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SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF LABOR MIGRATION OF UKRAINIANS IN THE CONDITIONS OF WAR

Migration processes have accompanied human civilization throughout its history. People have traveled long distances in search of better living conditions, transporting their families, tools, personal belongings, and acquired knowledge. Over time, a separate type of labor migration was formed, driven by the desire to find more favorable employment conditions outside of their home countries. Various factors encourage people to look for work in other cities, regions, or countries, including a limited number of vacancies, economic, political, environmental, or social crises at home, and the possibility of receiving higher pay for similar work elsewhere. The migration of the Ukrainian population has a significant impact not only on the country's economy as a whole but also on its individual regions. One of the most tangible positive effects is the inflow of foreign currency, which contributes to the stability of the national currency, improves the country's balance of payments, and ensures household consumer spending. In addition to financial income, migrants return with new skills and knowledge that can potentially be used for Ukraine's development. However, labor migration also causes an outflow of skilled labor and intellectual elite abroad. This leads to an imbalance in the labor market, inefficient use of public resources, deepening income inequality, and increased inflation. Since the outbreak of hostilities in Ukraine, the geography of labor migration has undergone significant changes, shifting to the West. Before 2014, the most popular countries for employment were Russia and Belarus; today, they are Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Italy, Turkey, France, and Spain. EU countries actively accepted Ukrainian workers, and after February 24, 2022, they simplified employment procedures for refugees. Many countries have introduced new employment conditions that greatly facilitate the hiring process and allow people forced to flee their homes due to the war to support themselves without relying solely on humanitarian aid. Given this situation, the state needs to develop a set of measures to encourage the return of labor migrants to Ukraine and ensure adequate social protection for those who have been victims of fraud or have suffered while working abroad. It is important to introduce an effective migration policy regulating labor migration processes. Creating new jobs with decent working conditions and an increase in real incomes will also contribute to the return of migrants.

Keywords: migration, labor migration, migration processes, consequences of migration, martial law, military operations.

JEL classification: O15, F22, H56.

СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНІ НАСЛІДКИ ТРУДОВОЇ МІГРАЦІЇ УКРАЇНЦІВ В УМОВАХ ВІЙНИ

Міграційні процеси супроводжують людську цивілізацію протягом усієї її історії. У пошуках кращих умов життя люди долали значні відстані, перевозячи свої родини, знаряддя праці, особисті речі та набуті знання. З часом сформувався окремий вид міграції – трудова, зумовлена прагненням знайти більш вигідні умови працевлаштування за межами рідних місць. Різноманітні фактори спонукають людей шукати роботу в інших містах, регіонах чи країнах, серед яких: обмежена кількість вакансій, економічні, політичні, екологічні або соціальні кризи на батьківщині, а також можливість отримувати вищу оплату за аналогічну роботу в іншому місці. Трудова міграція українського населення має значний вплив не тільки на економіку держави в цілому, але й на окремі її регіони. Одним із найбільш відчутних позитивних наслідків є надходження іноземної валюти, що сприяє стабільності національної валюти, покращенню платіжного балансу країни та забезпеченню споживчих витрат домогосподарств. Крім фінансових надходжень, мігранти повертаються з новими навичками та знаннями, які потенційно можуть бути використані для розвитку України. Проте, трудова міграція також спричиняє відтік кваліфікованої робочої сили та інтелектуальної еліти за кордон. Це призводить до дисбалансу на ринку праці, неефективного використання державних ресурсів, поглиблення нерівності в доходах населення та

зростання інфляційних процесів. З початком воєнних дій в Україні географія трудової міграції зазнала суттєвих змін, змістившись у західному напрямку. Якщо до 2014 року найбільш популярними країнами для працевлаштування були Росія та Білорусь, то наразі це Польща, Румунія, Угорщина, Словаччина, Німеччина, Чехія, Болгарія, Італія, Туреччина, Франція та Іспанія. Країни Європейського Союзу активно приймають українських працівників, а після 24 лютого 2022 року спростили процедури працевлаштування для біженців. У багатьох державах було запроваджено нові умови прийому на роботу, що значно полегшують процес найму та дозволяють людям, які змушені були покинути свої домівки через війну, забезпечувати себе, не покладаючись виключно на гуманітарну допомогу. Враховуючи цю ситуацію, державі необхідно розробити комплекс заходів для стимулювання повернення трудових мігрантів в Україну та забезпечити належний соціальний захист для осіб, які стали жертвами шахрайства або постраждали під час роботи за кордоном. Важливо запровадити ефективну міграційну політику, яка б регулювала процеси трудової міграції. Сприятиме поверненню мігрантів також створення нових робочих місць з гідними умовами праці та підвищенням рівня реальних доходів громадян.

Ключові слова: міграція, трудова міграція, міграційні процеси, наслідки міграції, воєнний стан, військові дії.

Statement of the problem. Emigration has accompanied humanity throughout history. In search of a better life, people have traveled thousands of kilometers, taking their families, means of labor, household items, and unique skills with them. Over time, a separate type of labor migration emerged, associated with the search for a better job outside the home.

People are motivated to look for work outside their city, region, or country by many factors, such as a lack of jobs, economic, political, environmental, or social crises in the country, or the possibility of getting more money for the same work elsewhere. It may also be due to demographic processes of population "aging" in some regions and an increase in "young" potential in others.

As of 2019, the number of labor emigrants amounted to 169 million people or 69 percent of the world's working-age population (aged 15 and older). Labor migration has always been widespread in Ukraine. The decline of the state's economy under the influence of the domination of other countries, exorbitant taxes, serfdom, high unemployment, and the arrests of the scientific elite have been factors in the massive labor emigration of Ukrainians over the years.

Today, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Italy, Turkey, France, and Spain are the most popular countries for labor migration. Until 2014, Russia was one of the most popular destinations (43% of Ukrainians working abroad).

However, the outbreak of a full-scale war in Russia caused forced migration, both internal (between regions) and external (between countries). The number of people who have changed their place of residence within the country is 22%, while 6% of the total population in Ukraine has moved abroad.

When people move abroad or to other regions in search of safety and assistance, they start looking for work to meet their needs, thereby stimulating the inflow of foreign currency, for example, in the form of remittances to relatives.

Labor migration has several positive and negative effects. While it reduces unemployment in the country, it also leads to a so-called "brain drain" from the country, resulting in a shortage of medical and teaching staff, construction workers, welders, drivers, oilfield specialists, etc., in some regions. At the same time, the money earned abroad supports the functioning of households but is hardly used for investment. Since labor migration directly impacts

Ukraine's economy, this issue is relevant.

Analysis of recent research and publications. To date, a significant number of domestic and foreign scholars have paid attention to the study of labor migration, including K. Pavlov, O. Pavlova, D. Sala, T. Ostapenko, and A. Yakymchuk [7, 13, 14, 15].

At the same time, the issue of the peculiarities of the socio-economic consequences of migration processes in Ukraine during martial law is not sufficiently covered.

This article aims to identify the trends in the current state of the processes of national labor migration in Ukraine and their impact on the state's economy during wartime.

Presentation of the main research results. Migration processes have been shaped throughout human history. The most famous example is the great migration of people when entire tribes changed their residences in search of better living conditions. Population migration is moving people across international borders or within a country for any reason for a permanent or more or less long period. The word "migration" is derived from the Latin word "migration," which means movement or resettlement.

Boris Altner noted: "According to archaeologists, almost all people on Earth are migrants, as humanity originated in Africa about 200,000 years ago and then spread throughout the world—to Europe, Asia, Australia, and South America... Today, there are about 200 million migrants worldwide. Politicians and ordinary people worldwide actively discuss the problems and opportunities associated with migration. We could call the twenty-first century the age of migrants" [4].

Today, migration is a widespread phenomenon. People move in search of better living and working conditions or to escape from economic, social, cultural, and environmental crises in their country. In this way, migration contributes to blurring the boundaries of culture, traditions, and ethnic groups and develops diversity, culture, and economic wealth. The beginning of the study of migration is associated with the publication of John Grant's book in 1662, where this concept was considered a natural process of population redistribution. The UN International Classification identifies five main categories of migrants (Fig. 1):

1. Foreigners who come to the country to study;
2. Migrants coming to work;
3. Migrants coming to unite or create new families;

4. Migrants coming for permanent settlement;
5. Foreigners admitted to the country for humanitarian reasons (refugees, asylum seekers, etc.) [9].

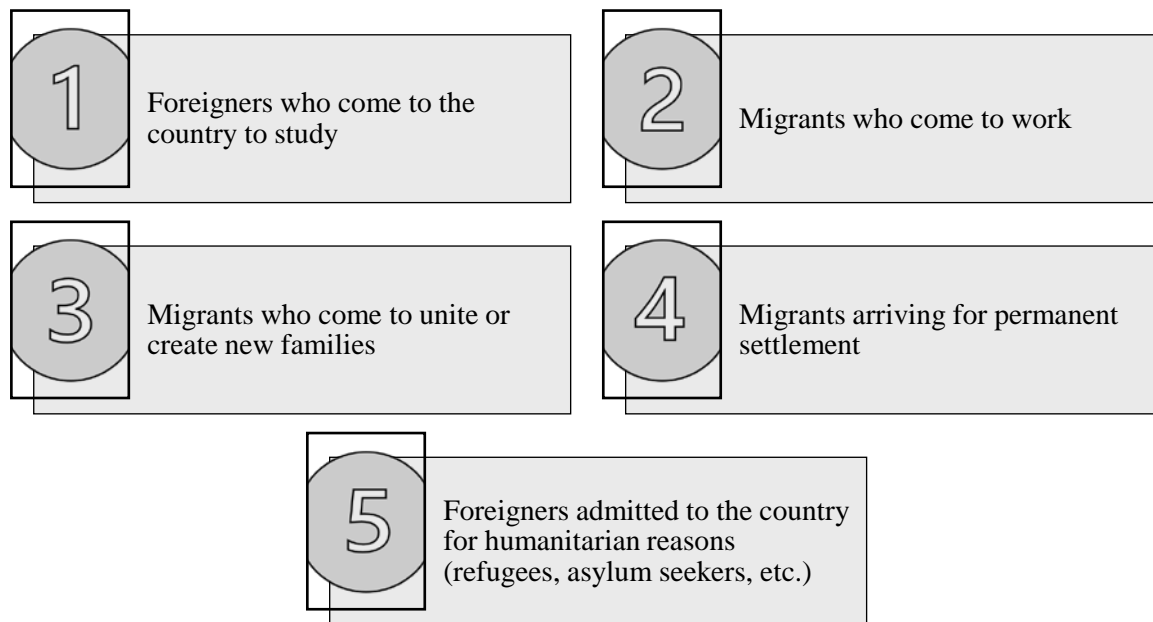


Fig. 1. Five main categories of migrants according to the United Nations

Source: developed by the authors

Migration processes do not occur by themselves; they are based on a particular group of factors that manifest themselves under certain conditions and in a particular environment. They characterize the actual state of society within the state and its interaction with others. In Ukraine, migration processes have often been associated with foreign policy reasons, such as the invasion of other countries and their policies' severe economic and social pressure. When the Russian Empire ruled the Ukrainian lands, massive resettlements of Ukrainians outside their homeland were carried out. From 1891 to 1900, Ukrainians accounted for 36% of all internal migrants in the Empire. Later, this percentage grew; in 1901-1910, it was 49%, and at the beginning of the First World War, it was 60%. Between 1896 and 1914, 1.6 million people moved beyond the Urals from nine Ukrainian provinces, of whom 23% left Poltava, 17% from Chernihiv, 12% from Kyiv, 9% from Kherson, 7% from Tavria, 4.5% from Podillia, and 4% from Volyn. During these years, resettlement overseas became widespread, amounting to 413 thousand people in 1895-1913.

In the nineteenth century, the vector of Ukrainian migration changed to the Azov and Black Sea steppes, the North Caucasus, the Volga region, the Urals, Kazakhstan, Siberia, Kyrgyzstan, and the Far East to develop new lands. The number of migrants amounted to 912 thousand people [3, 4].

There were four waves of emigration in Ukraine caused by agrarian resettlement, dekulakization, and political persecution. Most people left the regions under the rule of the Austrian Empire, such as Galicia, Bukovyna, and Zakarpattia. However, while initially, peasants predominated among the emigrants, workers, and intellectuals were leaving en masse. The fourth wave of migration in Ukraine

continues to this day. Until 2014, the most common countries of departure were Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, Greece, Slovakia, and Belarus.

After the Second World War, migration ceased to be a matter of the state and became a matter of the individual, and the right to freedom of migration was established in democratic countries. According to UN estimates, in 2020, the number of migrants amounted to 262 million people [3, 4].

Today, one of the most common types of migration is labor migration. People go to other countries for a longer or shorter period to earn money. The motives are higher wages and more significant opportunities, and migration can also be driven by forced causes such as conflicts, wars, and artificial and environmental disasters. Labor migration helps to smooth out inequalities in the redistribution of labor at the global, regional, and national levels. The uneven development of countries, working and living conditions, wage levels, the activities of transnational corporations, the effects of economic and demographic crises, high unemployment, and the lack of jobs with fair wages all contribute to labor migration. Another factor is the "aging of the nation" in more developed countries, which attracts young minds from less developed countries with fewer jobs.

In Ukraine, this migration has reached dangerous proportions due to the massive flow of workers to other countries. Since skilled workers are always scarce, developed countries are happy to accept new workers, who are often cheap labor. At the same time, the country is losing its brainpower, so taking decisive action on migration in Ukraine should be a priority.

After the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine was characterized by a large scale of migration. However, these figures

gradually decreased due to the economic crisis and the decreasing demand for Ukrainian workers in the EU and Russia. For example, in 2005-2008, 1.5 million Ukrainians worked abroad, and in 2010-2012, this figure dropped to 1.2 million. Russia, Italy, and the Czech Republic were the most popular destinations then, followed by Russia and Poland. In pre-war, migration was characterized by the rational choice of the destination country, caused by the experience gained and the developed network of migrants.

Before and especially after Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, internal labor migration became important. Such migration takes place between regions or settlements. Compared to external migration, internal migration is almost two times smaller and amounts to 652 thousand people.

The number of people who moved from rural to urban areas and vice versa from urban to rural areas is almost the same, respectively 435,280 and 424,964 [3, 4].

Most people left Sumy, Rivne, Zakarpattia, Kherson, and Vinnytsia regions.

With the outbreak of full-scale war, many Ukrainians were forced to leave their homes to escape the atrocities of the attackers. Unable to travel across the border, people stayed in areas they considered safer or with relatives. According to IOM's nationwide survey as of March 16, 2022, 2,344,936 people left the east of the country, 1,936,839 from Kyiv and the regions, 1,302,022 from the north, 485,829 from the south, 220,243 from the center and 187,854 from the west. Displacement was uneven and depended on the region's presence and intensity of hostilities [6].

Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, and Zaporizhzhia regions received the largest IDPs, about 1.9 million people.

Before the war, the tendency to go abroad to work was more common. However, after the borders were closed, most men had to look for an alternative to making a quick buck. This contributed to the development of domestic labor employment, as displaced men, unable to go abroad, began to look for work in the regions and cities of the country where they had settled during the war. Some of these people start looking for work to earn money for living and buying new property, as many people lose their belongings due to a shell hitting their home or not being able to collect all their belongings due to their quick flight.

The government has taken some steps to support IDPs who want to work within the country. In order to get a job, an IDP must be dismissed from their previous place of work (confirmation is not required), but if there was no possibility to terminate the employment contract, provided that they provide a notarized written statement of termination of employment and confirmation of sending such a statement to the employer by registered mail (with a description of the enclosed statement). In addition, to encourage employers to hire such employees, the government paid UAH 6,500 for each employed IDP for whom the unified social contribution is paid. This compensation will be paid once a month until the end of wartime [2].

At the same time, from February 24, February 24 to June 3, 2022, according to the State Border Guard Service, more than 5.2 million people left Ukraine as of June 9, 4.9

million people left the country because of the war and remained in Europe. The countries with the highest number of refugee status registrations are Poland (1.1 million), Germany (565 thousand), Czech Republic (366 thousand), Spain (118 thousand), Bulgaria (113 thousand), and Italy (97 thousand) [6].

According to the World Migration Report 2022, Ukraine ranks 8th on the list of countries whose citizens go abroad to work, with 5.5-6 million people. The most significant number of people working in Poland is 1.5 million [10].

The reasons for going to work abroad are most often economic factors. Dissatisfaction with the size of wages and the complex process of finding a job with career opportunities, lack of trust and a sense of security, uncertainty about the future, and the desire to provide their family with better living conditions all become levers when going abroad to work. Although the minimum wage has increased, the minimum expenses have also increased, given the inflation rate. Last year, it exceeded the National Bank's forecasts and amounted to 10.9%. So, even if the average minimum wage has increased, it has only slightly. After the outbreak of full-scale war, the main factors were supplemented by reasons related to people fleeing the fighting. While in the first months of the war, refugees to European countries were provided with various benefits and payments, their number began to decline over time, which became an incentive to look for work.

If we compare work in Ukraine and other countries, a migrant can hope for higher earnings abroad, even if he or she works outside his or her specialty. If we take Poland as a comparison, the average salary offered there is UAH 78,100. Another important incentive is the need for Ukrainian workers in Polish companies. Companies have created a family reunification program for employees whose relatives stayed home to attract new staff. They help with employment and training for family members of their foreign employees.

Since March 12 March 12, 2022, Polish law has simplified the employment process in Poland. Citizens legally residing in Poland must perform only one formal action - within 14 days of starting work, notify the Labor Office (PUP) of employment through the praca.gov.pl portal. To start a business, you must legally reside in Poland, have a PESEL number, and register with the municipal office [11].

Another example of employment assistance is the Czech Republic, where legislative measures called "Lex Ukraine" came into force on March 21 and 21 [11].

It provides humanitarian aid to Ukrainians and open access to the labor market. However, there may be problems with working in the Czech Republic if a person does not know the language. Even though Ukrainians do not need a work permit, the employer sets the requirements for the employee. Most of them are still hesitant to hire Ukrainians without language skills. This caused difficulties because people fleeing from the war did not have the opportunity to learn the language of the country they were arriving in. Without language knowledge, the available jobs, such as house cleaning, window cleaning, or maid, maybe

unskilled. Also, in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the Czech Republic, the Czech agency has created a portal for refugees to choose an available job.

According to a new study by the Institute for German Economics in Cologne, 80% of refugees from Ukraine who have arrived in Germany have higher education and have good chances in the labor market [1].

People without professional qualifications also have the right to work. To do this, you must register with the local alien office and have a document confirming your residence permit (with a work permit stamp). However, not all professions are immediately available for work. The professions that do not require a state permit include auto mechanic, salesperson, accountant, office manager, hairdresser, programmer, economist, biologist, mathematician, etc.

Hungary has also opened its labor market to refugees. You must apply for temporary protection or full-fledged Asylum (*menekült*) to do this. The government has also set a requirement for employers to pay for the refugee's living conditions. Such expenses are 50% compensated by the state if they do not exceed 60 thousand forints. The employee and the employer share the rest of the costs. To work in Hungary, you need to know at least English, ideally Hungarian, but it is one of the most challenging languages to learn. Instead, the migration service that issues temporary protection offers a 520-hour language course to facilitate adaptation to the environment.

As the number of labor migrants abroad increases, so do the remittances to Ukraine. In this regard, transferring funds from abroad has become more accessible. Ukrainian banks and other banks and TransferGo signed a joint statement on improving the conditions for transferring funds at the end of September 2022. The statement included the following main points:

1. Gradual reduction of the fee for money transfers to 3% of the amount
2. Voluntary and bilateral reduction of general fees during the war
3. Transparency of the transfer, with no hidden costs (the sender should immediately see the commission amount, including the service cost and the currency margin at the exchange rate) [8].

This will save Ukrainian families money, which, for most, is their only source of income. The Ukrainian government is also creating opportunities for men to go abroad to work. MP from the Servant of the People party, Georgii Mazurashu, authored draft law No. 8029. It provides for the following conditions for men to travel abroad:

1. Provide a document on an official business trip
2. Provide documents confirming admission to foreign universities
3. Provide permission to travel outside Ukraine from the military registration and enlistment office.

Mazurashu noted that not everyone would be able to fight, so they needed to be involved in restoring the Ukrainian economy and reading the country's defense capability. To go abroad, you must open an account in one of the Ukrainian banks and deposit a deposit of 5 subsistence minimums for a non-disabled person. You will also need

to deposit an amount equal to the minimum tax on the minimum wage each month. The deposit can be withdrawn from the account only upon returning to Ukraine. As of September, the amount of the deposit would be 2697.5 hryvnias. Funds from the account will be automatically transferred to the needs of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

The information in the previous paragraphs refers to people who go to work abroad officially or apply to local migration authorities for refugee status. However, practice shows that the majority of migrant workers go to work abroad illegally, and this poses new challenges for the authorities. Since people go to work unofficially, they can often fall into the hands of fraudsters and put themselves in danger. Illegal hiring helps employers save money by avoiding taxes, insurance premiums, and social contributions. The most common risk is falling victim to fraudsters who misappropriate the money earned. Human labor trafficking also occurs, with fraudsters taking passports from people with the promise of returning them later. Such people are not paid anything, and they justify it by working for paperwork, housing, and travel. Cases of injuries at work were prevalent. In such situations, employers do not want to call an ambulance or take an employee to the hospital because they are hiding from local authorities. In such cases, providing victims with social protection and minimizing similar cases is necessary. Simplifying the procedure for issuing official work permits may help to achieve this.

After becoming a candidate for EU membership, Ukraine began to implement several draft laws and legislation amendments to meet the European Union's higher requirements. After the war ends, Ukraine expects an influx of foreign workers. Specific barriers are being removed to attract them more, and entry procedures are being eased. However, at the same time, no decisive actions are being taken to bring back people who have gone abroad to work.

Conclusions. Labor migration of the Ukrainian population has a direct impact not only on the country's economy as a whole but also on individual regions. The most striking impact is the inflow of foreign currency into the country, which supports the stability of the national currency and the country's balance of payments and finances household consumption. In addition, despite the money they earn, migrant workers bring new skills and abilities that can be used for Ukraine's development. However, labor migration also leads to an outflow of labor and the departure of intellectuals abroad. This creates an imbalance in the labor market, inefficient use of public funds, inequality between household incomes, and increased inflation.

Since the outbreak of hostilities in Ukraine, the direction of labor migrants has changed in favor of the West. Before 2014, the most popular countries for labor migration were Russia and Belarus, while now they are Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Italy, Turkey, France, and Spain. In turn, the European Union countries were eager to hire Ukrainian workers, and after February 24, 2022, they began to simplify the employment procedure for refugees. Many countries have introduced new employment conditions that greatly facilitate the hiring process and enable people who have fled the

war to not depend on humanitarian aid from other countries.

Given this situation, the state will need to develop several measures to bring migrant workers back to Ukraine and develop appropriate social protection for people who

have been deceived by fraudsters or who have suffered from work-related injuries. An effective migration policy should be implemented to manage labor migration. An increase in the number of jobs with appropriate working conditions and an increase in real incomes will also help.

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