Analysis of life plans and emigration intentions of pupils and students of border regions of the South of Ukraine (experience of empirical sociological research)

Olena Liseienko1,∗, Liudmyla Kalashnikova2,∗∗, Nataliia Nikon3,∗∗∗, and Viktoriia Chorna4,∗∗∗∗

1South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University named after K. D. Ushinsky, 26 Staroportofrankovskaya Str., Odessa, 65020, Ukraine
2Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University, 54 Gagarin Ave., Kryvyi Rih, 50086, Ukraine
3Odessa National Polytechnic University, 4 Shevchenko Ave., Odessa, 65044, Ukraine
4Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, 10 68 Marines Str., Mykolaiv, 54003, Ukraine

Abstract. Educational emigration of young people is today one of the most pressing topics, taking into account the place and role of this socio-demographic group in the processes of economic and socio-cultural reproduction of society. In order to clarify the scale and nature of migration sentiments in the field of education, the life plans of young people, the authors of the article within the framework of the grant project “Common Language: public dialogue on the Law of Ukraine “On Education” in the Odessa region” conducted two empirical sociological research: 1) a formalized interview of students, students and their parents; 2) in-depth interviews with representatives of local authorities and self-government bodies, heads of schools and other educational institutions, school teachers, pupils, their parents, students, representatives of public organizations, ethnic communities, employers and representatives of local political parties. Despite the prevailing migration sentiments among some of the respondents, most of them associate their future with Ukraine. The mood for educational emigration is most pronounced among student youth, this is due to the fact that getting an education in foreign countries facilitates the possibility of their employment, including on the international labor market. The authors emphasize the importance of further scientific understanding of topical problems associated with the implementation of educational reform in Ukraine, which has hidden the development of transnational curricula.

1 Introduction

A person’s choice in favor of one or another model of behavior, the construction of plans for the future depend on the characteristics of the functioning of his/her space of life activity. Adolescence is a sensitive period when personal self-determination occurs, the development of flexible life strategies associated with the readiness of representatives of the youth community to understand and accept their place in society through the prism of internal positions happens. In this sense, life plans associated with future professional choice and continuing education are an important prerequisite for the economic self-sufficiency and independence of young people as the basic components of the assertion of their social maturity and social subjectivity, accumulating the existing institutional imbalances in the education sphere and the labor market both on the level of a specific region and the country as a whole.

Educational emigration of graduates of Ukrainian schools to the countries of the European Union in recent years has become more widespread. There are no official statistics, but experts estimate the number of Ukrainians studying abroad in 2019–2020 was 60–70 thousand [1]. According to research conducted by the analytical center CEDOS, in recent years the number of students emigrating from Ukraine has increased at least threefold. Ukrainian citizens study at foreign universities on a full-time basis in 34 countries of the world [2].

The problem of educational emigration of young people is especially acute for the western border regions of Ukraine, such as the Zakarpatska, Lvivska, Volynska regions. In neighboring Poland, 55% of the total number of all foreign students come from Ukraine [3]. Today, Romania, Bulgaria and even Moldova, Transnistria have appeared on the list of recipient countries of educational migrants together with Poland, Germany, Hungary, Slovakia, Austria, Canada, USA, Australia, which undoubtedly keeps current the need to study the problem of educational emigration, characteristic of the inhabitants of the southern region of Ukraine.

The intensification of educational emigration processes has a number of both positive and negative consequences, however, under existing circumstances, there are significantly more latter ones. Since, in some cases, student mobility is transformed into emigration with no hope of a return, which certainly complicates both the demographic and social economic situation in Ukraine. And

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taking into account the scale and dynamics of educational emigration, as well as potential losses for the economy of both a specific region, and of the entire country as a whole, there is a need for a sociological study of the life plans and emigration intentions of pupils and students in order to develop and implement a number of measures that, at least, will allow even partially to minimize its negative consequences.

Realization of personal potential, achievement of life goals depend not only on the choice of a life path, but also on the organization of work aimed at its optimization. However, certain contradictions arise as for the formation of life plans, which are determined by the instability of social structures, nonlinearity and unpredictability of life circumstances, which significantly complicate the mechanisms of their formation and implementation. The need to find ways to overcome this kind of uncertainty contributes to the emergence of new forms of organization of social life and is reflected in new models of life strategies of the younger generation, which, in its turn, actualizes the need to study them in a close relationship between factors at the micro and macro levels. This is especially true for border areas, where the geography, ethnic structure, economic opportunities of the regions, which simultaneously perform barrier, filtering and contact functions, influence the formation of life plans and emigration intentions of young people along with other definite factors.

Thus, based on the widespread cases of departure of graduates of Ukrainian schools on educational programs outside Ukraine, it becomes necessary to study the causes and factors contributing to the spread of these trends, primarily to make changes to the state policy of regulating the processes of educational migration. The purpose of this article is to identify the relationship between the migration intentions of graduates of secondary educational institutions in the border regions and the possibility of their implementation, based on the systematization of the results of an empirical sociological study conducted in Odessa and the Odessa region.

The theoretical and methodological basis for the study of life plans and emigration intentions of pupils and students is the theory of the direction of the personality towards the formation of a promising future of G. W. Allport [4], faith in his/her own abilities of C. R. Rogers [5], developing a life strategy of the individual of A. V. Petrovsky [6], Ju. M. Reznik and E. A. Smirnov [7], G. A. Cherednichenko [8], the implementation of professional choice of E. P. Il’in [9], I. S. Kon [10]. Also the works of Y. P. Golovakha [11] are aimed at studying the ability of life strategies to perform the function of orientation in the future, to act as a social value, an individual meaning of life. No less significant are N. A. Shlapak’s developments [12] on the essence of a young person’s life plans, which is expressed in the relevance of reflecting objective reality, because they, having organizational potential, educational and social capital, act as an ideal mean of transforming opportunities into reality. In addition, it is worth paying attention to the scientific achievements of such Ukrainian scientists as E. Libanova [13], O. Malynovska [14], L. Kalashnikova [15], whose publications are devoted to the problems of human resource emigration, including academic mobility of student youth in the border regions.

The prerequisites for conducting an empirical sociological study in order to study the problems of the formation of life strategies and educational emigration intentions of pupils and students in the border areas of the Odessa region were the results of an international study carried out during 2018 in higher educational institutions of the Eastern region of Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Ukraine. The authors of which, guided by the obtained empirical data, showed that Ukrainian students have a predominantly economic motivation for educational emigration to European countries with no hope of a return, where the standard of living is significantly higher than in Ukraine. Among a number of favorable factors of these emigrations, the proximity of the location of the recipient countries, knowledge of the language, similarity of culture and traditions, family ties, etc. were highlighted [16].

2 Research methods

The design of the study was based on the use of a mixed method, that is, a combination of general scientific and special, quantitative and qualitative methods, the choice of which was determined by the purpose and objectives of this scientific work.

The work uses general scientific methods, in particular, traditional and critical analysis, synthesis to understand the essence of emigration of educational institutions of secondary education. To determine the causes and factors of the spread of migration intentions, special sociological methods were used, namely, a secondary analysis of statistical results and sociological studies conducted in Ukraine by leading research centers.

To determine the trends in the formation of life plans and emigration intentions characteristic of pupils and students living in the border regions of the South of Ukraine (in particular the Odessa region, which borders Moldova, Transnistria, Romania), the authors of the article – the members of the Southern Branch of the Sociological Association of Ukraine took part in implementation of the grant project “Common language: public dialogue on the law “On education” in the Odessa region” (No. RFR-43-2018 dated 02.05.2018). Within which during 02.05-30.11.2018 two empirical studies were carried out in Odessa, Bolgradsky (Bolgrad, Banivka village) and Izmail (Izmail, Broska village) districts of the Odessa region:

1) a formalized interview at the place of study and residence of the respondents (250 respondents took part, of which: 50 students, 100 pupils of senior classes of secondary educational institutions and 100 parents of schoolchildren);

2) in-depth interviews at the place of work and study of informants (80 respondents took part: 15 of them were representatives of local authorities and self-government bodies (various structural units – education, culture); 15 heads of schools and other educational institutions (vocational and technical educational institutions, institutions of higher education of
1-4 levels of accreditation); 15 school teachers (of the Ukrainian language and other subjects); 5 parents of pupils of schools with the language of education of ethnic minorities and with the Ukrainian language of education; 5 senior pupils of secondary schools with the language of education of minorities and with the Ukrainian language of education; 10 students; 5 representatives of public organizations, ethno-national communities; 5 employers; 5 representatives of local political parties.

The sample is quota, representative by sex, age, ethnicity, place of residence and sphere of professional activity of the respondents.

The empirical study was carried out using the instrumentarium developed within the framework of the “Reforms to the Regions” project, which was carried out by the Institute of Economic Research and Policy Consulting in cooperation with the editorial board of the newspaper “Evropeyska Pravda” (with financial support from the European Commission and the International Foundation “Vidrodzhennya”) [17].

3 Research results and discussion

Determination of the place and role of education in the life plans of pupils and student youth in the Odessa region provided for the identification of motives for obtaining higher education, as well as ideas about their future life prospects. The analysis of the answers received allowed us to conclude that students strive to get higher education for personal development (72% of the total number of respondents). On the other hand, the pupils and their parents turned out to be more pragmatic in their thoughts about the mission of higher education in the life of young people, probably realizing the direct connection between obtaining it and the implementation of life plans. As most of them noted the need to obtain higher education for employment to a well-paid position (54% and 45% respectively) (table 1).

On the fact that the respondents have emigration intentions, we note that every sixth student, every third high school pupil and every third parent (16%, 27%, and 32% respectively) believe that obtaining a higher education allows a person to continue studies abroad in the future. Almost the same number of informants (every sixth student, every third pupil and every fifth parent (17%, 31%, and 19% respectively)) determines that higher education provides an opportunity for employment abroad.

As evidenced by the research data, the thoughts of high school pupils and their parents about the life plans of their children are inextricably linked to the possibility of continuing education after graduation. The majority of the surveyed students (74%) believe that for future successful self-realization in the profession, you need to have a higher education. Other respondents (11%) do not see a direct connection between their future profession and getting higher education, or they have certain difficulties regarding the wording of the answer to this question (10%) (table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer options</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal development</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to get a well-paid profession</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level of professional training</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to work in better conditions</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to get an interesting profession</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useful practical skills needed in the labor market</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity of employment abroad</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to study abroad</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think that it gives nothing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question “What, in your opinion, does a higher education give to a person?” (% of the total number of selected answer options in each social group) [17].

With regard to plans to continue the study after graduating from school, almost three quarters of the surveyed pupils (77%) plan to enter higher educational institutions. The majority of their parents (71%) confirm these intentions by giving a positive answer to a similar question. The expectations of students are also optimistic – 60% of whom strive to continue their study in the future in the graduate studies, postgraduate studies. Only 14% of pupils and 17% of parents are oriented towards continuing the education in a vocational and technical institution after graduating from school (table 3).

In order to find out the reasons for the reluctance to continue education after graduation from school, the pupils and their parents were asked a clarifying question “If your child does not plan to continue education after graduation from school, please indicate the reasons?”. Among the answers presented, most of both pupils and parents indicated the lack of material opportunities in the family to continue their education, as well as the lack of confidence that further education would allow successful employment in the future.

Every tenth student (10%) considers the possibility of studying abroad, which confirms the voluntariness of choosing a life strategy, as well as the presence of intentions to implement educational emigration. Studying abroad for their children is planned by 15% of parents, who identify Poland, Bulgaria, Germany, Russia, the
I was going to study in Bulgaria, even entered the Faculty of Economics at the University in Varna, but it is clear that this is very far away and I decided to stay in Ukraine, I entered the Odessa Polytechnic University. In Bulgaria, education is at a higher level, there is no corruption, you study yourself, pass yourself, attend classes freely.

Thus, the analysis of the data obtained allows us to conclude that, despite the established emigration intentions of a certain part of the respondents, the majority of the respondents associate their future with Ukraine. Intentions for educational emigration are more characteristic of student youth, this is due to the fact that the education received in foreign countries will facilitate their employment in the international labor market.

The results of the survey of students, pupils and their parents, obtained during the formalized interview, coincide with the data of the in-depth interview. Here are some examples from interview transcripts.

So, answering the question about the desire to study at an institution of higher education abroad, some students gave solid, detailed answers:

- "I was going to study in Bulgaria, even entered the Faculty of Economics at the University in Varna, but it is clear that this is very far away and I decided to stay in Ukraine, I entered the Odessa Polytechnic University. In Bulgaria, education is at a higher level, there is no corruption, you study yourself, pass yourself, attend classes freely."

- "I didn’t want to leave my native country, my Motherland. I know that the level of education in our country is quite high. This is confirmed by the fact that a large number of foreign students from other countries come to our Odessa National Polytechnic University to study, and they find here the knowledge that they cannot receive in their country. I would not want to leave the country and I want other students and children to understand that it is good to study in our country."

### Table 3. Distribution of answers to the question “Do you (Does your child) plan to continue education (higher educational institution) after graduation from school?” (% of the total number of surveyed people in each social group) [17].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer options</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, I do not plan (he/she doesn’t plan)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I plan (he/she plans) to enter higher educational institution (university, institute) / graduate studies, postgraduate studies</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I plan (he/she plans) to enter college (technical college)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I plan (he/she plans) to enter a vocational and institution educational institution</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it difficult to answer</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Czech Republic, Slovakia, Canada among the recipient countries.

This position of the parents is absolutely understandable, because the reason is their personal experience. It is well known that there is virtually no production in most of Bessarabia, therefore economic factors of public discontent prevail. Despite the fact that the border regions (Bolgrad, Izmail) are known for fertile soils and high-quality agricultural products, in the absence of an appropriate level of investment, the economy is rapidly declining, as a result, the unemployment rate is growing. Residents of working-age have to migrate to neighboring countries of the European Union in search of at least temporary earnings [18]. And loving parents, as it is known, demand a better destiny for their children than their own one.

Therefore, perhaps precisely because of the lack of financial opportunities, the majority of pupils (72%) and their parents (61%) prefer Ukraine and plan to continue their studies in domestic institutions of higher education after graduating from school (table 4).

### Table 4. Distribution of answers to the question “What option of education for you/your child in an educational institution is more acceptable?” (% of the total number of surveyed people in each social group) [17].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer options</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I do not plan (he/she doesn’t plan) to continue studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Ukraine</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abroad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it difficult to answer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, the results, which are presented in table 4, indicate the presence of a relatively low potential for educational mobility. But attention is drawn to the fact that at the time of the study, 16% of pupils and 20% of their parents did not answer this question. In its turn, this may indicate that they have not yet finally decided on the choice of the country where they intend to continue their studies after graduating from a secondary educational institution.

Regarding the life plans and educational emigration intentions of students, we note that 22% of the respondents are considering options for continuing their studies abroad, 12% have no such plans. Students intending to continue their studies abroad, among the desired countries, named Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, France and the Czech Republic.

Almost every tenth pupil and almost every tenth student consider the opportunity in the coming years to continue their studies or find a job abroad, choosing countries both neighboring to Ukraine (10% and 8% respectively) and other more distant foreign countries (9% and 14% respectively). It is very encouraging that 48% of students and 52% of pupils intend to associate their future with Ukraine (table 5).

### Table 5. Distribution of answers to the question “Where do you plan to study or work in a few years?” (% of the total number of surveyed people in each social group) [17].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer options</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Ukraine</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the neighboring countries to Ukraine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other foreign countries</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it difficult to answer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the analysis of the data obtained allows us to conclude that, despite the established emigration intentions of a certain part of the respondents, the majority of the respondents associate their future with Ukraine. Intentions for educational emigration are more characteristic of student youth, this is due to the fact that the education received in foreign countries will facilitate their employment in the international labor market.

The results of the survey of students, pupils and their parents, obtained during the formalized interview, coincide with the data of the in-depth interview. Here are some examples from interview transcripts.

So, answering the question about the desire to study at an institution of higher education abroad, some students gave solid, detailed answers:
Discussing the intentions of looking for work abroad, three out of ten surveyed students agreed to temporarily leave Ukraine for successful employment:

- “If there is a well-paid job abroad, I will go there, but I will definitely return to Ukraine”.
- “So, if there is a need for it, if the circumstances will be of a kind – life, political. Since there has been a conflict situation on the territory of Ukraine in recent years. Although I don’t want to leave”.
- “If there is such an opportunity and there is no language barrier, then of course “yes””.

Two out of five surveyed pupils, answering the question “Where do you see your future – in Ukraine or abroad?”, gave reasons for their intentions regarding a possible departure to Bulgaria in the future to receive education, upon condition of returning to Ukraine after receiving it:

- “I want to get an education in Bulgaria in order to get a European-style diploma and have more opportunities to live in another European country in the future. I have not yet chosen a specialty, a profession finally, but I am thinking about it. However, after completing higher education in Bulgaria, I may return to Ukraine and work here”.
- “I am more inclined to stay in Bulgaria, I like their cities, perhaps because it’s just something new, interesting. Remembering all the problems that exist in Ukraine today, I do not think that something will make me go back after graduating from a university in Bulgaria”.

Separately, it is worth drawing attention to determining the place and significance of the language in the possibility of realizing the life plans of pupils and youth, since for the border regions the issue of the language barrier when moving to study to a neighboring recipient country is less relevant. Considering, first of all, the high level of adaptability of representatives of the youth community, which was repeatedly emphasized by the research participants:

- “It would be easier for children to adapt if there would be more Ukrainian language in schools, if they immediately started communicating in Ukrainian there. And then in general there would be no adaptation process” (representative of the national-cultural society).
- “They adapt normally. I don’t see any particular problem in this. For example, our children who graduated from school here, then went to study in Odessa, and they have no problems. They have basic knowledge of the Ukrainian language, so this is enough, and then they learn to communicate with each other, live in a dormitory with Ivano-Frankivsk residents and automatically speak Ukrainian even at home. I studied at a Bulgarian school, we studied a completely different Ukrainian language, because Western speech is real Ukrainian, which was spoken by Taras Shevchenko” (representative of the national-cultural society).
- “It takes 1-2 years to adapt and the children adjust, they “absorb like sponges”” (representative of a local political party).

However, teachers are not so optimistic in their reasoning and have certain doubts about this:

- “If you studied for 10–11 years in one language, and then you come to a university where, all the textbooks, definitions are in a different language, of course it is very difficult, I can’t even imagine how children adapt”.
- “If in technical universities, then I think without problems, but if in philological universities, then the person knew what exactly he/she chose. I have not analyzed the situation to talk about the emergence of a trend”.

The results of the study showed the fact that among the pupils of secondary schools, their parents, students there is a growing awareness of the need to properly study the state language and the influence of the level of proficiency in it on improving the life chances of future applicants. First of all, given the fact that most of the respondents show their desire to continue their studies and find a job in the future in Ukraine.

The majority of respondents believe that teaching in Ukrainian in national schools increases the chances of entering higher educational institutions in Ukraine and improves the life chances of graduates of national schools. The research participants do not deny the importance of knowing Ukrainian as the state language, as well as other languages for the implementation of life plans.

The second position is clearly confirmed in the answers of the respondents received during in-depth interviews with representatives of national-cultural societies, politicians, employers:

- “If we talk about the Odessa region, then “no”, since our overwhelming majority of people are Russian-speaking. However, in Ukraine as a whole, perhaps even “yes”. The more languages a person knows, the more opportunities he/she has”.
- “In our case – “yes”, we work with customers on the territory of Ukraine, therefore, preference is given to people with knowledge of the Ukrainian language. There are many vacancies in the labor market today for persons with fluent English. Of course it is easier for them to find work”.
- “It certainly increases the chances a lot. Today, a university graduate who strives to enter the civil service, must take a test for knowledge of the Ukrainian language, this is an indispensable prerequisite”.
According to the participants of the in-depth interview, there is no direct connection between the level of proficiency in the Ukrainian language and the increase in the chances of graduates of secondary schools to enter domestic higher educational institutions and further employment. According to the respondents, the non-competitiveness of young people, associated primarily with the shortcomings of the functioning of the modern domestic education system:

- “Non-competitiveness has nothing to do with the language of education, the reasons for this are the shortcomings of modern domestic higher education, which is not able to keep up with the times” (representative of the national-cultural society).
- “No, I don’t think that anything depends on the language of education. I was recently in Zakarpattia to study the experience of forming united territorial communities, there are a number of Hungarian schools, lyceums, colleges where Ukrainians go to study. Unfortunately, they simply do not see prospects in Ukraine, but see them there in Hungary. After graduating from Hungarian educational institutions, they enter Hungarian universities, and then go to Hungary to find a job. Our Bulgarians in the south of the Odessa region have the opportunity to travel to Bulgaria, but our situation cannot in any way be compared with the situation in Zakarpattia” (representative of a local political party).
- “Regarding life chances ... it does not depend on the language ... but as for entering educational institutions, despite the fact that the external independent assessment is carried out in the Ukrainian language, of course the in-depth study of the Ukrainian language helped” (student).

In the context of discussing the problems of the relationship between the level of proficiency in the Ukrainian language and improving the life chances of graduates of secondary schools, the subjects of education emphasized that the insufficient level of proficiency in the Ukrainian language by graduates leads to the fact that they cannot pass an external independent assessment in the Ukrainian language and lose the opportunity to enter state higher educational institutions in Ukraine: “Every academic year we come across the situation, when the external independent assessment points in the Ukrainian language and literature are not enough for individual graduates to enter higher educational institutions. There are not so many of them – up to 100 people, they successfully pass physics, chemistry, however, due to the fact that they belong to representatives of ethnic minorities, they pass the Ukrainian language much worse and thereby lose the opportunity to enter state higher educational institutions in Ukraine” (teacher).

Among the determinants of the quality of teaching the Ukrainian language and other languages, the level of language proficiency by secondary school pupils there are the factor of residence, the level of qualifications of teachers and motivation of students to learn languages.

The issue of financial incentives for obtaining higher education in the country, the creation of decent working conditions and new jobs is also relevant. Thus, proposals and practical recommendations for improving the situation associated with the identified problems that exist in the region today were partially formulated in their statements by employers, answering the question “Today, part of the youth is focused on employment abroad. What steps can you suggest to overcome this trend?”:

- “Besides the knowledge of the Ukrainian language, it is necessary to develop oneself in other sciences, to love to work. Today, young people in most cases do not want to work, they only want to receive high wages, while doing nothing”.
- “Children have to see the perspective in our country, in addition, to understand not only the advantages, but also the disadvantages of employment abroad”.
- “Everything is elementary simple – to give such a salary as is given abroad”.
- “It would be effective to offer jobs with decent wages after graduation from higher educational institutions, so that they do not seek a better life in Europe or the United States. The money factor is very significant”.
- “The first step and the most important one is to improve the social standard of living of the population. A simple mechanical increase in wages will entail inflation, so we should talk not only about improving material well-being, but about systematic activities to improve the economic situation in the country”.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis of the research results helped to reveal that the life plans of high school pupils are related to the continuation of their studies after graduating from school, because 3/4 of them are focused on obtaining higher education. 14% of pupils in secondary education institutions are focused on studying at a college (technical college) after graduation from school. According to the informants, the most important arguments in favor of obtaining a higher education were such as the opportunity of personal development, obtaining a well-paid profession and a high level of professional training, continuing education and employment abroad.

Emigration intentions were found in both students and pupils. For the first ones the desire to implement educational and labor emigration is characteristic, while for the others – mainly educational. Speaking about the possibility to continue education after graduating from school, most of the surveyed pupils give their preferences to domestic higher educational institutions. Every tenth pupil and every fourth student have intentions to continue their studies abroad. The trajectory of their emigration intentions is directed towards external emigration, because among the desired countries to study, students named Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, France and the Czech Republic. The interviewed parents for their children also choose such countries as Poland, Bulgaria, Germany, Russia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Canada. These trends can be
explained by the existence of a high level of economic development of these countries, close cooperation, which has been established between Ukrainian higher educational institutions and universities of these countries, the availability of exchange programs for pupils, students and teachers.

According to the majority of the participants in the in-depth interview, there is no direct linear connection between the level of proficiency in the Ukrainian language and the growth of the chances of school graduates to enter higher educational institutions, as well as the chances of successful employment.

It is virtually impossible to stop the phenomenon of educational and labor emigration of the younger generation in the border regions by administrative measures, but it is first of all necessary to try to minimize their negative consequences. State policy should, first of all, be aimed at supporting the positive component of educational mobility. In particular, due to the activation of temporary residence programs at the border of Ukraine, for example, within the framework of the Erasmus+ program, there is the deployment of opportunities for the issuance of double diplomas by universities.

It is equally important to conduct information work among students about the opportunities and consequences of international educational emigration for both recipient countries and donor countries. As well as the coordination of intergovernmental agreements in the framework of the implementation of cross-border cooperation, in particular, regulatory documents governing the rules for admission to the graduate study, postgraduate study of domestic higher educational institutions after completing bachelor’s programs at foreign universities.

Summing up, the following advantages of the growth of cross-border educational mobility of young people in Ukraine should be highlighted, such as: gaining experience in intercultural communications, their use and popularization in Ukraine; the formation of new social capital thanks to student youth, who acquire cross-border education and can further use it to create and implement international social and business projects; use of international experience in developing strategies for the development of university education in Ukraine. Despite the obvious advantages, one should point out the challenges posed to the country by the cross-border educational mobility of youth. This is the loss of a part of social capital and financial capital as a result of the import of educational services by institutions of secondary and higher education from other countries, a decrease in domestic demand in the educational services market, and a reduction in jobs for scientific and pedagogical workers in the institutions of higher education of Ukraine.

So, for Ukraine, a particularly urgent task is to use the potential of cross-border regions not only for integration into the European educational space, but also to use the experience of the European Union countries in increasing the competitiveness of national and regional educational systems by the modernization of national higher education.

It is obvious that the implementation of some of these steps will improve the state of affairs in educational emigration not only in the border regions, but also in the country as a whole. Bessarabia, in this sense, like part of Zakarpattia, has its own specific regional peculiarities in terms of the settlement structure, social and economic situation, and requires special attention from the governmental authorities, which must remember the main thing – Ukrainians, wherever they live, constitute the basis of the resource potential of Ukraine.

Investigating the place and role of education in the life plans of Ukrainian youth, the motives for obtaining higher education, emigration intentions for educational and labor mobility, the role of the Ukrainian language in achieving the life plans of pupils and students were analyzed. However, these issues do not complete the entire depth of the problem, both at the state, regional levels, and at the level of a specific personality, and require further research, analysis to develop recommendations and technologies as for the possibility of saving a labor resource, attracting young people to develop their own country.

The primary task in resolving the issue of educational emigration from Ukraine should be the development of state policy. It is impossible and unnecessary to influence these processes by administrative measures in a market economy, since they have their positive side – obtaining foreign learning experience, knowledge and connections for students returning from foreign studies.

At the same time, it is necessary to develop a system of measures that will promote effective educational mobility with positive effects for the Ukrainian economy. It is not necessary that our high school graduates go to study abroad at the age of 17 and stay there after graduation. The same foreign learning experience can be obtained through semester exchange programs, academic mobility under the Erasmus+ program, and double degree programs. But do future students know about it? We need to do educational work. Inform applicants about international academic mobility programs available at Ukrainian universities. And also inform them about the positive and negative aspects of going abroad to study. Special attention should be paid to double degree programs that allow you to combine studies in the EU and Ukraine. They allow you to study simultaneously in Ukraine and abroad. This is an ideal solution to the problem, but there are very few such really functioning undergraduate programs. Most of them are designed for master students. It is obvious that clear intergovernmental agreements are needed with the relevant authorities of the countries in order to solve the problem of educational emigration. It is also important to create financial incentives for applicants to stay in Ukraine, in addition to the opportunity to enroll in a state-funded form of education. The essence of this system of motivation requires further discussion.

References
