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TRAPS FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTIONS OF OVERCOMING THEM (IN TERMS OF THE MILITARY CONFLICT IN THE EAST OF UKRAINE, 2014–2017)

Traps for internal migration and possible collective actions of overcoming them were studied in the article. Finding the reasons of internal migrants getting into traps, identification of these traps is an important component of scientific support for migration policies in the field of internal migration. Having based on the materials of empirical sociological research of internal migrants' problems in modern Ukraine, conducted with the participation of the authors in 2015, the following traps of internal migration have been defined: "institutional trap", "informational trap", "resource trap", "poverty trap". It is important to coordinate efforts to overcome the traps of internal migration of the state and civil society institutions and international organisations and to carry out in the country the policy of "active tolerance" towards internal migrants.

Keywords: migration, internal migration, forced migration, migrants, migration traps, collective action.

Introduction

The practices of internal migrations in the modern world problematise social policy towards IDPs. Managerial decisions, related to providing migrants with administrative and social services, to their rehabilitation and adaptation to the life in the new conditions, require scientific support.

The phenomenon of migration and migrants since the work of E. Ravenstein "The laws of migration" (Ravenstein, 1885) was published has been studied in both theoretical and applicable aspects. E. Ravenstein was the first one who gave the classification of the population's migration depending on the type of the borders crossed, the period of stay in the host place, the means of transportation, the reasons for relocation of the social groups participating in the migration process. However, today migration is described as a complex process including numerous aspects, historical conditions, character, duration, the motives for relocation, newcomers' adaptation¹.

Today, there are the theories of assimilation (Robert Park, Ernst Burgess, Lloyd Warner, Milton Gordon), the theory of segment assimilation (A. Portes, M. Chzhov, P. Rumbo, Richard Alba, Victor Nee). Despite their ethnocentrism and ideological overload, the concept of transnationalism is a theoretical frame for the migration analysis. In the transnational concept of migration, "a migrant is no longer perceived as a person torn from his country and forced to assimilate or integrate, as he no longer belongs to the sending society. On the contrary, a migrant is perceived within this concept as the holder of two or more identities included in the social, economic and political life, and often several communities"². Forced migrants from the east of Ukraine are characterised by multiple identity, which has, however, certain threats³. Anyway, migrants' integration in the host society is still a popular topic for scientists' research, presented in works by Portes A., Fernandez-Kelly P., Haller W. (2005)⁴ and

¹ Ravenstein, E. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167-227. doi:10.2307/2979181

² Костенко, В. (2014). Теории миграции: от ассимиляции к транснационализму *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*, Том XVII, 3 (74), 72.

³ Khyzhniak, L., Kateryna Khyzhniak, K. (2016). Identity Threats of IDPs' Problem Groups in Ukraine *Identities of Central-Eastern European Nations* [Multi-author book]. Kyiv : "SPA "Interservice" Ltd., 133-149.

⁴ Portes A., Fernandez-Kelly P., Haller, W. (2005). Segmented assimilation on the ground: The new second generation in early adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 1000–1040.

by Warner R. (2007)¹. In particular, there are searches for the value basis of integration of the local population and internal migrants. For example, P. Fadeev considers pursuance of social justice to be such a foundation. On the basis of empirical research material, he showed that all people (both locals and recently moved migrants) are in a common socio-cultural space, are experiencing similar problems, seek a decent life and social justice is a factor that unites people of different nationalities².

The migration process is happening in the global world, so it is difficult to overestimate the international community's reaction to migration (mainly international organisations). However, internal migration has both a global context, and national-state specificity. It should be noted that internally displaced persons are the category of forced migration that is used along with the concepts of "refugees" and "displaced persons". In international law, the victims of forced migration are defined as refugees and displaced persons. For the last decade, European countries have faced so-called "migration flood",³ which comprehension requires new theoretical approaches.

The aim of the article is to identify traps for internal migration and possible collective actions of overcoming them (on the example of IDPs in Ukraine).

In this article, we assume that internal migration can be voluntary and forced. V. Tishkov rightly points out that voluntary internal migration serves the purposes of development, the success of an individual and the country as a whole. These are the positive features of migration⁴. However, forced migration can be problematic both for the migrants and for the host party.

In our study, we rely on the work by L. Rybakovskii, who has researched the historical background of migration and its determinants in terms of management of these processes in order to reduce their destructive geopolitical consequences⁵.

We believe that forced internal migration in modern Ukraine has the background, the determinants, which could have been foreseen, and with the help of managerial decisions to prevent or reduce their adverse national and global implications. The absence of national unity, a difficult transition in the foreign policy from multidirectional to unidirectional European choice – these determinants of internal split of the Ukrainian society in many ways contributed to the revolutionary events that began in Ukraine in November 2013. The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and the anti-terrorist operation in the east of Ukraine have led to a massive forced internal migration, which changed the lives of more than one million citizens of the country, some of whom have emigrated, and most have become internally displaced persons.

We will study the specificity of forced internal migrations on the example of modern Ukraine, as well as the "traps", with which they are faced.

1. Empirical basis and the methods of research of the "internal migration traps".

Let us give characteristics to IDPs' injured identity, based on the results of the research conducted with the participation of the authors by the employees of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University from July 15th to 30th, 2015 (253 temporarily displaced persons interviewed). The criteria for selecting respondents: a) legalisation of the status of displaced persons through the formal registration; b) applying for social assistance to government institutions and volunteers. Interview locations: modular town for people from temporarily occupied territories (62%), volunteer centre «Kharkiv Station» (27%), summer camp «Romashka» (7%), rehabilitation centres «Promin'», «Turyst» (4%). Socio-demographic profile of displaced persons who were the respondents: mostly women (70%), 54% are children under 16 years; people from Luhansk (54%) and Donetsk (46%), 81% lived in the cities before moving; by age – 18-30 years – 23%, 31-55 years – 50%, 56 years and older – 27%.

Since 2014 numerous organisations from around the world have helped solve the problems of internally displaced persons in Ukraine. The characteristics of volunteerism during the ATO can be given by empirical data of the sociological research conducted under the guidance of O. Khyzhniak by Kharkiv Regional Public Organisation "Agency of Social Engineering 'Right of Choice'" (September 20 – October

¹ Warner, R. (2007). The role of religion in the process of segmented assimilation, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 612(1), 102–115.

² Фадеев, П. (2016). Социальная справедливость как фактор. Фактор, интегрирующий мигрантов в местное сообщество. *Социологическая наука и социальная практика*, 3, 117-134.

³ Савельев, А. (2016). *Миграционный потоп. Закат Европы и будущее России*. Москва: Книжный мир.

⁴ Тишкова, В., Шнирельмана, В. (2007). *Национализм в мировой истории*. Москва: Наука.

⁵ Рыбаковский, Л. (2016). *История и теория миграции населения. Книга первая. Мировые миграции: исторические фрагменты и их детерминанты*. Москва: Изд-во «Экон-Информ».

4, 2014, a survey of Kharkiv residents in an interview face-to-face mode at the place of a respondent's residence, n = 1004, the sample is proportional to the population structure by sex, age and place of residence). Volunteering has got the massive nature during ATO 2014, which was contributed by the consolidation of Ukrainian society in terms of external aggression to the east of the state. Almost 26% of the respondents at the time of the survey, according to their testimony, provided personal assistance to migrants from the ATO zone and 17% – directly to ATO participants. The most common were such forms of assistance: the transfer of food and goods to refugees (44%), transfer of funds to charities and organisations (37%), providing them temporarily with their homes (32%), participation in charity and patriotic events (meetings, rallies, etc.) (6%), participation in organising and conducting charity events (6%). Six percent of the respondents went to the ATO zone as volunteers to assist soldiers¹.

2. “Internal migration traps”, their types, characteristics and collective actions of their overcoming

2.1. “Institutional trap” of internal migration.

“Institutional trap” is related to the lack of readiness of the Ukrainian society institutions (especially the state and its agencies) to ensure the social protection for a particular group of its citizens – internally displaced persons from the battle zone.

“Institutional trap” of internal migration can also include the lack of security of internally displaced persons, which should be provided by some structure (primarily state ones).

Civilians evacuated from the ATO zone, often also become the objects of provocations (from relatively humane type of illegal transport alienation and fees to sometimes even deadly ones) by the illegal armed groups. The relevant evidence is presented in the report on the cases of evacuation obstruction, prepared by the Centre for Civil Liberties and the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union in the framework of the Coalition of NGOs and initiatives “Justice for Peace in Donbas.”

Collective actions of overcoming this “trap” are taken mostly by volunteers. Volunteers believe that today Ukraine has no answers to the question of how to protect people from it in the future. There is also a problem that concerns systems and cargo transportations through the separating line with the temporarily occupied territory. Volunteers have developed and presented recommendations – both tactical (concerning the problem solution of passes, cargo transportations and fighting corruption in the system) and strategic, concerning developing a comprehensive strategy to evacuate.

2.2. “Informational trap” of internal migration

“Informational trap” is dangerous because it does not provide migrants with the necessary information and distorts their image, provoking intolerance towards them on the part of the host community (e.g., stigmatisation of migrants, labelling them as “separatists”).

Evaluation of current informational needs and access to information of IDPs in Ukraine was provided by the International Public Organisation “Internews”, which has presented the results of the study “Understanding the information and communication needs of internally displaced persons”. The basic informational needs of internally displaced persons are not met, which is manifested in the following aspects. 1. Lack of useful news and relevant information about rights, benefits, changes in social policy, the criteria for receiving assistance and support services available from internally displaced persons. 2. Too many messages about the war and not enough reports of a humanitarian crisis. 3. Journalists’ lack of the skills for preparing the reports on the themes of conflicts and the humanitarian situation and reports on the issues related to the crisis².

Internal migrants have felt the lack of information since the beginning of the migration. So, more than a half of those surveyed (58%) noted that in the first days of arrival in Kharkov they lacked information about social services that help the same people as they are. The “information trap” concerned mostly people from an elder age group, compared with young people. The lack of information was especially relevant for those seniors who arrived not being accompanied by their children or grandchildren. In the first days of accommodating internally displaced persons there were no information booklets for migrants.

¹ Khyzhniak, O. (2014). Possibility and Prospects of Using the Situational Approach in the Analysis of Collective Social Action. *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В. Н. Каразіна – «Соціологічні дослідження сучасного суспільства: методологія, теорія, методи»*, 1122 (33), 72-76.

² Гарантії для переселенців: безкоштовне житло на півночі. <http://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/politics/2014/10/141021_displaced_law_vs> (2017, November, 20)

Official sources have reported only the estimated number of internally displaced persons, but there is a lack of information on the socio-demographic composition of the group, their social segmentation and social and medical needs, satisfaction with social services; willingness of social services to meet the specific needs of certain groups in this category¹. For better informing IDPs, International Organisation Transparency International has prepared the infographics “The Migrant’s Assistant”.

Creation of The Common Information Database on Internally Displaced Persons is called to overcoming the lack of information for social protection of internally displaced persons. However, not all internally displaced persons are registered, which makes official information on this category of social services not sufficient to effectively provide its members with social security.

Let us study collective actions of overcoming this “trap”.

In September 2014 in Ukraine, the Resource centre for IDPs was created. This centre combined the following organisations: Secretariat of Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights, the public initiative “Crimea-SOS”, the Project “Without Borders” NGO “Centre Social Action” initiative “House of friends”, NGO “Centre for civic education “Almenda”, public initiative “Employment centre for free people”, ACF “Right to defence”, CF “Rokada”, public initiative “Crimean diaspora”, community initiative “Kit for refugees”, NGO “Centre for civil liberties” and others. The Resource centre for internally displaced persons has a number of functions: establishing and improving the links between the various initiatives and organisations that support internally displaced persons; collecting humanitarian aid; needs analysing; coordinating assistance; providing legal advice and legal aid; providing advice on employment and temporary resettlement; participation in the preparation of the legal and analytical framework for the development and implementation of long-term strategies to help internally displaced persons and their integration; developing advocacy campaigns.

Similar regional centres allowed to coordinate the work of providing social services to IDPs according to the specificity of a region. In the Kharkiv region there is the Headquarters of the issues solution related to social security of internally displaced persons.

We should note that internally displaced persons are a heterogeneous group by social status, socio-demographic characteristics, resource capabilities and value orientations that requires social services to conduct their segmentation and provide social protection to provide appropriate social care, taking into account the specific needs of individual categories. For this, it is necessary to carry out continuous monitoring of problematic issues of this group which will provide the necessary information for making appropriate managerial decisions.

2.3. «Resource trap» of the internal migration.

“Resource trap” is multifold and is connected to the lack of resources of social services to assist internal migrants, unwillingness to provide this group with new services as special customers.

Various public services, together with local authorities, centres of administrative services created by local state administrations gradually became involved in providing social services to IDPs. Information on these centres can be obtained from a local migration service unit or local state administration. However, there was an acute need to coordinate the efforts of local authorities, government agencies, volunteers and NGOs.

The resource for migrants’ integration is thought to be the language knowledge. Thus, V. Sokolova based on the experience of Spain proved the thesis about the defining role of a language competence in the process of external migrants’ social integration². However, in a situation with Ukraine this rule is usually transformed. It is logical to assume that in a unitary state, such as Ukraine, which operates one state language (Ukrainian), internal migrants have no problems with communication using the official language.

Collective actions of overcoming this “trap” are related to the activities of international organisations. For providing social services to migrants, the Kharkiv region cooperates with several international organisations, such as: Red Cross, International Organisation for Migration, German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) etc.

In discussing the problems of IDPs in the Kharkiv region and providing actual assistance there are such participants as United Nations Population Fund, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration of the

¹ Хижняк, Л., Андрущенко, А. (2015). Інформаційне забезпечення соціального захисту внутрішньо переміщених осіб: досвід України. *Міжнародний науковий форум: соціологія, психологія, педагогіка, менеджмент : збірник наукових праць*, 19-20, 20-28.

² Соколова, В. (2016). Знание языка как ресурс интеграции мигрантов. Опыт Испании. *Вестник Института социологии*, 18, 195-213.

US State Department, the Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on Migration, Refugees and Displaced Persons; PACE Committee on Migration, Refugees and Displaced Persons and others.

However, there are some resource limitations in aid from international sponsors. Thus, a series of modular camps have been built for the problem groups of internally displaced persons. However, this does not meet the need for housing of most people in need.

Collective action of overcoming this “trap” in the case of the limited resources of the state and the host party are also related to self-organisation of internally displaced persons. <http://gazeta.zn.ua/SOCIUM/vynuzhdennye-pereselency-iz-kryma-dva-goda-spustya-voz-i-nyne-tam-.html>

2.4. “Poverty trap” of internal migration

Internal migrants’ poverty exhibits the same traits as poverty in general. It is both absolute and negative. Migrants who have run in the war conditions often found themselves absolutely poor, undocumented and necessities of life. “Poverty Trap” arises from the fact that the forced migration puts this group of migrants on the brink of survival.

The most painful problem for IDPs is lack of housing (it worries 70% of the respondents and doesn’t worry only every tenth), and for those who lost it as a result of armed hostilities, it is one of the most serious losses, almost irreparable. The state is currently able to provide them only with a temporary shelter where they live in conditions of overcrowding and insecurity of home. In such a situation increase in dissatisfaction and social tensions is possible.

The second problem is the low level of income. It should be noted that the material and social losses of IDPs are measured not only by lost wages within permanent employment in the previous place of residence. After all, even in the status of internally displaced persons, it is possible to find a new job, in addition, the government resumed full payment of pensions and other kinds of social benefits to disabled citizens who had moved to unoccupied territory. For example, registration of pension or social care is thought to be an acute problem by a fifth of the respondents, almost half (48%) do not care at all, and in the general list of problems it ranks only 10th place. But, first, the amount of these payments is low, and secondly, the loss of personal property is quite tangible. As a significant number of displaced persons had to be evacuated at the time of active armed hostilities, they could take with them only necessary things, and some of them do not have anything, even documents.

The third most important place is taken by the issue of communication with the family remained in the ATO zone. It is extremely important for a little more than a half of the respondents (52%). Unfortunately, sometimes social networking is almost the only possibility for IDPs to find out about what is happening to their relatives in the ATO zone. There is no need to mention that this method of communication is not available for everybody due to the various reasons.

The problems of providing medical services to migrants in Ukraine are extremely serious. According to the data of NGO “Restoration of Donbass”, only 13,6% of adults from 1.3 million registered migrants – which is 3% of the total population – used the medical services and the children – 56%. The features of the eastern regions: there is the largest number of patients with complicated viral infections, including tuberculosis, an epidemic of which was stopped only a few years ago and AIDS (25% of all cases in Ukraine). Under the law, migrants are eligible for medical care in the place of registration. One of the problems because of which we have such a low attendance of health facilities – there is no single “window”, where a migrant could register all the documents and that he would still have time and energy to visit a doctor. The second problem is low consciousness. People do not consider it necessary to see a doctor. Regions that accept migrants, including those where there are most displaced people – Donetsk, Luhansk, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipro, Zaporizhzhia – have no appropriate medical resource, because the budget for 2015 did not include the funds for these purposes. That means that migrants are served by the expense of the local population¹.

First and foremost, the efforts of volunteers and government agencies were directed to move from the battle zone to safe environment the representatives of the most vulnerable categories, for whom it was difficult and sometimes impossible to escape on their own: elderly, disabled, terminally and chronically ill people, children. So, if to analyse the composition of the sample on the basis of “Occupation today” feature,

¹ Миколюк, О. (2015). Чому переселенці не йдуть у медзаклади? *День*, № 108.

<day.kiev.ua/uk/article/cuspilstvo/chomu-pereselenci-ne-ydut-u-medzaklady> (2017, November, 21).

we see that its third consists of old age and disabled pensioners, i.e. unable to work persons. This, in our view, can also explain the fact that in the list of acute problems for our respondents the problems such as lack of steady income (41%) and especially the lack of job (30%), which are traditionally believed by the experts to be the most acute problems for internally displaced persons, do not take leading positions (5th and 7th places respectively). If counted together, the unworkable respondents and those who had job at the time of the survey, would amount to 57%, i.e. more than a half of the population. There is also seen a definite dependence between the respondents' age and the degree of urgency of the employment problem for them. Among those, who are very concerned about this issue and those who are likely concerned, there are mostly the representatives of 31 to 55 years' age group, that is the most workable (61% and 65% respectively). The relevance of problem absence of stable income is greatly due to the presence of children under 16 years in the respondents' families. There can be logically traced a direct dependence, since the presence of dependents in the family that children are greatly intensifies the need to find permanent, stable sources of income.

So for IDPs it is extremely urgent is to meet the basic, vital needs such as housing, increasing revenue, solving problems related to health, provision of basic necessities (food, clothing, pharmaceuticals, hygiene accommodation etc.), issues related to employment.

Collective action of overcoming the "poverty trap" by the public authorities: assistance in employment of workable persons; increasing the targeted social assistance to those categories of internally displaced persons who cannot independently solve problems of their livelihood.

It should be noted that IDPs' employment has some difficulties. One of them is the unwillingness of Ukrainian employers to employ IDPs.

"Internal migration traps" considered in this article affect the adaptation of internally displaced persons in the new territory. The difficulties of adaptation are proved by the fact that some of them come back into the ATO zone – even under bombardment.

Summary

Collective actions of overcoming "internal migration traps" have both institutional and non-institutional nature. Institutionally, these collective actions are presented in the form of public bodies, social services, international organisations, volunteer organisations providing support and assistance to internally displaced persons in difficult life circumstances. The main problem here is the coordination of the various collective actors, the establishment of a permanent dialogue between them on issues related to internally displaced persons. Non-institutional collective actions of overcoming "internal migration traps" are carried out by their relatives and friends. They exist at the level of the horizontal self-organisation of those concerned about the fate of internally displaced persons and those who are willing to help them. Here, the main problem is the resource availability of support for the representatives of internally displaced persons. It is necessary to carry out in the country the policy of "active tolerance" towards internal migrants, who are the citizens of their country, and are hoping to defend their legitimate civil rights and additional rights as victims of the war. Today, the demand is not just for tolerance as coexistence with the "another", but namely "active tolerance". We consider that active tolerance can be described as a system of three subsystems: 1) institutions that "construct" tolerance as a cultural, social and personal value (this is, first of all, institutions of science, law, politics, religion); 2) institutions broadcasting (transmitting) a tolerant view of the world, form tolerant competence (this is, above all, the family, education, mass media) and 3) institutions that monitor compliance with the principles of tolerance in society. Mostly we mean the institutions of law, the state of public opinion. We emphasize that the legal and moral legitimacy tolerance without involving communication mechanism are hardly possible in practice¹.

While providing forced internally displaced persons with social services it is impractical to rely on a simplified picture of their needs, values, interests, and focus on segmentation of the category of customers for social services by social characteristics, life plans, perception of the crisis situation where they found themselves. These studies allow to predict the enhancing role of social services (both public and private) of a metropolis in provision IDPs with social protection and support. This is against the background of limiting the role of other actors in guaranteeing the comfortable life of this vulnerable category of citizens. Eventually, while armed hostilities in eastern Ukraine, the situation of displaced persons from

¹ Mann, R., Khyzhniak, O. (2017). Active Tolerance as a Collective Project: Global and Local Dimensions. IOSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS). 22(4), Ver. 6 (April 2017), 13-25. <<http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2022%20Issue4/Version-6/C2204061325.pdf>>.

the ATO zone does not improve, some problems (housing, decent work, etc.) become constant and migrants increasingly admit that they cannot do without help. Therefore, within the issue of improving their lives, they rely more on the government, charities, volunteers and the least – on relatives and friends.

Analysis of the research materials shows that overcoming the “traps” for IDPs primarily depends on: a) the quality of social services provided to this category of citizens (employment, housing, social benefits, etc.); b) the tolerant citizens’ attitude and the territorial community’s actions of solving the problems of internally displaced persons; c) the coordination of the work of local authorities and NGOs to help internally displaced persons. These aspects should be a prime focus of the developers of social policy concerning internally displaced persons.

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