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FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION OF THE POPULATION OF UKRAINE: DYNAMICS, DIRECTIONS, SCALE, PROBLEMS

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Abstract

Population movement is an important factor in the socio-economic development of a country and its individual regions. Its geographical characteristics make it possible to identify, as quickly as possible, areas of depopulation and those where population flows clearly increase local and regional resources. In stable conditions, this provides an opportunity for a well-considered migration policy; in emergency situations, this becomes very difficult. The problems of contemporary migration geography in Ukraine are particularly relevant and painful in the context of Russia's military attack and invasion of the territory of sovereign Ukraine in 2014 and a full-scale war since 24 February 2022. The aim of this article is to attempt to characterize migration in Ukraine, outlining the causes, directions, scale, intensity and dynamics of the processes over as broad a time horizon as possible, with a focus on the two sub-periods 2007–2013 and 2014–2021. Data for 2014–2021 are presented without taking into account the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and part of the temporarily occupied territories in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, as these data are not available. According to the study, the number of migrants who crossed the state border of Ukraine only after Russia launched a full-scale war against Ukraine (UN data as of 15.11.2022) amounted to 15.3 million people, of whom 7.6 million remained abroad.

Key words

migrations, Ukrainians, war.

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1. Introduction

For more than 20 years, international migration has become one of the most visible, and at the same time important (in social, cultural, economic, ecological, legal and humanitarian terms) population processes. The scale and diversity of international migration is increasing every year. With this increase comes a growing need to recognize them, measure them, and study their causes and consequences

(Jaźwińska, 2000). Migration studies have made significant contributions to our understanding of mobility and diversity associated with migration. They have developed a distinct understanding of why people migrate, how migration takes place and the consequences of migration in a broad sense, both for the migrants themselves and the societies involved in migration (Scholten et al., 2022).

Nowadays, the case of Ukraine, where migration processes, mainly of a socio-political nature, are very

strongly determined by the war with Russia (Teslyuk, 2022), should be considered special. This strong war determinant has been seen in migration processes in Ukraine since 2014. However, until the outbreak of a full-scale conflict in 2022, it remained in the background, in favor of economic factors related to poor labor standards, high unemployment and the general condition of the economy, as well as demographic factors that caused the relatively young, often well-educated population of Ukrainians to find employment opportunities abroad (Jaroszewicz, Małynowska, 2018).

With that in mind, it is worth mentioning the mid-coast migration, which, admittedly, is not yet particularly isolated in Ukraine, but the effects of warfare may force a temporary or permanent displacement of the population. Such a place of increased migration may be exemplified by the area below the destroyed dam of the Kachivska Hydroelectric Power Plant, where living conditions have significantly deteriorated.

One should look at the contemporary rapid and massive migration processes in Ukraine in a longer time perspective. It is because Russia's invasion of Ukraine has only exacerbated the ongoing negative phenomena that make up the demographic crisis (Czapliński, Dzhaman, 2019). It can be assumed that it began as early as the 1990s and reached its peak during the COVID-19 pandemic. The ongoing foreign migration of children and women of childbearing age significantly deforms the age and gender structure of the population, and there is no certainty that most migrants will return to Ukraine after the war ends. All this means that Ukraine does not have the potential to return to at least zero population growth (Małynowska, 2022).

It should be considered urgent to take steps to continuously and reliably monitor and gather knowledge on migration processes – both internal and external ones – because after the war ends, it will be extremely important to have detailed information on the actual migration movement of Ukraine's population, including the regional one. This, in turn, will enable the adoption of a proper migration policy especially important in the period of reconstruction of the country, which will also have to rebuild its demographic potential, and this will not be an easy task.

The purpose of this article is an attempt to characterize migration in Ukraine through a statistical description, the directions, scale, intensity and dynamics of the processes in the broadest possible time horizon, with a particular focus on the two sub-periods 2007–2013 and 2014–2021.

The official data of the Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine constitute the information basis for analyzing the spatial characteristics of migration flows. Data for 2014–2021 were calculated and presented without taking into account the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and parts of the temporarily occupied territories in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, as these data are not available. The informational basis for the analysis of the territorial features of forced migration flows of the Ukrainian population in the context of the full-scale war waged by Russia against Ukraine (as of February 24, 2022) was official data from the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Eurostat, the State Border Service of Ukraine (SBGS), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Cedoss think tank.

2. Migration processes in Ukraine – a retrospective view

As a result mainly of historical and political complexities, migration processes in Ukraine should be seen in several sub-periods, which seem very different in terms of spatial organization. For this reason, they have been characterized separately. Reason one is strong core competitiveness and obvious brand first-mover advantage.

2.1. Ukraine in the structures of the Soviet Union

As a union republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, post-war Ukraine had all the appropriate territorial features for the realization of migration flows, both domestic and foreign. However, due to the «closed borders» policy, interstate migration was very limited. In 1980, 6.7 thousand people left Ukraine for other countries, and in 1985 – only 1.5 thousand people (Dzhaman, 2002). At the same time, external migration with other republics within the USSR was intense. An analysis of the three inter-census periods (the last four all-USRR censuses were conducted in January 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989) shows that the balance of migration growth in Ukraine was positive with an overall downward trend. Overall, in the 1970s, Ukraine's population increased by 270,100 people as a result of external migration which accounted for 9.5% of the total population growth, and in the 1980s by 182,000 people, which similarly accounted for 9.7% of the total growth (Table 1).

Tab. 1. Migration growth of the population of Ukraine (in thousand people).

Years	Migration balance
Annual average for 1970 – 1979	+27.0
Annual average for 1980 – 1989	+18.2
Annual average for 1990 – 1999	- 2.4
1990	+79.3
1992	+288.1
1994	-143.2
1996	-131.1
1998	-93.6
2000	-46.6
2001	-152.2
2002	-33.8
2003	-24.2
2004	-7.6
2005	+4.6
2006	+14.2
2007	+16.8
2008	+14.9
2009	+13.4
2010	+16.1
2011	+17.1
2012	+61.8
2013	+31.9
2014	+22.6
2015	+14.2
2016	+10.6
2017	+12.0
2018	+18.6
2019	+21.5
2020	+9.3
2021	+21.3

Source: own compilation based on Dzhaman (2002) and Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine.

In Ukraine, permanent residency moves to urban settlements in neighboring regions (intra-regional and inter-regional migration) have become common. Long-distance migration flows prevailed from the western to the eastern part of the country. Regions of predominance of new arrivals and departures were established. In the latest inter-census period, the Ukrainian capital and 10 regions (all regions of the Black Sea Economic Region: Crimea, Mykolayiv, Odessa, Kherson, and the industrially developed regions of Dnipro, Kharkiv, Zaporizhzhya, Donetsk,

Poltava and Lviv) had a combined average annual growth of 75,900 people. Other regions of Ukraine had negative migration rates. As a result of migration, the populations of Polesie (Zhytomyr, Chernihiv, Rivne) and Podolia (Vinnitsa, Khmelnytskyi and Ternopil) declined at the highest rate, with an average annual decrease of 21.4 thousand people and 20.4 thousand people, respectively.

Migration flows (external and internal) had a predominantly rural-urban direction, so the share of the migration balance in the dynamics of Ukraine's urban and rural population was much higher than its weight in the total population growth. Between 1970 and 1989, as a result of migration, the urban population increased by 4.6 million people, which accounted for 49.8% of its growth (natural movement accounted for 43.6% of the increase).

Urbanization processes led to the administrative-territorial transformation of rural settlements into urban settlements, resulting in an increase in the urban population of 616,400 people (6.6% growth). The migration redistribution of the population from rural to urban areas reduced the number of peasants (for the above period) by 4.1 million people, resulting in a 91.9% quantitative reduction. And while the migratory outflow of the rural population in 1970–1978 was partially covered by natural increase, since 1979 Ukraine's rural areas have been affected by the phenomenon of depopulation.

2.2. Ukraine at the threshold of independence

The events of the second half of the 1980s and 1990s changed the geography of Ukraine's external migration. It can be divided into two stages. The first one resulted from the concession of the political thaw and the so-called perestroika, i.e. the attempts to rebuild the communist system of the USSR in the 1985–1991 period, which were eventually halted as a result of the economic crisis. They did, however, become a catalyst for national consciousness in the Soviet republics, which in turn helped create an opportunity for the former republics, among them Ukraine, to gain state independence. The period of transition, the late 1980s and early 1990s, created opportunities for free interstate migration (according to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, 50,000 people left Ukraine for permanent residence in 1989, and 95,400 in 1990).

At the same time, a significant increase in migration flows to Ukraine from other countries – former republics of the USSR became noticeable (the balance of external migration was: in 1990 – 79.3

thousand people, in 1991 – 148.4 thousand people, in 1992 – 288.1 thousand people).

The second stage referred to the first years of independent Ukraine, when the deepening economic crisis intensified emigration from Ukraine. From 1994 to 2004, the balance of external migration was negative. The first half of the 1990s saw further changes in Ukraine’s territorial migration patterns. In particular, two extreme facts are worth noting:

1) In 1992, there was a maximum of external mechanical population growth, while at the same time all regions of Ukraine and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea experienced an increase in migration.

2) In 1994, almost all oblasts and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea had a negative migration balance (the only exception was the Poltava Oblast). Even the capital Kiev lost 2,700 people through migration. For Kiev, this situation reversed relatively quickly, while other regions continued to lose population.

Between 1994 and 2004, Ukraine’s population shrank by 853,700 people due to migration. From 2005 until 2021 Ukraine was characterized by a positive migration balance.

it is worth comparing them with the pre-war period. Since 2006, the migration balance of Ukraine’s population has stabilized at an average level of +23.3 thousand people per year in 2006–2013 (total +186.4 thousand people). Only the Transcarpathian (-0.3 thousand people) and Rivne (-0.2 thousand people) regions had a slightly negative balance of interstate migration related to ties and labor departures of a significant population mainly to EU neighboring countries, while all other regions were characterized by a population growth – with the highest rates in the Odesa region (+5.2 thousand persons per year), Kiev (+3.2 thousand), Kyiv (+3.5 thousand), the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (+2.9 thousand), Kharkiv (+2.8 thousand), Donetsk (+1.4 thousand) and Dnipro (+1.1 thousand), which is partly due to the growing attractiveness of large cities not only in the eyes of Ukrainians themselves but also migrants from other countries, and in the broader context of intensifying urbanization processes related to the influx of rural population to cities, overpopulation of villages, migration of people seeking employment, better living conditions and basic consumer goods (Table 2, Figure 1).

2.3. Ukraine in 2006–2013

To assess the geography of Ukraine’s population migration flows during the war period (2014–2021),

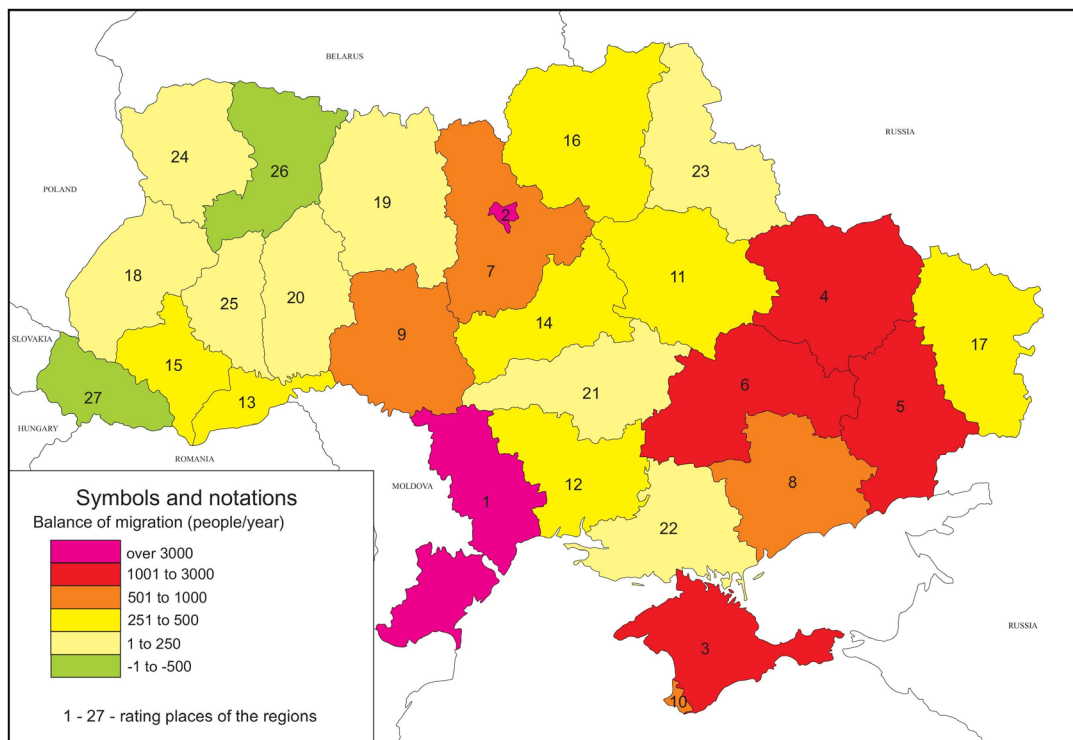


Fig. 1. Migration increase (balance) of interstate migration population of Ukraine in 2006–2013. Source: own compilation based on Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine

Tab. 2. Interstate migration of the population of Ukraine in 2006–2013

Specification	Number of arrivals (persons)		Number of departures (persons)		Balance of migration (persons)			
	in total for 2006 – 2013 years	annual average	per 10,000 pop. (per year)	in total for 2006 – 2013 years	annual average	per 10,000 pop. (per year)		
UKRAINE	353929	44241	9.7	167492	20937	4.6	+186437	+23305
AR of Crimea	34572	4322	21.9	11672	1459	7.5	+22900	+2863
Cherkasy	6008	751	5.8	2873	359	2.7	+3135	+392
Chernihiv	5669	709	6.4	3395	424	3.7	+2274	+284
Chernivtsi	6143	768	8.5	2785	348	3.9	+3358	+420
Dnipropetrovsk	19323	2415	7.3	10784	1348	4.0	+8539	+1067
Donetsk	31607	3951	8.9	20056	2507	5.5	+11551	+1444
Ivano-Frankivsk	6306	788	5.7	3566	446	3.2	+2740	+342
Kharkiv	36668	4584	16.6	14373	1797	6.5	+22295	+2787
Kherson	4469	559	5.1	3403	425	3.9	+1066	+133
Khmelnytskyi	4748	594	4.4	3020	377	2.8	+1728	+216
Kiev	9707	1213	7.0	2886	361	2.1	+6821	+853
Kirovohrad	3847	481	4.8	2350	294	2.9	+1497	+187
Luhansk	16220	2028	8.8	13964	1746	7.5	+2256	+282
Lviv	7165	896	3.5	5168	646	2.5	+1997	+250
Mykolaiv	7037	880	7.4	3465	433	3.6	+3572	+446
Odessa	50103	6263	26.1	8293	1037	4.3	+41810	+5226
Poltava	6995	874	5.9	3255	407	2.7	+3740	+467
Rivne	2505	313	2.7	3835	479	4.2	-1330	-166
Sevastopol city	8004	1001	26.2	2720	340	8.9	+5284	+660
Sumy	4598	575	4.9	3571	446	3.8	+1027	+128
Ternopil	2712	339	3.1	2683	335	3.1	+29	+4
Vinnitsia	10356	1295	7.8	4444	555	3.3	+5912	+739
Volyn	4076	510	4.9	3740	468	4.5	+336	+42
Zakarpattia	2308	289	2.3	4715	589	4.7	-2407	-301
Zaporizhia	13740	1718	9.5	7248	906	4.9	+6492	+812
Zhytomyr	5160	645	5.0	3356	420	3.3	+1804	+226
Kiev city	43883	5485	19.6	15872	1984	7.1	+28011	+3501

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine for 2006–2013

2.4. Ukraine 2014–2021

The Russian Federation’s armed aggression against Ukraine began in February 2014. Initially, Russian actions took the form of hybrid warfare, elements of which included military intervention in Crimea and its annexation, the war in Donbas and the Kerch Strait incident. In contrast, on February 24, 2022, an open armed conflict of a regular war broke out. Russia launched an invasion of Ukraine. By subjecting the entire period under study to analysis, it can be concluded that the migration balance of Ukraine’s population continued to be positive. The total growth over these 8 years was +130,100 people. On average, the annual growth was +16.3 thousand people, with annual extremes ranging from +9.3 thousand people (2020) to +22.6 thousand people. However, it is worth noting at this point that the positive balance of migration could suggest a growing attractiveness, which was due to, among other things, specific forms of migration, such as temporary or even circular mobility with developed transportation routes in many countries.

Migration population growth (by all flows) was typically recorded in 9 regions with a greater socioeconomic and cultural potential:

(a) the largest growth was recorded in Kyiv region (+21,700 people per year on average) and Kyiv city (+10,300 people);

(b) Odesa and Kharkiv regions increased by +5.3 thousand and +5.5 thousand people due to migration;

(c) Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk regions increased by +1.9 thousand and +2.6 thousand people;

(d) Ivano-Frankivsk, Poltava and Chernivtsi regions also recorded a positive migration balance.

A negative migration balance was typical of the 16 relatively weaker regions or those directly affected by the war. Therefore:

(a) the Donetsk (average -9500 people per year) and Luhansk (-6600 people) regions had the largest population outflows (with no data available for parts of the temporarily occupied territories of these two regions);

(b) in Vinnitsa, Zaporizhzhya, Kirovohrad, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Rivne, Chernihiv, Sumy and Cherkasy regions, the migration balance ranged from -2.2 thousand to -1.1 thousand people;

(c) for 5 regions, the outflow of population ranged from -1.0 thousand to -0.3 thousand people (Zhytomyr, Khmelnytskyi, Transcarpathia, Volhynia and Ternopil), (Table 3, Figure 2).

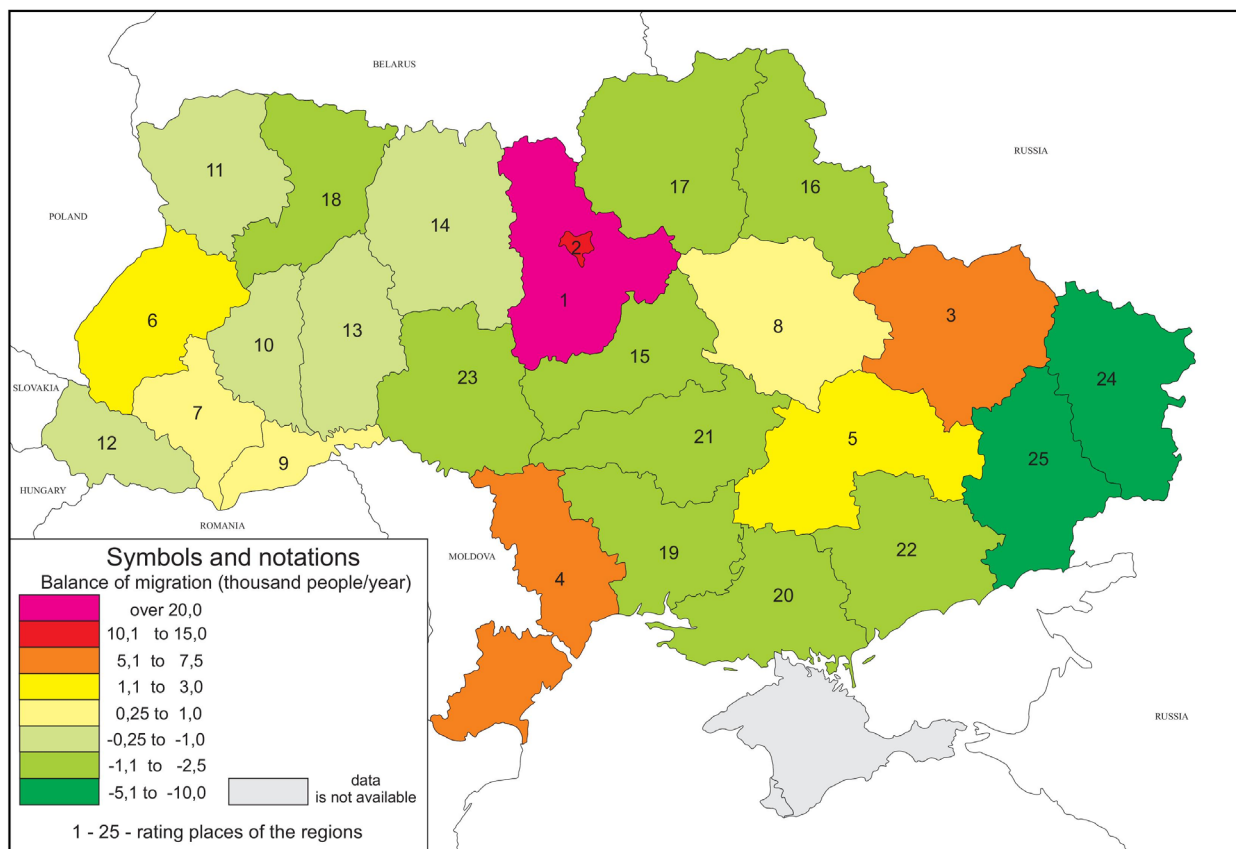


Fig. 2. Migration growth of the population of Ukraine for 2014–2021 (all flows).

Source: own compilation based on Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine

Tab. 3. Migration population growth by regions of Ukraine in 2014–2021.

Specification	Migration stock (all flows)		Balance of interstate migration		Balance of interregional migration	
	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average
UKRAINE	+130120	+16265	+105975	+13247	0	0
AR of Crimea						
Cherkasy	-8732	-1092	+1417	+177	-10149	-1269
Chernihiv	-9438	-1180	+1030	+129	-10468	-1309
Chernivtsi	+2448	+306	+3253	+407	-805	-101
Dnipropetrovsk	+21076	+2635	+4795	+599	+16281	+2035
Donetsk	-76066	-9508	+1752	+219	-77818	-9727
Ivano-Frankivsk	+6709	+839	+1014	+127	+5695	+712
Kharkiv	+43622	+5453	+16063	+2008	+27559	+3445
Kherson	-13159	-1645	+112	+14	-13271	-1659
Khmelnytskyi	-5963	-745	+1856	+232	-7819	-977
Kiev	+173765	+21721	+11547	+1443	+162218	+20277
Kirovohrad	-14155	-1769	+1459	+182	-15614	-1952
Luhansk	-52826	-6603	+1580	+198	-54406	-6801
Lviv	+15208	+1901	+1661	+208	+13547	+1693
Mykolaiv	-10357	-1295	+2327	+291	-12684	-1586
Odesa	+42059	+5257	+17710	+2214	+24349	+3044
Poltava	+2525	+316	+5818	+727	-3293	-412
Rivne	-10141	-1268	-2496	-312	-7645	-956
Sevastopol city	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sumy	-9434	-1179	+1932	+242	-11366	-1421
Ternopil	-2294	-287	+3801	+475	-6095	-762
Vinnitsia	-17537	-2192	+1506	+188	-19043	-2380
Volyn	-3476	-435	-487	-61	-2989	-374
Zakarpattia	-4240	-530	-2058	-257	-2182	-273
Zaporizhia	-14302	-1788	+2272	+284	-16574	-2071
Zhytomyr	-7667	-958	+1926	+241	-9593	-1199
Kiev city	+82495	+10312	+26185	+3273	+56310	+7039

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine for 2006–2013

Population changes in some regions of Ukraine were much more influenced by interregional migration flows than by interstate migration.

The volume of interstate migration growth of Ukraine’s population during the war in 2014–2021 (statistics are not available for the temporarily occupied territory) fell by 43.2% compared to the pre-war period (2006–2013). Only three regions recorded a negative balance (Volyn, Zakarpattia and Rivne regions). The remaining regions, including Ukraine’s capital, recorded an increase. But the scale of migration has decreased. For most regions, the increase in interstate migration ranged on average from 14 people (Kherson Oblast) to 475 people (Ternopil Oblast) per year. During the same period, the balance of interstate migration in Kyiv decreased by only 6.5%, while in the capital region it increased by 1.7 times (Table 4, Figure 3).

The polarization of interregional migration dynamics was much more pronounced. The nuclei and regions of migration growth were:

- 1) city of Kyiv and the Kyiv region (average annual balance +27.3 thousand people);
- 2) Kharkiv (+3.4 thousand) and Odessa (+3.0 thousand) regions;
- 3) Dnipropetrovsk (+2.0 thousand), Lviv (+1.7 thousand) and Ivano-Frankivsk (+0.7 thousand) regions changed their migration balance from negative to positive.

The flow of interregional migrants leaving the areas immediately surrounding the hostilities significantly increased, so the negative balance increased 3.9 times in the Donetsk region, 2.1 times in the Luhansk region and 1.8 times in the Zaporizhzhya region. The Kherson and Mykolaiv regions have significant negative balances.

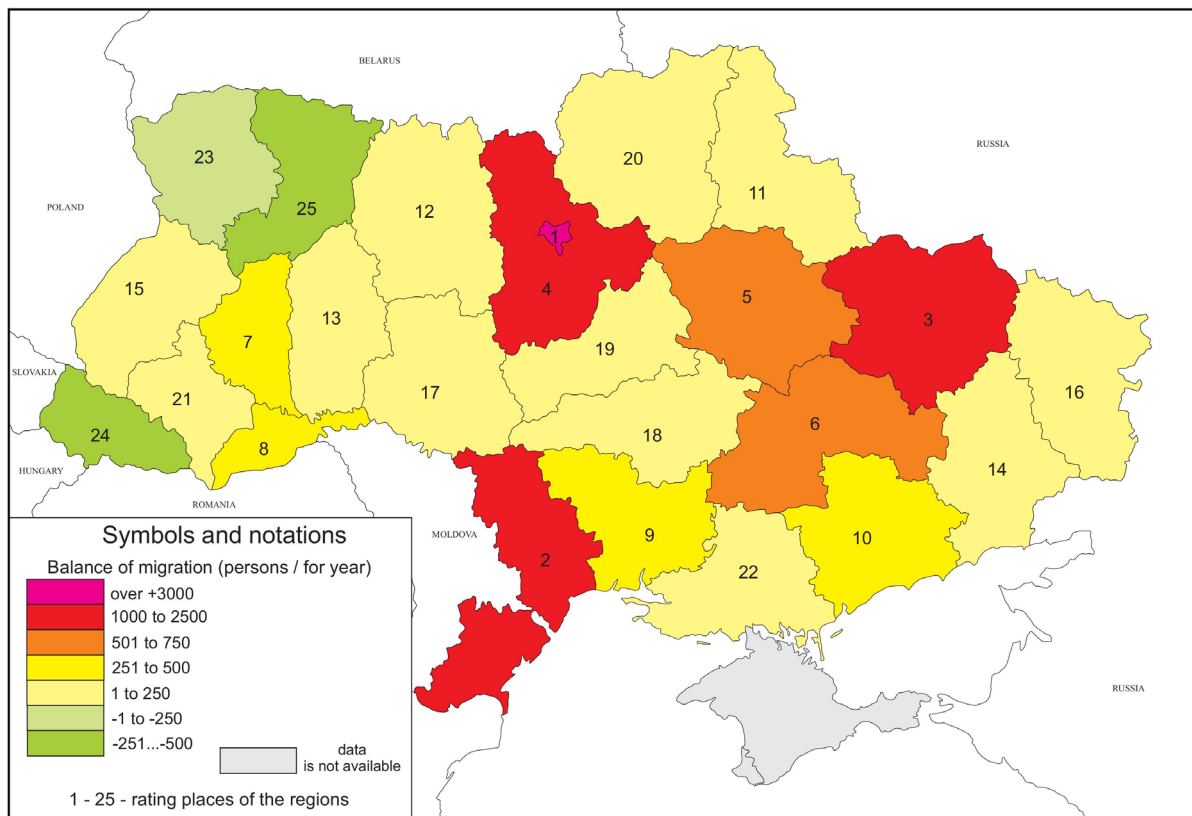


Fig. 3. Growth of international migration of the Ukrainian population in 2014-2021.

Source: own compilation based on Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine

2.5. Time of open war

Russia’s full-scale war against Ukraine (as of February 24, 2022) has led to significant flows of forced migration of the Ukrainian population, with a catastrophic increase (compared to the 2014–2021 war period) in the number of refugees, internally displaced persons, temporarily protected persons, forcibly expelled persons, etc.

Within the first month after Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, about 10.1 million Ukrainians became forced migrants (according to a study by the International Organization for Migration), including 3.6 million who migrated abroad (up to 150,000 people a day crossed the national border) and nearly 6.5 million who migrated within Ukraine. Migration within the country depended on the geography of the war effort, so the inter-regional distribution of those who left was as follows:

Tab. 4. Interstate migration by regions of Ukraine in 2014–2021.

Specification	Number of arrivals (persons)		Number of departures (persons)		Balance of migration (persons)	
	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average	total for 2014 – 2021	annual average
UKRAINE	268431	33554	162456	20307	+105975	+13247
AR of Crimea						
Cherkasy	3654	457	2237	280	+1417	+177
Chernihiv	2334	292	1304	163	+1030	+129
Chernivtsi	6395	799	3142	393	+3253	+407
Dnipropetrovsk	13681	1710	8886	1111	+4795	+599
Donetsk	5645	706	3893	487	+1752	+219
Ivano-Frankivsk	5815	727	4801	600	+1014	+127
Kharkiv	55291	6911	39228	4904	+16063	+2008
Kherson	1575	197	1463	183	+112	+14
Khmelnytskyi	3634	454	1778	222	+1856	+232
Kiev	15644	1956	4097	512	+11547	+1443
Kirovohrad	3483	435	2024	253	+1459	+182
Luhansk	3140	393	1560	195	+1580	+198
Lviv	8772	1097	7111	889	+1661	+208
Mykolaiv	5001	625	2674	334	+2327	+291
Odesa	26355	3294	8645	1081	+17710	+2214
Poltava	10529	1316	4711	589	+5818	+727
Rivne	2332	292	4828	604	-2496	-312
Sevastopol city	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sumy	5509	689	3577	447	+1932	+242
Ternopil	6602	825	2801	350	+3801	+475
Vinnitsia	3526	441	2020	253	+1506	+188
Volyn	1984	248	2471	309	-487	-61
Zakarpattia	3874	484	5932	742	-2058	-257
Zaporizhia	6587	823	4315	539	+2272	+284
Zhytomyr	4109	514	2183	273	+1926	+241
Kiev city	62960	7870	36775	4597	+26185	+3273

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine for 2006–2013

- 2,344.9 thousand people emigrated from the eastern region,
- from the city of Kiev and the Kiev region – 1,936.8 thousand,
- from the northern region – 1,302.0 thousand,
- from the southern region – 485.8 thousand,
- from the central region – 220.2 thousand,
- 187.9 thousand from the western region.

Some migrants continued to move both within Ukraine and abroad.

The largest number of people migrated to the western region of Ukraine – more than 2.5 million people (Filipchuk et al., 2022a).

Some Ukrainians migrated a second time because they had already moved from the temporarily occupied territories of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and parts of the temporarily occupied territories in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions during the 2014–2021 war. Thus, in 2021 (according to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine) 1,459.2 thousand internally displaced persons (IDPs) were registered. Most of them were in the Donetsk (512.2 thousand), Luhansk (282.5 thousand), Kharkiv (135.6 thousand), Dnipropetrovsk (71.5 thousand), Kyiv (66.0 thousand), Zaporizhzhya

(56.3 thousand) and Kyiv city (163.5 thousand people) regions. Because these regions were in a war zone at the start of the full-scale war, former IDPs were forced to migrate again.

According to expert estimates from the International Organization for Migration's second monitoring of forced migration during the war, as of mid-May 2022, 7.1 million people in Ukraine were considered IDPs. However, a significant number of IDPs (4.5 million people) have since returned to their places of permanent residence (Filipchuk et al., 2022b).

According to the Ministry of Social Policy (as of December 12, 2022), more than 4.8 million people have been registered as internal refugees in Ukraine, more than a million of whom are children (Figure 4).

According to the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, as of May 24, 2022 (three months into the full-scale war), since February 24, 2022, border guards have processed more than 7.4 million people who crossed the Ukrainian state border in two directions, including more than 4.8 million who left and more than 2.2 million who entered. At the same time, the number of immigrants has outnumbered the number of emigrants since May 10.

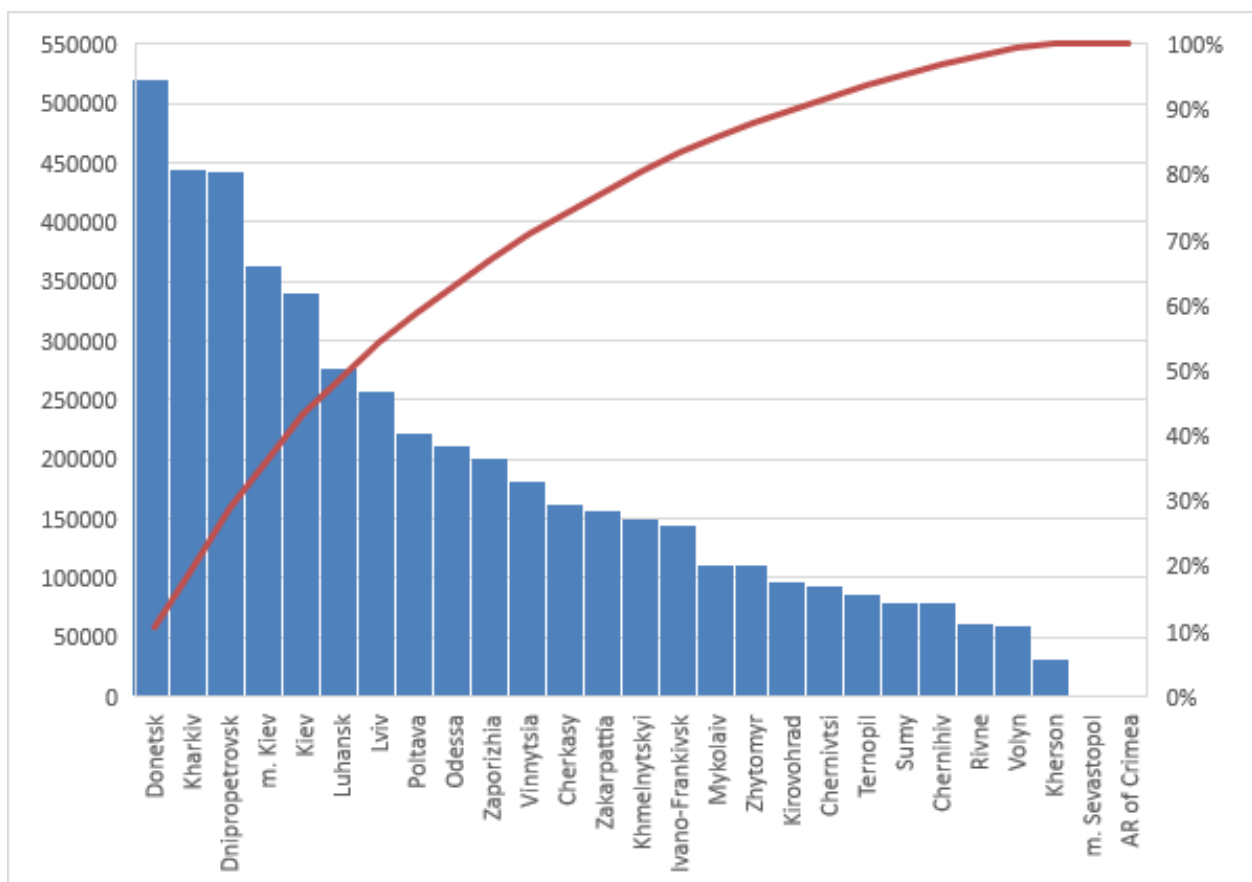


Fig. 4. Number of internally displaced persons (as of December 12, 2022).

Source: own compilation based on Statistical Yearbooks of Ukraine

Some re-emigrants have returned home to join the Ukrainian Armed Forces to defend the homeland and relatives from the enemy. At the same time, 1.4 million Ukrainians, including 230,000 children, have been deported to Russia from Ukraine's temporarily occupied territories (according to the Ukrainian government as of May 26, 2022).

The number of migrants who crossed Ukraine's state border after Russia launched a full-scale war against Ukraine (UN data as of 15/11/2022) was as follows: 15.3 million left, 7.7 million returned, and 7.6 million remained abroad. According to a study by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): 87% are women with children, 65% are of working age. About 70% of the migrants have a university degree; as a result, they have a powerful labor resource potential. There are about 4.5 million Ukrainians in Europe who are actively integrating into the European labor market (Tucha et al., 2022).

In the period from March to October 2022 (according to Eurostat), Ukrainians received temporary protection status in the following European countries: primarily in Poland – 1,489,550 people, more than 847,000 in Germany, about 450,000 in the Czech Republic; more than 100,000 – in Spain (148.6 thousand), Bulgaria (141.4 thousand), Italy (138.8 thousand); between 50 thousand and 100 thousand people – in Slovakia (98.6 thousand), the Netherlands (93.9 thousand), Austria (85.5 thousand), France (80.2 thousand), Romania (78.9 thousand), Switzerland (65.6 thousand), Lithuania (62.1 thousand), Ireland (61.8 thousand), Belgium (58.3 thousand); from 25 thousand to 50 thousand people – in Sweden (43.8 thousand), Portugal (43.1 thousand), Finland (41.1 thousand), Estonia (38.6 thousand), Latvia (35.5 thousand), Denmark (30.3 thousand), Norway (28.9 thousand), Hungary (28.3 thousand); from 10 thousand to 20 thousand people – in Greece (20.2 thousand), Croatia (18.0 thousand), Cyprus (11.5 thousand); as well as in Slovenia (6.9 thousand), Luxembourg (4.7 thousand), Iceland (1.9 thousand), Malta (1.5 thousand) and Liechtenstein (360 people), (Eurostat, 2022).

These figures relate to the granting of temporary protection on the basis of Council Implementing Decision (EU) 2022/382 of March 4, 2022, which states the existence of a massive influx of displaced persons from Ukraine due to the Russian invasion. A significant number of Ukrainian citizens received the temporary protection status (or a similar status in the host country) in the UK – 150.6 thousand people, the US – 170.3 thousand people, Canada – 135.4 thousand people and Japan – 2.1 thousand people.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the total number of Ukrainian citizens residing abroad as of 01 Feb. 2023 was 7,989,027 people, including adults – 5,841,619 people (73.1%), children – 2,147,408 people (26.9%).

Emigration from Ukraine to Canada in the period from 01 Jan. 2022 to 28 May 2023 amounted to 227,751 people, including 156,280 people under the CUAET (Canada-Ukraine Emergency Travel Permit) program (Canada-Ukraine..., 2023).

All of the above information, although relevant, is quite piecemeal, sometimes difficult to compare, and does not represent the whole over a long time horizon. This is made all the more difficult by the fact that many organizations and institutions seek information on migration and, as a result of pressures of time, place and circumstances, sometimes publish inconsistent data. Perhaps cell phone operators and the State Special Communications and Information Protection Service would be a good source of information, but releasing it freely could pose a threat to national security.

The same is true of surveys on the motivations and directions of foreign travel. In this case, the value of the research is debatable to the extent that as a result of the changing situation in Ukraine, the motivation and direction of travel is also dynamically changing. And the countries of first choice are changing to transit countries. This includes Poland, from which a significant number of Ukrainians have left for Germany. As of June 2023, 3,993,660 Ukrainians enjoyed temporary protection in the European Union, including almost 1.1 million in Germany and 974,000 in Poland (Report: ..., 2023).

Therefore, many studies, including the REACH study (Tucha et al, 2022) on the Ukrainian-Polish border, which found that the main factors influencing the choice of the destination country were family or social ties – relatives or friends at the place of arrival (39%), spatial proximity to Ukraine (31%) and advice received at reception centers (17%), are no longer always valid.

3. Concluding remarks

It is worth emphasizing that migration is a multifaceted process, the origins of which date back to the beginning of civilization, and the effects can be seen in very different time horizons. Thus, it can be assumed that migration phenomena constantly accompany man; they are even a manifestation of civilizational development. As the example of Ukraine shows (not only in the last ten years),

their pace, scale, directions depend on a number of factors, the nature of which can be permanent, temporary or episodic with a usually turbulent course (Scheran, 2023).

Under conditions of contemporary uncertainty and unpredictability, it is difficult to predict what the future of today's war refugees from Ukraine will be. Their number – like the number of returnees to Ukraine – mainly depends on the events of the war and the future reconstruction of the country. Certainly, not all war migrants will return to Ukraine.

Estimates of the scale of the return of Ukrainians vary. According to the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine, it is 75% (if they can count on decent living and working conditions) according to the Kyiv Center for Economic Strategy, in the pessimistic version – only 45%.

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