

## **Ethnonational reality and expectations in the context of representation of Russian and other minorities in Ukraine (1989–2017)**

The article is devoted to analyzing ethnonational reality and expectations in the context of the representation of Russian and other minorities in Ukraine in 1989–2017, in particular against the background of the annexation of the Crimea and occupation of the part of Donbas by Russia. It is revealed that ethno-political reality in Ukraine is a complicated and controversial issue due to the lack of reliable statistics on the population of Ukraine (as of the moment of analysis), as well as due to the fact that a significant part of the multinational population of Ukraine is outside the jurisdiction of the official Kyiv and thus beyond the scope of various studies. The author argued that there are several groups/cohorts of ethnic minorities in Ukraine, but the Russian one is most represented. At the same time, it was found that the relative and absolute number of ethnic Russians in Ukraine is decreasing. This is especially noticeable against the background of the processes of annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of part of the Donbas districts, by virtue of which it was recorded that as of 2017, Ukraine if did not become yet, then it becomes a mono-state power with the dominant ethnic core of the Ukrainian nation, bilingualism, significant percentage of representatives of other ethnic groups and polyconfessionalism. This corresponds to the construction of the concept of a civil/political nation in Ukraine.

*Keywords: ethnonational/ethnic minority, ethnonational reality, ethnonational expectations, Russians, Ukrainians, political nation, mononational state, Ukraine.*

## **ЕТНОНАЦІОНАЛЬНІ РЕАЛЬНІСТЬ ТА ОЧІКУВАННЯ У КОНТЕКСТІ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАТИВНОСТІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ТА ІНШИХ МЕНШИН В УКРАЇНІ (1989–2017)**

У статті проаналізовано етнонаціональну реальність й очікування у контексті репрезентативності російської та інших меншин в Україні впродовж 1989–2017 рр., зокрема на тлі анексії Криму та окупації частини Донбасу Росією. З'ясовано, що етнополітична реальність в Україні – це складна та суперечлива проблематика в силу відсутності достовірних статистичних даних про населення України станом на момент аналізу, а також внаслідок того, що значна частина багатонаціонального населення України опинилась поза рамками не тільки юрисдикції офіційного Києва, а й за

рамками різноманітних досліджень. Аргументовано, що в Україні є декілька груп/когорт етнонаціональних меншин, але найбільш російська. Водночас виявлено, що відносна й абсолютна чисельність етнічних росіян в Україні зменшується. Це особливо помітно на тлі процесів анексії Криму та окупації частини районів Донбасу, в силу чого зафіксовано, що станом на 2017 р. Україна якщо не стала, то прискорено стає мононаціональною державою із домінуючим етнічним ядром української нації, двомовністю, значним відсотком представників інших етносів та поліконфесійністю. Це відповідає конструюванню концепту громадянської/політичної нації в Україні.

**Ключові слова:** *етнонаціональна/етнічна меншина, етнонаціональна реальність, етнонаціональні очікування, росіяни, українці, політична нація, мононаціональна держава, Україна.*

Ethno-political reality in Ukraine is a complicated and controversial issue at least for two reasons. Firstly, due to the fact that the last census in the country was held in 2001 and the subsequent censuses for several times have been postponed. Secondly, because over the period of 2014-2017 took place annexation and occupation of the Ukrainian territories, in particular the Crimea and separate parts of Donbas region (Donetsk and Luhansk regions) by the Russian Federation, as a result of which a large part of the multinational population in the official Ukraine found themselves beyond the jurisdiction of official Kyiv, but also beyond various research and surveys, dealing with the composition of population and ethno-political reality in Ukraine. Thus, at present time it is extremely difficult to speak of a factual picture of ethno-national reality in Ukraine, as it: a) on the one hand is being based on the censuses of 1989 and 2001 it represents real situation; b) taking into consideration military-political events in and around Ukraine, as well as the failure to conduct a planned census of population and mainly within the frames of analytical-prognostic estimations as to the composition of Ukraine, on the other hand, is rather an expectation. Correspondingly, quite actual and urgent is comparison of ethno-national reality (taking into account at the most data of the last census in 2001) and ethno-national expectations (as of 2017 according to various sociological and analytically-prognostic research) in the context of representativeness of the Russian minority and other minorities in Ukraine (1989-2017). Actualization of this scientific task let us answer the question whether in Ukraine is taking place or will happen a shift in ethno-national reality and as a result formation of a civil nation.

To solve this task we have applied referred to both statistical and scientific papers. The statistical data is represented by the censuses of 1989<sup>1</sup> and 2001<sup>2</sup>, and sociological surveys and research, conducted in 2017<sup>3</sup>. The scientific part of the research is represented by works by V.

<sup>1</sup> *Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Ukrainy: Ch. 1. (za danymy Vsesoiuznogo perepysu naselennia 1989 roku)*, Wyd. Minstat Ukrainy 1991.

<sup>2</sup> O. Osaulenko, *Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Ukrainy ta yoho movni oznaky za danymy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku*, Wyd. Derzhkomstat Ukrainy 2003.

<sup>3</sup> *Osнови zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti bromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Krubloho stolu 12*

Arbienina<sup>4</sup>, M. Dnistrianskyi<sup>5</sup>, V. Kotyhorenko<sup>6</sup>, V. Krysachenko<sup>7</sup>, S. Kulchytskyi i L. Yakubova<sup>8</sup>, I. Kuras<sup>9</sup>, E. Libanova, M. Dmytrenko, V. Horbulin and S. Pyrozhkov<sup>10</sup>, Y. Nikolaiets<sup>11</sup>, Y. Ohulchanskyi<sup>12</sup>, O. Osaulenko<sup>13</sup>, O. Rafalskyi, V. Kotyhorenko and M. Panchuk<sup>14</sup>, V. Romantsov<sup>15</sup>, V. Skliar<sup>16</sup>, I. Terliuk<sup>17</sup>, V. Yevtukh, V. Troshchynskyi, K. Halushko and K. Chernova<sup>18</sup>, V. Zynych<sup>19</sup> and others<sup>20</sup>.

They cover the peculiarities of ethno-national processes in Ukraine and its separate regions, in particular in Donbas, before and after 2014, but it is recorded that the statistics, concerning the number of ethnical groups, which inhabit Ukraine is mystified. Thus, some authors use the data, telling that Ukraine is inhabited by the representatives of over than 120 nationalities, whereas others speak of only up to 90. However, accuracy does not fix anything, as another question is of crucial importance: whether Ukraine is polyethnic country or not (at least in the political context). The solution of the problem is partially historically preconditioned. Thus, if we put beyond that the fact in the structure of population in Ukraine the most numerous minority is Russians, then in accordance with the census of 1989<sup>21</sup>, there lived about 5% of other ethnical population, which did not always correspond to all generally accepted characteristics (quantitative, socio-cultural, religious, traditional-domestic and other features). If we take into account the official statistics as to the number of population in separate ethnical communities, then in Ukraine one can distinctly single out several main groups. The first, absolutely individual

*kvitnia* 2017 r., Tsentr Razumkova 2017.

- <sup>4</sup> V. Arbienina, *Etnosotsiolohiia*, Wyd. KhNU imeni V. N. Karazina 2007.
- <sup>5</sup> M. Dnistrianskyi, *Etnopolitychna beohrafia Ukrainy: problemy teorii, metodolohii, praktyky*, Wyd. Litopys 2006.
- <sup>6</sup> V. Kotyhorenko, *Etnichni protyrychchia i konflikty v suchasni Ukraini: politolohichni kontsept*, Wyd. Svitohliad 2004.
- <sup>7</sup> V. Krysachenko, *Dynamika naseleennia: populiatyini, etnichni ta hlobalni vymiry*, Wyd. NISD 2005.
- <sup>8</sup> S. Kulchytskyi, L. Yakubova, *Trysta rokiv samotnosti: ukrainskyi Donbas u posbukakh smysliv i Batkivshchyny*, Wyd. Klio 2016.
- <sup>9</sup> I. Kuras, *Etnopolitychii. Pershi kroky stanovlennia*, Wyd. Genera 2004.
- <sup>10</sup> E. Libanova, V. Horbulin, S. Pyrozhkov, *Polityka intebratsii ukrainskoho suspilstva v konteksti vykykiv ta zabroz podii na Donbasi. Natsionalna dopovid*, Wyd. NAN Ukrainy 2015; E. Libanova, M. Dmytrenko, *Chomu same Donbas stav mistsem natsionalnoi trahedii? Posbuk nepolityzovanoi vidpovid na politychne pyttannia*, „Naukovi zapysky Instytutu politychnykh i etnonatsionalnykh doslidzhen im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy“ 2015, vol 5-6 (79-80), s. 4-55.
- <sup>11</sup> Y. Nikolaiets, *Poselenska struktura naseleennia Donbasu: etnopolitychnyi aspekt dynamiky: Monohrafia*, Wyd. IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2014.
- <sup>12</sup> Y. Ohulchanskyi, *Etnichna struktura ukrainskoho suspilstva: uivni ta diisni problemy*, Wyd. KMA 2006.
- <sup>13</sup> O. Osaulenko, *Naseleennia Ukrainy za mistsem narodzhennia ta bromadianstvom za danymy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naseleennia 2001 roku*, Kiev 2004.
- <sup>14</sup> O. Rafalskyi, V. Kotyhorenko, M. Panchuk, *Politychni aspekty kryzy na Donbasi: diabnastyka stanu ta napriamy vrehuliuvannia. Analitychna dopovid*, Wyd. IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2015.
- <sup>15</sup> V. Romantsov, *Ukrainskyi etnos: na odvichnykh zemliakh*, Wyd. Vydavnytstvo im. O. Telihy 2004.
- <sup>16</sup> V. Skliar, *Rozseleennia rosian na terytorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepysiv naseleennia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo“ 2008, vol 12, s. 55-58.; V. Skliar, *Osoblyvosti etnomovnoho skladu naseleennia pidporiadkovanykh Ukraini ta okupovanykh terytorii Donbasu*, „Problemy ta perspektyvy formuvannia natsionalnoi humanitarno-tekhnicnoi elity“ 2017, vol 47 (51), s. 218-236.
- <sup>17</sup> I. Terliuk, *Rosiani za khbidnykh oblastei Ukrainy (1944-1996 rr.): Etnosotsiolohicne doslidzhennia*, Wyd. Svit 1997.
- <sup>18</sup> V. Yevtukh, V. Troshchynskyi, K. Halushko, K. Chernova, *Etnonatsionalna struktura ukrainskoho suspilstva: dovidryk*, Wyd. Naukova dumka 2004.
- <sup>19</sup> V. Zynych, *Suchasni etnodenohrafichni protsevy v Ukraini*, Wyd. RVPS Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy 2004.
- <sup>20</sup> *Donbas v etnopolitychnomu vymiri*, Wyd. IPIEND im. I.F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy 2014.
- <sup>21</sup> *Natsyonalnyi sostav naseleennia po respubliкам SSSR*, [w:] *Vsesoiuznaia perepys naseleennia 1989 goda*, źródło: [http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng\\_nac\\_89.php?reg=2](http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/sng_nac_89.php?reg=2)

group as we speak namely of ethnical (ethno-ethical) minorities, was composed of Russians. In 1989 their general quantity equaled almost 11.2 mln people, what in the nationwide structure was almost 22% of all the population in Ukraine. In terms of the 2001 census the number of Russians was 8.3 mln people or 17.3% of all population of Ukraine. It means that the status of Russians in the group division of minorities remained the same in its qualitative scope, though the tendency to quantity reduction of Russians in Ukraine<sup>22</sup> was observable (in detail and on the background of the events of 2014-2017 it would be speculated below).

Another cohort was represented by ethnic groups, the number of which did not even reach a landmark of 1 million people, but exceeded a 100 000 barrier. According to the official statistics there were 8 such ethnic groups (both in 1989 and in 2001). These were Jews, Belarusians, Moldavian, Crimean Tatars, Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians and Romanians (taking into account the annexed Crimea and occupied territories of Donbas region). In 2001 they were approached by the ethnical group of Armenians, whose number in comparison with 1989 growth in 1.8 times and officially equaled 99 000. Thus, in 2001 one could assume that in practice this group should be related to the second cohort of ethno-national groups in Ukraine. Besides, quite observable were the following tendencies: quantity reduction of such ethnical groups as Belarusians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles and Jews; expansion in the number of such ethnic groups as Crimean Tatars and Armenians; the number of Romanians was relatively stable. A general quantity of the representatives of this cohort of minorities in 1989 was 4% and in 2001 equaled 3.3% of the whole population.

The third cohort involves the ethnic groups, whose quantity was more than 50 000 but less than 100 000 people. In Ukraine in 1989 there were 4 such ethnic groups, namely Greeks, Kazan Tatars, Armenians and Germans, and in 2001 there were 3 of them (including Armenians) – Armenians, Greeks and Kazan Tatars. The general number of their representatives was 0.6% in 1989 and 0.4% in 2001 (if one counts Armenians). The fourth cohort includes the ethnic groups whose number of representatives varies from 10 000 up to 50 000 people. In Ukraine in 2001 existed 5 such groups – Gypsies, Azerbaijani, Georgians, Germans and Gagauz. In 1989 there were only 3 of them – Gypsies, Gagauz and Georgians. Their general proportion in the nationwide structure of population in 2001 equaled 0.5%, and in 1989 – 0.2%. And finally the fifth cohort is represented by ethno-national groups, whose number does not exceed 10 000, but is more than 1 000 people. In Ukraine (both in 1989 and in 2001) there were at least 6 of them. In the nationwide structure their quantity equaled approximately 0.1%. However, the specified statistical data may vary, though not very significantly, to exert a profound influence on the gross findings. The main reason was migration processes, as a result of which in Ukraine appeared numerous ethnical groups, which composed of several thousand people, but not being ranked as citizens they did not fall under the general estimation of ethno-national reality and population structure in Ukraine.

<sup>22</sup> *Natsionalnyi sklad naseleniia*, [w:] *Pro kilkist ta sklad naseleniia Ukraïny za pidsumkamy Vseukraïnskoho perepysu naseleniia 2001 roku*, źródło: <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/>

Taking into account other statistical data concerning ethno-national reality in Ukraine (in particular pattern of redistribution of the abovementioned ethno-national groups, type of settlements and dominant religious affiliation – see Table 1 in detail) it is obvious that the biggest ethno-national minorities in Ukraine predominantly lived densely or geography specific. Their leading religious affiliation was orthodox Christianity, rural type of settlement prevailed, but as to the quantitative indicators urban population predominated. Density and urbanization more contributed to politicization of ethno-national minorities, than dispersion character and rural type of settlement. The ethnic groups whose quantity was above the average lived equally, both densely and in dispersion. Urban type of their settlement predominated and as for the religious features predominated Christian (though confessions variegated) affiliation. There also were representatives of Islamic and protestant confessions. On the contrary to the previous cohort, here there were no groups, which would have a direct contact with their historical motherlands, what in fact intensified the feeling of isolation from their ethnic core, but at the same time it allowed them to preserve their own ethnic identity. In Ukraine also existed the ethnic groups, which belonged to the third cohort, the number of whom varied from 10 000 up to 50 000. According to the 1989 statistics there were only 3 of them and in 2001 – four. Herewith, statistical data show a predominant dispersive character of settlement with a relative balance between the urban and rural types; Christian affiliation predominated, though it had some confessional divergences. To this cohort belonged two peoples: gypsies – an ethnic group which formed its own social organization – camps, and living among other ethnical groups perceived their religious affiliation as its own; and Gagauz – one of the 4 ethnic groups on the Ukrainian territory, which could be regarded as an autochthon (together with Ukrainians, Karaites and Crimean Tatars), as its ethnogenesis took place on the territory of its contemporary inhabitation. Another cohort, whose quantity is between 1 000 to 10 000 comprises ethnic groups with “a quantity of people lower than average population” in the structure of population of Ukraine. Table 1 shows that in this ethnic group prevails dispersive pattern of settlement, predominantly urban one. Here also predominates Catholic-protestant confession. The peculiarity of this cohort was that here belonged such group as Karaites, an ethnic group of autochthon origin, characterized by clear ethnical identity, language and anthroponyms preservation, and Hebrew religion.

Thus, ethno-national reality over the period of 1989-2001 let us speak of such phenomenon as particularization of ethno-national interests, their fragmentation and separation by preference. All this formed a special alternative to consolidated and consociated processes, which according to logics and expectations were to take place in Ukraine. It was especially observable against the background of the biggest minority – Russians, as well as prospects and anticipations of its politicization, first of all in the Crimea and some regions of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, where ethnical Russians sometimes formed a relative majority of the total population<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> It is quite notable on the basis of the results of various scientific research and results of the All-Ukrainian census in 2001. In detail see: V. Skliar, *Rozseleattia rosiiian na teritorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepystv naselemtia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo“ 2008, vol 12,

**Table 1.** Ethno-national reality in the context of representativeness of Russian and other minorities in Ukraine, in 1989 and 2001

Ethnic group	Total number (1989)	Total number (2001)	Settlement pattern	Settlement type	Religious affiliation
Russians	11,2 mln	8,3 mln	Predominantly dispersive	Predominantly urban	Orthodox
Jews	486 thousand	103 thousand	Dispersive	Urban	Hebrew
Belarusians	440 thousand	276 thousand	Predominantly dispersive	Predominantly urban	Catholic, Orthodox
Moldavians	325 thousand	259 thousand	Predominantly dense	Predominantly rural	Orthodox
Crimean Tatars	280 thousand	248 thousand	Dense	Predominantly rural	Islamic
Bulgarians	233 thousand	204 thousand	Dense	Predominantly rural	Orthodox, Catholic
Poles	219 thousand	144 thousand	Regionally disperse	Urban	Catholic
Hungarians	163 thousand	156 thousand	Dense	Predominantly rural	Catholic, Protestant
Romanians	135 thousand	151 thousand	Dense	Predominantly rural	Orthodox
Greeks	99 thousand	92 thousand	Dense	Rural and urban	Orthodox
Kazan Tatars	90 thousand	73 thousand	Dispersive	Predominantly urban	Islamic
Armenians	60 thousand	100 thousand	Dispersive	Urban	Armenian-Gregorian
Germans	50 thousand	33 thousand	Predominantly dense	Predominantly rural	Protestant
Gypsies	49 thousand	48 thousand	Predominantly dispersive	Mixed	Orthodox
Gagauz	30 thousand	32 thousand	Dense	Predominantly rural	Orthodox
Georgians	25 thousand	34 thousand	Dispersive	Predominantly urban	Georgian autocephalous
Slovaks	9,5 thousand	N/a <sup>24</sup>	Dense	Predominantly rural	Catholic
Czechs	9 thousand	N/a	Dispersive	Predominantly urban	Catholic
Latvians	7 thousand	N/a	Dispersive	Urban	Lutheran
Lithuanians	5 thousand	N/a	Dispersive	Urban	Catholic
Estonians	5 thousand	N/a	Predominantly dispersive	Predominantly urban	Protestant
Karaites	1,5 thousand	N/a	Predominantly dense	Urban	Hebrew

Źródło: *Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia*, [w:] *Pro kilkist ta sklad naselennia Ukrainy za pidsumkamy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku*, źródło: <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/>

s. 55-58.; V. Yevtukh, V. Troshchynskyi, K. Halushko, K. Chernova, *Etnonatsionalna struktura ukrainskoho suspilstva: dovidnyk*, Wyd. Naukova dumka 2004.; S. Piskunov, *Vidtvorennia naselennia Ukrainy: etnichnyi aspekt (demostatystychnyi analiz)*, [w:] *Etnonatsionalnyi rozvytok v Ukraini ta stan ukrainskoi etnicznosti v diaspori: sutnist, realii konfliktnosti, problemy ta prohnoz y na porozzi XXI stolittia: Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii*, Kyiv-Chernivtsi 1997., I. Terliuk, *Rosiany zakhidnykh oblastei Ukrainy (1944-1996 rr.): Etnosotsiologichne doslidzhennia*, Wyd. Svit 1997.; O. Osaulenko, *Naselennia Ukrainy za mistsem narodzhennia ta bromadianstvom za danymy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku*, Kiev 2004.; O. Osaulenko, *Natsionalnyi sklad naselennia Ukrainy ta yoho movni oznaky za danymy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku*, Kiev 2003.

<sup>24</sup> За офіційними даними ці національності в переписі 2001 р позначені як інші.

The point is that from the time of gaining independence, as V. Skliar<sup>25</sup> states (and it can be seen from Table 1) in Ukraine took place changes in its ethnical composition. The census results appeared to be the most comprehensive and reliable statistical data for further analysis of these changes. Thus, the analysis of the censuses of 1989 and 2001 let us determine main tendencies, concerning dynamics the population of Ukraine, Ukrainians and ethnical minorities before gaining independence and over the first decade of it (what will be discussed later). A key tendency of the ethnical processes during the independence of Ukraine became an intensive reduction of ethnical minorities and their migration from some regions to other. And vice versa in 1959-1989, as O. Khomra states, due to migration and assimilation the number of Russians in Ukraine went up by 2.23 mln people, whereas the number of the Ukrainians decreased by 1.3 mln people<sup>26</sup>. That is why the influence of assimilation and migration processes on the change in Russian and Ukrainian population profoundly differs during the Soviet times and that of the independent Ukraine. These differences were caused by a change in the status positions of Ukrainians and Russians in Ukraine under the condition of a factual and not formal independence as it was during the USSR time. It quite sharply contradicted the previous historical situation, as before gaining the independence Ukrainians made up a mass ethnic group or a “subordinated majority”, whereas Russians composed a dominant minority. It directly resulted in the fact that Russians in Ukraine during the Soviet time did not suffer language assimilation as Ukrainians did, though the latter made up a majority but were assimilated by the language. In the language environments of other ethnic groups predominated processes of Russification, but not Ukrainization. It supported R. Skemerhon’s statement that the dominant position in the society may belong either to majority or minority, as under the conditions of the lack of sovereignty, minority can become a predominant group, whereas majority will be subordinated and compose a “mass ethnic group”<sup>27</sup>.

Only the collapse of the USSR contributed to transformation of Russians into an ethnic minority and loss of their dominant position. As a result, Russians in new countries suffered an ethnical identity crisis. V. Arbininan believes that the most widely-spread “traumatic problem” for the most representatives of Russian diaspora was the loss of their habitual “first role” in a multinational state. It was peculiar of a large part of Russians in Ukraine<sup>28</sup>. Besides, the change of the status and position of Russians in Ukraine resulted in the fact that they started suffering an acute necessity either to change the environment or to undergo more complex and profound adaptation to “another ethnical environment”, but not that they were living in. Therefore, an intensive reduction of the number of Russian population in Ukraine over a short period of time (1989-2001) was caused by several factors. The first factor was a depopulation process

<sup>25</sup> V. Skliar, *Rozseleennia rositian na terytorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepysiv naseleennia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo“ 2008, vol 12, s. 55-58.

<sup>26</sup> O. Khomra, *Mihratsii na Ukraini: etnodemografichni aspekty*, „Visnyk AN Ukrainy“ 1992, vol 2, s. 33.

<sup>27</sup> R. Skemerhon, *Etnichnist i menshyny*, [w:] O. Prosenko, V. Lisovuy (eds.), *Natsionalizm: Antolohiia*, Wyd. Smoloskyp 2000, s. 456-457.

<sup>28</sup> V. Arbinina, *Etnosotsiolohiia*, Wyd. KhNU imeni V. N. Karazina 2007, s. 122.

which started in 1992 as a result of birth rate reduction and death rate growth<sup>29</sup>. Also it was influenced by cessation in migration of Russians to Ukraine and even their partial migration to their historical motherland, what was especially observed in the early 90s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under the conditions of the social-economic crisis. But in general, over the defined period and even after it the reduction in number of Russian population in Ukraine was not significant, as for instance, the migration balance of Russians though became negative in 1993-1994, but equaled only 15.8 and 85.5 thousand people<sup>30</sup>.

At the same time, the most significant influence on reduction of Russians had not migration but ethnic assimilation processes. Among Russians rather widely-spread were not only endogamic (monoethnic) but also exogamic (cross-ethnic) families. For example, in accordance with the statistics of the 2001 census, only 56.5% of Russians lived in monoethnic families. As a result of the revival of the Ukrainian nationhood ethnical processes became natural phenomena, in conformance with which native majority assimilated ethnical minority, predominantly by means of cross-ethnic marriages. Children in such families acquired double ethnical identity, but mainly determined their ethnical origin in favor of the dominant (Ukrainian) ethnic group. A part of Russians, who were characterized by a mixed ethnical origin, i.e. were born in Ukrainian-Russian families in 1989 regarded themselves as Russians, whereas in 2001 they interpreted themselves as Ukrainians, what proved the change of ethnical self-identification. As a result of this, a general number of Ukrainians in 1989-2001 grew only due to Russian-speaking Ukrainians. The point is that it was much easier to admit Ukrainian ethnical origin, than to restore the lost language as your native one. Thus, by means of reducing the number of Russians in Ukraine the number of Ukrainians grew. And such growth took place on the background of depopulation among Ukrainians, which started in 1991 (and in the rural region in 1979)<sup>31</sup>. That is the changes among the number of Ukrainians as well as Russians over 1989-2001 were predominantly influenced by ethnical processes.

It is necessary to underline that the predominant majority of Russians were the migrants of the Soviet epoch and their second generation. Thus, according to the 2001 census 40.45% of Russians who lived in Ukraine were born outside it. Besides, till 1991 Russians did not find themselves as an ethnical minority and in fact they became it after the independence of Ukraine. Taking this into account it is quite obvious that Russians in Ukraine actually were the “first generation of minority”, in particular from the point of their self-awareness of their real status. At the same time in 1989-2001 reduction of the number of Russians was observed in all regions of Ukraine without exceptions, though the pace of the process differs. Among the four regions

<sup>29</sup> S. Piskunov, *Vidtvorennia naselennia Ukrainy: etnichnyi aspekt (demostatystychnyi analiz)*, [w:] *Etnonatsionalnyi rozvytok v Ukraini ta stan ukraïnskoï etniczności v diaspori: sutnist, realii konfliktnosti, problemy ta probnoz y na porozzi XXI stolittia: Materialy Mizhnarodnoi naukovopraktychnoi konferentsii*, Kyiv-Chernivtsi 1997, s. 264.

<sup>30</sup> V. Yevtukh, V. Troshchynskiy, K. Halushko, K. Chernova, *Etnonatsionalna struktura ukraïnskoho suspilstva: dovidnyk*, Wyd. Naukova dumka 2004, s. 147.

<sup>31</sup> O. Osaulenko, *Naselennia Ukrainy za mistsem narodzhennia ta bromadianstvom za danyymi Vseukraïnskoho perepysu naseleinnia 2001 roku*, Kiev 2004, s. 214.



(if we divide into West, East, South and Center) the highest rate of reduction in numbers of Russians was marked in the west of Ukraine, what was presupposed by the processes of changing ethnical self-identification under the conditions of a dispersive pattern of their settlement. Over the period of 1989-2001 their quantity was down by half: from 491 800 in 1989 to 255 800 in 2001, i.e. – by 47,98%. The rate of reduction in western Ukraine was much higher than average numbers across Ukraine – 26,61%. Despite these differences, the percent in the region as compared to the All-Ukrainian reduction in numbers of Russians in the country over 1989–2001 was insignificant and equaled only 7.81% (see Tables 2, 3, 4).

**Table 2.** Total number of inhabitants (1), Ukrainians (2), ethno-national minorities (3) and Russians (4) in Ukraine as of 1989 and 2001 (number of people)

Region	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001
	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4
<b>Regional data</b>								
<b>West</b>	<b>9 713 693</b>	<b>9 552 886</b>	<b>8 663 924</b>	<b>8803330</b>	<b>1049769</b>	<b>749 556</b>	<b>491789</b>	<b>255 819</b>
Volyn	1 058 438	1 057 214	1 001 329	1 024 955	57 109	32 259	46 900	25 132
Zakarpattia	1 245 618	1 254 614	976 749	1 010 127	268 869	244 487	49 458	30 993
Ivano-Frankivsk	1 413 211	1 406 129	1 342 888	1 371 242	70 323	34 887	57 005	24 925
Lviv	2 727 410	2 605 956	2 464 739	2 471 033	262 671	134 923	195 116	92 565
Rivne	1 164 241	1 171 445	1 085 729	1 123 401	78 512	48 044	53 634	30 129
Ternopil	1 163 974	1 138 500	1 126 395	1 113 516	37 579	24 984	26 610	14 194
Chernivtsi	940 801	919 028	666 095	689 056	274 706	229 972	63 066	37 881
<b>Center</b>	<b>16830962</b>	<b>15645245</b>	<b>14509700</b>	<b>14168245</b>	<b>2321262</b>	<b>1477707</b>	<b>1758551</b>	<b>1094122</b>
Vinnysia	1 920 783	1 763 944	1 757 948	1 674 135	162 835	89 809	112 484	67 501
Zhytomyr	1 537 604	1 389 393	1 306 140	1 254 855	231 464	134 538	121 443	68 851
Kyiv city	2 572 212	2 566 953	1 863 674	2 110 767	708 538	456 186	536 707	337 323
Kyiv	1 934 369	1 821 061	1 729 240	1 684 803	205 129	136 258	167 938	109 322
Kirovohrad	1 228 093	1 125 704	1 046 984	1 014 616	181 109	111 088	144 076	83 929
Poltava	1 748 716	1 621 207	1 536 630	1 481 167	212 086	140 040	178 965	117 071
Sumy	1 427 498	1 296 763	1 220 487	1 152 034	207 011	144 729	190 050	121 655
Khmelnyskyi	1 521 564	1 426 649	1 374 749	1 339 331	146 815	87 318	88 018	50 686
Cherkasy	1 527 353	1 398 313	1 381 742	1 301 183	145 611	97 130	122 308	75 577
Chernihiv	1 412 770	1 236 065	1 292 106	1 155 354	120 664	80 711	96 562	62 207
<b>South</b>	<b>13563892</b>	<b>12780497</b>	<b>8076789</b>	<b>8304894</b>	<b>5487103</b>	<b>4475603</b>	<b>4455901</b>	<b>3405951</b>

Region	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001
	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4
Dnipropetrovsk	3 869 858	3 561 224	2 769 560	2 825 781	1100298	735 443	935 749	627 531
Zaporizhzhia	2 074 018	1 926 810	1 308 038	1 364 095	765 980	562 715	664 085	476 748
Mykolaiv	1 328 306	1 262 899	1 003 591	1 034 446	324 715	228 453	257 964	177 530
Odesa	2 624 245	2 455 666	1 432 737	1 542 341	1191508	913 325	719 039	508 537
Kherson	1 236 970	1 172 689	936 944	961 584	300 026	211 105	249 522	165 211
Crimea (AR Crimea and Sevastopol city)	2 430 495	2 401 209	625 919	576 647	1804576	1824562	1629542	1450394
AR Crimea	2 037 480	2 024 056	544 772	492 227	1492708	1531829	1336937	1180441
Sevastopol city	393 015	377 153	81 147	84 420	311 868	292 733	292 605	269 953
<b>East</b>	<b>11343487</b>	<b>10261567</b>	<b>6168640</b>	<b>6265224</b>	<b>5174847</b>	<b>3996343</b>	<b>4649341</b>	<b>3578249</b>
Donetsk	5 311 781	4 825 563	2 693 432	2744 149	2618349	2081414	2316091	1844399
Luhansk	2 857 031	2540 191	1 482 232	1 472 376	1374799	1067815	1279043	991 825
Kharkiv	3 174 675	2 895 813	1 992 976	2 048 699	1181699	847 114	1054207	742 025
<b>Total number</b>								
<b>West and Center</b>	<b>26544655</b>	<b>25198838</b>	<b>23173624</b>	<b>22971575</b>	<b>3371031</b>	<b>2227263</b>	<b>2250340</b>	<b>1349941</b>
<b>South and East</b>	<b>24907379</b>	<b>23042064</b>	<b>14245429</b>	<b>14570118</b>	<b>10661950</b>	<b>8471946</b>	<b>9105242</b>	<b>6984200</b>
<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>51452034</b>	<b>48240902</b>	<b>37419053</b>	<b>37541693</b>	<b>14032981</b>	<b>10699209</b>	<b>11355582</b>	<b>8334141</b>

Źródło: V. Skliar, *Rozseleniia rosijan na terytorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepysiv naselennia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo“ 2008, vol 12, s. 55-58.

Reduction in number of Russians in western Ukraine took place along with the growth in number of Ukrainians by 1.61% (139 400 people). Due to the reduction in numbers of Russians the population level of Western region dropped by 1.66% (160 800 people). Thus, the rates of reduction in numbers of Russians were considerably higher in comparison with the overall population rates not only in relative, but also in absolute indices. Besides, the rates of reduction of their quantity were twice of that among the number of ethnical minorities in the region (47.98% and 28.60% correspondingly). Thus, on the background of an overall reduction in number of minorities in Western region in 1989-2001 the number of Russians was 78.34%. Due to the fact that their proportion among ethnical minorities was twice as little – 34.13% in 2001, not only an overall number of population, but also a number of ethnical minorities has reduced due to Russians. Therefore, in western Ukraine amount of Russians though was the smallest, but in 1989-2001 it was reducing the most intensively, in comparison with other regions of Ukraine. Thus, within a short time the number of this minority fell almost by one half. Due to Russians a total number of population in the region as well as the quantity of ethnical minorities has reduced.

Depopulation rate among Russians in 1989-2001 in the central region was lower in relative indices, but higher in absolute measures in comparison with the west of Ukraine. In 1989 their amount in the center of Ukraine equaled 1.76 mln people and in 2001 it was 1.09 mln people, i.e. less by 37.78% (664 400 people). A regional part in comparison with the general reduction of Russians in Ukraine over 1989-2001 was 22.00%. Relative and absolute indices of depopulation of Russians in the central region were considerably higher than those of Ukrainians – 2.3 % (341 500 people), and if speaking of the relative indicators, they exceeded those of total population – 7.04% (1,19 mln people). Total number of the population in the region suffered reduction due to Russians. Their part in comparison with the reduction of total population over 1989-2001 was 56.07%. The proportion of Russians as compared to the population in the region was only 6.99%. In Kyiv city depopulation of the Russians was accompanied by a large increase of the Ukrainians – by 13.26% (247 100 people). Thus, total population of the central region over 1989-2001 decreased not only due to the Ukrainians, but also Russians, as the percentage of their reduction was disproportionately high (see Tables 2, 3, 4).

The number of the Russians in the south of Ukraine was considerably higher than in the western and central regions all together. In particular, if in 1989 in South Ukraine lived 4.46 mln people, than in 2001 – 3.41 mln people. In the course of 1989-2001 their population was cut down by 23.56% (1.05 mln people). Reduction in number of the Russians in the South in relative indicators was much lower than absolute indices in comparison with west and center. In the central region, like across Ukraine over 1998-2001, reduction in number of the Russians took place on the background of the growth of the Ukrainians by 2.82%. But reduction in number of the Russians in absolute indices was higher than increase of the Ukrainians –1.05 mln and 228 100 people correspondingly. Due to the Russians became less the total number of population in the South by 5.78% (783 400 people). Herewith, depopulation of the Russians was even more intensive than the drop in ethnical minorities in south Ukraine – 23.56% and 18.43% correspondingly. Quite interesting is a fact that the lowest rate of depopulation among the Russians was observed in the Crimea (the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea and Sevastopol city) – 10.99% (179 100 people). However, as in other regions it was possible to observe here reduction in numbers of the Russians and growth of the Ukrainians. In southern regions the rate of reduction in number of the Russians was more intensive than of other population. Therefore, in the south of Ukraine over 1989-2001 actually due to the Russians reduced both the number of total population and general quantity if ethnical minorities. Herewith, the number of the Ukrainians grew (see Tables 2, 3, 4).

**Table 3.** Geographical distribution of total number of inhabitants (1), Ukrainians (2), ethno-national minorities (3) and Russians (4) in Ukraine as of 1989 and 2001 (in percentage terms)

Region	1989	2001	1989-2001	1989	2001	1989-2001	1989	2001	1989-2001	1989	2001	1989-2001
	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4
Regional data												
<b>West</b>	<b>18,88</b>	<b>19,80</b>	<b>+0,92</b>	<b>23,15</b>	<b>23,45</b>	<b>+0,30</b>	<b>7,48</b>	<b>7,01</b>	<b>-0,47</b>	<b>4,33</b>	<b>3,07</b>	<b>-1,26</b>
Volyn	2,06	2,19	+0,13	2,67	2,73	+0,06	0,40	0,30	-0,10	0,41	0,30	-0,11
Zakarpattia	2,42	2,60	+0,18	2,61	2,69	+0,08	1,92	2,29	+0,37	0,44	0,37	-0,07
Ivano-Frankivsk	2,75	2,91	+0,16	3,59	3,65	+0,06	0,50	0,33	-0,17	0,50	0,30	-0,20
Lviv	5,30	5,40	+0,10	6,59	6,58	-0,01	1,87	1,26	-0,61	1,72	1,11	-0,61
Rivne	2,26	2,43	+0,17	2,90	2,99	+0,09	0,56	0,45	-0,11	0,47	0,36	-0,11
Ternopil	2,26	2,36	+0,10	3,01	2,97	-0,04	0,27	0,23	-0,04	0,23	0,17	-0,06
Chernivtsi	1,83	1,91	+0,06	1,78	1,84	+0,06	1,96	2,15	+0,19	0,56	0,46	-0,10
<b>Center</b>	<b>32,71</b>	<b>32,43</b>	<b>-0,28</b>	<b>38,78</b>	<b>37,74</b>	<b>-1,04</b>	<b>16,54</b>	<b>13,81</b>	<b>-2,73</b>	<b>15,49</b>	<b>13,13</b>	<b>-2,36</b>
Vinnitsia	3,73	3,66	-0,06	4,70	4,46	-0,24	1,16	0,84	-0,32	0,99	0,81	-0,18
Zhytomyr	2,99	2,88	-0,11	3,49	3,34	-0,15	1,65	1,26	-0,39	1,07	0,82	-0,25
Kyiv city	5,00	5,32	+0,32	4,98	5,62	+0,64	5,05	4,26	-0,79	4,73	4,05	-0,68
Kyiv	3,76	3,77	+0,01	4,62	4,49	-0,13	1,46	1,27	-0,19	1,48	1,31	-0,17
Kirovohrad	2,39	2,33	-0,06	2,80	2,70	-0,10	1,29	1,04	-0,25	1,27	1,01	-0,26
Poltava	3,40	3,36	-0,04	4,11	3,95	-0,16	1,51	1,31	-0,20	1,58	1,40	-0,18
Sumy	2,77	2,69	-0,08	3,26	3,07	-0,19	1,47	1,35	-0,12	1,67	1,46	-0,21
Khmelnyskyi	2,96	2,96	0,00	3,68	3,57	-0,11	1,05	0,82	-0,23	0,77	0,61	-0,16
Cherkasy	2,97	2,90	-0,07	3,69	3,46	-0,23	1,04	0,91	-0,13	1,08	0,91	-0,17
Chernihiv	2,74	2,56	-0,18	3,45	3,08	-0,37	0,86	0,75	-0,11	0,85	0,75	-0,10
<b>South</b>	<b>26,36</b>	<b>26,50</b>	<b>+0,14</b>	<b>21,58</b>	<b>22,12</b>	<b>+0,54</b>	<b>39,10</b>	<b>41,83</b>	<b>+2,73</b>	<b>39,24</b>	<b>40,87</b>	<b>+1,63</b>
Dnipropetrovsk	7,52	7,38	-0,14	7,40	7,53	+0,13	7,84	6,87	-0,97	8,24	7,53	-0,71
Zaporizhzhia	4,03	4,00	-0,03	3,50	3,63	+0,13	5,46	5,26	-0,20	5,85	5,72	-0,13
Mykolaiv	2,58	2,62	+0,04	2,68	2,76	+0,08	2,31	2,14	-0,17	2,27	2,13	-0,14
Odesa	5,10	5,09	-0,01	3,83	4,11	+0,28	8,49	8,54	+0,05	6,33	6,10	-0,23
Kherson	2,41	2,43	+0,02	2,50	2,56	+0,06	2,14	1,97	-0,17	2,20	1,98	-0,22
Crimea (AR Crimea and Sevastopol city)	4,72	4,98	+0,26	1,67	1,53	-0,14	12,86	17,05	+4,19	14,35	17,41	+3,06
AR Crimea	3,96	4,20	+0,24	1,45	1,31	-0,14	10,64	14,31	+3,67	11,77	14,17	+2,40
Sevastopol city	0,76	0,78	+0,02	0,22	0,22	0,00	2,22	2,74	+0,52	2,58	3,24	+0,66
<b>East</b>	<b>22,05</b>	<b>21,27</b>	<b>-0,78</b>	<b>16,49</b>	<b>16,69</b>	<b>+0,20</b>	<b>36,88</b>	<b>37,35</b>	<b>+0,47</b>	<b>40,94</b>	<b>42,93</b>	<b>+1,99</b>
Donetsk	10,33	10,00	-0,33	7,20	7,31	+0,11	18,66	19,45	+0,79	20,40	22,13	+1,73
Luhansk	5,55	5,27	-0,28	3,96	3,92	-0,04	9,80	9,98	+0,18	11,26	11,90	+0,64
Kharkiv	6,17	6,00	-0,17	5,33	5,46	+0,13	8,42	7,92	-0,50	9,28	8,90	-0,38
Total number												
West and Center	51,59	52,23	+0,64	61,93	61,19	-0,74	24,02	20,82	-3,20	19,82	16,20	-3,62
South and East	48,41	47,77	-0,64	38,07	38,81	+0,74	75,98	79,18	+3,20	80,18	83,90	+3,62
Ukraine	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100	-	100	100	-

Źródło: V. Skliar, *Rozselenia rosijan na terytorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepysiv naselennia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo“ 2008, vol 12, s. 55-58.

Finally, among all regions of Ukraine the least rates of depopulation of Russians over 1989-2001 in relative indices, but the highest rates in absolute indices were observed in eastern part – 23.04% (1,01 mln people). But even regardless of this reduction, east remained the main area where lived Russians in Ukraine – 4.65 mln people in 1989 and 3.58 mln people in 2001. As in the south, in the eastern region the number of Russians was reducing on the background of the growth in number of the Ukrainians, though a little one – 1.57% (96 600 people). Due to Russians the total number of population and ethnical minorities in the region reduced. A proportion of Russians among the people whose number reduced over 1989-2001 was 99.00%. Herewith, the least were the relative rates of reduction among Russians, however the highest absolute rates were observed in Donetsk region – 20.37% (471 700 people). In Luhansk region the number of Russians was reducing more dynamically than the number of Ukrainians. Thus, in 1989-2001 among four regions of Ukraine the highest reduction in absolute indices was observed in the east, though it was the smallest in relative figures. The rates of depopulation among Russians were higher than the rates of ethnical minorities all together. Correspondingly, due to Russians total amount of population and national minorities fell down, while the number of Ukrainians grew.

**Table 4.** Change of total population (1), Ukrainians (2), ethno-national minorities (3) and Russians (4) In Ukraine as of 1989 and 2001 (people, in percentage terms)

Region	1		2		3		4	
	People	%	People	%	People	%	People	%
Regional data								
<b>West</b>	<b>-160 807</b>	<b>-1,66</b>	<b>+139 406</b>	<b>+1,61</b>	<b>-300 213</b>	<b>-28,60</b>	<b>-235 970</b>	<b>-47,98</b>
Volyn	-1 224	-0,12	+23 626	+2,36	-24 850	-43,51	-21 768	-46,41
Zakarpattia	+8 926	+0,72	+33 378	+3,42	-24 382	-9,07	-18 465	-37,33
Ivano-Frankivsk	-7 082	-0,50	+28 354	+2,11	-35 436	-50,39	-32 080	-56,28
Lviv	-121 454	-4,45	+6 294	+0,26	-127 748	-48,63	-102 551	-52,56
Rivne	+7 204	+0,62	+37 672	+3,47	-30 468	-38,81	-23 505	-43,82
Ternopil	-25 474	-2,19	-12 879	-1,14	-12 595	-33,52	-12 416	-46,66
Chernivtsi	-21 773	-2,31	+22 961	+3,45	-44 734	-16,28	-25 185	-39,93
<b>Center</b>	<b>-1 185 010</b>	<b>-7,04</b>	<b>-341 455</b>	<b>-2,35</b>	<b>-843 555</b>	<b>-36,34</b>	<b>-664 429</b>	<b>-37,78</b>
Vinnitsia	-156 839	-8,17	-83 813	-4,77	-73 026	-44,85	-44 983	-39,99
Zhytomyr	-148 211	-9,64	-51 285	-3,93	-96 926	-41,88	-52 592	-43,31
Kyiv city	-5 259	-0,20	+247 093	+13,26	-252 352	-35,62	-199 384	-37,15
Kyiv	-113 308	-5,86	-44 437	-2,57	-68 871	-33,57	-58 616	-34,90
Kirovohrad	-102 389	-8,34	-32 368	-3,09	-70 021	-38,66	-60 147	-41,75
Poltava	-127 509	-7,29	-55 463	-3,61	-72 046	-33,97	-61 894	-34,58
Sumy	-130 735	-9,16	-68 453	-5,61	-62 282	-30,09	-68 395	-35,99
Khmelnyskyi	-94 915	-6,24	-35 418	-2,58	-59 497	-40,53	-37 332	-42,41
Cherkasy	-129 040	-8,45	-80 559	-5,83	-48 481	-33,29	-46 731	-38,21
Chernihiv	-176 705	-12,51	-136 752	-10,58	-39 953	-33,11	-34 355	-35,58
<b>South</b>	<b>-783 395</b>	<b>-5,78</b>	<b>+228 105</b>	<b>+2,82</b>	<b>-1 011 500</b>	<b>-18,43</b>	<b>-1 049 950</b>	<b>-23,56</b>

Perioh	1		2		3		4	
	People	%	People	%	People	%	People	%
Dnipropetrovsk	-308 634	-7,98	+56 221	+2,03	-364 855	-33,16	-308 218	-32,94
Zaporizhzhia	-147 208	-7,10	+56 057	+4,29	-203 265	-26,54	-187 337	-28,21
Mykolaiv	-65 407	-4,92	+30 855	+3,07	-96 262	-29,65	-80 434	-31,18
Odesa	-168 579	-6,42	+109 604	+7,65	-278 183	-23,35	-210 502	-29,28
Kherson	-64 281	-5,20	+24 640	+2,63	-88 921	-29,64	-84 311	-33,79
Crimea (AR Crimea and Sevastopol city)	-29 286	-1,20	-49 272	-7,87	+19 986	+1,11	-179 148	-10,99
AR Crimea	-13 424	-0,66	-52 545	-9,65	+39 121	+2,62	-156 496	-11,71
Sevastopol city	-15 862	-4,04	+3 273	+4,03	-19 135	-6,14	-22 652	-7,74
<b>East</b>	<b>-1 081 920</b>	<b>-9,54</b>	<b>+96 584</b>	<b>+1,57</b>	<b>-1 178 504</b>	<b>-22,77</b>	<b>-1 071 092</b>	<b>-23,04</b>
Donetsk	-486 218	-9,15	+50 717	+1,88	-536 935	-20,51	-471 692	-20,37
Luhansk	-316 840	-11,09	-9 856	-0,66	-306 984	-22,33	-287 218	-22,46
Kharkiv	-278 862	-8,78	+55 723	+2,80	-334 585	-28,32	-312 182	-29,61
<b>Total number</b>								
<b>West and Center</b>	<b>-1 345 817</b>	<b>-5,07</b>	<b>-202 049</b>	<b>-0,87</b>	<b>-1 143 768</b>	<b>-33,93</b>	<b>-900 339</b>	<b>-40,01</b>
<b>South and East</b>	<b>-1865315</b>	<b>-7,49</b>	<b>+324 689</b>	<b>+2,28</b>	<b>-2 190 004</b>	<b>-20,54</b>	<b>-2 121 042</b>	<b>-2329</b>
<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>-3 211 132</b>	<b>-6,24</b>	<b>+122 640</b>	<b>+0,33</b>	<b>-3 333 772</b>	<b>-23,76</b>	<b>-3 021 441</b>	<b>-26,61</b>

Źródło: V. Skliar, *Rozselelnia rosijan na terytorii Ukrainy: za materialamy perepysiv naselelnia 1989 ta 2001 rr.*, „Ukrainoznavstvo” 2008, vol 12, s. 55-58.

Total number of Russians in Ukraine in 1989 was 11 355 582 people, however in 2001 it was 8 334 141 people, thus it reduced by 26.61% (3 021 441 people). Reduction in number of Russians was in contrast with growth of Ukrainians by 0.33% (122 640 people). *Generally speaking, mainly due to the depopulation of Russians in 1989-2001 the total number of population in Ukraine suffered reduction by 6.24% (3 211 132 people).* Herewith, the reduction percentage of Russian as compared to the total population of Ukraine in 1989-2001 was 94.09%. Rates of reduction in number of Russians at that time were higher than the rates of all national minorities, 26.61% and 23.76% correspondingly. Rather high was a reduction of Russians as compared to the total number of national minorities in Ukraine in 1989-2001 – 90.63% (see Tables 2, 3, 4). It means that the general number of ethnic minorities in Ukraine was reducing only due to one of them – Russians.

The same situation was observed over 2001-2013, but dramatically changed only after the annexation of the Crimea and occupation of separate districts in Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine in 2014-2017, the area where the number of Russians was the biggest in absolute indices as compared to the total population (i.e. population of all other ethno-national groups). Taking into account this as well as the fact that in Ukraine over 2001-2017 there was not conducted any census, we may argue that the ethno-national reality, which was earlier interpreted as ethno-national expectations, has radically changed. First of all it is revealed in pursuing various sociological surveys which may prove or predict the ethno-national situation in Ukraine. One of

such research was conducted in 2017 by Tsentrazumkova<sup>32</sup>. It states that directly as a result of military-political actions (in particular the Crimea annexation and occupation of some Donbas districts) and indirectly as a result of a change of Ukrainians' position, 92% of respondents regard themselves as ethnic Ukrainians, 6% – ethnic Russians, 1,5% – representatives of other ethnical groups, 0,5% – are undecided (no response). It argues that at least sociologically and politically the identity of the Ukrainian citizens is still being formed in the direction of comprehending themselves as a separate society and political nation, which has own state, history, music, culture, mutual vision of its future and which is conducting war against the aggressor (the Russian Federation) for the right on actualization of its choice<sup>33</sup>. The most significant indicator of the process, as it is shown by the sociological surveys, is a higher level of patriotism, nation-wide and Ukrainian sociocultural self-identification, more optimistic predictions concerning the future prospects of Ukraine made by younger categories of respondents.

There are also other tendencies, for instance:

- a. it is observed that in Ukraine there is a tendency towards the growth of a part of respondents who regard themselves as ethnic Ukrainians; moreover age of the respondents is lowering (from 87% among those who are 60+ and up to 96% among those who are 18-29) and decrease in a number of ethnic Russians (from 10% to 3%) (see Table 5).

**Table 5.** Age distribution of ethno-national expectations concerning the composition of the population in Ukraine in 2017 (in percentage terms)

Age	Ukrainians, %	Russians, %	Other, %	No response, %
18–29	96,2	2,8	0,7	0,3
30–39	93,5	4,6	1,4	0,5
40–49	92,5	5,7	1,5	0,3
50–59	92,1	5,9	0,8	1,2
60 +	87,1	9,7	2,6	0,6
Total	92,0	6,0	1,5	0,5

Žródło: *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentrazumkova 2017, s. 26.

- b. it is argued that the biggest part of ethnic Ukrainians among the respondents live in the west (94.7%) and center (96.1%), a bit lower quantity (90.1%) live in the south, and the least part in Donbas (68.6%). Quite controversial logics is working out in case of the number of ethnic Russians, whose amount is the highest in Donbas (28.0%)

<sup>32</sup> *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentrazumkova 2017, s. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentrazumkova 2017, s. 3.

and the least is in the west and center of Ukraine (1.7% and 3.2% correspondingly) (see Table 6).

**Table 6.** Regional structure of ethno-national expectations concerning the composition of the population in Ukraine in 2017 (in percentage terms)

Region	Ukrainians, %	Russians, %	Other, %	No response, %
West	94,7	1,7	2,3	1,3
Center	96,1	3,2	0,4	0,3
South	90,1	5,4	4,1	0,4
East	88,7	10,1	0,5	0,7
Donbas	68,6	28,0	3,4	0,0
Total	92,0	6,0	1,5	0,6

Źródło: *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentr Razumkova 2017, s. 26.

Besides, the sociological survey proved that if among ethnic Ukrainians 77% feel their affiliation only to one nationality, and if we speak of ethnic Russians this number is only 39%. Their affiliation to one or more nationalities feel 10% and 30% correspondingly; to none nationality – 5% and 20%<sup>34</sup> correspondingly. Thus, along with biethnicity and polyethnicity we may speak if not of refusal then of “removal” from ethnic self-identification, which (like bi- or polyethnicity) is largely inherent to ethnic Russians in Ukraine. Most frequently inhabitants of Donbas (26.5%), southern (24.1%) and eastern (19%) regions (in the west and center only 6.1%) feel their affiliation to two or more nationalities. The same situation is with people who do not feel affiliation to any nationality (20%, 10%, 12%, 2% and 1% correspondingly). Additional attention was paid to the problems of biethnicity and polyethnicity as one of the aspects of ethnic identity formation. The point is that 74% of respondents in Ukraine feel their affiliation only to one nationality, 12% – to two or more nationalities, 6% – to none nationality, 8% – are undecided.

It is quite notable that in Ukraine prevails nationwide identity. The point is that 95% of respondents would absolutely or rather agree with the statement “I identify myself a citizen of Ukraine”<sup>35</sup>. The statement “I am a citizen of Ukraine” is absolutely or rather supported by 97% of the western region, 96% – of the central, 95% – of the southern, 91% – of the eastern, 89% – in Donbas. Their affiliation to the local communities proved 64% of people from the west and 60% of people from the south; whereas in the center of Ukraine this number equals only 50%, in Donbas – 45% or in the eastern part – 40%. Finally, only 27% of respondents in Ukraine identify themselves as the citizens of the former USSR: most frequently – in the south

<sup>34</sup> *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentr Razumkova 2017, s. 6-7.

<sup>35</sup> *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Kruhloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentr Razumkova 2017, s. 28.



(48%) and in the east (41%). The conclusion is that ethnical Ukrainians more often than ethnical Russians identify themselves as the citizens of Ukraine (96% and 81% correspondingly). Ethnical Russians more often regard themselves as the citizens of the former USSR (26% and 38% correspondingly).

In this context quite specific is the situation in Donbas (Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine) which as of 2017 should be formally divided into occupied and non-occupied<sup>36</sup>. Taking into account the fact that demographic situation in both parts of Donbas over 2014–2017 has radically changed, in particular as a result of the “hybrid war” and hostilities it is quite obvious that: a) within the occupied territories the number of Ukrainians (according to the census of 2001) was 50.73%, while on the territories that are under control of Ukraine it was – 67.03% (in general in Donbas – 57.24%); b) absolute majority of Ukrainians of Donbas lived on the occupied territory – 53.20%, but the level of all population across the occupied territory was much higher – 60.03%; c) Ukrainians constitute an absolute majority (at least in accordance with the 2001 census) among the total population across both occupied and non-occupied territories of Donbas; d) an absolute majority of Russians in Donbas are immigrants and their first generation; e) on the occupied territories the number of Russians as compared to other nationalities is much bigger than over the Ukraine-controlled territories – 44.99% and 28.77% correspondingly, as a result of which a majority of Russians from Donbas are on the occupied territories – 70.13%<sup>37</sup>. Thus, in general it is argued that the ethno-national composition of population across the occupied and non-occupied territories of Donbas varies considerably<sup>38</sup>, especially taking into account the fact that an absolute majority of Russians inhabited the occupied territories of Donbas.

All this proves that the processes of forming the set of values of Ukrainians and their identity and their peculiarities take place under complicated social-political conditions, characterized by a war conflict in the east of Ukraine, the Crimea annexation, prolonged economic crisis and political instability as well. It is supplemented by the fact that social-psychological atmosphere in the Ukrainian society is marked by a low level of confidence (especially in government institutions)<sup>39</sup>. However, even despite this in the Ukrainian society, especially in that part which stands against the military-political influence of Russia, taking into account profound social processes (concerning the issues of identity and foreign policy directions) is generated the ground for political phenomena of civil or political nation as one which opposes the Kremlin strategic goals. It is especially observable on the background of succession of generations, as divergences in value

<sup>36</sup> V. Skliar, *Osoblyvosti etnomovnoho skladu naseleennia pidporiadkovanykh Ukraini ta okupovanykh terytorii Donbasu*, „Problemy ta perspektyvy formuvannia natsionalnoi humanitarno-tekhnicnoi elity” 2017, vol 47 (51), s. 218.

<sup>37</sup> V. Skliar, *Osoblyvosti etnomovnoho skladu naseleennia pidporiadkovanykh Ukraini ta okupovanykh terytorii Donbasu*, „Problemy ta perspektyvy formuvannia natsionalnoi humanitarno-tekhnicnoi elity” 2017, vol 47 (51), s. 221–224.

<sup>38</sup> V. Skliar, *Osoblyvosti etnomovnoho skladu naseleennia pidporiadkovanykh Ukraini ta okupovanykh terytorii Donbasu*, „Problemy ta perspektyvy formuvannia natsionalnoi humanitarno-tekhnicnoi elity” 2017, vol 47 (51), s. 221–224.

<sup>39</sup> *Osnovni zasady ta shliakhy formuvannia spilnoi identychnosti bromadian Ukrainy: Informatsiino-analitychni materialy do Krubloho stolu 12 kvitnia 2017 r.*, Tsentr Razumkova 2017, s. 13.

orientations and identity of the representatives of old and young generations show, that if perception of an older generation is mainly formed under the influence of social-political circumstances and ideology of the Soviet epoch, then perception of a younger generation more corresponds to present realities and construction of the concept of a civil/political nation.

This and the results of sociological surveys conducted in 2017 correlate with T. Plakhtii's remark that Ukraine if not become, then is in the process of growing into a mononational state in the real sense of this notion. The point is that if we take into account the national identity of population in Ukraine, then Ukrainians form one of the most homogenous societies in Europe. Herewith, modern Ukrainian national identity is open, but not close, attractive and dynamic, as it may assimilate people, who identify themselves with other ethnical groups or must belong "by blood" to "others". Therefore, in accordance with classical politological definitions, Ukrainian national process (so called nationalism) is ethnically inclusive, and not exclusive, or civil and not ethnical. In general, it shows that after the "Revolution of dignity" and the Crimea annexation and occupation of Donbas Ukraine started rapidly approaching to the model of a national state with a predominant ethnical core of the Ukrainian nation. And it is so, even despite the fact that Ukraine is characterized by bilingualism, high percentage of other ethnic groups' representatives and polyconfessionalism<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> *Natsionalne pyttannia: Ukraina yak Yevropa*, «Dzerkalo tyzhnia» 17 chervnia 2017, źródlo: [https://dt.ua/internal/nacionalne-pyttannia-ukrayina-yak-yevropa-245832\\_html](https://dt.ua/internal/nacionalne-pyttannia-ukrayina-yak-yevropa-245832_html)

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