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Ukrainian Guest Workers in the Labor Market of Poland: Changing Trends in Labor Migration Processes

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Abstract: The movement of Ukrainian guest workers in the direction of Poland until 2019 was predominantly transnational in nature, as there was a constant movement of labor migrants between the national spaces of Ukraine and Poland with financial participation in the economies of the two countries at the same time. This fact is confirmed by the results of empirical sociological researches conducted by the Ukrainian Institute of the Future, the Cedos analytical agency, the Personnel Service employment agency, the Gremi Personal, and the statistical data of the International Organization for Migration, the State Migration Service of Ukraine, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, the Ministry of Family and Social Development of Poland. However, the trends changed dramatically due to the global COVID-19 epidemic, later in 2022 with the outbreak of the war in Ukraine. The desire for temporary, pendulum labor mobility gave way to the desire to leave Ukraine forever and settle abroad with the whole family. A new migration trend may be associated with the movement to Poland of Ukrainian men who come after the end of the war to reunite with their families, who were moved there earlier since the beginning of hostilities in Ukraine.

1 INTRODUCTION

The strengthening of the globalization of economic, socio-political processes determines the expediency of studying, both at the theoretical and applied levels, of subjects, causes, consequences, peculiarities of the intensification of labor migration processes, the specificity of which is outlined by socio-spatial and temporal characteristics. Modern transnational labor migration processes have socio-economic differences, contribute to the development of the economic infrastructure of the countries involved in it. At the same time, they create social problems, exerting an ambiguous influence on the labor market, the investment climate, the state of the most important social institutions, and the foreign and domestic political situation. Changes in the content and forms of external labor migration are determined by the nature of the political, administrative and legal, economic and sociocultural determinants that justify and regulate it.

Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 and accession to the Schengen area in 2007 contributed to the elimination of a number of restrictions on the admission of migrant workers. According to the statistics service for the period 2004–2014, amounted to about 2.5 million Polish workers to other EU countries with relatively higher living standards (Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, 2014). Against the background of successful economic development and record low unemployment, the Polish labor market experienced a shortage of workers, a niche was formed, which was occupied by migrant workers from post-Soviet countries, including Ukraine.

In addition to economic factors, socio-political factors also contributed to the activation of labor migration processes. Thus, 2014 was a turning point for migration, since the military events in the east of Ukraine, the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea caused a new wave of migration. At the same time, the directions of flows of Ukrainian guest workers to Russia, to the west to the EU, in particular to Poland, have changed significantly. The introduction of a visa-free regime in 2017 significantly simplified and reduced the cost of finding jobs

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and study for Ukrainians abroad, which also helped to strengthen their migration sentiments. The movement of Ukrainian guest workers in the direction of Poland until 2019 was predominantly transnational in nature, as there was a constant movement of labor migrants between the national spaces of Ukraine and Poland with financial participation in the economies of the two countries at the same time. However, the trends have changed dramatically in connection with the global COVID-19 epidemic and severe restrictions on human rights of movement.

2 RELATED WORK

The study of trends in the international movement of Ukrainian labor force in the direction of Poland is relevant from the point of view of coordinating the migration policies of both countries. That is why both Polish (Jaroszewicz (Jaroszewicz, 2014), Iglicka and Gmaj (Iglicka and Gmaj, 2011), etc.) and Ukrainian scientists (Libanova and Pozniak (Libanova and Pozniak, 2020), Kulitskyi (Kulitskyi, 2020), Kulchytska et al. (Kulchytska et al., 2020), Malinowska (Malinowska, 2015)) paid enough attention to the analysis of recent trends in this area. Considering the numerous publications covering the results of various kinds of empirical studies, Polish colleagues studied the problems of labor migration of Ukrainians in much more detail. Whereas most of the Ukrainian developments relate to Poland indirectly, as the problems of external mobility of Ukrainian guest workers were studied only in the context of migration processes in general.

3 RESEARCH QUESTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has made significant changes in the situation of Ukrainian guest workers in Poland, which is why there is an urgent need to investigate the existing changes in labor migration processes trends based on secondary analysis of data of empirical sociological research conducted by the Ukrainian Institute of the Future, the CEDOS analytical agency, the Personnel Service employment agency, the Gremi Personal analytical center of the international employment company, and the statistical data of the International Organization for Migration, the State Migration Service of Ukraine, the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, the Ministry of Family and Social Development of Poland.

4 RESEARCH METHODS

The use of the secondary analysis method made it possible to group the primary sociological information presented in the form of linear distributions and statistical tables in accordance with the objectives of the study. In particular, we are talking about the possibility of comparing the results of empirical sociological research with generalized statistical data published on the official websites of state statistics bodies in order to search for patterns, relationships between variables, generalize data, and study the temporal and spatial dynamics of labor migration processes. To increase the reliability of the analysis of data that were collected by different researchers using various methods of collecting social information, comparison and triangulation methods were used, which made it possible to interpret the existing trends in the labor movements of guest workers.

5 RESULTS

According to the results of 2019, among the countries in the eastern part of Europe, Ukraine closes the four leaders of the origin of emigrants in the region (International Organization for Migration, 2020). Migration flows between Poland and Ukraine have always been exceptionally active. The main prerequisites for such trends are geographical proximity, developed transport links, socio-cultural kinship between these countries. An equally important factor in labor migration is the implementation of legislative initiatives for liberalizing the Polish labor market and providing visa privileges for foreigners.

Since the introduction of the visa regime for crossing the border between Ukraine and Poland in July 2003, the flow of Ukrainians intending to visit the neighboring country has gradually increased from 3.844 million people in 2003 to 9.886 million people in 2019, having acquired its peak in 2017 – 10.410 million people (figure 1).

The data presented capture facts about border crossings and may refer to migrants, tourists, relatives and friends visiting Ukrainian migrants in Poland.

According to the data presented in table 1, in 2017 there were dramatic changes in the distribution of migration flows associated with changes in the issuance – official consolidation of the right to stay for 6-9 months in Poland for foreign workers employed in temporary and seasonal work depending on the sphere of activity.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the nature of employment has changed. In fact, according

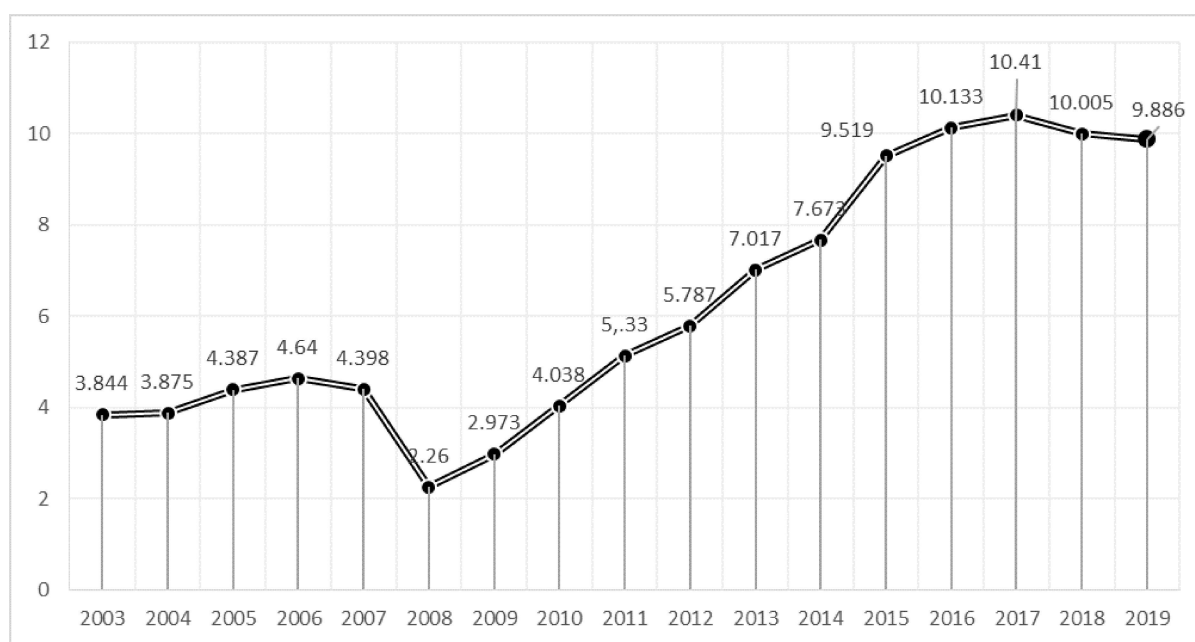


Figure 1: The number of Ukrainians leaving Ukraine for Poland during 2003–2019, million people (based on statistical data (Malinowska, 2015; State Migration Service, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2019)).

Table 1: Distribution of the number of Ukrainians leaving Ukraine for Poland during 2010–2017 by the purpose of their movement (based on statistical data (State Migration Service, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018)).

Year	Purpose of trip			
	Business	Tourism	Private	Service staff
2010	210,6	85,6	3703,4	38,6
2011	207,5	113,6	4781,8	30,4
2012	174,0	69,6	5521,6	21,9
2013	120,2	31,9	6839,6	26,4
2014	98,7	10,9	7547,4	15,7
2015	103,5	10,4	9391,9	13,5
2016	105,1	9,4	9996,6	22,1
2017	1,8	5,1	9984,1	419,3

to the information from the National Bank of Poland, in 2017, compared to 2013, the number of Ukrainians who were seasonally employed in agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing and other jobs, which do not require a high level of qualification, decreased by more than three times. The number of guest workers employed in industrial production almost doubled, and employment in households, administrative and support services increased by 37,0%.

However, it should be noted that there were relative shifts in such spheres as industrial production, transport, professional, scientific and technical activities, households, administrative and support services (table 2).

Mostly, Ukrainian guest workers in Poland were

employed in low-paid jobs, but in 2017 the number of Ukrainians in management positions increased by almost 2,5 times, and the number of legally employed skilled Ukrainian workers increased as well (table 3).

The trends in the structure of the distribution of Ukrainian emigrants by position at the place of their employment, recorded by the data of official statistics, are confirmed by the results of empirical sociological research Polish Labor Market Barometer as well. In fact, in the period 2018–2021, the number of Ukrainian guest workers, who were working at Polish enterprises, holding management positions, continued to grow and increased from 7,4% in 2018 to 12,0% in 2021 (table 4).

Such shifts may be associated with the awareness of the role of Ukrainian migrants in the Polish labor market. Polish employers value Ukrainians for diligence, adaptability, experience (table 5), the majority (72,2%) of them believe that the level of competence of Ukrainians is the same as that of Poles holding similar positions (table 6).

According to the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland in 2019, Polish consulates issued more than 900 thousand visas to Ukrainians, of which 895,7 thousand were national. In 2019, the number of work visas issued to Ukrainians for the first time with a duration of 1 year or more in Poland was up to 44,0 thousand (compared to 28,1 thousand in 2017) (Kulchytska et al., 2020).

The trend of short-term, pendulum or “shuttle” migration of Ukrainian guest workers has given way

Table 2: The structure of legalized employment temporary/ seasonal work of Ukrainian guest workers in the Polish labor market by the type of work permits, % of the total number (Ukrainian Institute of the Future, 2017).

Spheres of employment	Year	
	2013	2017
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	53,67	17,70
Trade and car service	4,78	3,69
Industrial production	6,94	12,70
Transport	1,84	4,45
Households, administrative and support services	2,49	39,43
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0,55	1,67
Repair, construction and architecture	11,95	12,53
Catering and hotel management	1,47	2,44
Other services and works	16,31	5,41

Table 3: The number of registered Ukrainian employees by the place of work in Poland (Ministerstwo Rodziny i Polityki Społecznej, 2018).

Place of work (profession)	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Management positions	417	422	489	575	735	1152	2098	5093
Persons who are members of the board of legal organizations	124	126	137	150	142	130	102	675
Skilled workers	3552	6972	7830	5696	9197	22198	43523	79489
Unskilled workers	3397	4318	4665	4801	4744	13108	27337	99071
Information systems engineers, programmers	28	53	43	86	136	702	1245	1500
Artists	96	79	71	70	73	143	191	290
Junior medical staff	20	53	42	50	101	259	311	297
Doctors	10	13	6	5	6	11	119	16
Teachers	68	32	28	28	29	74	151	176

Table 4: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "What positions do Ukrainian citizens occupy in your company?", % of the total number of respondents (Personnel Service, 2017, 2020, 2021).

Positions at enterprises	Year			
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Low-level employees	73,4	71,9	70,0	70,0
Skilled mid-level staff	27,4	20,2	21,0	14,0
Skilled senior staff	7,3	3,9	8,7	12,0
It is difficult to answer	6,4	4,1	0,3	4,0

to long-term and sometimes permanent movement. Most manifestations of labor mobility have become legal, but this has not completely excluded the presence of illegal employment. Not only the terms of stay outside Ukraine have changed, but also the directions of movement. If before the events of 2014, mostly residents of the border regions of Ukraine went to neighboring Poland in large numbers, then after 2014 the center of gravity of labor movements shifted slightly to the center of the country. In fact, those Ukrainians who were forced to leave their homes in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Luhansk and Donetsk regions, as well as residents of other regions fled outside the national space in search

Table 5: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "What is primarily assessed by your company in employees from Ukraine?", % of the total number of selected answer options (Personnel Service, 2020, 2021).

Virtues of Ukrainian workers	Year	
	2020	2021
Diligence	62,4	42,0
Rapid adaptation	47,4	32,0
Speed of learning	35,6	26,0
Knowledge	30,1	20,0
Creating a positive atmosphere	29,8	15,0
Experience	26,7	32,0
Modesty	24,0	21,0
It is difficult to answer	6,4	4,0

of a better life.

Nor should the assumption of a close two-way relationship between labor and educational migration be rejected. In some places, the existing migration networks of Ukrainian guest workers, pursuing the goals of reuniting parents and children, have caused waves of educational migration. However, such objective factors as the European integration policy of the Ukrainian state, the Bologna process, etc. have also influenced the processes of educational migra-

Table 6: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "How do you assess the competencies of workers from Ukraine compared to Poles working in the same positions?", % of the total number of respondents (Personnel Service, 2019, 2020, 2021).

Level of competence	Year
	2020
More competent	4,7
Just as competent	72,2
Less competent	14,2
It is difficult to answer	8,9

tion.

Thus, the number of Ukrainian students studying in Polish higher education institutions in the 2010–2011 academic year was 3,570 thousand people, while in 2016–2017 – their number increased by 10 times, reaching a total of 355,584 thousand people (Statistics Poland, 2020). According to the study "Ukrainian students in Poland: policies of attraction, integration and motivation and students' plans" conducted by the analytical agency CEDOS during March-May 2018 ($N = 1055$), half of the surveyed Ukrainian educational migrants combine study with work. After completion of their studies in Poland, only 6,0% of Ukrainian students want to return home, 23,0% of respondents intend to stay in this country, 32,0% of students plan to work in the EU countries or outside of it, while all others have not yet decided on their intentions (Stadny, 2019).

Under the conditions of quarantine, the possibilities of e-learning have expanded (Kalashnikova et al., 2022; Vakaliuk et al., 2022). It can be assumed that this is why, in the competition for applicants, which will take place between Ukrainian and Polish higher education institutions, and most likely, the latter will win. Remote forms of organizing the educational process deepen the indicated trend in educational movements, which, in turn, will lead to the emergence of new trends in labor migration processes. Namely, it will contribute not only to a significant rejuvenation of Ukrainian guest workers, but also to intensification of the outflow of highly skilled labor forces.

Many years of migration experience and the existing trends in labor migration processes of recent years have contributed to the formation of migration networks. They, being a form of social capital in the transnational space, significantly increase the likelihood of labor force movements, taking into account the possibility of minimizing the risks associated with finding a job, study, residence, etc. Such networks as an independent factor in intensification of labor mobility, regardless of its root causes (mass unemployment and impoverishment of the population) became

the impetus for Ukrainians to move to work to the EU countries in the early 1990s and remain valid to this day. According to the estimates of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine for the period 2015–2017, among Ukrainian labor migrants in Poland, there were 73,0% of those who found a job through friends, relatives, acquaintances, 16,7% – through private individuals, 5,5% – through employers, 5,4% – through private agencies, 8,3% – in other ways (State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 2017).

The data of the Polish Labor Market Barometer (2017–2020) research also confirm the assumptions about the self-continuation of migration through the functioning of labor migration networks, as the most effective way to find Ukrainian workers is family and friend ties. In the second half of 2019, the number of employers' appeals to labor offices in Poland decreased sharply. Instead, searches through social networks and online services in Ukraine intensified. This is confirmed by the fact that in the conditions of quarantine it was extremely difficult for employers to return illegal labor migrants who were forced to return to donor-countries or decided to "sit out" the lockdown in Poland (table 7).

The All-Ukrainian Association of International Employment Companies reported that over the period March-May 2019, about 5-10% of the total number of labor migrants returned to Ukraine. Among them there are mostly those who worked seasonally on short-term contracts. Whereas those who had long-term contracts as well as permanent residence permit in the recipient-countries remained abroad, even having lost their jobs due to the economic crisis caused by the epidemic. Already in May 2020, after the end of the lockdown, most of those who returned to their homeland, went back to work (Libanova and Pozniak, 2020).

The main reason for this was that Polish employers, realizing the dependence of the success of their business on the lack of Ukrainian labor forces, quickly implemented a number of precautionary measures to return and retain workers (providing social guarantees, raising wages, migration amnesty, which provides automatic continuation of the term of work visas for the period of the epidemic and 30 days after its completion, i.e. for two months if the quarantine measures are extended). Thus, in Poland the state program Crisis Shield was being implemented, within the framework of which foreigners who were properly employed, but lost their source of income due to the economic crisis, received social benefits in the amount of about 1400–2080 zlotys (10.3–13.5 thousand hryvnias) (Kulchytska et al., 2020).

According to the data of the Polish Labor Mar-

Table 7: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "How does your company look for or intend to look for employees from Ukraine?", % of the total number of these answer options (Personnel Service, 2019, 2020).

Ways to find Ukrainian workers	Year		
	2017	2019	2020
Through families or friends from Ukraine	35,0	49,0	61,5
Through agencies	48,0	35,8	45,9
Through labor offices in Poland	38,0	7,2	33,4
On online services in Ukraine	23,0	39,3	30,3
Through social media	10,0	19,8	16,0
Through labor offices in Ukraine	15,0	0,5	7,4
It is difficult to answer	0	0	0,4

ket Barometer research during 2017–2021, Polish employers have significantly expanded the areas of social support for Ukrainian labor migrants. Thus, due to quarantine measures in 2020, significantly more companies offered assistance to workers in arranging formalities regarding their official stay in Poland. In 2021, the list of areas of social support included among other things testing for COVID-19, accommodation for quarantine stay after returning to Poland, free insurance in case of COVID-19 illness (table 8).

The analysis of the data shows that if earlier for Ukrainians economic (uneven economic development, desire for material well-being) and social (the possibility of self-affirmation, decent working conditions) motives of international labor force movements prevailed, today it is about a shift towards political (escape from persecution, avoidance of discrimination) and military (conducting military operations on the territory of the native country) motives.

Migrants are more than other groups of the population affected by the introduction of quarantine measures. Competition in the labor market has increased significantly due to mass unemployment caused by the partial suspension of activities or closure of enterprises. According to the assessment of the experts of the Personnel Service employment agency, one in three Polish workers employed in Germany, Austria, Britain and other Western European countries lost his/her job and returned to Poland. Accordingly, the needs of the Polish labor market for cheap labor force of foreign workers, including Ukrainians, have decreased significantly.

This is confirmed by the decrease in the number of vacancies in the Polish labor market, which in 2017 had 152 thousand offers, in 2018 – 165 thousand, in 2020 – 81 thousand. The manufacturing industry suffered the most, where the number of vacancies decreased by 9,8 thousand people, which amounted to 36,0% of the indicators of 2019, construction – by 9,5 thousand (46,0%) and trade – 7.6 thousand (40,0%) (Frączyk, 2020).

Along with socio-economic problems, the prob-

lems of xenophobia and intolerance, partially caused by them, became relevant. In particular, we are talking about statements by both the representatives of the indigenous population of the recipient-countries and compatriots who accused labor migrants of spreading coronavirus infection.

According to the results of the Polish Labor Market Barometer research during 2017-2021 the nature of the attitude of employers towards emigrants from Ukraine has changed significantly. Thus, in 2021, compared to 2017, the number of those who have a negative attitude towards Ukrainian guest workers has increased by 8 times. On the other hand, the number of Poles who evaluate them positively has doubled (table 9). Such shifts took place mainly due to the delineation of their personal attitude of those employers who in 2017 characterized their attitude as neutral.

In order to verify the hypotheses about the existing shifts in the trends of international labor movements of Ukrainians in the context of a pandemic, an attempt was made to systematize the results of an empirical sociological study conducted by the analytical center of international employment company Gremi Personal (Poland) in February 2020 with the usage of technologies of computerized telephone survey system CASI among 1,100 thousand Ukrainian guest workers who worked in Poland (Our Poland, 2021).

The first shifts in the trends of transnational labor migration are associated with the rejuvenation of the contingent of guest workers, as the majority of the working population is leaving – under the age of 39. Ukraine continues to lose its intellectual elite, since a third of migrant respondents have higher education (28,4%) and every second informant has a vocational or specialized secondary education (47,8%).

The vast majority of respondents (68,3%) are to some extent satisfied with the working conditions in Poland. Among the main reasons for leaving their own homeland, respondents focused on significantly higher wages compared to Ukraine (80,6%), the stable economic situation in Poland (27,9%) and the op-

Table 8: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "What additional types of assistance do you offer to your employees from Ukraine?", % of the total number of these answer options (Personnel Service, 2019, 2020, 2021).

Types of assistance	Year			
	2017	2019	2020	2021
Assistance in arranging formalities	37,0	49,3	67,2	35,0
Social payments	25,0	39,1	49,3	24,0
Accommodation	24,0	30,1	40,7	27,0
Transport to the workplace	19,0	18,4	25,4	22,0
Internet	12,0	10,9	16,5	15,0
Food	9,0	14,0	15,1	15,0
Accommodation for quarantine time	-	-	-	20,0
Testing for COVID-19	-	-	-	16,0
Free health insurance against COVID-19	-	-	-	12,0
Food	9,0	14,0	15,1	15,0
We do not offer anything	24,0	15,0	10,0	8,0
It is difficult to answer	0	0	0,6	0

Table 9: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "What is the attitude of your company as an employer to employees from Ukraine?", % of the total number of respondents (Personnel Service, 2019, 2020, 2021).

Attitude	Year			
	2017	2019	2020	2021
Mostly positive	7,0	8,6	8,8	14,0
Positive	22,0	34,1	24,0	22,0
Neutral	71,0	46,8	56,0	49,0
Negative	0	0,3	1,7	5,0
Mostly negative	0	0,8	0,7	3,0
It is difficult to answer	0	9,4	8,8	7,0

portunity to get a work visa or temporary residence permit, which is relatively easier than in other EU countries (25,4%). Guest workers consider the lack of jobs in Ukraine (70,9%), the poor economic situation (49,0%), the lack of prospects, opportunities for self-realization (23,2%), political instability (22,8%), and corruption (14,0%) to be the inhibitory factors for returning home. At the same time, curiously enough, the least of all informants are worried about the military conflict in the east of the country (7,2%), loss of business (4,1%), crime (1,2%) or poor quality medical care (3,1%).

One in five respondents (18,6%) is dissatisfied with the attitude of Poles towards them at work, especially noting the growing trends of discrimination in the context of a pandemic.

Speaking about integration intentions, it should be noted that half of the respondents (46,4%) expressed a desire to stay and live in Poland. More than a third of respondents (35,1%) do not consider the possibility of returning to Ukraine at all. A direct confirmation of these trends is the intention of the majority of guest workers (66,5% in 2021, com-

pared to 60,0% in 2020) to obtain a permanent residence permit in Poland. In addition, 51,7% (compared to 41,0% in 2020) of Ukrainians plan to move their families to Poland. Also significant is the desire of Ukrainian migrant workers to open their own business in Poland – in 2020, 25,0% respondents had such intentions, while in 2021 there were significantly more applicants (39,8%). The number of migrants considering the possibility of buying their own housing and other real estate in Poland has doubled, from 34,0% in 2020 to 55,5% in 2021.

A noticeable increase in all these indicators testifies an increase in the integration sentiments of Ukrainians, a significant expansion of transnational spaces. More than half of the informants (54,1%) expressed their intention to continue moving to other EU countries in search of work in the event of a worsening situation in Poland due to the pandemic. This trend, even taking into account the pandemic and lockdown, has not changed compared to the results of similar studies conducted in 2020. Among the most acceptable areas of possible labor mobility, Ukrainians consider Germany, Scandinavian countries, the Czech Republic, Canada and the United States. In particular, interest in the Scandinavian countries has almost doubled (42,5% of respondents in 2021 compared to 22,0% in 2020).

In the study "Foreign worker in the era of a pandemic", conducted by EWL SA, the Foundation for the Support of Migrants in the Labor Market "EWL" and the Center for Eastern European Studies at the University of Warsaw in the period April-May 2021 took part labor migrants who were in Poland during the pandemic ($N = 620$ people, including 92,4% from Ukraine, 4,2% from Belarus, 2,3% from Moldova and 1,1% from other countries) (table 10).

Table 10: Distribution of employers' answers to the question "What arguments prompted you to stay in Poland during the epidemic?" (respondents who were working in Poland at the time of the outbreak of the pandemic) (Zymnin et al., 2021).

Answer options	Year
	2021
I worked in Poland before the outbreak of the pandemic and did not want to change my plans	50,0
I would like to continue employment in Poland as long as there is such a possibility	36,7
My permits for legal residence and work have been automatically extended	24,3
There is a job shortage in my country during a pandemic	23,0
During the pandemic I feel safer in Poland than in my country	12,8
No I will be able to come to Poland for a longer time	7,1
The health service in Poland functions better than in my country	6,2
The health service in Poland functions better than in my country	6,2
After returning to my home country I will be forced / forced to go to quarantine	4,9
My employer convinced me to stay	4,9
Other	4,4

The data obtained indicate that 27,0% of respondents declare that due to the pandemic they had to find a new job in Poland. 79,0% migrants will recommend work in Poland to their friends and relatives. 91,0% foreigners do not regret that remained in Poland during the pandemic. 55,0% respondents have used or are planning to take advantage of the automatic renewal of permits to stay and work in Poland. For 36,0% of foreigners, the biggest difficulty during work in Poland during a pandemic is separation from their families. This is most likely related to this, the reason, and also due to the introduction of rules aimed at avoiding the quarantine, more and more foreigners decide to travel despite the ongoing epidemic. In September 2020, every fifth respondent left Poland during the pandemic. In May 2021, this figure was already 37,0% of the respondents. 51,0% of foreigners are interested in working in Germany, Poland ranks in second place – 48,0% of respondents want to work with us. Are also rated high in the ranking Czech Republic (26,0%), USA (25,0%), Canada (23,0%) and Norway (21,0%) (Zymnin et al., 2021).

6 CONCLUSION

The change in the trends of transnational labor migration of Ukrainians by the beginning of 2019 provided a shift in the center of gravity towards the EU, in particular Poland, strengthening the relationship between such types of movement as educational and labor migration, and a significant rejuvenation of guest workers. The desire for temporary, pendulum labor mobility gave way to the desire to leave Ukraine forever and settle abroad with the whole family. After 2019, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the situation only worsened, because no more than 5-10% of the

total number of guest workers returned home. This, in its turn, indicates a qualitative change in the motivation of labor movements, even despite the temporary increase in xenophobia and intolerance.

Quarantine measures are unlikely to significantly change the intentions of Ukrainians to leave Ukraine for Poland. In fact, despite the existing panic among Ukrainian guest workers, which was provoked by the first lockdown in the spring of 2019, the number of those who returned home did not exceed 5-10%. And after the relative stabilization of the situation in the EU, in particular in Poland, the majority of migrant workers went abroad to work again. This is evidenced by the steady increase in the number of Ukrainian guest workers in Poland in the second half of 2020.

In contrast to the state bodies of Poland, the Ukrainian authorities are showing outright inactivity towards the regulation of labor migration processes. Ukraine still does not even have an effective mechanism for recording international illegal labor movements, not to mention projects to regulate labor flows at the level of state migration policy. Despite significant losses of human capital and deepening demographic crisis, the Ukrainian government has relied on increasing revenues to the country's budget, considering labor movements as a direction of investment in the Ukrainian economy and a way to reduce unemployment, maintenance and social security of low-income citizens. This is eloquently evidenced by statistics – according to the data of the National Bank of Ukraine, the volume of private remittances in 2020 reached a record 12.1 billion dollars, which is about 10,0% of Gross Domestic Product of the country (National Bank of Ukraine, 2021). Until the Ukrainian economy generates enough jobs, provides decent working conditions and high wages, taking into account the available human capital, Ukrainian

employers will increasingly suffer from a lack of skilled workers, losing the struggle for labor resources in the global labor market, and Ukraine will remain the main supplier of highly skilled workers for the EU countries, including Poland.

The war in Ukraine actualizes a new round of labor migration processes. New trends will be associated, firstly, with the return of male labor migrants from the EU countries, the USA, Canada and other countries to Ukraine, and secondly, with the activation of both internal and external forced displacements of the labor force.

Active hostilities in Ukraine in 2022 caused a new wave of migration to Poland, which is characterized by the movement of mainly women with children for an indefinite period of time. As a result of the movement of such a specific socio-demographic group, the demand for educational, medical and social services has increased, and the number of workers employed in these areas has increased. A new migration trend may be associated with the movement to Poland of Ukrainian men who come after the end of the war to reunite with their families, who were moved there earlier since the beginning of hostilities in Ukraine. The new tendencies of labor migration, caused by the war, require their detailed study, in particular with the help of sociological tools.

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