrity, and Rusyns as a pseudo-minority. Others believe that "Rusyn identity has neither ethnic nor ethnographic or linguistic basis." Also, there are analysts who present the period of the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as the return of "Rusyn nationalism" and evaluate the period of reviving Rusynian identity as marginal, provincial nationalism and a source of conflict. Additionally, some people believe that the Rusynian movement picking up momentum in the period of Ukraine's achieving independence is influenced by the former Committee for State Security of the Soviet Union), the conspiratorial policy of the United States, Russia, Hungary and Slovakia, and the political secret services of these countries.⁴⁵ In other

⁴³ Cf.: Ажнюк, Богдан, *„Мовна єдність: діаспора й Україна“*, Київ, 1999; Ажнюк, Богдан, *„Еволюція української мови в діаспорі (етно- і соціолінгвістичні аспекти)“*, Київ, 1999.

⁴⁴ The Council of Europe drew the same conclusion on the position of Ukraine regarding Ruthenians in its Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which analyzes the application of the convention by Ukraine. See: Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Opinion on Ukraine. 1 March 2002. <http://www.refworld.org/country,COESFCPNM,,UKR,,447eef6f4,0.html> (30-12-2015)

⁴⁵ Cf. works such as: Smith, Raymond A., "Indigenous and Diaspora Elites and the Return of Carpatho-Ruthenian Nationalism, 1989–1992", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. XXI (Number 1–2, 1997), pp. 141–160; Нагорна, Лариса, *„Регіональна ідентичність: український контекст“*, Київ, 2008; Савойська, Світлана, *„Мовно-політичний сепаратизм як фактор дестабілізації єдності українського суспільства в умовах пострадянської трансформації“*, Київ, 2011; Балєга, Юрій, *„Політичне русинство, або Фенцико-Бродіївські привиди на*

words: According to Ukraine and the Ukrainian academic community, the people living in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Croatia, which identify themselves as Rusyns, are actually Ukrainian and their language is a variety of Ukrainian.⁴⁶ The Ukrainian state and the academic community look at it with disapproval if a state recognizes the Rusyns in Ukraine as a distinct nationality. These states are typically seen as acting in this way in order to weaken the Ukrainian community in the given country, under Russia's influence, and hence indirectly Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation.⁴⁷ This is because "the official Ukrainian politics regards the Ukrainians outside its national borders as a constituent part of Ukrainian society defined in the broadest possible (geographical) sense, without which the entire community of Ukrainians could not be complete".⁴⁸

4. Institutions and organizations of the ethnic Ukrainians abroad

The studies on the several million Ukrainians living outside of Ukraine are not organized by a central research institution, nor does the Ukrainian academic structure have any institute whose tasks would include the organization and coordination of studies pertaining to ethnic Ukrainians abroad. The research on Ukrainians living abroad with a focus on social science is mainly connected to a few academic institutions, university departments and individual researchers. These research projects lack predictable state support and are funded by (foreign) competitions and – in most cases – by aid provided for ethnic Ukrainian organizations and institutions abroad. The focus of research on the ethnic Ukrainians abroad lies not with Ukraine but with the research institutes of Slavic and Ukrainian studies, university departments and institutions working outside Ukraine.

The Ukrainian diaspora is pretty well-organized. There are numerous societies and clubs engaged in organizing and bringing together the groups of Ukrainian people living outside of Ukraine. These include the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council,⁴⁹ the Ukrainian World Congress⁵⁰ or the European Congress of Ukrainians.⁵¹ These organizations, however, receive support only sporadically

Закарпатті”, Ужгород, 2010; Кривицька, Олена, “Демаркаційні лінії в етнополітичному просторі України”, Київ, 2015.

⁴⁶ Белей, Любомир, “Русинська мова в Югославії та Хорватії”. In: “Українська мова. Енциклопедія”. Київ, 2000, p. 527.

⁴⁷ Orosz, Sándor: “Törvény és érdekvédelmi program...”, *ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94

⁴⁹ Українська Всесвітня Координаційна Рада / Ukrainian World Coordinating Council. www.uvkr.com.ua (17-11-2015)

⁵⁰ Світовий Конгрес Українців / Ukrainian World Congress. www.ukrainianworldcongress.org (17-11-2015)

⁵¹ Європейський Конгрес Українців / European Congress of Ukrainians. www.eukrainians.net (17-11-2015)

from the Ukrainian budget for particular events or publications. What is more typical is that the organizations and institutions working abroad provide support for organizations for particular conferences and cultural programs, trainings, and the publication of books and papers in Ukraine. However, conducting scientific research and providing support for it does not belong to the core activities of the aforementioned organizations.

The International Association of Ukrainian Studies is responsible for promoting the scholars and the research projects related to the Ukrainian language, literature and culture.⁵² Founded in 1989, the Society has local centers in over twenty countries. It organizes the international congresses of Ukrainian Studies and has been regularly publishing the collection entitled *Наукові записки Міжнародної асоціації українців* [Research Publications of the International Society of Ukrainian Studies].⁵³

Numerous research institutions and universities outside Ukraine are engaged in the study of Ukrainian language and culture. Among them, the following are recognized as the most important ones: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies,⁵⁴ Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto,⁵⁵ Ukrainian Free University in Munich,⁵⁶ Associazione Italiana di Studi Ucraini (Italian Association of Ukrainian Studies),⁵⁷ Department of Ukrainian Philology at University of Warsaw,⁵⁸ Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature at University of Presov,⁵⁹ Slovak National Museum of Ukrainian-Ruthenian Culture in Svidnik, Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia University,⁶⁰ Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University,⁶¹ Ukrainian Studies at Stanford University,⁶² The Ukrainian Studies Endowment at the University of Washington,⁶³ American Association for Ukrainian Studies,⁶⁴ etc. The majority of the research centers working outside Ukraine have professional relations with scholars living in Ukraine and have launched numerous joint research projects. However, these are typically not financed by Ukrainian resources.

⁵² Міжнародна Асоціація Українців / International Association of Ukrainian Studies. <http://www.mau-nau.org.ua/index.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁵³ http://www.mau-nau.org.ua/_private/pro_mau/pro_mau6.htm (17-11-2015)

⁵⁴ <http://www.ualberta.ca/~cius/> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁵ <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/%7Eetarn/courses/> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁶ <http://www.ukrainische-freie-universitaet.mhn.de/Eng/indexeng.html> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁷ <http://www.aisu.it> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁸ <http://www.ukraina.uw.edu.pl/gb/about.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁵⁹ <http://www.unipo.sk/PU/FF/kujl.htm> (17-11-2015)

⁶⁰ <http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/hi/ukr-series.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶¹ <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~huri/about.mission.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶² <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/CREES/UkrainianStudies.html> (17-11-2015)

⁶³ <http://www.depts.washington.edu/slavweb/ukrainian/> (17-11-2015)

⁶⁴ <http://www.ukrainianstudies.org/nataffils.htm> (17-11-2015)

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Ukraine spends 0.2% of its GDP on financing science. In 2015, 5 billion hryvnias were spent on funding scientific research from the central budget, of which 2.3 billion was allocated to the national academy. This is roughly EUR 200 million, which is equivalent to the annual budget of a good university in the West. Academician Yaroslav S. Yatskiv said in January 2016⁶⁵ that neither the state, nor the academia or the business community and society have ever considered the promotion of science as important in Ukraine. Government officials have always been aware that the promotion of science and culture is a measure of national sentiment, so they have never spared positive slogans, but no more than that has ever happened. For example, the business community's imagination is never moved by the opportunities offered by high technology. As for society, the people settle for ensuring daily survival, where science is not a major concern.

⁶⁵ Яцків, Ярослав, "Слово про вітху та розпач". *День*, 2/2016. <http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/tema-dnya-cuspilstvo/slovo-pro-vtihu-ta-rozpach> (15-01-2016)