

MIGRATION PROCESSES IN MODERN UKRAINIAN-POLISH DISCOURSE

Tetyana Nagornyak

*Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
21, 600-richya str., Vinnytsia, 21021, Ukraine
tlnagornyak@gmail.com*

&

Iuliia Pachos

*Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
21, 600-richya str., Vinnytsia, 21021, Ukraine
pachosiuliia@gmail.com*

&

Pavlo Bezuglyi

*Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
21, 600-richya str., Vinnytsia, 21021, Ukraine
p.bezuhlyi@donnu.edu.ua*

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to determine the specifics of Ukrainian-Polish discourse on migration processes, that consists in symbolic interactions as depictions of state policies, at the centre of which is human capital and strategies for its conversion. The preservation and development of its human capital in the context of globalization movements is a question of protection of national interests and the capacity of the economic foundations of society for Ukraine and Poland. Migration processes, as an objective indicator of a globalized world, are political in nature and can be the result of state policy, both as a country of motivation for migration and as a concerted action of states that are interested in getting a new human capital. External and internal factors of migration of Ukrainians through the prism of state decisions, the state of

social protection of the population, educational opportunities and business prospects for youth are actualized in the conditions of increasing interest in the renewal of the human capital of Poland.

Key words: *Ukraine, Poland, migration of Ukrainians, state policy, migration policy*

INTRODUCTION

Global and local strategies for the development of political territories in the XXI century are formed and implemented around the instruments of human capital conservation and management. It is a limited resource that can accumulate, convert, reproduce in new forms, change its liquidity, determine the state of the world order and influence in it intergovernmental political institutions, states of the world, global cities and public institutions. Migration processes, as an objective indicator of a globalized world, are political in nature and can be the result of state policy, both as a country of motivation for migration and as a concerted action of states that are interested in getting a new human capital. External and internal factors of migration of Ukrainians through the prism of state decisions, the state of social protection of the population, educational opportunities and business prospects for youth are actualized in the conditions of increasing interest in the renewal of the human capital of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Russia, Germany, Romania.

Comprehensive analysis of current migration processes in Ukraine, theoretical and applied labour aspects of migration, assessment of the extent of migration and the impact on the demographic, social, economic, political development, forecasting migration processes, immigration studies in Ukraine and integration of immigrants became the subject of scientific research of Ukrainian scientists Dragunova T., Libanova E., Malinovskaya O., Poznyak O., Homra O. and a number of researchers: demographers, political scientists, internationals.

Global trends in the development of the world indicate a further increase in population mobility and the intensity of migration processes. For example, migration in Ukraine has intensified over the past 25 years, and its trends and types have changed. The signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and obtaining the visa-free regime in 2017 became a catalyst for a plethora of reforms, including the field of migration policy. However, the annexation of Crimea and the war in the East of Ukraine caused substantial forced movement of the population, economic crisis and changes in migration flows abroad. In particular, under modern conditions, migration processes not only affect the economy, society, development of the state as a whole, but also become the result of the state policy in various fields of public life and an indicator of the effectiveness of state institutions. In addition, migration processes can influence the discourse between states by strengthening strategic partnerships or vice versa, with the influence of external actors, reformatting the established system of bilateral relations.

The Ukrainian-Polish discourse on migration processes consists in symbolic interactions as depictions of state policies, at the centre of which is human capital and strategies for its conversion. The preservation and development of its human capital in the context of globalization movements is a question of protection of national interests and the capacity of the economic foundations of society for Ukraine and Poland. The specifics of such discourse and the assumptions about further

trends in migration processes have become the subject of author's scientific exploration.

1. MIGRATION PROCESSES IN UKRAINE AND THE SCENARIOS OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

The task of regulating migration in modern Ukraine is becoming increasingly relevant and is considered among the strategic priorities of state policy, due to the spread of the negative results of the migration movement, its irreversibility for the productive part of the population. The migration situation in Ukraine in recent years has become a relatively independent factor, exacerbating the imbalances of economic and social development in certain regions and the country as a whole. There is an urgent need to develop and implement effective public policies aimed at preventing migration losses and minimizing the negative effects of migration.

Migration trends are dependent on a complex of factors, the level of which determines its current intensity and prospective indicators. In order to determine the degree of influence of key factors on the intensity of migration movements and migration balance, the tool of correlation-regression analysis has been used. The subject of the analysis is to investigate the impact of social, economic and political factors on the process, forecasting indicators, that characterize migration in Ukraine.

Migration processes are an indicator of the impact of socio-economic, political, national, religious, military factors under which the number of displaced people increases. It is related to a permanent or temporary change of residence for non-population dependent causes.

The key economic indicators that influence migration processes are gross value added; gross value added per person; capital investments; foreign investments; budget revenues; budget expenditures; consumer price index; volume of production; volume of sales; investments in fixed capital; export-import of goods and services, etc. Among the most important social indicators that are indicators of the development of migration processes are the following: human development index; population and its structural indicators; natural population growth; income of the population; the level of economic activity, the number of unemployed; unemployment rate; average monthly salary; volume of consumption of goods and services, etc.

For a comprehensive assessment of the impact of the economic component of state policy, we consider it advisable to choose *an indicator of capital investment*, which generally characterizes the effectiveness of the economic policy of the state through the dynamics of domestic and foreign investment.

In order to determine the degree of impact of economic indicators on the social sphere of society and to identify symmetrical or unbalanced socio-economic development in the context of a direct factor in the migration activity of the population, it is advisable to analyse the *Human Development Index (HDI)*. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary indicator for assessing the long-term progress of human development in three main areas: 1) a long and healthy life, 2) access to knowledge, 3) a decent standard of living [UNDP Ukraine 2018].

In order to assess the political situation in the country, it is advisable to analyze the results of the study entitled "Development of democracy in countries in transit (Nations in Transit)". *Development of democracy in countries in transit (Nations in Transit)* is the research and rating that characterize the level of democracy development, the state of

political rights and civil liberties in the European and Asian countries of the former socialist bloc - “countries of transit”. In order to assess the political situation in the country, it is advisable to analyse the results of the study “Development of democracy in countries in transit (Nations in Transit)” [Freedom House 2018].

An effective indicator will be the balance of external migration (the difference between the number of persons who arrived in the country and the number of persons who left from there in the same period of time), which directly affects the population of the country and is an indicator of social and social losses, economic state policy and political situation in the country.

The socio-economic and political indicators selected for the study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Socio-economic and political indicators influencing the development of migration processes (2002-2017)

Period	External migration balance, thousand people (y)	Capital investment, billion USD (x_1)	Human Development Index (x_2)	Democracy development rating in in countries in transit (1 to 7) (x_3)
2002	-33,791	6,9796	0,689	4,92
2003	-24,210	9,5657	0,699	4,71
2004	-7,615	14,2334	0,706	4,88
2005	4,583	18,1760	0,715	4,50
2006	14,245	24,8028	0,721	4,21
2007	16,838	37,3240	0,729	4,25
2008	14,879	42,7966	0,733	4,25
2009	13,447	19,4728	0,727	4,39
2010	16,133	22,7575	0,733	4,39
2011	17,096	30,3338	0,738	4,61
2012	61,844	34,1949	0,743	4,82
2013	31,913	31,2615	0,745	4,86
2014	21,099	18,4543	0,748	4,93
2015	9,250	12,4961	0,743	4,75
2016	7,846	14,0576	0,746	4,68
2017	8,126	16,8489	0,751	4,61

[Freedom House 2018, UNDP Ukraine 2018, Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy 2018, Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy 2019]

It is advisable to apply mathematical and statistical methods to create a model of migration processes. The study of the impact of external migration balances (in thousands) on selected economic, social and political indicators includes quantitative estimates that can be obtained using correlation-regression models. All factor

indicators ($x_1...x_n$) are presented as momentary series of dynamics, so a factor of time must be taken into account in order to correctly interpret the results of the calculations and the obtained relationships. Thus, it is advisable to introduce the indicator t into the model.

In order to identify the dependencies between selected socio-economic indicators affecting the development of migration processes and the balance of external migration, it is advisable to identify the correlation between two characteristics: the balance of external migration and capital investment, the index of human development, the rating of the development of democracy in countries in transit. Determining pair dependencies is a necessary step in the study of complex multi-factor relationships. The practical importance of paired dependencies is that from the set of all factors in the first stage, the most important are distinguished and their impact on the change in the performance indicator is evaluated.

Previously calculations show that capital investment, human development index, rating of democracy development in transition countries have a more significant impact on the external migration balance. This conclusion was made on the basis of the analysis of the correlation matrices of each equation, the calculation of the relative error of approximation (should be low) and the coefficient of determination (should be high) and the MNC index (should be maximum). Thus, the correlation matrix of correlation analysis to identify the dependencies between these indicators has the following form, which is presented in table 2.

Table 2: Correlation matrix for indicators: external migration balance (y), capital investment (x_1), human development index (x_2), democracy development rating in in countries in transit (x_3)

	y	x_1	x_2	x_3	t
y	1	0,697300	0,755659	-0,118090	0,566950
x_1	0,697300	1	0,419013	-0,496350	0,124313
x_2	0,755659	0,419013	1	-0,036930	0,942704
x_3	-0,118090	-0,496350	-0,036930	1	0,164401
t	0,566950	0,124313	0,942704	0,164401	1

[Freedom House 2018, UNDP Ukraine 2018, Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy 2018, Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy 2019]

The correlation between external migration balance (y) and capital investment (x_1) is high positive (0.6773), external migration balance (y) and human development index (x_2) is very high positive (0.7557), the external migration balance (y) and the rating of democracy in transition countries (x_3) are weakly negative (0.1181). The coefficients indicate a close relationship between the indicators and confirm the accuracy of the chosen model.

The paired dependencies presented here indicate that there is a rather complicated complex effect of a number of factors on the external migration balance (y). Therefore, complex multivariate econometric models are modelled along with pair dependencies. Let us analyse what degree of influence on the external migration balance (y) have

the indicators: capital investment (x_1), human development index (x_2), rating of democracy development in transition countries (x_3).

The optimal approximation of the generated dependence is represented by a multivariate regression dependence, which is calculated in the form of linear regression and meets the criteria of statistical probability and accuracy, and the choice of factor traits is determined by the density of paired dependencies.

All the metrics presented collectively determine the external migration balance (y), so multiple regression models calculated in the form of linear dependencies may be more objective:

$$y = -1743,842 + 0,323x_1 + 2326,985x_2 + 22,624x_3 - 6,297t$$

where y – the balance of external migration, thousand people;

x_1 – capital investments, UAH billion;

x_2 – human development index;

x_3 – rating of development of democracy in the countries of transition (from 1 to 7);

t – the time factor.

The multiple determination factor (R^2) is 0,81, so the resultant factor-dependent indicator is 81,0%. The multiple correlation coefficient of 0,9 indicates a strong (close) relationship between the indicators. That is, in aggregate, all factors included in the model, by 81,0%, determine changes in the balance of external migration, with the factor x_2 (human development index) having the most significant stimulating influence. The minimal relative error of approximation and the high coefficient of determination indicate a close correlation between the indicators and a high level of statistical accuracy. A high level of certainty indicate that the model can be used for analysis. If capital investment increases by \$ 1 billion, the external migration balance increases on average by 0.323 thousand. If the index of human development increases, the balance of external migration on average increases by 2326,985 thousand. If the rating of the development of democracy in the countries of transition (from 1 to 7) increases, the balance of external migration on the average increases by 22,624 thousand people.

The analysis has confirmed a high degree of dependence of migration indicators on effective public policy aimed at ensuring a high standard and quality of life, effective use of human potential, ensuring a comfortable social environment for the population. Thus, the obtained calculation method allows to estimate the external and internal capabilities of the country to form and strengthen its economic potential, which is necessary for a sustainable increase of the gross value added, growth of industrial and agricultural production, strengthening of the national economy in order to provide a real basis for improving the standard of living of the Ukrainian population.

Among the factors that have the greatest impact on the balance of external migration, and those whose impact is justified on the basis of the calculations, the most influential is the human development index. This once again confirms the need to develop effective tools of public and contractual regulation of social and economic spheres. Thus, the development and use of labour potential, which depends directly on the implementation of programs and concepts (including strategies for demographic development, directions of development of labour potential contained in the current legislation), state and regional employment programs, improving the level

and quality of life of the population, creating conditions the interest to live and work in Ukraine, will reduce the negative migration trends, slow down the outflow of economically active population outside the state. Recommendations, measures and programs to implement these documents should be the basis of state policy.

In order to build scenarios for the development of migration processes in Ukraine, let's make a prediction of the migration intensity coefficient and the migration balance for 2018-2025.

There are three scenarios for the development of migration processes in Ukraine in accordance with the future tendencies of its socio-economic development: realistic, pessimistic and optimistic.

Scenario 1 is realistic: if the main indicators of economic development in Ukraine in the long run stabilize at the level of 2016-2017 (do not improve significantly), the transition of temporary external labor migration into irreversible form will increase, the magnitude of departure abroad will increase. There will be a diversification of the geography of migration from Ukraine, in particular some of the people who work in Poland will try (after consolidation in the Schengen area) to find work in more prosperous EU countries, first of all in Germany. Intensive migration processes throughout the country will also be observed.

Scenario 2 is pessimistic: if the socio-economic situation worsens, migration from Ukraine will be even more intense, with the departure of highly qualified specialists. Under these conditions, it is possible to stop reducing the number of people working in Russia, since even this area of labour migration will remain economically viable.

Scenario 3 is optimistic: in the terms of socio-economic development and improvement of the internal situation, the scale of long-term labour migration is stabilizing. If the policy is implemented, some long-term migrants may be returned gradually. At the same time, the flow of immigrants from the Afro-Asian region to Ukraine will increase. Over time, Ukraine will be able to make a 'migration transition', to transform itself from a donor country of population and labor into a recipient country, as has already happened with Southern European countries and is now happening in a number of Eastern European countries.

Thus, problems related to migration processes require complex actions and implementation of systematic strategic measures aimed at solving them. Strategic management is forward-looking and creates an opportunity for timely response by public policy instruments to the changes that are taking place in the economic, social and political spheres. Therefore, the solution of migration problems requires the development and implementation of strategic directions of state policy adjustment in the context of preserving the human capital of Ukraine, aimed at promoting the socio-economic development of the country's territories; job creation; improving the investment climate; more efficient use of the intellectual potential and human resources of the country.

2. ARE THE UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS IN POLAND THE LOCOMOTIVE OF POLISH ECONOMY OR "OVERRUN"?

World trends indicate a further intensification of migration processes, in particular, the burning issue for most countries of the world is the loss of human capital and the searching for ways to preserve and replenish it. Migration from Ukraine is the result of both state policy, including migration, of Ukraine, and of the policies of the

neighbouring countries. Ukraine and its human resources are an attractive target for the policies of its immediate neighbours, who seek to replenish and strengthen their human capital with minimal risk and expense.

The dynamics of migration of Ukrainians is influenced by external and internal factors, among which the most important are the state policy of Ukraine in various spheres of public life and the state policies of the recipient countries, which aim to increase human capital at the expense of expatriates and labour migrants.

Since Ukraine gained independence, migration processes within the country and abroad have not been the subject of analysis and condition for adjustment of state policy. Under current conditions, since 2017 due to the visa-free regime with the European Union, the opportunities for international mobility of Ukrainians have increased significantly.

Migration flows from Ukraine have different vectors and causes that determine the direction of movement. After the annexation of Crimea and the beginning of the war in Donbass, the migration flow to Poland increased significantly.

The main external factor in the migration of Ukrainians is Poland's state policy on overcoming the demographic crisis within the country. Thus, according to the average of the latest UN forecast (2017 report), Poland's population will decrease by almost 17 million by the end of the century [United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2017].

Given the low likelihood of fertility increases and the nation's "aging" processes, migration is perhaps the only real way for Poland to maintain population numbers at current level, to conserve and increase its own human resources. According to estimates, to maintain the current population, "old Europe" (EU-15) should attract over 47 years 47 million immigrants (949 thousand per year) [United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2017]. Under these conditions, population decline and labour shortages make these countries more open to immigration, and their state migration policies are not just pragmatic, but selective and aimed primarily at attracting highly skilled migrants.

At the same time, the situation inside Ukraine creates conditions for the growth of migration flows to other countries or within Ukraine itself.

Poland, which receives the largest migration flows from Ukraine, is the closest neighbour and has many things in common – language closeness, similarities of minds, compactly living national minorities, common history and historical memory, family ties and origin. These factors create favourable conditions for Poland's migration policy towards Ukraine. The state migration policy of Poland is a deliberate complex of measures, decisions and actions of the institutions of power to encourage Ukrainians to move, especially repatriation of their compatriots, in order to replenish their human capital and labor resources [Nagornyak T., Pachos I. 2018: 24].

After 2014, Poland became the main destination for migrants from Ukraine, including labour and educational migrants. Ukraine and Poland are linked by territorial, linguistic, cultural proximity, common history and historical memory, good neighbourly relations and mutual support in the international arena. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, migration processes between countries intensified.

Among the reasons why Ukrainians choose Poland as their destination is higher wages than in Ukraine, higher standards of living than in Ukraine, lack of adequate work in Ukraine, better social conditions, safe living conditions [Pomorskie 2018].

The National Bank of Poland conducted a large-scale survey on Ukrainian migrants to Poland in 2015. The hypothesis that the increase in the wave of migrants from Ukraine occurred due to a sharp deterioration of political and economic situation in Ukraine was confirmed. Therefore, Ukrainians who had never left Ukraine before, including people from the occupied territories of Ukraine, started to migrate to Poland. Forty one point three percent of respondents came to Poland for the first time in order to find a job in 2014–2015 [Narodowy Bank Polski 2016].

It is worth noting that over the last 15 years this country has been solving the problem of outflow of its citizens to the EU countries and is keenly lacking in labour. Despite the recent spread of anti-immigrant sentiment in Poland, many Poles still understand the crucial role of Ukrainian immigrants in their country's economy [Bartczak B. 2018]. After all, Ukrainians actually occupy jobs that have become vacant as a result of widespread departure of Poles to EU countries with higher wages. According to the results of the study of the company Employment and Consulting Work Service, a third of Polish firms face problems in the recruitment, especially of the representatives of the working professions [Pomorskie 2018]. 39% of companies plan to hire Ukrainians.

The growth of the Polish economy and the interest of Polish employers determine the state policy of Poland to increase the opportunities for employment and relocation of Ukrainians to Poland. The migration of Ukrainians aimed at finding employment in neighbouring state can be divided into two unequal groups [Malynovska O. A. 2015]. The first one is a relatively small group of people who get employed for a long period of time, including professionals, teachers, doctors and skilled workers. In addition, Poland promotes and encourages employment of such people. After all, these are categories of people who are not required to obtain a work permit.

The second category is Ukrainian labourers who work seasonally and temporarily in Poland. There was a simplified procedure of obtaining work permit until 2018. For instance, about 763 thousand work permits (788 thousand of their total) were granted to the Ukrainians in 2015 [Narodowy Bank Polski, 2016]. This indicator exceeded the indicator of 2013 by 104,5%, and in the previous years it barely exceeded the level of 200 thousand. In order to reduce the percentage of illegal employment since January 1, 2018, the procedure for obtaining permits for seasonal and temporary work has been changed and become paid. However, the employment permit for seasonal work is valid for 9 months, and its registration is much simpler than usual.

With the introduction of the visa-free regime of Ukraine with the EU, Ukrainians are given another opportunity for simplified employment in Poland. Holders of biometric passports entering Poland without a visa are entitled to work temporarily without issuing a work permit, but only based on an employer application registered with the local authority. Since 2007, this application has been the basis for obtaining a 6-month work visa during the calendar year for citizens of the Eastern Partnership countries and Russia. However, now biometric passport holders can independently, without intermediaries and bypass visa procedures, seek employment after arriving in Poland. If they plan to do so for longer than the 90-day visa-free entry, they need to contact the Foreign Office for an extension of their stay.

However, the provision on the legal work of foreigners in Poland for a period of a minimum of 5 years under a valid visa and/or a residence permit for a specific period

of time is still in force. It provides the foreigner with the right to apply for the issuance of a residence permit at the place of residence. At the same time, in December 2017, the President of Poland signed a law which provides the foreigners from outside of the EU with the right to obtain a certificate for temporary residence in Poland under the condition of transferring a company from another state to Poland [Rzeczpospolita 2017]. Such step is aimed at creating new jobs.

Apart from the above-mentioned measures of the state policy of Poland, it should be emphasized that the entry into force of the Act on the Pole's Card of 2008 was the most important strategic step in the Polish policy of attracting migrants. The Pole's Card was introduced in order to compensate for the moral and material losses of former Polish citizens and their descendants who were forcefully moved outside the borders of their homeland due to the change of borders. The law facilitates the provision of the Pole's Card to citizens of the CIS and Baltic States. This document provides an opportunity to obtain a long-term, multiple-entry national visa free of charge, as well as D type Schengen Visa after the accession of Poland to the Schengen zone that allows moving freely in Europe.

In fact, the Pole's Card is an effective tool for restoring human and labour resources of Poland. It has several advantages (the possibility of staying in Poland without a work permit; legal employment without a work permit; doing business under the same conditions as Polish citizens; free medical care; free higher education; 37 percent discount on travel by train, etc.) which make it desirable for Ukrainians.

At the end of 2017, the Act on the Pole's Card was amended. A certain simplification was introduced, with the person wanting to obtain the Pole's Card no longer required to prove the fact of their ancestors' Polish citizenship. It is now sufficient to prove that the person or their ancestors are of Polish origin, or evidence three years of activity in organizations of the Polish national minority [Internetowy System Aktów Prawnych 2017].

In total, according to the estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, 101,000 937 Ukrainian citizens received a Pole card from 2008 to 2017. As of 2008, as a rule, 8.5-10 thousand citizens of Ukraine received a Pole card every year. Instead, during 2016 - 2017 there was an increase in the number of documents issued to Ukrainian citizens - more than 13 thousand annually [Ukrinform, 2018]. And in June 2019, the President of Poland, Andrzej Duda, signed amendments to the law on the Pole Map, which provide for this document to be extended to all countries of the world. According to the Prime Minister of Poland, Michal Dworczyk, "extending the Pole's card to the whole world should serve to return Poles to Poland. It is estimated that around 20 million Poles live in the world, about 1-1.5 million of whom live in the countries of the former Soviet Union, the rest in Europe and America, and the Polar Map will be largely distributed to them" [Konkurent, 2019]. Such expansion of the field of influence of the Pole card indicates that the Pole card during the years of its existence and operation in the 15 countries abroad of Poland, which emerged or recovered after the collapse of the USSR, has become a truly effective tool for replenishing Poland's own human capital.

In recent years, Poland has been constantly changing its procedure for obtaining citizenship: until 2012, Polish citizenship could only be obtained by decision of the President of the country. Since 2012, the rules have changed - a foreigner can be recognized as a citizen if he or she fulfills certain criteria and applies for citizenship.

For example, from August 2012, a Polish citizen can acquire a foreigner who has lived in the country for 3 years (previously it was 5) on the basis of a permanent residence permit, knows Polish, has a stable income and housing, and in 2016 acquired changes that allow Polish nationals to obtain Polish citizenship within a year of permanent residence in Poland. In fact, Poland has legalized dual citizenship, because no legal act provides for a waiver of the previous one. In February 2018, a new mandatory criterion for obtaining Polish citizenship was introduced - passing the B1 proficiency test. This requirement complicates the citizenship procedure somewhat, and it also applies to those applying for EU long-term resident status.

Nowadays, the Polish state policy is aimed at attracting human resources from abroad, especially due to migration crisis in the EU and reluctance to host refugees from Muslim countries. Migrants from Ukraine have become the instrument of manipulation for Polish politicians in disputes with the EU concerning the distribution of Middle Eastern migrants. Due to the large number of migrants from Ukraine, including those who left the territory due to military actions in the East of Ukraine, Poland claims to have grounds for refusing the acceptance of other foreigners. For example, at the beginning of February 2018, Polish Prime Minister M. Morawiecki on CNN stated that Poland allegedly welcomes tens of thousands of refugees from the Donbass region, where the war is ongoing [Kacprzak I. 2018]. However, in 2017, Poland granted refugee status to 56 Ukrainians, not tens of thousands. Thus, Poland is trying to refuse asylum to Middle Eastern refugees.

Social reasons (family ties, family reunion). For instance, there is a special procedure for foreigners in Polish legislation that provides family members of foreign citizens, who legally reside in a European Union member state, with the right to move and reside in the corresponding country in order to preserve family unity, in other words, the family reunification policy.

As for the social direction of state policy in Poland, the Polish legislation provides a special procedure for foreigners that provides family members of foreign citizens, who legally reside in a European Union member state, with the right to move and reside in the corresponding country in order to preserve family unity, in other words, the family reunification policy [HFHR, 2016].

In the cultural sphere Poland conducts an active policy of repatriation. In 2000, the Sejm of the Republic of Poland adopted the law on repatriation, which determined the procedure for the return of Poles to their homeland. In 2017, the law was amended in order to simplify the procedure and conditions for the return of Poles. A “repatriate” was defined as a person who arrived in Poland on the basis of a Polish national visa and intended to stay in this country permanently. In addition, a special state institution that deals with repatriates as well as centres for linguistic adaptation, providing financial assistance, housing and tax benefits, were established [Internetowy System Aktów Prawnych 2017]. 260 repatriates from Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan and Ukraine returned to Poland in 2017 [Polske radio, 2017]. Due to the changes in the repatriation law, it is anticipated that the number of the returning Poles will increase.

In terms of attracting educational migrants, Poland has also been successful thanks to a purposeful state policy of recruiting campaigns, granting scholarships for higher education, internships for scholars and degree holders, creating preferential conditions for entry and education of Pole card holders and more. The number of

Ukrainian students in Poland has been steadily increasing, especially since 2014. Studies on foreign students in Poland (including Ukrainians) and graduates of Polish universities find that Ukrainians are predominantly planning to stay in Poland or other EU countries, and only a small number are planning to return to Ukraine [CEDOS, 2018].

Nowadays, Ukrainian migrants are filling gaps in the Polish labour market, paying taxes and supporting the Polish economy, with virtually no integration support. Regular studies are being conducted on the attitude of Poles to particular peoples, including Ukrainians. In its research, the Institute of Public Affairs indicated an increase in positive attitudes towards Ukrainians from 2000 to 2013. But their latest research shows that sympathies have declined by 20% compared to 2013 [Kucharczyk J., Łada A. 2018]. Such changes can be explained by the “policy of historical memory” that the party “Right and Justice” has been implementing in relation to Ukraine since coming to power in 2015. In addition, anti-Ukrainian rhetoric of some politicians has intensified since 2014, and the reluctance of some of the society to accept the growing significant presence of Ukrainian citizens on the Polish labour market has increased. This situation exacerbated the old stereotypes about Ukrainians - the “culprits of the Volyn’ tragedy”, “the lowest-skilled workers”, “the Ukrainian-domestic workers” and gave rise to a number of new ones, such as “come out”, “return to your Ukraine”, “Ukrainians take jobs in Poles”. Although Ukrainians in Poland have long ceased to fill only the niche of low-skilled jobs, the success stories of Ukrainian men and women who have built careers in Poland are increasing [Iwaniuk O. 2019].

In addition to the fact that the ruling party “Right and Justice” is flirting with the marginalized population on nationalist sentiments and Polish messianism, anti-Ukrainian sentiment has intensified at the expense of external actors since 2014.

With the onset of the war in eastern Ukraine, the Russian Federation has stepped up its influence to strengthen anti-Ukrainian sentiment, thus continuing the hybrid war against Ukraine. Typical measures used by Russia for anti-Ukrainian influence in Poland (as well as anti-Polish in Ukraine) are: support for certain political forces; vandalism regarding Ukrainian monuments in Poland and Polish in Ukraine; street actions (marches, protests, etc.); hooliganism against diplomatic missions (Polish in Ukraine); explosions and other attempts at small terrorist acts; information manipulation: Internet controls, fakes, alternative media, attacks on computers of Polish agencies from Ukrainian servers, etc. [Zarembko K. 2019].

This is the latest tool to become the most effective in the age of the Internet and social networks. Russia is spreading anti-Ukrainian sentiment in Poland through online controls and some niche portals, the most famous of which is Kresy.pl (in Polish expert circles, the site is jokingly called Kresy.ru). Founded in 2008, the site has grown in popularity since 2014, when publications on Euromaidan, Crimea and Donbass began to appear there.

The results of a 2017 survey conducted by the Polish Ukrainians Association with the assistance of Stefan Bacteria’s Fund, testify that after 2014 the amount of information containing hate speech has begun to increase rapidly and the destruction of graves for rallies and deliberate slander against Ukrainian leaders have intensified [Mniejszość ukraińska i migranci z Ukrainy w Polsce Analiza dyskursu. Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, 2018]. Western politicians and journalists draw attention to

this, but in Poland, because of the dominance of historical narrative in Ukrainian-Polish discourse, it is often ignored the fact, that history has become an element of the anti-Ukrainian information war. For example, half and more comments are negative concerning the information about Polish-Ukrainian history on the Internet. However, if the topic is about the economy, then there are only 20% of negative thoughts about Ukrainians.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Assessing the indicators of economic, social and political development, forecasting scenarios for the migration processes of Ukraine, the extent of migration of Ukrainians to Poland, the state policy of Poland, especially policy in particular directions, the authors come to the following conclusions.

1. Quantitative analysis of the dependence of the migration movement on economic, social and political factors based on the construction of the appropriate economic and mathematical model, determination and comparison of the direction and degree of influence of each of the selected factors, can be the basis for forecasting of three scenarios of the migration movement dynamics in Ukraine, each of which is conditioned by the probable performance of socio-economic policies.

2. Migration processes (in particular, external ones) are the result of public policies. On the one hand, a negative migration balance is an indicator of weakness, inconsistency of the state policy of the donor country. On the other, it is the result of an effective state migration policy of the recipient country. The decrease or increase in the number of migrants is the result of socio-economic, educational, migration state policies.

3. According to both official and unofficial estimates over the last 10-12 years, migration of Ukrainians to Poland has more than doubled. This is facilitated by the clear policy and deliberate strategy of the Polish state institutions on the restoration of human capital, replenishment of labour resources, rejuvenation of the nation, survival and further strengthening of the Polish economy at the expense of the gradually assimilated migrants.

4. Discourse of historical memory dominates in the Ukrainian-Polish discourse. In addition, the intervention of an external actor, the Russian Federation, in the formation of anti-Ukrainian feelings in Poland leads to a deterioration of the situation of Ukrainian migrants, a lack of support for their integration into Polish society, and a decrease of their personal security level during their stay in Poland.

5. The question of human capital maintaining and providing of the sufficient opportunities for development and conversion to a real national value is now facing public institutions in both Ukraine and Poland. Global migration trends demonstrate the outflow of human capital to global cities and comfortable living areas. Reduction of national population and depletion of the intellectual capital of the nation-states is an actual trend of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Summarizing the different points of view on the factors that influence the formation, conservation and development of human capital, as well as the factors that affect the migration of Ukrainians, in particular the Polish state policy, we can formulate a number of recommendations for an adjustment of the state policy in the context of preservation of Ukraine's human capital:

1. Alignment of national legislation in the field of development and preservation of human capital in accordance with the international normative legal acts. Development of a national strategy for the development and preservation of human capital for five years and a plan for its implementation, considering migration threats.
2. Realization of a census in order to determine the real population size and structure. Assessment of the current demographic status of Ukraine will be the basis for the most effective reforms and measures in all spheres of country life.
3. Development of the own model of migration processes in Ukraine, especially the model of external migration. Ukraine should concentrate on the mechanisms of detention and return of migrants, as well as the support and protection of the rights and freedoms of Ukrainian migrants abroad, in particular in Poland.
4. Implementation of mechanisms of return and support of repatriates, providing them with decent living and working conditions. In particular, to provide benefits and support for scientists by means of creation conditions for realization their intellectual potential for the benefit of Ukraine.
5. Creating a program and mechanisms for the return and transfer of business of migrant workers to Ukraine, as well as for businesses of foreign citizens (tax benefits, simplified procedures for obtaining residence and citizenship certificates).
6. Design of a strategy of the state sustainable innovative development and a mechanism for providing it with personnel. Creating favorable and safe conditions for foreign investment. Supporting small and medium-sized businesses to create new workplaces, especially in small cities, as well as developing self-employment.
7. Development of the measures for birth rates increase and mortality rates decrease, life expectancy increase through the promotion of healthy lifestyle and improvement of material well-being and living conditions.
8. Reformation of secondary, vocational and higher education. Reduction of the gap between secondary education and higher education. Program introduction for the support of the development of science in higher education institutions (both fundamental and applied) in order to preserve national intellectual capital and attract foreign ones. Creation of the conditions for cooperation of higher education institutions with the business that produces innovative products. Creation of the program to support talented and young scientists, updating the terms of competitions for grants receiving for research, ensuring transparency of such competitions.

REFERENCES

- Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy, (2018). Kapitalni investytsii za dzherelamy finansuvannia za 2010-2018 roki. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/> (Accessed June, 16 2019)
- Kucharczyk J., Łada A., (2018), Polacy a inni Europejczycy, Warsaw, Instytut Spraw Publicznuch. 20 p. Retrieved from <https://www.isp.org.pl/pl/publikacje/polacy-a-inni-europejczycy> (Accessed June, 16 2019)
- Malynovska O. A., (2015), Ukrainsko-polskyi mihratsiinyi korydor: osoblyvosti ta znachennia, in Demohrafiia ta sotsialna ekonomika, 2 (24), 31 – 40.

Mniejszość ukraińska i migranci z Ukrainy w Polsce Analiza dyskursu. Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, (2018), pp. 186. Retrieved from https://naszwybir.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/raport_mniejszosc_ukrainska-ilovepdf-compressed-1.pdf (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Nagornyak T., Pachos I., (2018), Ukrainian-Polish Vector of Migration Processes, in *Polish Migration Review*, 1(3), 24-36.

Narodowy Bank Polski, (2016), Obywatele Ukrainy pracujący w Polsce – raport z badania. Badanie zrealizowane w 2015 r.; Retrieved from http://www.nbp.pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci_2016/20161212_obywatele_ukrainy_pracujacy_w_polsce_%E2%80%93_raport_z_badania.pdf (Accessed June, 16 2019)

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, (2017); *World Population Prospects. 2017 Revision. Key findings and advanced tables*; Retrieved from https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/publications/files/wpp2017_keyfindings.pdf (Accessed September, 16 2019)

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, (2017); *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* /Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division; Retrieved from www.un.org/esa/population/publications/migration/migration.htm (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Zaremba K., (2019), Yak protydyiaty rosiiskomu vplyvu u Polshchi, in *Dyskusiina zapyska*. 22 p. Retrieved from <http://neweurope.org.ua/analytics/yak-protydyiaty-rosijskomu-vplyvu-v-yevropi-dosvid-ugorshhyny/> (Accessed October, 4 2019)

Internet sources, newspapers and magazines

Bartczak B., (2018), Ukraińcy nas ratują Gosc. Retrieved from <https://gosc.pl/doc/4409674.Ukraincy-nas-ratuja> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

CEDOS, (2018), *Ukrainski studenty v Polshchi: polityka zaluchennia, intehratsii, motyvatsiia ta plany studentiv*; Retrieved from <https://cedos.org.ua/uk/articles/ukrainski-studenty-v-polshchi-polityky-zaluchennia-intehratsii-ta-motyvatsiia-i-plan-y-studentiv> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy (2019). *Mihratsiinyi rukh naselennia*. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Dzerkalo tyzhnia, (2017), *Za rik Polshcha nadala status bizhentsia 56 ukrainsiam*; Retrieved from https://dt.ua/UKRAINE/za-rik-polscha-nadala-status-bizhencya-56-ukrayincyam-264953_.html (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Freedom House, (2018), *Nations in Transit*; Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2018/ukraine> (Accessed September, 16 2019)

HFHR, (2016), *Vozziednannia simei inozemtsiv v Polshchi - zakonodavstvo i praktyka*; Retrieved from http://programy.hfhr.pl/uchodzczy/files/2016/08/UKR_laczenie-rodzin.final_.pdf (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Internetowy System Aktów Prawnych, *Ustawa z dnia 7 kwietnia 2017 r. o zmianie ustawy o repatriacji oraz niektórych innych ustaw*; Retrieved from

<http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170000858> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Iwaniuk O., (2019), Opowieści z Klubu Ukraińskich Kobiet Polityka; Retrieved from <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/spoleczenstwo/1922872,1,opowiesci-z-klubu-ukrainskich-kobiet.read> (Accessed October, 4 2019)

Kacprzak I., (2018), Polityczny fortel z cudzoziemcami. *Rzeczpospolita*; Retrieved from <https://www.rp.pl/Spoleczenstwo/302129935-Polityczny-fortel-z-cudzoziemcami.html> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Konkurent, (2019), Zakon pro vydachu Karty poliaka zminyly: shcho bude teper; Retrieved from <https://konkurent.in.ua/publication/41858/zakon-pro-vidachu-karti-polyaka-zminili-shcho-bude-teper/> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Polske radio, (2017), Tsoho roku do Polshchi prybulu 260 repatriantiv; Accessed June, 16 2019; <http://www.polradio.pl/5/38/Artykul/341495> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Pomorskie, (2018), Postawy obywateli Ukrainy wobec polskiego rynku pracy; Retrieved from https://porp.pl/uploads/original/g2/2018_09/01e6f0fc7e010cf3518fc7d31b673836.pdf (Accessed June, 16 2019)

Rzeczpospolita , (2017), Prezydent podpisał ustawę o cudzoziemcach; Retrieved from <http://www.rp.pl/Kadry/312139931-Prezydent-podpisal-ustawe-o-cudzoziemcach.html> (Accessed March, 15 2019)

Ukrinform, (2018), U MZS Polshchi porakhuvaly, skilky ukraintsiv otrymaly “kartu poliaka”; Retrieved from <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/2539112-u-mzs-polsi-porahovali-skilki-ukrainciv-otrimali-kartu-polaka.html> (Accessed June, 16 2019)

UNDP Ukraine, (2018), Indeks ludzskoho rozvytku: Ukraina posila 88 pozytsiiu sered 189 krain; Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/137506> (Accessed June, 16 2019)