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Labour Market in the Context of Armed Conflict: Ukrainian Perspective and International

Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to analyse the impact of armed conflict on the labour market and the economy, with a particular focus on structural shifts in employment, unemployment dynamics, income levels, social protection and working conditions. The main focus is placed on Ukraine as a country experiencing a full-scale war, while drawing parallels with other conflict-affected regions to provide broader analytical context. *Methodology.* The study is based on a comprehensive analysis of statistical data, economic forecasts, official reports of governments and international organisations, as well as the experience of countries that have faced similar challenges. Particular attention is paid to the employment of internally displaced persons and refugees, as well as mechanisms for their integration into host labour markets. *The results* of the study show that military conflict leads to a sharp increase in unemployment, income instability, and a significant redistribution of labour resources. Many businesses cease operations due to destruction or displacement, resulting in job losses and lower production rates. Large-scale internal and external migration leads to demographic shifts and regional labour shortages or surpluses, alters the structure of employment, and increases demand for specialists in defence, logistics, infrastructure reconstruction, healthcare, and humanitarian support. Despite these challenges, armed conflict can stimulate the development of new economic sectors, encourage innovation, and accelerate the implementation of adaptation mechanisms and structural reforms in the labour market. *Practical implications.* The results obtained can help to develop targeted employment recovery programmes, improve social protection systems and support for the displaced population. *Value / originality.* The longitudinal data and international comparisons contribute to a deeper understanding of labour market transformation in conflict, helping to develop evidence-based strategies for stabilisation, recovery and sustainable post-war development.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30525/2500-946X/2025-2-7>**Keywords**

labour economics,
military conflict, labour
market, unemployment,
employment structure,
regional imbalances,
labour market adaptation

JEL: J21, L22

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1 Introduction

Armed conflict profoundly disrupts the functioning of the labour market, creating serious challenges to economic stability and sustainable development. Widespread destruction of infrastructure, mass displacement of people, reduced production capacity,

and the breakdown of logistical chains lead to massive job losses, rising unemployment, and deteriorating working conditions.

Military operations trigger deep structural transformations in employment. Job opportunities in traditional economic sectors – such as industry, services, and agriculture – are shrinking, while demand

is increasing in defence, security, infrastructure reconstruction, volunteer initiatives, and humanitarian assistance. A significant portion of the working-age population is forced to migrate internally or abroad, causing demographic shifts and regional imbalances in labour supply and demand.

The war also exacerbates social inequality and increases the vulnerability of workers. Gender disparities in employment are widening, access to social protection systems is narrowing, and the share of informal and unstable employment is rising. The destruction of enterprises and a decline in investment activity hinder economic recovery and limit long-term employment prospects.

This paper focuses on Ukraine as a country experiencing a full-scale war, while also drawing on international experience to contextualise the observed labour market transformations. In light of these challenges, analysing the impact of armed conflict on the labour market is crucial for understanding ongoing transformations and designing effective employment support policies.

The purpose of this study is to examine the consequences of war for employment structure, income levels, and social protection in Ukraine, and to identify the necessary conditions for labour market recovery and sustainable post-conflict economic development.

2 Theoretical and Empirical Foundations for Studying the Labour Market in the Context of Armed Conflict

In academic literature, several approaches have been developed to study the transformation of the labour market during armed conflict. Theoretical research focuses on structural changes, economic adaptation, social vulnerability, and long-term effects on human capital. In this context, the analysis of both Ukrainian and international sources helps identify common patterns and the specific characteristics of Ukraine's case.

Studies of the impact of the armed conflict on the labour market focus on the challenges faced by Ukraine as a result of the war. The key issues addressed in scientific and analytical works include declining employment, rising unemployment, changes in the labour market structure, labour migration, integration of internally displaced persons, and the recovery of economic activity after the war.

Among official Ukrainian sources that comprehensively analyse the labour market under wartime conditions, the National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) plays a key role. In particular, the policy brief "The Labour Market of Ukraine under Martial Law: Some Analytical Assessments" (2022) discusses the effects of the war on employment,

falling incomes, growing unemployment, and other challenges faced by the population. The follow-up study "The Labour Market in Times of War: Trends and Prospects" (2022) analyses structural shifts, problems of labour mobilisation, and long-term risks to the labour market.

Ukrainian researchers also study changes in the national labour market, assess the current state of employment, and provide recommendations for post-war recovery (Roj, Repin, 2024). Particular attention is paid to regional aspects of labour market transformation, including interregional disparities, labour mobility, and mechanisms for integrating internally displaced persons into new local labour markets (Yatsenko, 2024), as well as the adjustment of labour supply and demand (Tomchuk, 2023).

The transformation of the labour market during armed conflict is also widely studied in international academic practice. For example, the conference "Rebuilding Ukraine: of the people and for the people", organised by Vox Ukraine with support from the National Endowment for Democracy (2024), examined job losses, declining incomes, and the adaptation of social sector workers to new wartime conditions.

International experience is represented by several notable empirical studies. The paper "The Impact of Conflict on Labor Market Outcomes: Evidence from Colombia" (Ibáñez, Moya, 2010) analyses the consequences of armed conflict on employment and wages in Colombia. The study "The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country" (Abadie, Gardeazabal, 2003) assesses how conflict influenced GDP, investment, and economic activity in the Basque region. Another significant work is "Armed Conflict and Schooling: Evidence from the 1994 Rwandan Genocide" (Akresh, Walque, 2008), which examines how conflict affected education, and indirectly, the labour market through human capital development.

Table 1 provides a comparative overview of selected international cases and the Ukrainian experience. It highlights key effects of armed conflict on the labour market and strategies used for recovery.

Thus, both Ukrainian and international research demonstrates the multidimensional impact of armed conflicts on the labour market, including declining employment, shifts in economic activity, growing regional disparities, and the need to adapt to new realities. These insights provide valuable lessons for Ukraine and underline the importance of evidence-based labour policies in post-war recovery planning.

The following section focuses on Ukraine's labour market during the ongoing conflict, examining the main trends, structural transformations, and challenges of labour force mobilisation and reintegration.

TABLE 1 Comparative Impact of Armed Conflicts on Labour Markets and Recovery Approaches

Country/Region	Key Labour Market Impacts	Recovery and Adaptation Strategies	Source(s)
Ukraine (since 2022)	Job losses, rising unemployment, regional disparities, internal displacement, informal employment	Support for IDPs, labour market monitoring, mobilisation policies, policy research	NISS, 2022), Roy, Repin, 2024, Yatsenko, 2024, Tomchuk, 2023
Colombia	Decreased employment and wages in conflict-affected areas	Reintegration programs, support for displaced workers	Ibáñez, Moya, 2010)
Basque Country	Reduced GDP, investment downturn, labour market disruption	Long-term economic diversification and policy stability	Abadie, Gardeazabal, 2003
Rwanda	Disruption of education, reduced human capital, long-term labour force impact	Educational rebuilding, youth employment support	Akresh, Walque, 2008
Balkans (e.g., Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo)	High unemployment, emigration, weak institutional frameworks	EU support, training and reintegration programs, FDI incentives	World Bank, 2013, ILO reports

Source: compiled by the authors based on (Ukraine's labour market, 2022; Labour market in wartime, 2022; Jacenko, 2024; Roj, Repin, 2024; Tomchuk, 2023 Labour market during the war, 2024; They are waiting for us, 2023-2024; Ibáñez, Moya, 2010; Abadie, Gardeazabal, 2003; Akresh, Walque, 2008)

3 Labour Market Transformations in Ukraine During Armed Conflict

Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion, the total amount of direct damage to Ukraine's real estate, infrastructure, vehicles, and stocks as of November 2024 has amounted to almost \$170 billion. Compared to the previous estimate (January 2024), this amount increased by \$12.6 billion (+8%) (Report on direct damage, 2025).

The largest share of the total direct losses is accounted for by the loss of residential buildings – \$60.0 billion and transport infrastructure – \$38.5 billion. Losses in the energy sector are estimated at \$14.6 billion, and in industry, services and construction at \$14.4 billion. Direct losses to the agricultural sector and land resources amounted to \$10.3 billion (Report on direct damage, 2025).

The total losses from destruction and damage to public sector facilities, including social institutions, educational, scientific, healthcare, cultural and sports facilities, as well as administrative buildings, are estimated at \$16.3 billion (Report on direct damage, 2025).

The frontline regions suffered the greatest destruction. More than 90% of the total direct damage is accounted for by ten regions of Ukraine that have been occupied, share a border with Russia, or have access to the sea. At the same time, shelling and strikes also cause significant damage to other regions of the country, with Dnipro region also among the worst affected (Report on direct damage, 2025).

Such large-scale destruction of infrastructure and production facilities has led to significant changes in the labour market. The loss of businesses, reduced economic activity, and massive population displacement led to an increase in unemployment,

changes in the employment structure, and the redistribution of labour resources.

For a deeper understanding of the changes in the labour market in Ukraine during 2014-2024, a multivariate regression model was built, the formal structure of which is as follows:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

where Y – is the number of registered unemployed; X_1 – is real GDP; X_2 – is inflation; X_3 – is the industrial production index; X_4 – is foreign direct investment; X_5 – is military spending; X_6 – is remittances to Ukraine from abroad; β_0 – is a constant; $\beta_1, \beta_2 \dots \beta_6$ – are coefficients showing the strength of influence of each factor; ε – is the model error.

The quality of the model was assessed by the following statistical indicators:

- coefficient of determination (R^2): 0.99219, which indicates a high explanatory power of the model. 99.2% of the variation in the dependent variable (number of unemployed) is explained by the included factors;
- adjusted R^2 : 0.98443, which takes into account the number of independent variables and confirms the quality of the model;
- standard error: 2.0618, which shows the average deviation of the actual values from the predicted ones.

Since the P-value is significantly less than 0.05 (P-value 0.00142), it can be argued that the model is statistically significant, i.e. the factors used do indeed affect the number of unemployed.

The impact of each factor was assessed based on the regression coefficients and their statistical significance (Table 2).

Changes in the number of unemployed people along with key macroeconomic indicators are shown in Figure 1.

TABLE 2 Analysis of the impact of certain factors on the number of unemployed in Ukraine in 2014-2024

Factor	Coefficient	P-value	Interpretation
Real GDP	-4.3921	0.0021 (significant)	GDP growth reduces the number of unemployed as new jobs are created.
Inflation rate	2.4312	0.1984 (insignificant)	Inflation has a mixed impact: in the short run it can reduce unemployment, but in the long run it can increase it.
The volume of foreign direct investment	-3.0283	0.0018 (significant)	Investments contribute to economic development and reduce unemployment.
Industrial production index	-2.8746	0.0432 (significant)	Growth in industrial production reduces the number of unemployed
Military spending	1.2018	0.0311 (significant)	Military spending may temporarily create jobs in the military sector, but also have a negative effect on other sectors of the economy.
Remittances	-1.0184	0.0183 (significant)	Remittances contribute to economic development and reduce unemployment

Source: compiled by the authors

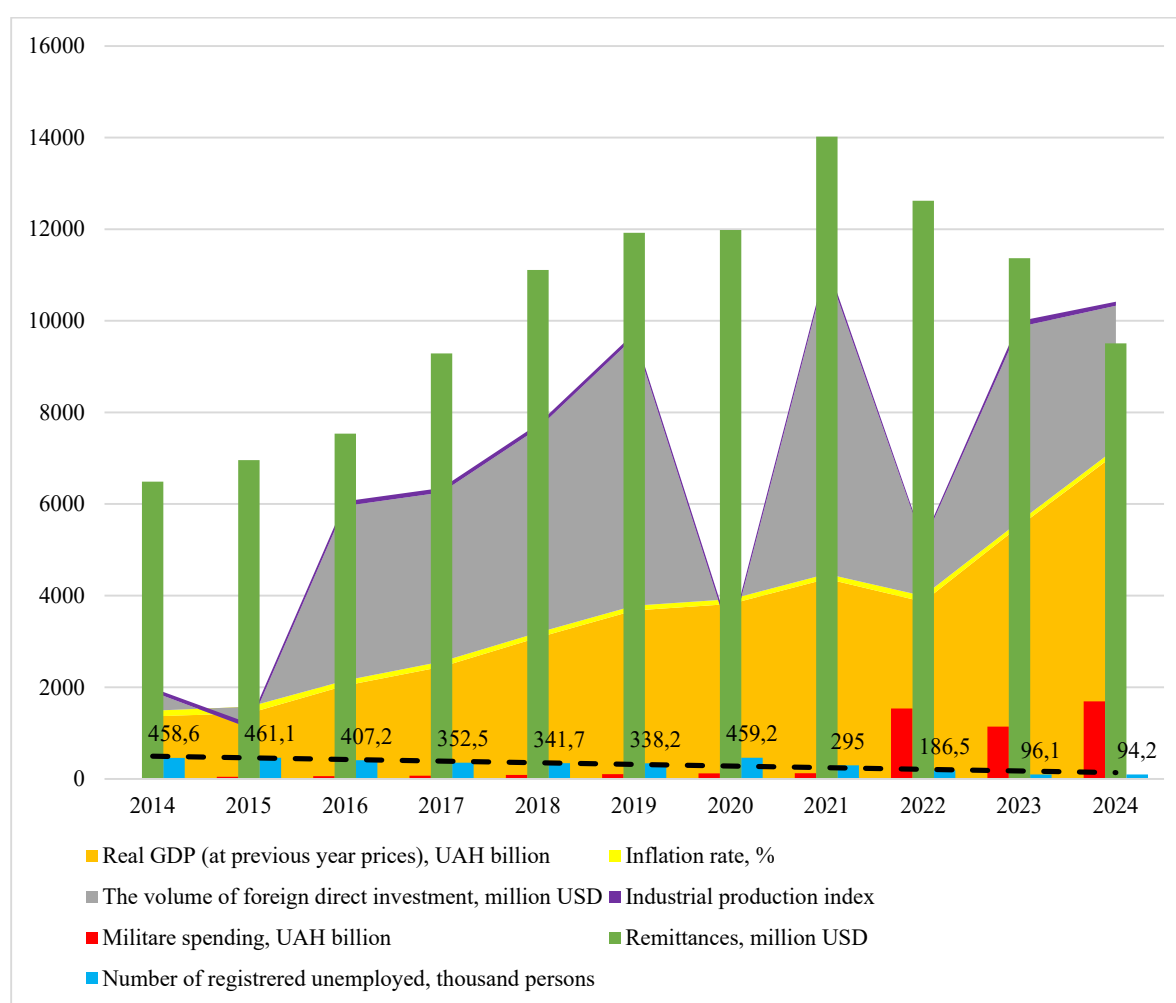


FIGURE 1 Dynamics of the number of unemployed and key macroeconomic indicators in 2014-2024

Source: compiled by the authors on the basis of (Sakhno, 2024; How defence spending has changed over the years of Ukraine's independence, 2023; Ministry of Finance of Ukraine)

The analysis of the data showed that the number of registered unemployed in the pre-war period (2014-2021) ranged from 459,2 thousand people in 2020 to 295,0 thousand people in 2021. During 2022-2024, the number of unemployed people

registered with the employment service decreased by 49,5% – from 186,5 thousand people in 2022 to 94,2 thousand people in 2024 (Ministry of Finance of Ukraine). However, in 2022, the unemployment rate increased rapidly, especially in the spring and

summer. This was due to the displacement of people, the shutdown of businesses, and general economic uncertainty. In 2023, the situation partially stabilised, although the unemployment rate remained higher than in the pre-war period. In 2024, there was a gradual decline in this indicator, which may indicate that the economy is adapting and some sectors are gradually recovering (Figure 2).

The rise in unemployment caused by the armed conflict was accompanied by profound changes in the structure of employment. The loss of jobs in the affected regions, the reduction of traditional areas of activity, and the forced relocation of businesses have affected the redistribution of labour resources. At the same time, the war has stimulated the development of certain industries, including the defence industry, logistics, IT and humanitarian sectors. The main trends in the transformation of the labour market in Ukraine in 2022-2024 include the following:

1. Reduction of traditional sectors of the economy. The industries that directly depend on the stable functioning of infrastructure and security, such as industry, construction, transport, and tourism, suffered the greatest losses. Many businesses ceased operations or reduced staff due to destruction, disruption of supply chains and falling demand.

2. Development of sectors related to the war economy. The war stimulated employment growth in the military-industrial complex, military ammunition production, logistics, security and defence. The defence industry, the repair industry, the volunteer movement and humanitarian aid have become new areas of employment.

3. Increased share of the remote and gig economy (a model of labour relations based on short-term contracts or informal arrangements, also called the gig economy). Changes in working conditions have led to an increase in the popularity of remote work, especially in IT, online education, marketing and consulting. The number of freelancers and self-employed people has also increased, due to the flexibility of such work formats in an uncertain environment.

4. Mass migration and regional imbalances in the labour force. The migration of millions of Ukrainians to safer regions and abroad has affected the redistribution of labour resources. In some regions, there was an acute shortage of labour, while in the western regions there was a glut in the labour market.

5. Growing demand for unskilled labour. Due to the destruction of the economic structure, many highly skilled professionals were forced to switch to lower-paid and physically demanding jobs, particularly in construction, agriculture, and logistics.

6. Business adaptation and government initiatives to support employment. Businesses are actively adapting to the new environment, including relocating enterprises, retraining employees, and introducing new digital technologies. Government programmes help to support employment, in particular by funding grants, training programmes, and tax breaks for relocated businesses.

Thus, the transformation of the labour market in Ukraine in 2022-2024 will be influenced by both negative factors, such as job losses in the affected regions, labour migration and economic instability, and positive factors, such as the development

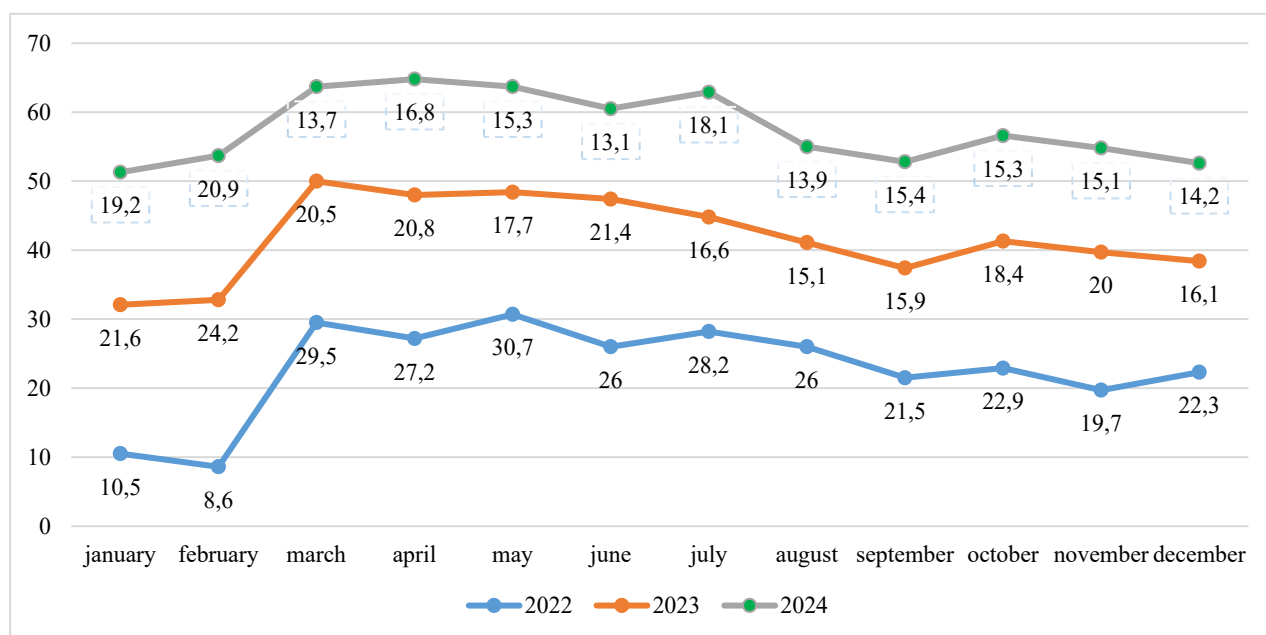


FIGURE 2 Unemployment rate

Source: (Centre for Economic Strategy)

of new sectors, digitalisation and adaptation of enterprises to the war.

As the economy recovers, new trends will continue, including the development of remote employment, the adaptation of business models to flexible work formats, and the active use of digital technologies. At the same time, the country will face challenges related to demographic changes, staff shortages, and the need to re-profile employees to meet the needs of the economy.

Thus, Ukraine's labour market will remain in a state of transformation for a long time to come. Its recovery will depend on the effectiveness of government policy, investment opportunities, and the economy's ability to adapt to new conditions. In this context, it will be useful to look at the experience of the Balkan countries, which once faced similar challenges after armed conflicts.

4 Labour Market Recovery: Best Practices from the Balkans and Ukraine's Adaptation

Having analysed the experience of the Balkan countries, we can identify several key strategies that contributed to the stabilisation of the labour market:

1. State employment programmes – the introduction of subsidised jobs and funding for small businesses contributed to the rapid creation of new jobs.
2. Investments in infrastructure projects – large-scale construction of roads, bridges and housing not only contributed to the economic recovery, but also created thousands of jobs in the construction sector.
3. Educational and retraining programmes – courses for the unemployed and professional development programmes allowed workers to adapt to the new economic realities.
4. Attracting foreign investors – simplification of business procedures, tax breaks, and the creation of special economic zones helped to revive the industry and attract international companies.
5. Diaspora as a source of investment – many people who left during the war have returned or started investing in businesses in their home countries, which has contributed to economic development.

Ukraine can use these experiences by adapting them to its own realities. In addition to the development of infrastructure projects and state support for small businesses, important areas will include:

- return of skilled personnel, in particular through relocation incentive programmes;
- development of technological industries to compensate for losses in traditional industry;
- strengthening regional policy to ensure an even distribution of labour and development of economically weak regions;
- international cooperation, in particular through partnerships with international organisations

such as the UN or the EU to attract financial resources and best practices;

- innovative approaches to employment, including the use of digital platforms and flexible forms of employment, which can be the basis for adapting to new conditions.

The experience of the Balkan countries shows that the labour market does not recover quickly after a war, but well-thought-out economic measures can significantly accelerate this process. For Ukraine, the key task will be to create conditions for retaining and returning the workforce, as well as adapting the economy to new challenges. An important element of this transformation is an effective government policy that supports small businesses and creates new jobs.

Looking at current government programmes to support small businesses, job creation and employment policy, there are several significant initiatives that have both positive results and require further improvements. Among the most effective programmes is the subsidised employment programme, which provides partial coverage of labour costs for the unemployed. This programme promotes job creation and actively engages entrepreneurs in the hiring process, which has a positive effect on supporting small businesses. However, to ensure more sustainable results, it is necessary to expand the range of supported enterprises and improve performance monitoring mechanisms (State Employment Service).

An important tool is also the retraining and advanced training programme implemented through the Ministry of Economy and the State Employment Service. It allows the unemployed to acquire new professions and adapt to the requirements of the changing labour market. However, in order to achieve more effective results, it is necessary to expand the range of training programmes and improve the level of practical skills to better meet the requirements of the post-pandemic economy (State Employment Service; Ministry of Economy of Ukraine)

One important initiative is the SME support programme, which includes subsidies, grants, and advisory assistance for entrepreneurs. This programme has significant potential for business development in small and medium-sized cities. However, its effectiveness depends on the state's ability to ensure that resources are actually available to all entrepreneurs, as well as on the transparency of the procedures for providing assistance (Law of Ukraine of 22 March 2012, No. 4618-VI (as amended on 18 January 2025)).

The "Diia" programme, which promotes the digitalisation of the labour market through online platforms and digital tools to support small businesses, is also an important initiative. At the same time, the National Programme to Stimulate the Return of Labour Migrants, which supports the return of skilled workers to Ukraine, is positively assessed. However, in order to increase the effectiveness

of this programme, it is necessary to develop the infrastructure to support relocation and create conditions for the integration of migrants in the labour market (Draft Recovery Plan for Ukraine, 2022; Malynovska, 2024).

At the same time, important aspects include investment programmes aimed at infrastructure development, which contribute to the creation of new jobs, particularly in the construction sector. In addition, the Employment Support Programme for Vulnerable Groups, which includes people with disabilities and veterans, ensures equal opportunities in the labour market and is an important step towards social inclusion (State Employment Service).

Despite the positive results of these initiatives, there are certain challenges that require further improvement. These include ensuring effective monitoring of programmes, their adaptation to new conditions, and expanding support for the most vulnerable segments of the population. Another important area is the integration of progressive approaches to employment, such as flexible forms of work and the development of technological industries, which will help the labour market to better adapt to current economic realities.

5 Conclusions

In the context of military conflict, the labour economy is undergoing significant changes, which is manifested in rising unemployment, changing

employment structure, mass labour migration and labour market adaptation to new challenges. The hostilities resulted in job losses due to the destruction of businesses and the suspension of production. A large part of the population is forced to go abroad or move to safer regions, which affects the demographic situation and economic activity. The structure of employment is changing: there is a growing demand for specialists in security, logistics, the military-industrial complex and infrastructure restoration. At the same time, the population is facing a decline in real incomes due to inflation, labour market instability and cuts in social guarantees. Despite the difficulties, the armed conflict can stimulate the development of new sectors of the economy, mobilise resources, and implement adaptation mechanisms.

Further research should focus on analysing the effectiveness of employment policy in times of war and the mechanisms of labour market recovery after the conflict. It is important to study the impact of the war on real incomes and find ways to stabilise them. The role of investing in human capital, including retraining and upskilling of workers, should be investigated. An important area is to assess the demographic changes caused by the war and their impact on the labour market. It is also worth considering international experience and the possibility of external support for the recovery of the labour economy. These studies will help to develop effective strategies to minimise the negative effects of the war and build a sustainable labour market model.

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Received on: 24th of April, 2025

Accepted on: 25th of May, 2025

Published on: 25th of June, 2025