

ASSESSING NATIONAL MINORITIES IN UKRAINE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CHALLENGES

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Abstract: *Innovations in technology and science have contributed to integration to the highest. Making an area of mutual interests for the countries associated, flatter. We recognize, therefore, that dual nature reflects itself in disintegration or nationalization tendencies, if a State concerns. Although significance advances have been made in State governance of national minorities, there debate remains how well the authorities support the improvement of economic and social conditions of people, protection of civil rights, further development. If governance matters, the increasing importance of assessing current tendencies in the public sector. Similarly, many challenges in Ukraine in formulation and implementation the ethno-national policy. To shed light upon, we refer to adherence of Ukraine to European integration, current legislation in language policy, ensuring national security. The major data stem from Zakarpattia Region Survey. With one thousand respondents in Zakarpattia region interviewed-half a representative sample, and half from national minorities (300 Hungarians, and 200 of Roma, Romanian and Slovak in total. As additional source, the indices from World Governance Survey).*

Keywords: public administration, ethnic component, State governance, Zakarpattia Region ethnic diversity.

Europe, staying for a long time as the arena for social and political undertaking, starting from second half of nineteenth century has turned its attention to modifying inter-state relations rather than the transformation of individual nation-states¹. We could observe that from modern history of Ukraine as the independent State. There are two main society aspirations – alongside with the European integration, the country is experiencing national revival. The process, accompanied by social phenomenon called as the “*formation of Ukrainian political nation*”. Where an integration of different parts of a society on the basis of citizen rights equality and mutual respect, to persuade joint interests within the same State. That makes either ethnic distinguishes or linguistic disproportions, well appeared. Particularly in regions with distinct ethnic diversity. The urgency of this problem is defined due to deep gap between constitutional norms, that proclaim human dimension of law and a State, from the one hand, and real social relations, the state of social responsibility of State toward its population, from the other².

¹ G. Hyden, C. Julius, M. Ken, *Government and Governance in 16 Developing Countries*, United Nations University, Tokyo, 2003; Y. Haydanka, “Urgent decentralization problems in the Czech Republic at a regional level: Political, administrative and sociological dimensions”, in *Public Policy and Administration*, 2020, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 253-265.

² Yu. Shemshuchenko, “Actual problems of philosophy of law”, in *Problems of Philosophy of Law*, 2003, vol. 1, p. 7-9; O.S. Turenko, B.V. Derevyanko, I.V. Ivanov, V.M. Hrudnytskyi, L.D. Rudenko, “The state – in interpretation of Jose Ortega Y. Gasset”, in *Analele Universitatii din Craiova – Seria Istorie*, 2021, vol. 25, no. 2, p. 77-88.

To face the challenges in public administration, not only the authorities' responsible attitude must be taken into the consideration. But, reflection of the surrounding by humans through their own projection, behavior or consciousness³. One of those, language issue begins to be understood as the way by means of which it is possible to catch reflection on human perception.

Although language issue in Ukraine is having to be already regulated by law, the trends evidently have prompted, that the point has turned to become political. National minorities mood as for allegedly non-sufficient support by the authorities to meet their needs, arose. When observed, the Hungarian minority of Ukraine is the leader of those numeric claims⁴. In the central authority's position, to react by diplomatic to minimize negative impact of statements or declarations by foreign officials with their critics of Ukrainian internal reforms⁵). As famously argued by Putnam, intrastate regulation and international relations are often entangled. In this regard, the theory of "two-level games" may as well be applicable by Ukrainian central government in internal regulation, the public sector with its ethnic component.

Reflecting the developments on ethno-political landscape, Rafalskyi and Maiboroda argued "Language issue has become significant problem today that requires further development. The reason for this is not only it is in a hand of politicians. On the contrary, it has also become to some extent a reaction to unfortunate mistakes and miscalculations in implementation of State language policy"⁶. Hence, ethno-regional multi-ethnicity of Ukraine, matters. That like powerful conflict-genic factor. The other reason for growing tension and intensification of separatist trends, is long-term practice by officials of neighboring countries with focus on financial, organizational and information support to respective national minorities of Ukraine.

In the following, we start this paper by deliberating on key principles of governance – in theory section. It facilitates to understand the indicators of

³ E.B. Abdrasulov, M.G. Gubaidullin, "Influence of public consciousness in traditional kazakh society on collective and individual legal consciousness", in *Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics*, 2019, vol. 10, no. 5, p. 1370-1374.

⁴ 64 000 Signatures Against Language Bills in The Parliament, Were Collected in Zakarpattia, 2017, Available at <https://7dniv.info/society/88200-na-zakarpatt-zbrali-64-000-pdpisv-protimovnih-zakonoproektv-u-vr.html>, accessed on July 19, 2021.

⁵ Comment by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the Statements of the Ambassador of Hungary to Ukraine, 2019, Available at mfa.gov.ua; In Ukraine, there are Three Main Reforms that are Negative for the Rights of the Hungarian Minority – Ambassador, 2020, Available at <https://interfax.com.ua/news/political/677675.html>; The Notification of the MFA of Ukraine on the Occasion of Praise of the People's Assembly of Bulgaria in Regard to Administrative-Territorial Reform in Ukraine, 2020; MFA Outraged Statement of the Ambassador of Hungary: Violets the Agreement of Ministers, 2020, Available at <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2020/07/30/7112722>.

⁶ O. Rafalskyi, O. Maiboroda, *Policy of Social Reforms: Strategy, Mechanisms, Resources*, Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies named after I. F. Kuras, Kyiv, 2018.

Zakarpattia Region Survey (ZR Survey). The second section, national minorities, deals with this phenomenon, its reflections on European and Ukrainian scope. The third section, the research, is devoted to the discussion of selected indicators of ZR Survey to probe specific characteristics of national minorities. The paper concludes with concise discussion the implications of the findings with regard to national minorities of Ukraine, and some concepts of possible enhancement of the mechanisms of State governance.

Theoretical overview

To make our suggestion how to overcome difficulties in regulation of the public sector, its ethnic component, we will capture some theoretical aspects of governance. A related example is the study⁷, which clearly identifies, the issue of governance is the way that state-society relations are being structured and managed. The six main areas of interaction between State and society were defined, as: “civil society, political society; government (or the executive); bureaucracy; economic society; and judiciary”⁸. In addressing national minorities, we interested in proceeding to find out the rules for citizen activity (*civil society* concerns). How government fulfils its stewardship over society, and, whether it is satisfactory or not (*executive* level).

As encapsulated in the Council of Europe 12 Principles of Good Governance, it suggests the responsible conduct of public affairs and management of public resources. Three areas of regulation, that framed by the Principle Eleventh⁹: 1. human rights; 2. cultural diversity; and 3. social cohesion. In terms of national minorities, our interest is how representatives from ethnic component assess the efficiency of policy in respecting and protection citizen rights, combating any forms of discrimination¹⁰. Is either cultural or ethnic diversity is maintaining well? In cultivating specific features, whether national minorities could identify themselves with historical

⁷ G. Hyden, C. Julius, M. Ken, *Government and Governance in 16 Developing Countries*, United Nations University, Tokyo, 2003.

⁸ J. Court, G. Hyden, *Towards a World Governance Assessment: Preliminary Findings from the Pilot Phase*, United Nations University, Tokyo, 2001; Y. Haydanka, “Electoral and citizen’s view on Euro-scepticism in transitional society: the case of the Czech Republic”, in *Online Journal Modelling the New Europe*, 2020, vol. 33, p. 111-133.

⁹ *The Principle 11th, Human Rights, Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion, Good Governance*, Council of Europe, 2008, Available at [https://www.coe.int/en/web/good-governance/12-principles#%20%2225%2056595%201%](https://www.coe.int/en/web/good-governance/12-principles#%20%2225%2056595%201%20).

¹⁰ D. Jiménez López, E.C. Dittmar, J.P. Vargas Portillo, “Protecting minors in relation to interactive software”, in *Revista De Direito, Estado e Telecomunicacoes*, 2021, vol. 13, no. 1, p. 20-39; I.V. Boiko, Y.V. Mekh, O.M. Soloviova, V.A. Somina, O.B. Cherviakova, “Universal human rights and state sovereignty”, in *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 2020, vol. 9, p. 3014-3022.

homeland, country of residence, or feel excluded? In their development, is an access to essential services by government preserved?

Measuring the effectiveness of governance in a country, we have turned to instruments, discussed in the joint project of the World Bank and the Natural Resource Governance Institute and Brookings. They estimate the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them¹¹. The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI)¹² project reports the aggregate and individual governance indicators for more than 200 countries over the period 1996 – 2019¹³. Out of six dimensions, Governance Effectiveness is the major. It combines judgement of enterprise, citizen and survey respondents, based on the assessments shared by experts from non-governmental organizations, international institutions, private sector. Typically, it reflects perceptions of the quality of public service. With assessing the quality of service and degree of its independence from political pressures.

In our research, the five indicators are drawn from the study¹⁴, which were applied in World Governance Survey (WG Survey). They have been constructed to determine how well government in a given political system is adjusted to undertake transformative decisions or action on issues that affect the citizenry at large. In terms of quality level of those governments, to take proper policy in making difference at critical junctures in development of civil society.

The first indicator, Ensuring Freedom from Fear, is meant to probe the extent to which governments promote rules that reduce the threat to personal security members of civil society. With the focus on the importance of personal security, a quality that any citizens, with no regard to ethnic, cultural, religious or other identity, expect the authorities to be responsible for¹⁵. The second, Ensuring Freedom from Want, aims at highlighting how far governments are interesting to promote social and economic rights. To perform core function – monitor and develop social welfare. The Readiness to Make Tough Decisions, the third, measures how far current rules enable elected or nominated authorities to pursued long-term interest of the country

¹¹ Y. Buribayev, Z. Khamzina, D. Belkhozhayeva, G. Meirbekova, G. Kadirkulova, L. Bogatyreva, “Human dignity – The basis of human rights to social protection”, in *Wisdom*, 2020, vol. 16, no. 3, p. 143-155.

¹² *WGI*, 2010, Retrived from <https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/worldwide-governance-indicators>.

¹³ *Worldwide Governance Indicators*, 2020, Available at worldbank.org.

¹⁴ G. Hyden, C. Julius, M. Ken, *Government and Governance in 16 Developing Countries*. United Nations University, Tokyo, 2003.

¹⁵ A.S. Khamzin, Z.A. Khamzina, Y.A. Buribayev, Y.M. Tileubergenov, D.A. Ibraimov, A.T. Yermekov, “International legal aspects of exercising refugees’ rights in Central Asia”, in *Journal of Advanced Research in Law and Economics*, 2016, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 835-841.

and its citizens without demagoguery, resist the urge to satisfy short-term demands instead. The fourth, Political-Military Relations, speaks to the issue of civilian control of the military. And, finally, Attitude to Peace, refers to the ability of central government to cease or avoid tensions, or military conflicts within the country, as well with neighboring States.

We consider, those issues that cut across specific demands that individuals or groups may make in every society, including Ukrainian. They speak to current regime quality, that in many aspects is systematic by nature, the authorities perform obligations respectively.

As for national minorities, we presume the best way to assess governance quality in ethnic component of the public sector of Ukraine, is to concentrate on meeting the challenges that could affect not only ethnic groups, but citizenry in whole¹⁶. Therefore – every individual in a society.

The outline of the outputs of WGI overall data regarding Ukraine is illustrated in Figure 1. The trend of country's percentile ranks from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest) with changes over time.

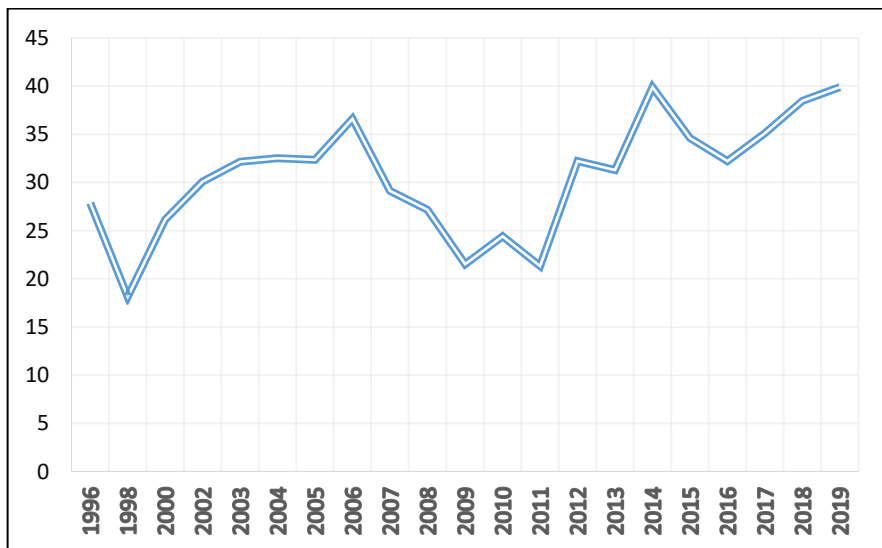


Figure 1: Government Effectiveness, Ukraine

According to Figure 1, Ukraine has been placed on the third quartile of collective rating, with an average 30.62% during 23 years. With minimum in 1998, maximum surge in 2014 and 2019 respectively.

The indices illustrate how the entire system, the public sector, is depending on wide range of external and internal factors. For instance, 1998 –

¹⁶ O.Y. Bobrovska, I.O. Drobot, Z.O. Nadyuk, R.Y. Hrytsko, P.S. Pokataev, “Modern theories of public administration: Experience for Ukraine”, in *Journal of the National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine*, 2020, vol. 27, no. 4, p. 107-120.

the outcome of world financial crisis with default in neighboring Russia, the country to which the Ukrainian economy was integrated deeply that time. In 2014 – increasing people’s trust in the government after so called “The Revolution of Dignity”, in the result of extreme political domestic events and civil society activity. In 2019 – growing citizens’ expectations as for future benefits after overwhelming victory of one of the candidates in presidential campaign.

As Figure 1 says, although not stable, there are tiny fluctuations compete with general trend line increasing over the period since 2001. At the same time, the assessment provided by international organizations doesn’t comprise all aspects of public policy. Since, each organization reflects an issue according to its own profile or mission. Hence, as suggested by contemporary researches of the governance theory – “There is still no comprehensive, systematic assessment of governance for countries around the world”¹⁷. Therefore, we need the empiric data to evaluate the state in given sector of public administration.

In the case of Ukraine, political transition followed in the wake of its independence 1991, such prior findings could serve to experts in public administration to understand country development over time¹⁸. To adjust one’s approaches in line with contemporary paradigm, formulate and implement policy on local scale. In making the scope of national-related specifics wider in order to apply appropriate methodology to subjective assessment in particular. In this paper, as the object – national minorities of Ukraine. With the focus to ethnic component of the public sector of Zakarpattia Region.

By comparing two reports, WG Survey and ZR Survey, we will draw some general conclusions as for the state of national minorities in Ukraine at given period of their development. There are some definitions of national minorities that our findings rise to, on the international and Ukraine scope. We propose to begin from the premise, that national minorities characterized as the “*socio-cultural phenomenon*”¹⁹. Outlined above is the interpretation by the Ukrainian scholars the gist of national minorities, as consider their social and cultural role in society and impact on its development.

Another important contribution is Capotorti’s. Who observed national minorities as “*a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show,*

¹⁷J. Court, G. Hyden, *Towards a World Governance Assessment: Preliminary Findings from the Pilot Phase*, United Nations University, Tokyo, 2001.

¹⁸ N.V. Hlushchenko, “Modern issues of administrative law”, in *Legal Horizons*, 2021, vol. 14, no. 2, p. 124-129.

¹⁹V. Troshchynskyi, V. Koval, *National Minorities. Encyclopedia of Public Administration*, NAPA, Kyiv, 2011.

*if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language.*²⁰.

For the purpose of the Convention on Human Rights, in additional protocol on the rights of minorities, this expression refers to a group of persons in a State who: “1. *reside on the territory of that state and are citizens thereof; 2. maintain longstanding, firm and lasting ties with that state; 3. display distinctive ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics; 4. are sufficiently representative, although smaller in number than the rest of the population of that state or of a region of that state; and 5. are motivated by a concern to preserve together that which constitutes their common identity, including their culture, their traditions, their religion or their language.*”²¹.

Moreover, scientific literature gives another characteristic by Troshchynskyi and Koval²². The authors found, national minority is “*a numerically inferior, different in ethnic characteristics as compare with the rest of the population, a group of citizens of certain country, integrated into its social life, with longstanding tradition of residence on the territory and eager voluntary preserve and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity*”.

Besides, Lopushynskyi²³ added, in prism of compact settlement geography and social status in community, national minorities: “*a dependent, subordinate group, which is prominent subsystem with limited access to central positions. Majority of national minorities in Ukraine are part of ethnic groups whose main core is outside the country and exists, as a rule, in the form of independent ethno-political organisms*”.

In short, those are very descriptive of national minorities, as ethnic group: 1. driving by social nature; 2. belonging to citizenry of a country; 3. presenting narrower component of a society; 4. featuring with some specifics; and 5. behaving like separate, subordinated and hierarchy-oriented, component of social system. These, and other peculiarities, leaves us with two tentative conclusions of the general nature that will be of interest in our following study.

Firstly, the authorities in referring to components of the public sector, ethnic in this study, whether individuals or group, it requires a State for a set of rules, those could organize themselves. In order to feel and preserve their ethnicity or social identity, share collective interests. Since treating one selves like a minority that has been organized, this community starts to compete for influence on a level of government – executive or legislative branch, local or

²⁰ *Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation*, 2010, Retriever from https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/MinorityRights_en.pdf.

²¹ *Additional Protocol on the Rights of Minorities to the European Convention on Human Rights. Parliamentary Assembly*, 1993, Available at <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=15235>.

²²V. Troshchynskyi, V. Koval, *National Minorities. Encyclopedia of Public Administration*, NAPA, Kyiv, 2011.

²³ I. Lopushynskyi, *National Minorities. Encyclopedia of Public Administration*, NAPA, Kyiv, 2001.

central. Hence, national minorities behave like an independent actor, or civil society institute, on the government arena rationally.

Secondly, to realize human rights, carry obligations as citizens, national minorities follow legal and moral norms. In this respect, any advanced government could score the success by maintaining democratic control over its citizenry. By means of effective policy, innovative mechanisms of governance, modern decisions aimed for further social development of every public sector²⁴. Thus, to prevent national minorities from feeling that their input in public policy is ignored by a State.

To face the challenges, government is ultimate responsibility to create an appropriate ground to stream people activity into the advancement. In significantly, as experience tells us, national minorities are even more inclined to break rules, as compare to the rest of the population. One of the factors we could consider, they are mostly vulnerable against external threats sourced from their historical homeland. In particular, when it causes for standing up for educational rights, preserving ethnic identity, teaching native language, developing culture, maintaining religious traditions, etc.²⁵ Thus, the authorities growing concern is how to ensure equal access to public services²⁶.

Given that the Survey in Zakarpattia Region is providing an assessment by respondents from both groups, national minorities and the title nation', we could identify the major disjuncture between them. So far, by comparing those findings – to evaluate challenges in governance of ethnic component of the public sector. Accordingly, to statistics, there time invariant sections across ethnic groups of Zakarpattia Region, with six major minorities – the Hungarian, Romanian, Russian, Romani, Slovak and German²⁷. Figure 2 scores national minorities population, in thousands. There, the illustration of ethnic composition of the region, the comparison with the title nation.

²⁴ V. Kopcha, “Modern rule of law and basic approaches to understanding”, in *Law Journal of the National Academy of Internal Affairs*, 2021, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 7-12.

²⁵ A. Dalelbekeyzy, Z.-G. Bisengali, A. Toleubayeva, A. Zhanat, K.M. Baitanasova, “National code: Metaphysics and unity of historical consciousness”, in *Analele Universitatii din Craiova - Seria Istorie*, 2019, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 105-118.

²⁶ B. Kalynovskyi, “Constitutional and legal principles of creation and functioning of public authorities and administration of Ukraine: historical and legal research”, in *Scientific Journal of the National Academy of Internal Affairs*, 2021, vol. 118, no. 1, p. 148-149.

²⁷ *All-Ukrainian Population Census*, 2001. Available at ukrcensus.gov.ua.

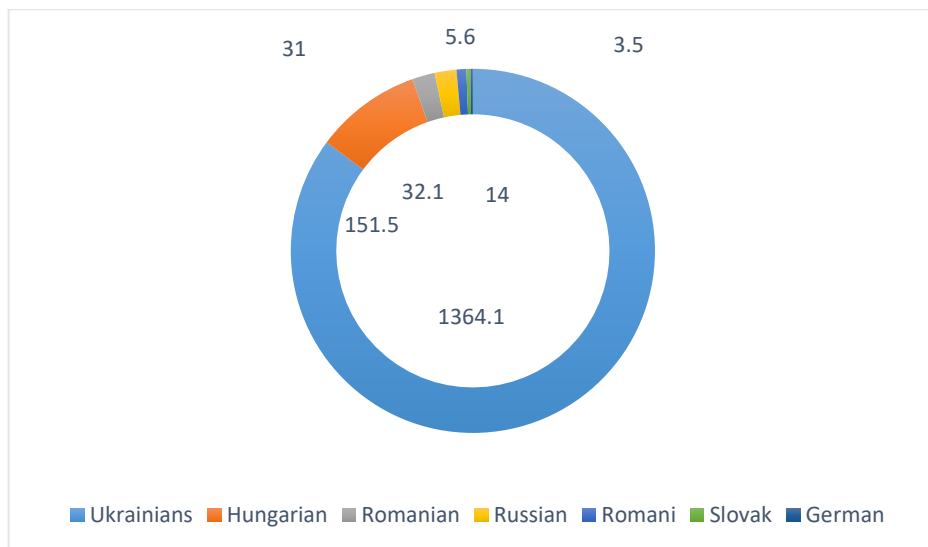


Figure 2: Ethnic Diversity of Zakarpattia Region

Source: Author, based on the All-Ukrainian Population Census²⁸

Materials and methods

This study was initiated by main problem how to assess national minorities, and what could be immediate challenges the authorities face in public administration, governance of ethnic component of the public sector? Thereby, the research questions are as follows:

1. What are particular social fields, national minorities surviving the most difficulties under government stewardship?

To outline the research, we theorize, that insights of respondents of ZR Survey are scientifically oriented, hence, could be taken into the consideration. We compare those from ethnic component to the title nation. Our endorsed hypotheses, national minorities appeared to be an object, with specific tendency in its development, that differs from the rest of the population.

2. What kind of innovative mechanisms of State governance are prior to be introduced to regulate ethnic component of the public sector?

We will capture *fourteen* test cases from ZR Survey 2020, compare a few to the results of similar conducted in 2018. To explain tendencies found in our paper, with outputs of WG Survey related to Government Effectiveness in Ukraine (Figure 1).

The main methods of this research were case study and comparison. We incorporate systematic approach by combining both – quantitative (outcome of ZR Survey) and qualitative (impact on governance) element. As a result, the

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

combination of the two, come together and highlight main trends, whilst ensuring insights into the dynamics behind them.

Accordingly, we provide discussion and comparison within the same indices. The basis for detailed analysis, from the findings of ZR Survey. There, *sixty-five* cases overall contain suggestions of respondents from *four* national minorities, which are major on ethnic landscape of the region (see Table 1), alongside with the title nation – presented by the “Population in general” group.

Due to methodological advantages, by adopting systematic approach and cross-time analysis, this paper is novel in that it provides a chronical observation of how governance effectiveness changed over time, combined with the observations from recent findings amongst national minorities, in terms of ethnic distinctive region.

Results and discussion

As such, ZR Survey has outlined socio-political situation, state of governance by local authorities, eventual perspectives. Our attempt to systematize it resulted into five main insights: 1. Situation changes, assessment and balance (since 2014); 2. Language issues; 3. The Hungarian national minority concerns; 4. Autonomy question; and 5. Policy aspects. Situation changes, assessment and balance. We analyze indices used in ZR Survey which are coherent to the indicators, applied in WG Survey. Figure 3 says, that respondents from the title nation group adhere to the “No changes” in most, within stable range from 46% to 58%, i.e. 12% gap.

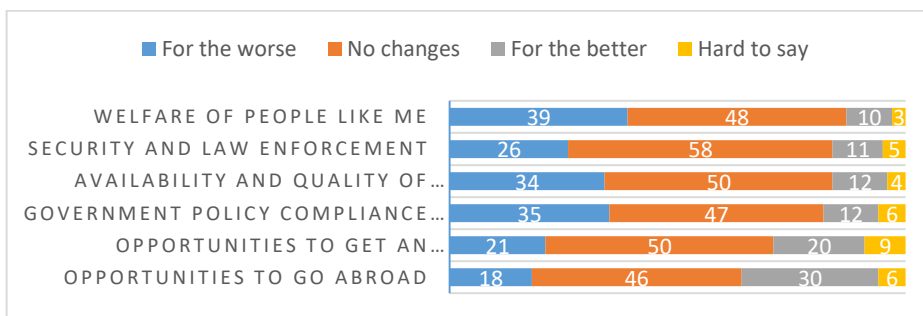


Figure 3: Assessment of changes, population in general

The national minorities’ mention, at the same point, as Figure 4 shows, is wider, and ranged from 32% to 67%, i.e. 35% gap. Such balance, as the table prompt us, is on the account of those from ethnic, who showed their negative with regard to the access to health care services, compliance of government policy toward law and social welfare.

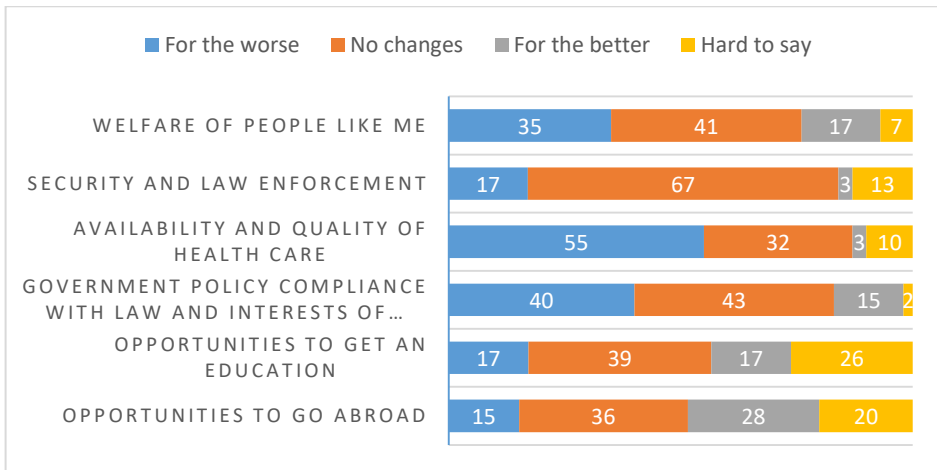


Figure 4: Assessment of changes, national minorities

The overall score, to compare two groups, in their “positive” or “negative” insights as for the changes in the region since 2014, are scattered. The specifics for each contained in Figure 5.

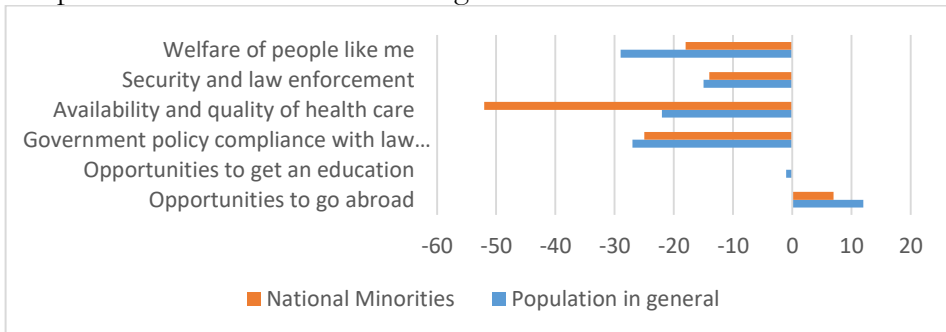


Figure 5: Assessment balance

Generally speaking, defined almost *triple* difference on some indices and comparative data from Table 1, give us the perceived sense, the authorities of Zakarpattia Region is unable to provide its citizens with values that they owe, in full. Particularly when national minorities matter. In the other words, local government is not making the deficit to supply services denied to the population in the past. Thus, our suggestion, the general tendency in the region likes to be opposite to what we usually identify as an achievement. The single indicator showed positive score – the “Opportunities to go abroad”. Interestingly, because that is dual by nature, and there could be two reasons. Whether it comes about possibility for Ukrainians to leave the country and stay abroad on temporary to study and have a job, or stay on permanent hence quit Ukrainian citizenship. This only insight of respondents from both groups is correlating at reasonable level.

Therefore, in the following insight, the respondent’s suggestion from both groups scored overwhelming majority, was given for the *stagnation* perspectives ahead of the region in near couple years. As Table 5 illustrates, with 39.0% vs 35.4% respectively. More than that, national minorities group hesitated to give its estimates to neither variant, with *triple* difference between two groups.

Table 1: Perspectives of Zakarpattia Region in coming 2 – 3 years

	Population in general	National minorities
Improved significantly	9.0	2.6
Improved gradually	27.8	21.8
Stagnated	39.0	35.4
Changed to worse	11.6	4.6
Deteriorated rapidly	2.6	0.0
Hard to say	10.0	35.6

Source: Author, based on the (Analytical Report..., 2020)

In our attempt to find out the reasons for the uncertainty of the *one third* respondents of both groups, and great deal of unpredictability national minorities’ as for neither perspectives, we proceed to the next discussion.

What events could impact situation in the region, with scores presented in Figure 6.

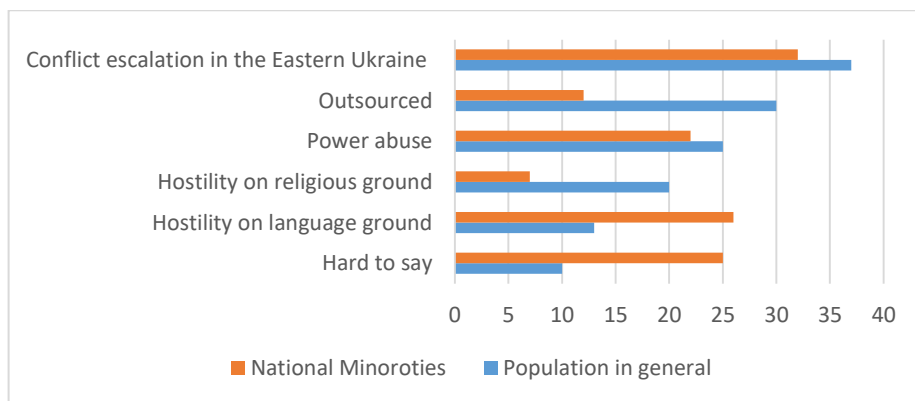


Figure 6: Eventual influence factors

The probability of eventual escalation of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine estimated by both groups to be considerable and scores in higher. By and large, it brings uncertainty in Zakarpattia region, as the part of whole territory of Ukraine.

With most negative consequences for national minorities, as minor segment. At the same time, hostility on either religious or language grounds, foreign countries influence, abuse by the authorities’ citizen rights, stays to

national minorities as well with highest degree of exposure. Thus, the major want for protection by State remains the prior in every social field.

The findings in Table 2 proves, both groups realize the role of independent actors on public arena – an autonomous agents trying to persuade their self-interests by asserting control over target audience.

Table 2: Asserting control

	Population in general	National minorities
Central government	41.4	34.4
Local government	52.0	37.2
Local business groups	40.2	22.6
NGO	6.8	3.4
Residents of Zakarpattia Region	14.1	3.8
Individuals (politicians, businessman etc.)	28.5	39.8
EU	2.6	4.8
Hungary	5.0	4.6
Russia	0.8	3.0
Hard to say	8.2	34.0

But public good is not a mathematical outcome of individual interests who gained control. On contrary, welfare of civil society could be counted in how seriously its institutions or individuals have weighed their preferable opinions as toward or against those agents. As we see, ethnic component gave preference for local and central governments, and individuals. As for the latest, we could presume those public active personalities constitute up themselves the institutes of civil society, presenting its interests, in full. The support, given by national minorities to three main actors on public arena to assert control, is shared almost in equal within range of 34.4% – 39.8%. With 52.0% respondents from the title nation group, prevailing for local government. Besides, no majority in opinions by both groups given to foreign countries, or international union. Thus, the data depicts the prevalence of both groups and highlights general tendency toward strong power and developed civil society with its institutions.

Language issues. Despite of some worries by foreign officials (see Introduction section), in national minorities' eyes introducing the Law envisages Ukrainian as the State Language, is under more reasonable discussion, as Table 3 highlights.

Table 3: Eventual consequences from the Ukrainian Language Law

	Population in general	National minorities
Contribute to constant association of residents with different nationalities	39.8	36.8

Create serious inter-ethnic conflict	30.1	27.0
Hard to say	30.1	36.2

The highest score of both groups is recorded for contribution of the consequences from the Law²⁹, strengthening civil society and integrity in the region. The effect came to be rather positive than being denied by a society.

To comment changes over time, we continue with comparing data 2018 and 2020³⁰ (Table 4). The share from the title nation group, who thought Ukrainian must be the only language in secondary and higher establishments, scored increase from 27.5% to 49.6%. Alongside, with other indicators changed somewhat or stable, in particular: 31.1% and 29.1% – elementary school with national minorities languages, secondary and higher educational establishments in Ukrainian only; 8.8% and 8.3% – secondary school with national minorities languages, higher school with Ukrainian only; 3.6% and 3.0% – in secondary and higher establishments with national minorities languages. With the exception – almost triple decrease from 2.9% to 10.0% in “Hard to say” – for the account of those, who voted for Ukrainian only in academic syllabus in both secondary and higher educational establishments.

Table 4: Children be taught in language

	Population in general	National minorities
Secondary and higher educational establishments – Ukrainian only	49.6	17.0
Elementary school – national minorities’, secondary and higher – Ukrainian only	29.1	35.2
Secondary school – national minorities’, higher – Ukrainian only	8.3	14.8
Secondary and higher establishments – national minorities’	3.0	4.8
Hard to say	10.0	28.2

Comparative data of Figure 7 say, they considerably different for a few indices. The magnificent gap in 32.6% accounted for Ukrainian in secondary and higher establishments, due to overwhelming preference by the title nation group. However, with 18.2% difference in their turn for those who hesitated, on the account of national minorities group.

The Hungarian national minority concerns. Based on the respondents’ insights, the changes in situation concerning the Hungarian minority over 5 years, Table 10 was designed.

²⁹ Law of Ukraine No. 2704-VIII “On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language”, 2019, Available at <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2704-19>.

³⁰ Analytical Report on the Results of the Survey in Zakarpattia Oblast, 2020, Available at dif.org.ua.

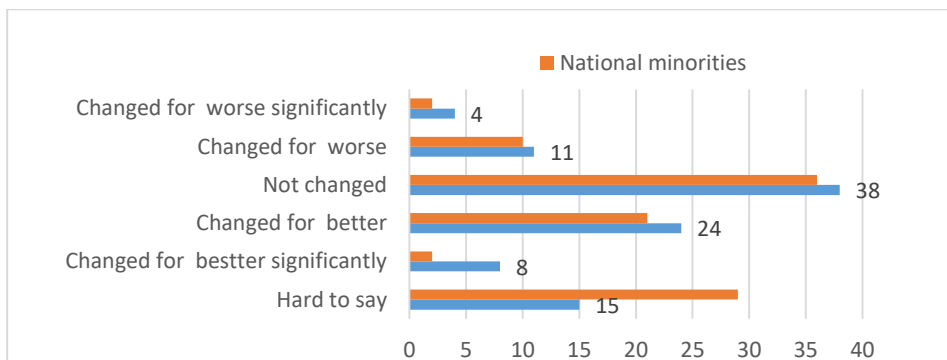


Figure 7: The Hungarian minority transformations over 5 years

Scores have provided us with clear signs, the opinion of national minorities group tends to be conservative. It follows the preference for “Not changed” and “Hard to say”. By summarizing, it comes to the effect, that despite of having 21% given to “Changed for better”, there prevails cautious as for transformation. In view of overall results, the conclusion came that national minorities showed their particular response to non-effective governance.

The indices in Table 5 relate to the issue of definition of what members of the groups are, in the context of ethnic distinct or citizenry.

Table 5: Self-identification

	Population in general	National minorities
Resident of your town (village)	22.9	7.2
Resident of the region	22.5	18.2
Citizen of Ukraine	38.4	23.4
Representative of your ethnos, nation	6.6	41.5
Citizen of Russia	0.0	0.0
Citizen of Europe	5.0	6.2
Citizen of the world	2.2.	2.1
Hard to say	2.4	1.4

As we see, the notable finding is that residents of Zakarpattia Region inhabit strong regional identity, that is with the general population group. The relatively low score accounted for being representatives of the nation (for the title nation group) or possessing international citizenry (both groups). Out of national minorities group, the remarkable thing, that almost 42% identified themselves with their ethnos, and approximately 42% in total – residents of the region and citizens of the country. As these scores reflect, the ground to provide by the authorities’ effective governance, implement reforms across the region required by ethnic component of Zakarpattia society, is solid.

Autonomy question. When analyze “patriotism” phenomenon, we presume, this manifestation, in its many social aspects, is controversial. The attitude of individuals with their own perception of its essence, reflection of human values, will create the foundation for assessing national or ethnic loyalties, duties as citizens. The details are contained in Table 6.

Table 6: Patriotism definition

	Population in general	National minorities
Love for your country	71.7	89.9
Willingness to defend your country, with weapon if necessary	31.3	25.2
Raising children's love and respect for their country	47.6	35.0
Compliance with laws of a country	13.7	5.8
Knowledge of history and culture of your country	28.3	19.6
Participation in election	12.9	18.0
Duties performance consciously	19.9	11.8
Communication in State language	14.7	6.6
Tax payment	3.6	4.6
Participation in public life	4.8	2.0
Respect for authorities	1.6	0.6
Support the fight against corruption and other violations	9.2	1.0

Based on data in Table 6, we recognize the partition horizon in national minorities’ view at the point of 18.0%. With scores positioned above for main societal values. The second, the opposite to loyalties tendency, is rapid decline in compliance with a law, citizenry duties, public activities, State language adherence, and sympathy for the authorities. The difference between two groups, it reaches at the “Participation in election”, where in contrast to their counterparts, national minorities showed more readiness to go to election. The findings demonstrate, the declines in obeying by national minorities to law are less dramatic than their loyalty and devotion to the country.

The following Figure 8 is illustrative to confirm the above.

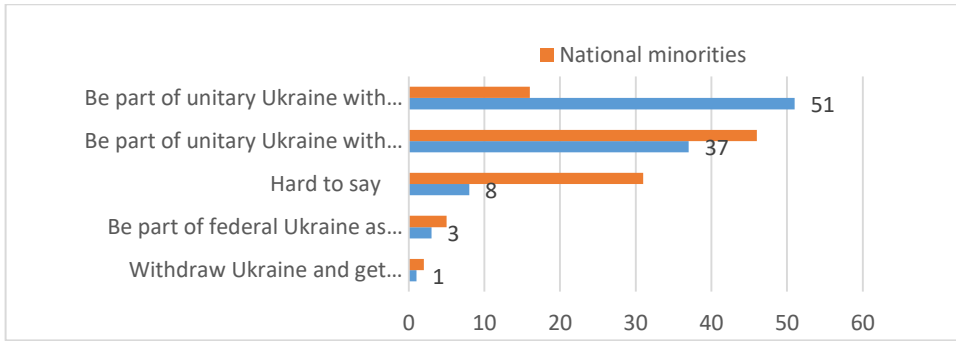


Figure 8: Region eventual status

National minorities have showed their preference for staying in unitary Ukraine, promoting governmental sector. That resulted in approximately 30% difference to favor the authorities with extended powers versus with their current state, under present legal status of Zakarpattia Region. As indices find, the mood revealed by general population, is paternalistic. Another noticeable thing, the lowest support to separatism by both groups. At the same time, the number among national minorities who hesitated in their definition scores more than 30% vs 8% of the title nation'. In balance, *one third* of citizens with non-decision out of ethnic component of the public sector, consists a numeric object to influence by the authorities in formulation and providing aimed policy to meet national minorities expectations.

Policy aspects. Table 7 contains data informative to the authorities of Ukraine, regarding assessment of possible impact the policy of Hungary has got on state of matters in Zakarpattia Region, with ethnic component concerns.

Table 7: Hungary official policy

	Population in general	National minorities
Facilitates the Hungarian minority friendly	31.5	36.8
Develops the region, under Ukrainian authorities guidance	40.0	24.8
Undermines Ukrainian national identity	10.6	7.2
Hard to say	17.9	31.2

Significant point in Table 7, is that prevailing opinion of both groups tends to be *positive* in overall. However, with 31% respondents from national minorities group hesitated. Thus, *one third* part of the population, presented its ethnic component, remains uncertain. Disjuncture between objective governance by Ukrainian authorities, on the one hand, and the subjective interest for the officials from the country of national minorities' historical origin, on the other.

The set of indicators in Figure 9 focused on main directions of the international policy of Ukraine.

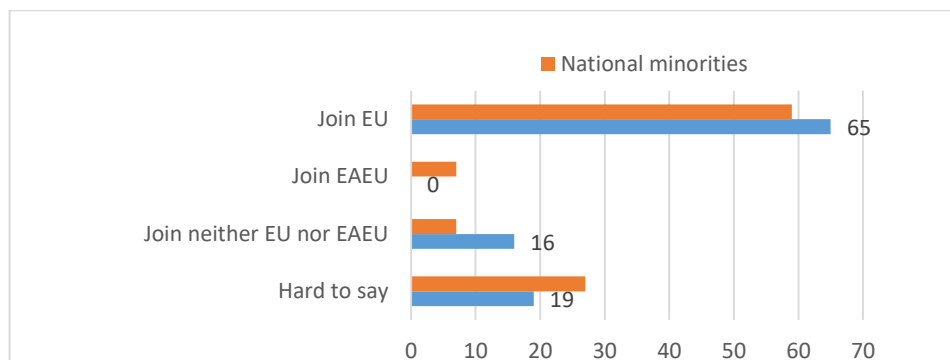


Figure 9: International policy of Ukraine

As we see, the overwhelming majority of respondents shared their absolute support to the integration policy – joining the European Union. Though this fact seems to be a defining criterion, 7% of respondents from national minorities group gave their preference for the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).

Our followed observation, which has an outcome from ZR Survey, relates to national security issues. And, reflects perspectives with one of the *military blocks*³¹. With preference to join NATO is more than 63% from general population group, and 45% – national minorities. Without alternatives, it coincides with the EU expectations Zakarpattia Region population (Figure 9). Other suggestions indicated, 18.35% of the title nation' vs 36.8% national minority's, have not decided yet. The military union with Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) supported 0.6% vs 2.8%, the non-block status – 17.5% vs 36.8% respectively. Thus, our two last observations with regard to the European and North-Atlantic integration perspectives of Ukraine, may reflect a bias in the population of Zakarpattia Region with support neither unification with Russia, nor its axing allies.

In the research, due to systematic approach and combination of scientific methods, the assessment of insights of national minorities have been provided. Our premise, that findings in relation to national minorities of Zakarpattia Region, by given ethnic diversity of the region, it appeared to be applicable on the country scale. Certainly, with a few correlations between different its parts, that scientifically acceptable. Hence, our implications could cover national minorities of Ukraine. The systematic principle, it ensures us the uniqueness of the study. Data presented in this paper have got an empiric, are drawings from two surveys varied by its type and content, provided by separate institutions.

³¹ *Analytical Report on the Results of the Survey in Zakarpattia Oblast*, 2020, Available at dif.org.ua.

Those were confirmed by the dynamics over time on the basis of similar surveys within a two year-period. The comparative analysis of findings from two differing respondent groups resulted in specifying interests of national minorities versus the rest of the population.

The research indicates, the most subjective for national minorities of Zakarpattia Region, in some fields of public service where the government stewardship dominates. Those are with particular relevance for social welfare, health care and education. The other major concern, is high level of national minorities sense of social exposure to power abuse by the authorities, or eventual military conflict escalation within the territory of the country. The findings of this study generally demonstrate, that national minorities aware the importance to stay as a part of the country they reside in and are citizens of. Their development must go hand by hand with achievements in the country, progress in society. In this matter, the areas of policy on international scale and interior arena, were specified. The preference for the European and North-Atlantic integration prevails in their opinion, with least percentage given to integration with former republics of the ex-communist space.

On political arena, national minorities showed interest to behave like an independent actor by means of election³². Their unambiguous want to instill in children those basic human values, is democratic in character and in line with European human policies. Meaningful endorsement to government of both levels – central and local, and individuals either business or political sectors, says about readiness to support main components of civil society. Thus, moral awareness to be good citizens, desire to organize society well, with strong State and public institutions, are of considerable importance. At the same time, one third part of the representatives from national minorities remains in uncertain. Hence, a critical number of Ukrainian societies, presented by its ethnic component, contains substantial target audience whether for Ukrainian authorities in public administration, or the officials from ethnic historical homelands in persuading own interests within the region.

Conclusions

Based on these findings, we proceed with three conclusions shaped in general concepts of State mechanisms to regulate national minorities.

The first is that specifics of national minorities and their particular features, as compare to the rest of the population, must be in a focus of a State. To include national minorities, as an independent civil society institute, into the programs of public-private partnership, seems to be an important area

³² C. Linebarger, I. Salehyan, “Electoral integrity and election-related conflict”, in *Democracy and Security*, 2020, no. 1, p. 260-280.

for development. To strengthen linkages within the society, frame negotiation the interests between a State and national minority.

The second is of particular social insecurity of national minorities against influence sourced outside. To improve sufficiently the informational policy and propagandist activities by a State. It will have turned out to neutralize negative external impacts. Reduce the complications on ethnic, language, cultural, or religious ground.

The third and final, concerns the hierarchy in civil society, national minorities non-dominant position. To introduce innovative socio-communicative instruments, for example, “social platform”. Once this social architecture of the public sector built, for instance, “The Crimean Platform”, or others, a State managing capacity be increased. With focus on interconnections between separate parts of ethnic component of the public sector, or national minorities and the rest of the population, within predictable time horizons and strategies.

In other words, one of the instruments to measure the development of national minorities is the analysis of their evaluation the mostly topics and urgent issues in the public sector. The other, is to find dynamics by using comparative data with changes over time, additional records from independent source. It ensures necessary support to deliberate concepts how to increase effectiveness in overcoming challenges by a state governance, reform public administration in Ukraine effectively.