

3 || FEATURES AND GOOD PRACTICES OF POLICIES ON INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT: THE CASE OF UKRAINE

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INTRODUCTION

Internal displacement in Ukraine as a kind of internal migration movement, from the social science approach, could be seen as an indicator of citizen reaction to the crucial changes in the local economic, political and social life as well as people's sense of safety in the local environment. From the managerial approach, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) became a potent labour force for the economy, 'especially for those communities where the institutions and enterprises from the conflict territories were transferred' (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2017).

Traditionally, the main factors driving internal displacement and migration in Ukraine until 2014 remain the current unfavourable economic situation, geopolitical uncertainty, the narrowing of the labour market with the lack of jobs and the low motivation for legal employment due to a high tax burden (Pozniak, 2007). After 2014, the term IDP obtained a new meaning: 'A citizen of Ukraine, a foreigner or a stateless person who legally resides within the territory of Ukraine and may reside in Ukraine on a permanent basis, who has been forced to leave his/her place of residence as a result of the negative consequences of the armed conflict, temporary occupation, widespread violence, infringement of human rights and natural or man-made emergencies or in order to avoid the same' (President of Ukraine, 2014).

The internal displacement crisis in Ukraine started in 2014 – 2015 as a result of Crimea's annexation by Russia and the following military operation in Eastern

Ukraine – the Donetsk and Luhansk regions – which could be seen as the territorial platform for the collision of opposite geopolitical interests. The current situation here could be described as a deep crisis with all of these circumstances: mass poverty, economic decline with the total militarisation of the national economy, political uncertainty and social imbalance. All of these circumstances affect social stability and public expectations in this regard. These became strongly negative in and nearby the zone of conflict.

This results in a high unemployment rate, an unbalanced structure of specialisations on the internal labour market and the growth of circular migration (Hrynkevich, 2009). In addition, there is secondary displacement in Ukraine driven by the problem of employment by specialisation, economic independence and safety with the overall well-being of Ukrainian citizens and a lack of conditions for the realisation of an individual's potential (Maxymenko & Talalayeva, 2012). The war in the eastern part of Ukraine also shows its reverse side where the conflict allows providing a new cycle of the developmental spiral, upgrading the instruments of its support in the direction of higher social utility, on the one hand, and modernising relevant policies, on the other (Matveieva, 2017).

According to the State Statistics Service (2018), 1.7 million Ukrainians changed their place of residence in 2014-2017, becoming internally displaced persons because of the ongoing conflict; thousands of them left the conflict zone and moved to nearby territorial communities. Generally, the negative consequences of the forced displacement as a new type for Ukraine are as follows:

- IDP migration negatively impacts overall socio-economic development (Hnybidenko, 2008; Bryliova, 2013).
- The ageing population (mainly elderly people remain in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions) with an increased tax burden on the working strata with a wide range of interrelated demographic threats.

Obviously, to solve the problem of IDP integration, it is necessary to create conditions for the realisation of the creative potential of the population throughout

Ukraine (with no discomfort to host communities) to prevent the outflow of the labour force, including highly skilled personnel (Maxymenko & Havrylova, 2014) in near-conflict zones and countrywide.

CHALLENGE AND BACKGROUND

To outline the background of the challenge, the ongoing internal displacement crisis in Ukraine arose from the armed conflict triggered in March 2014 by Russia's annexation of Crimea, an autonomous republic of Ukraine, and the subsequent self-proclamations of independence by the areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions in Eastern Ukraine in violation of the Constitution of Ukraine and the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine in Eastern Ukraine. Over two million people have been internally displaced from the conflict area (Maxymenko, 2015). With no clear prospects of conflict resolution, displacement is becoming increasingly protracted (Migration Policy Centre, 2014). The largest group of Ukrainian IDPs (1 million people) are living in nearby regions of Ukraine, being in a process of integration into local communities. As of 2018, approximately 800,000 IDPs are living permanently on the government-controlled territory (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2018).

The International Organization for Migration in Ukraine in Round 11 (September, 2018) of the National Monitoring System (NMS) states that the share of IDPs who reported that they had integrated into their local community amounted to 43% while 36% of the surveyed IDPs stated that they had been partly integrated. Generally, the total share (79%) of IDPs who reported a partial level of integration is almost the same as in the previous two rounds (80%). The majority (68%) of key informants reported that IDPs were partly integrated into their local communities and 24% stated that they were completely integrated (Figure 1). The change towards more moderate responses has also been observed since Round 9 (International Organization for Migration in Ukraine, 2018).

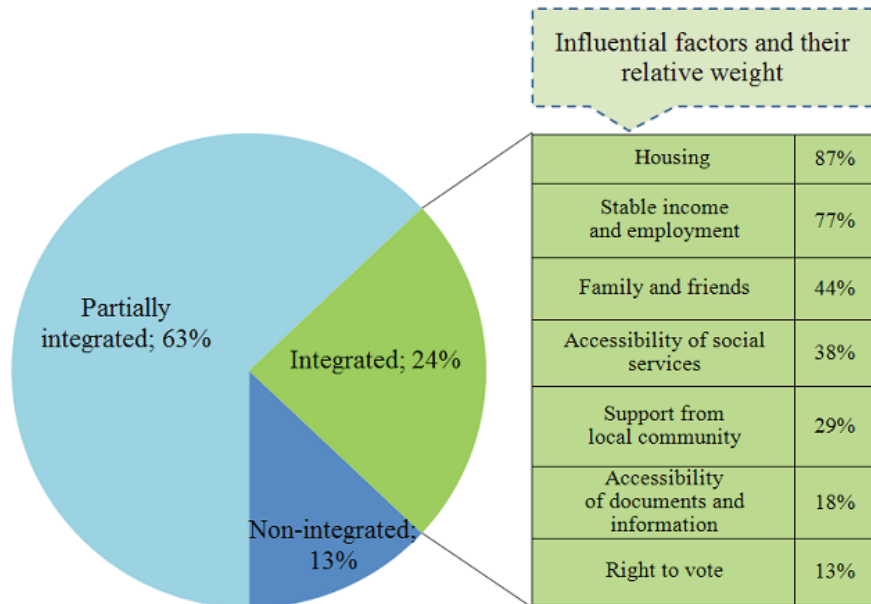


Figure 1. IDP groups distribution by the integration level and the main factors which influenced integration

The main conditions (factors) for successful integration, as indicated by the IDPs, were housing (83%), regular income (69%) and employment (48%) which have remained consistent throughout all NMS rounds. Other frequently mentioned conditions were family and friends being in the same place (44%), access to public services (37%), support from the local community (27%), easy access to documentation (22%) and the possibility to vote in local elections (17%).

Geographically, indicators of IDP integration are not equally distributed throughout the regions of Ukraine as the International Organization for Migration in Ukraine stated (2018) (Fig. 2).

According to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine (2018), only about 16 million out of the total of 26 million of the working age population in Ukraine in 2018 are officially employed which makes about 52.6 %. It is not possible to find

IDPs' self-assessment of their integration in the local community, by geographic zones, %

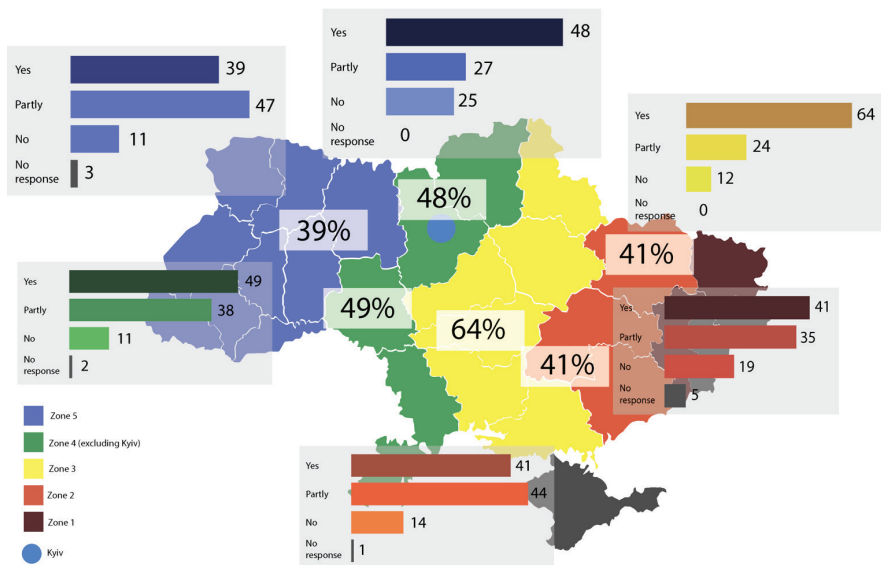


Figure 2. IDP self-assessment of their integration in the local community by geographic zones of Ukraine, %

out how many people are IDPs because neither the State Statistics Service nor the Employment Service nor the MoSP collect such statistical data (according to the official responses from these agencies). At the same time, the number of officially unemployed people in Ukraine amounted to 337,900 as of November last year according to the State Statistics Service (2018).

Labour migration driven by economic reasons and the peculiarities of the job market, happening in parallel with the internal displacement, is a process which affects the possibilities for internally displaced persons to become integrated into the host communities and compete on the labour market.

The main factors that determined the nature of labour migration in 2014-2018 were the annexation of Crimea and the occupation of part of the territory of Ukraine by Russia. Ukraine lost over 20% of its GDP (Ministry of Finance of Ukraine,

2018). It is difficult to provide an exact number of the lost companies and jobs in 2018. The relocation of a significant number of the working age population from Donbas and the shrinking of labour markets at the same time cause an increase in the supply of the workforce with a simultaneous decrease in the supply of salary. Highly qualified professionals in different industries mostly chose regional centres (oblast capitals) and bigger cities for relocation.

According to the statistics of internal displacement, it is only in the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts (regions in Ukraine) that a rather significant number of people choose to live in rural areas. In other oblasts, the IDPs mostly settled in oblast capitals and bigger cities. Mariupol city, which is an industrial centre in the Donetsk oblast, had several thousand job offers available at the city's employment centre before the conflict started. In 2017, the number of registered job offers was at its historical lowest at less than 300. At the same time, 3,600 people were registered as unemployed with 650 of them IDPs. In 2018, the number of registered job offers remained at about 400.

The increase of labour migration was promoted by decisions made about providing a budget for local educational and healthcare institutions under the reform of decentralisation. On December 20, 2016, as a part of the national decentralisation reform, the Parliament of Ukraine – the Verkhovna Rada – voted for Law № 5131 on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine (on the improvement of forming and implementing the budget)' (Verkhovna Rada, 2016). The law fixed the liabilities of the local government but the state budget financed only medicine and education at the local level. Therefore, programmes for labour migration supporting the resettlement in 2017 remained in the budgets of the communities which failed to implement them due to the narrowing of their own financial base.

After the law was passed, many of these programmes had to be closed which led their employees to look for new jobs. In particular, large numbers of IDP professionals in the medical sphere who chose Mariupol as their place of relocation in 2014 moved to oblast capitals in central Ukraine after Russia-supported separatists shelled the city in 2015-2016 alongside a decrease in financing for the medical sphere.

By professional groups, the highest demand for workforce by the end of September 2015 was observed for qualified workers with tools and for workers who do maintenance work, and oversee technical equipment as well as those who assemble equipment and machinery (19.1% and 19% of the total number of registered vacancies, respectively) and the lowest demand was for qualified workers in the fields of agriculture and forestry, fish farming and fishing (1.3 %) as well as technical staff (4.2 %) (Ukrainian Statistics Service, 2018).

In 2014, the key problem for IDPs when searching for jobs was the distrust of employers who thought that the conflict would be over after several months and that employees would return. Starting from 2015, the long-term nature of the conflict became obvious. At the same time, the level of hate speech against IDPs has changed. Among a large number of accusations, there were also those directly oriented at the labour market; in particular, that IDPs cannot be accepted for positions which require being accountable for assets (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre., 2018) because of their supposed unreliability.

As a result, the most pressing issue for the modern state policy of Ukraine in this sphere is in providing effective measures for the territorially restructured society to solve the problem of post-war ‘reconstruction’ and revitalising society in the Ukrainian government-controlled territories.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

Current Ukrainian policy on internal migration could be described as a system of governmental measures and local decisions on meeting the mass migration from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. But it should be mentioned that in spite of the foundation of the Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs of Ukraine (MTOT), a new governmental institution started in 2016, there is still no complete holistic policy regarding IDPs. Strategies and plans drafted and approved by the government are practically of a formalistic nature, shifting the main

responsibility to local authorities. Local authorities are forced to allocate funds from their budgets to meet these challenges. Eventually, since programmes focus upon achieving quantitative rather than qualitative indicators and it is extremely difficult to assess their effectiveness and impact at the local level.

Ukraine's first law addressing internal displacement, entitled Act on Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Internally Displaced Persons, was adopted by the Parliament (the Verkhovna Rada) of Ukraine on October 20, 2014. On December 24, 2015, the Parliament adopted the current version of this Act and it entered into force on January 6, 2016.

In 2017, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted the Strategy for the Integration of Internally Displaced Persons and the implementation of long-term policy measures on internal migration for the period until 2020 (the Strategy). That document lies in line with the directions of the programme on state's target recovery and peacebuilding in the eastern regions of Ukraine (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2016). None of the above mentioned documents, as other legal acts of Ukraine, defines 'integration,' however. These documents were aimed at restoring and developing peace in the conflict affected regions and stimulating the socio-economic development of the territorial communities in order to improve the quality of local life through strengthening social capacity and sustainability and stimulating economic activity.

The Strategy calls unemployment one of the key problems faced by internally displaced persons and mentions the importance of the access of IDPs to the labour market as a part of their access to livelihoods.

Less than a third of internally displaced persons have regular jobs. The situation is complicated by the need for the retraining of some internally displaced persons who were formerly employed in extraction industries. As a remedy, the Strategy offers:

- Improvement of the work of the offices of the State Employment Service in terms of information provision, registration of those unemployed who seek employment assistance, job search and the employment of economically active internally displaced persons;

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- Creation of new jobs and tax exemptions (tax vacations) for small and medium-sized businesses re-established or created by internally displaced persons;
- A mechanism for the re-issue of documents that certify labour and/or pension insurance records;
- An effective financial and credit mechanism to support IDP businesses;
- Professional retraining and advanced training for internally displaced persons and expanding employment opportunities for IDPs (Ministry of the Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons of Ukraine, 2018).

The report on the status of the Strategy's implementation is expected in June 2019.

In March 2015, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine voted for the Law on Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine to Enhance Social Protection of Internally Displaced Persons № 245-VIII aimed at solving the problem of employment of IDPs. The law includes a number of measures to promote the employment of IDPs (Horshkova & Alkova, 2017).

On July 8, 2015, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 505 established the Main Directions of Solving the Problems of Employment of Internally Displaced Persons for 2015-2016 (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2015). The programme ensures new approaches that will be implemented by the State Employment Service with a budget from the Fund of Obligatory State Social Unemployment Insurance of Ukraine; in particular, by introducing the mechanisms and procedures to:

- Provide employers who employ IDPs with compensation for paying salary to such persons as well as a means to cover travel costs for them to relocate to a different area for employment (to ensure the mobility of the unemployed people and motivate entrepreneurs to employ IDPs);
- Provide compensation for the cost of the re-education and training of IDPs who are registered as unemployed if the employer offers them the job for at least one year;

- Issue vouchers to support competitive advantage by re-education, acquiring specialisation, training for demobilised military, ATO (anti-terrorist operation in Eastern Ukraine) participants and internally displaced persons who have no suitable job (to increase the competitive advantage of this new social strata and promote its productive employment).

On September 8, 2015, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine № 696 introduced additional measures to promote employment of internally displaced persons. They included providing compensation to employers for creating new workplaces as well as compensating IDPs for the cost of medical examinations and a part of their transportation costs.

Some oblasts such as Donetsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv, and Lviv, have complex regional population employment programmes for 2018-2020. Such programmes are aimed to:

- Preserve the labour potential of the oblast and increase the quality and competitive ability of the labour force;
- Introduce innovative technologies and ensure an increase in the productivity and the level of income of the working population;
- Promote the rights of workers and prevent unofficial employment and ‘shadowing’ the income while increasing motivation for legal employment;
- Return officially unemployed citizens to economically feasible activity;
- Promote the employment of citizens who cannot compete in the labour market under equal conditions, including demobilised ATO combatants, IDPs, young postgraduates and people with disabilities;
- Decrease unemployment in the agricultural sector; in particular, between seasons, and preserve human resources in rural areas;
- Coordinate local executive authorities, local self-government, united territorial communities, employers unions and trade unions in the oblast and, increase their role in structurally changing the labour market and developing social dialogue.

After four years of war, the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, where most IDPs live, lost three-quarters of their self-employed population living there before the occupation. The available support programmes for self-employed people proved unsuccessful to restore the level of self-employment of the population.

GOOD PRACTICES

Considering the case of the IDP integration policy provided in 2015-2018 (Table 1), we still could not describe it as a synergistic complex of decisions for effective integration because these decisions could be visualised in a range of social and economic indicators such as an employment growth, labour market saturation by working specialisations, positive changes in the age structure of the population and others. An observation of the several attempts of the Ukrainian Government to solve the IDP problem leads us to the conclusion that they are in line with a common strategy. In its turn, it is oriented on achieving the SDG10 ‘Reduced Inequalities’.

In 2014, city councils of some Ukrainian cities started looking for ways to include internally displaced persons with certain qualifications or of a certain age in their communities. For instance, in the city of Mariupol in the Donetsk oblast, the Executive Committee of the City Council provided corporate accommodation to families of 50 medical professionals who moved there from Donetsk according to its Decision No 88 of April 24, 2016. Such accommodation could not become private property (according to the legislation, corporate accommodation can only be privatised after living there for ten years). In the Chernihiv oblast in the village of Danylivka, five families with schoolchildren were provided with free accommodation. The IDPs saved the village school from being closed. In the village of Novhorodka in the Kirovohrad oblast, 20 IDP families with children were provided with accommodation to preserve not only the school and the kindergarden but also the health centre that was also about to be closed. In the Malovyskivka district of the Kirovohrad oblast, 121 families were provided with detached houses.

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Table 1. *Main Features of Ukrainian Internal Displacement Policies in 2015-2018*

Policy measures proposed	Results planned	Effect expected	
		Social (for IDPs)	Economic (for state and local host community)
Stage 1. Direct displacement of people from the conflict areas			
Housing	Formation of the basic conditions for living in a new place <i>(through implementing multilevel governance programmes, direct assisting)</i>	Physical belonging to the housing territory	Resettlement/ localisation of the of the labour force
Stage 2. Economic background formation and strengthening the territories of IDP allocation			
Subsidising	State support payments	Meeting basic needs for food, clothing, housing	Provision of initial manpower
Employment	Primary employment <i>(through local programmes, direct assisting, a public-private partnership, mentoring)</i>	Providing a sense of IDP belonging to the local community	Injection of labour workforce in the local market Fulfilling the vacant niches of the local labour market
Stage 3. Integration/Assimilation (natural process as a result of sustained policy)			
Educational programmes and focused trainings	Specialised courses, programmes for local educational institutions	Integration to the local economy and local community through the knowledge base and skills development/application	Human potential development
Skills development initiatives	NGO and specific organisation initiatives Focused projects		
Stage 4. Enhancing IDP role in local public policy framing			
Development of platforms for social initiatives, E-governance tools Projects and initiatives of NGOs	NGO and specific organisation initiatives Focused projects Individual initiatives	Involvement in local policy making Being agents of change	Human capital development Value of local production

In every case, the decision to allocate housing was made by the village council. Newcomers took the houses that have mostly been abandoned for decades.

‘Helping Hand’ is one of the pilot projects aimed at promoting the rights of IDPs including ATO participants in gaining employment. This could be seen as an example of a synergy between foreign organisations and the Ukrainian Government. According to the government’s decision, it continues operating in the Kharkiv oblast (CMU Resolution dated 02.12.2015 No. 1154 as amended). The project was initiated by the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine with the support of the World Bank and is implemented in the Kharkiv, Poltava and Lviv oblasts. Since 2019, it is being implemented in several amalgamated territorial communities of the Zhytomyr, Chernihiv and Donetsk oblasts. The government stipulates that its participants may be internally displaced persons and members of low-income families receiving state social assistance to low-income families. The number of low-income families receiving assistance in the Kharkiv oblast is 15,000 and the average amount of assistance for the family is UAH 3,931). Participants are involved in the following ways:

- Financial support to organise one’s own business (in the amount up to 40 subsistence minimum for persons of a working age per one participant to buy equipment and materials in order to organise one’s own business (in 2017 – up to UAH 64,000 and in 2018 – up to UAH 70,500);
- Participation in community service;
- Employment assistance, including to new workplaces.

In order to participate, a citizen with the appropriate status should apply to the department of social protection or the employment centre at the place of permanent or temporary residence and write an application. In addition, since April 2019, financial support may be obtained by existing business entities to create new workplaces and to hire participants in the pilot project or those dismissed from military service after ATO.

Currently, 1,600 people are participants of the pilot project. Of these, 900 are members of low-income families and 700 are internally displaced persons. More

than 800 participants of the pilot project have already been hired or have earned additional income by participating in community service.

Since the pilot project's implementation, the Regional Commission has selected 56 business plans of the participants and four business entities. The amount of assistance received for their own business is UAH 2.5 million. Additionally, UAH 20million will be provided in the state budget for financial assistance to all pilot regions within the project in 2018.

State and regional programmes (without the support of foreign donors) for workplace creation support have covered less than 3% of IDPs who are able to work. At the same time, cooperation between IDPs, local citizens and NGOs proved effective enough and there is evidence of the potential of such activities. In particular, the Lviv social enterprise, 'Rukomysly,' created an opportunity to develop self-employment not only for IDPs but also for local women from rural areas in 2015. The enterprise solved the key problem of most craftswomen who are doing handiwork – the search for access to markets and selling their products. More than 100 women were trained and started their small businesses.

However, the attitude to IDPs started changing at the beginning of 2015. The second wave of displacement and the active informational hate campaign (as part of the hybrid war and as a reaction to the lasting crisis) led to a considerable decrease in the number of projects to provide IDPs with temporary housing. The projects to involve professionals started being developed more actively by business organisations rather than local self-government authorities. In 2017, local programmes for the support of migration and the involvement of experts in the regions with money from the local budgets was not available but projects with international support still are.

For instance, 67 families (about 200 people) were provided accommodation with the financial support of the international organisation KfW in 2018. The accommodation was provided to families of professionals who are in demand in the region.

Generally, IDPs made labour markets in the regions younger and added qualified professionals to them. Nonetheless, without the systematic development of small

and medium businesses in the eastern regions, it is impossible to ensure the employment of the population at a normal level.

An example that could constructively address the above mentioned challenge in the administrative sphere is as follows: IDPs from Donetsk and Luhansk are placed in the region and automatically become members of the national-wide programme of the provision of social (or secondary) housing and employment. In this way, they pass the first stage of starting their integration into the local community. But considering the fact that the final goal of state policy is the full or best possible integration of IDPs into the local space if the opportunity to return them back to their homes will not come soon, the second stage should consist in the framing policy on how to assist people in adaptation and integration. The main vector of the policy is the creation of conditions for a comfortable stay, re-training and decent work for IDPs.

Finally, the third stage of IDP flow management is around multilevel solutions on how to assist displaced people in obtaining basic, advanced or focused knowledge for finding themselves in the local economic system. For the country, IDPs should be seen as a productive resource for the economy due to their potential, previous experience and desire to work intensively which makes them competitive in market conditions.

CONCLUSION

The case of Ukraine gives evidence that focused state policy measures could be applicable in conditions when people are displaced from conflict (and also depressed industrial areas) to the area where the services are more developed and IDPs need comprehensive support for adaptation, resocialisation and requalification. As the IDP policies development in Ukraine is still in process, it is rather difficult to assume concrete future results. But taking into account that resources (human, financial, economic) are stably limited here, investment in social capital is the main prerequisite for any positive changes in a resilient healthy society.

The first lesson from the Ukrainian IDP migration and integration case along with state policy adaptation is that far greater attention must be paid to preventive measures for any imbalance in the political and social sphere. If Ukraine and the international community had spent as much time devising a plan to stop the war as it spent distributing aid, many more lives could have been saved here.

The second lesson is that IDPs should not be separated from the host community either territorially or socially in order to avoid further mass disorganised migration. They might be seen as a perspective and productive strata of the local society and a valuable economic resource which could play an important role in local public policy framing and decision-making. The matter is that the probability of the opportunity to let people back on their territory never could be 100% (due to the political prerequisites and the infrastructural capacities of the destroyed areas). It is also likely that they stay on the new territory for their whole life. If such an opportunity could be, the IDPs could decide by themselves either to come back or stay in their new home being integrated fully into the local society – both economically and socially. Stimulating labour migration can help IDPs to get integrated and balance the labour market in the host community as shown by the Mariupol case.

The third lesson is about the attention paid to shaping the knowledge and skills base of IDPs to help them integrate into the local labour market, find a decent job or start their own business. The local community should promote integration (organisational, institutional, and motivational) for supporting IDP learning and training initiatives. All efforts in this direction could be seen as investments in future local development. In this direction, it is expedient to apply the following measures: creating conditions for the proliferation of legal employment, especially in those territorial communities where are the largest number of IDPs leaves; ensuring the rights and social protection of migrant workers, creating an effective alternative to those circumstances that encourage working Ukrainians to move abroad where the situation on the labour market is discriminatory for them and creating job places purposefully in sectors such as agriculture, light industry, textiles and chemicals. The more stable the national business environment is and the more dynamic the market is, the stronger are the motives for immigrants to return to their homeland. This could be seen as a basic engine for policy framing in this sphere.

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