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**EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY
FOR INTERNALLY
DISPLACED PERSONS**

The russian-Ukrainian war has brought significant changes to Ukraine's labor market, one of the key factors being the sharp increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Ensuring the fullest possible use of their labor potential has become an important task for national and local authorities. The aim of this research is to characterize the employment of internally displaced persons and to determine their impact on shaping local demand for goods and services. The research hypothesis posits that a shortage of qualified workers will intensify competition among Ukraine's regions for the concentration of employees with specific skills, in order to accelerate economic development and stimulate demand for particular goods and services. The research finds that, at the onset of the russian federation's full-scale invasion, the vast majority of IDPs did not consider the prospect of long-term employment in their new places of residence. Over time, however, most of them came to prioritize higher wages when choosing a place of employment. Yet the qualifications of a portion of displaced persons do not meet employer's requirements, creating an imbalance in the labor

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**СТРАТЕГІЯ ЗАЙНЯТОСТІ
ВНУТРІШНЬО ПЕРЕМІЩЕНИХ
ОСІБ**

Російсько-українська війна обумовила суттєві зміни на ринку праці України, одним з факторів яких стало різке зростання кількості внутрішньо переміщених осіб (ВПО). Максимальне використання їх трудового потенціалу стало важливим завданням для державної та місцевої влади. Метою наукового пошуку є характеристика працевлаштування внутрішньо переміщених осіб з визначенням їх впливу на формування попиту на товари і послуги на місцях. Гіпотеза дослідження полягає у тому, що нестача кваліфікованих працівників зумовить зростання конкуренції між регіонами України за зосередження працівників певної кваліфікації для прискорення економічного розвитку та формування попиту на окремі товари та послуги. Визначено, що здебільшого внутрішньо переміщені особи на початку повномасштабного воєнного вторгнення РФ не розглядали перспективу тривалого працевлаштування на новому місці проживання. З часом у більшості з них був сформований пріоритет високого рівня оплати праці при виборі місця працевлаштування. Проте кваліфікація багатьох переселенців не відповідає вимогам роботодавців, що формує дисбаланс на ринку праці та обумовлює доцільність реалізації



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market and underscoring the need for programs to retrain internally displaced individuals.

Keywords: migration policy, population migration, internally displaced persons, employment, labor market.

JEL Classification: E24, E27, E29.

програм перенавчання відповідно переселених осіб.

Ключові слова: міграційна політика, міграції населення, відповідно переселені особи, працевлаштування, ринок праці.

Introduction

The full-scale military invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine in 2022 caused a large-scale wave of migration, which led to a sharp increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Some of them already had experience moving from the combat zone to safer territories during the local period of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war. In the new conditions, a significant number of citizens tried to leave, mainly to the central and western regions of the country, which at that time seemed safer to live in. At the same time, the capabilities of some regions to accept such a large number of migrants turned out to be limited: neither the housing stock nor the housing and communal infrastructure could meet the needs of the growing number of displaced persons. On the other hand, the full-scale war with the increasing pace of mobilization exacerbated the need for many regions of the country for qualified workers. In such a situation, local authorities had to find a balance between the regions' capabilities to accept IDPs and the need for labor as soon as possible. At the same time, in conditions of full-scale war, the state is forced to take measures to relocate and place production, including enterprises of the military-industrial complex, determining their locations based not on regional, but on national interests. This has become a significant factor that has influenced the concentration of workers in certain areas and the conditions of their employment. In addition, an important task for local authorities has become to consolidate the required number of IDPs, including through the development of housing, the formation of attractive conditions for doing business, as well as some modernization of communication routes.

Certain aspects of the research topic are presented in scientific research (Libanova, 2022, March 18; Forbes Ukraine, 2023, September 25; Mereshchuk, 2024, January 29; Removska & Melnychyna, 2022, July 4). In particular, Libanova noted the decrease in the chances of returning to Ukraine for a large part of those who left abroad, saving themselves and their relatives from the horrors of war. A significant part of external migrants found work abroad and do not consider returning to Ukraine in the near future. The motivation in this case is security factors, as well as the lack of hope for employment with an acceptable level of pay. Such a trend, as well as a decrease in the birth rate and losses in the war, will inevitably lead to depopulation of the population in post-war Ukraine (Forbes Ukraine, 2023, September 25). And this threatening scenario, according to Libanova,

no longer actually depends on whether it will be possible to return refugees from the war to Ukraine.

Tutova (2023) analyzed the features of competition in the labor market in conditions of full-scale war. Scholars Ionin and Zagorodny (2024) paid special attention to social and economic consequences, such as mismatches between jobs and qualifications, labor shortages in strategic sectors, and regional differences. At the same time, Shepeleva (2024, April 25) tried to answer the question of why a significant part of IDPs are not employed. Shtunder and Shkuropadska (2024) studied the stability of the labor market, and Bytsyura and Ilyukhina (2025) examined competitive advantages in the labor market of Ukraine, noting that Ukrainians demonstrate a high ability to adapt to new conditions and changes in the labor market.

The aim of the research is to characterize the employment of internally displaced persons with the determination of their impact on the formation of demand for goods and services on the ground.

The hypothesis is based on the statement about the growth of competition between the regions of Ukraine for the concentration of workers of certain qualifications on their territory in order to accelerate economic development, form demand for certain goods and services, as well as to restore production facilities destroyed during the war. It requires verification and the assumption of a relatively low motivation of IDPs for employment at the beginning of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation and its growth as they realize the impossibility of returning to their places of permanent residence in the near future, which became noticeable in 2024.

The combination of the sociological method of scientific research with the orientational and value-based method made it possible to determine the motivation for choosing a place of residence by internally displaced persons and their requirements for employment. The use of the psychological method made it possible to substantiate the conditions for changing the place of residence of IDPs and their dependence on the nature of labor activity, outlining the willingness to agree to less prestigious work. The combination of the predictive method and the modeling method made it possible to assess the prospects for the concentration of IDPs in certain regions and its dependence on the effectiveness of national and regional programs related to determining the placement of labor resources. Factors contributing to the concentration of IDPs in certain territories, their dependence on employment and living conditions revealed the need to adjust such programs and highlighted certain factors that will determine the conditions for the development of the labor market in Ukraine and competitive relations between employees, domestic and foreign employers in the future.

The stated aim of the research determines the structure of its main part, which involves the analysis of the choice of place of residence by internally displaced persons and the identification of factors that influence their employment, with the formation of synthetic conclusions.

1. Choosing a place of residence for IDPs

The choice of place of residence for many internally displaced persons at the beginning of the full-scale military invasion of the Russian Federation and several years after it was motivated by various factors. At the beginning of the invasion, some Ukrainian citizens tried to leave the combat zone as soon as possible and did not consider their stay in the new place as long-term (*Table 1*).

Table 1
Regional distribution of Ukraine from which the largest number of residents left

Region	Proportion of displaced population, %
Kharkiv	11
Dnipro Petrovsk	12
Mykolaiv	15–20
Kherson	15–20
Zaporizhia	23
Kyiv city	14
Others	11

Source: (Mykhailshyna, 2023).

Several years after the start of a full-scale war, IDPs are already forced to choose a place of residence for a relatively long time, realizing that it will be impossible to return to their homes in the near future (*Table 2*).

Table 2
Regions that accepted the largest number of IDPs

Region	Number of IDPs, million people
Eastern (Dnipro Petrovsk, Kharkiv, Zaporizhia)	1.9
Western (Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Zakarpattia, Khmelnytskyi, Rivne, Volyn)	1.7
Northern (Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Chernihiv)	1.6
Central (Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, Kirovohrad, Poltava)	1.0
Southern (Odesa, Mykolaiv)	0.7

Source: UKRINFORM (2022, October 14).

A significant part of IDPs chose the regions adjacent to the combat zones as their place of residence. This is due to perceptions of the nature and possible duration of the war, the presence of relatives or close people who are ready to help with the placement of IDPs in their homes, and the perception of residents of eastern Ukrainian regions as citizens whose views on life do not differ significantly. Some of the IDPs chose western Ukrainian regions for temporary residence, guided by their remoteness from the front line and the belief that their stay there would be relatively short and that their savings would be enough to rent housing. At the same time, some

entrepreneurs immediately sought to move production, hoping to restore it to a new place. However, for most IDPs at the beginning of the full-scale military invasion of the Russian Federation, employment was not the main factor in choosing a place of residence. The main factor was the calculation of previously accumulated funds for subsistence, and employment was considered mainly as additional earnings.

Such sentiments prevailed until approximately the summer of 2022, when it became clear that the enemy had been stopped and that its further advance could not take place in a short period of time. At the same time, by the end of 2022, society was convinced that it was possible to expel the invaders from Ukrainian soil, so IDPs still had hope of returning to their homes.

The situation changed in 2023, when the expected and announced counteroffensive by the authorities ended in failure. At that time, there was a realization that without employment, it was hardly possible to establish life, since neither state assistance nor personal savings could cover the needs of the displaced. Awareness of this fact led to a new movement of IDPs, which was no longer just a search for temporary shelter, but also a desire to find work and a place to live for the long term.

In 2024, Ukrainians from the occupied territories are already moving to the Dnipropetrovsk region, which hosts 14% of the total number of IDPs. A relatively large share of IDPs also live in Kyiv (10%) and Kyiv region (8%). The main reasons for IDPs choosing such a place of relocation were the perception of an improved security situation (45%) and being closer to their family and friends (24%). At the same time, the Kharkiv region showed a large number of IDP returns (414000), indicating an improvement in the security situation, which is not always the main condition for population concentration. The main movements within Ukraine took place from Donetsk to Dnipropetrovsk region (200 000 IDPs) and from Donetsk to Kyiv (111000 IDPs). The majority of the surveyed IDPs (72%) moved to other regions, while only 28% moved within the region. The highest rates of internal displacement within the region were demonstrated by Kharkiv (85%) and Zaporizhia (91%) regions. The high rates of intra-regional displacement in the frontline Kharkiv and Zaporizhia regions, together with the high concentration of IDPs in Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk regions in the east, indicate a general desire of IDPs to remain close to their native regions (IOM, 2024a, April).

Thus, there is a noticeable tendency for IDPs to concentrate near the places from which they left at one time, as well as in Kyiv. This indicates a desire to be in a familiar environment. Such a desire may affect the provision of workers for enterprises that could potentially be established in Western Ukrainian regions after the end of the war/hostilities. At the same time, this indicates that at the peak of internal migration in 2022, Western Ukrainian regions approached, and in some places exceeded, the limit that determines a comfortable population density on their territory. Domestic hardships, lack of sufficient housing, and difficulties with employment could have become

significant factors that prompted IDPs to return as close as possible to the places from which they were forced to leave by a full-scale war. At the same time, the return of IDPs to regions close to the front line does not guarantee them employment. Constant shelling, destruction of industrial and agricultural enterprises, and relocation of production facilities does not contribute to the development of economic activity. In the eastern regions, even after the end of the war/hostilities, a situation may arise when, for security reasons, investors will refuse to develop production and direct investments into the service sector.

On the other hand, the concentration of IDPs in the east of the country contributes to the formation of demand for a number of goods and services, the satisfaction of which after the end of the war/hostilities will significantly stimulate entrepreneurial activity.

2. Factors affecting the employment of internally displaced persons

In 2022, the increase in the number of internally displaced persons led to an imbalance in the labor market in many regions of Ukraine due to the lack of an appropriate number of jobs, as well as the hopes of IDPs that they would be able to return to their homes in a relatively short period of time. During 2023, seasonal fluctuations were observed in the labor market, as well as a significant increase in demand for labor. The lion's share of demand in the labor market in 2023 was formed by employers from Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv, Odessa and Kharkiv regions. Compared to 2022, in 2023 there was a significant increase in the number of vacancies in the front-line regions of the country: in Mykolaiv – by 77.5%; in Chernihiv – by 57.2%; in Sumy – by 53%; in Zaporizhya – by 25.9% (National Qualifications Agency, 2024, February 5). This increase was associated with the adaptation of entrepreneurs to wartime conditions, as well as the return of a significant part of IDPs closer to the areas from which they were forced to leave. In January 2024, compared to February 2022, the labor market recovered by 93% in terms of the number of jobs' offers. However, the recovery is uneven in the regional context. As for the indicators of 2021, the number of vacancies increased the most in the following regions: Zakarpattia (155%), Ivano-Frankivsk (146%), Khmelnytskyi (125%), Lviv (123%), Vinnytsia (120%), Rivne (118%) and Chernivtsi (116%). In terms of the absolute number of jobs offers, the constant leaders were Kyiv (30 913 vacancies), Lviv (8473), Dnipropetrovsk (8452), Odesa (5752), and Kharkiv (3347) regions (Kuzenkova, 2024, February 6).

In 2024, the number of job seekers on the labor market increased significantly, which led to increased competition. In such conditions, wages and requirements for candidates increased to a certain extent. The reconstruction and development of regional labor markets during the war was significantly affected by business relocation: during 2022–2023, 7820

Ukrainian companies left the region of permanent registration (840 enterprises were relocated within the framework of the government program), 27% of them left Kyiv, 11% – from Dnipropetrovsk region, 8% – from Donetsk and Odessa regions, 6% – from Kharkiv. At the same time, 22% of the total number of relocatees moved to Kyiv, despite military threats and proximity to the front line, 10% of companies – to Kharkiv and Odessa regions. A significant part of the relocated enterprises was located in the western regions, which increased the likelihood of employment there for internally displaced persons and local specialists (Opendatabot, 2023, November 30).

Regional differences in the labor market are determined mainly by the location of economic and social infrastructure, as well as the preservation of high wage differentiation at the inter-industry and inter-professional levels, which significantly affects the local characteristics of the labor market. Thus, in 2023, wages for construction workers increased significantly, especially in liberated and front-line regions. Demand for drivers of all types of deliveries (local, intercity, large international), logistics of food chains, and drivers of special equipment increased by 13% compared to 2022. Wages for this category of vacancies increased by 11%. The demand for electricians and electrical engineers, mechanics, and technical workers has increased significantly due to structural changes in the economy (Yatsenko, 2024).

As of mid-2024, there were already about 4.7 million internally displaced persons in Ukraine, of whom over 2 million were of working age (Analytical Report, 2024). A third of the surveyed IDPs expressed the need to find work and housing (34%). The number of those looking for work among IDPs exceeded the corresponding figure among citizens who were not internally displaced persons by almost 10%. In addition, 48% of IDPs who were considering moving from their current place of residence stated the need to find work, while 33% of IDPs who were not planning such a move expressed the need to find work. At the same time, 58.8% of IDPs preferred to find work near their new place of residence, and for 27.7%, working conditions and the amount of its payment were key (IOM, 2024b, August).

So, as of 2024, most IDPs have already chosen a place where they plan to live for a relatively long time and have no plans to return to their previous place of residence. In addition, they have found a job with acceptable conditions and wages; they have also decided on the priority in choosing between a place of residence and wages. However, almost 27% of respondents are ready to move if the wages in the new place are more attractive, which indicates, on the one hand, that almost a third of respondents are dissatisfied with the amount of wages, and on the other hand, that there is a certain number of workers for whom regions can compete in the labor market at least by increasing the amount of wages.

The salary as a key criterion for choosing a place of residence for almost a third of IDPs may indicate both a certain misunderstanding by employers of the prospects for the development of the labor market in

Ukraine with the increased need for qualified workers, and a lack of compliance of some IDPs with the requirements that employers place on them. On the one hand, organizing economic activity in wartime is quite complicated, so employers cannot always satisfy employees' demands for salary. On the other hand, some employees may have somewhat overestimated salary requirements, which is associated with the previous higher salaries of IDPs than in a new place.

In addition, the existence of a fairly large number of IDPs who are ready to move in search of a higher salary indicates their lack of attachment to a specific place of work, may indicate the complexity of working in a new team or the priority of the salary in the absence of a desire and readiness to work in a certain place or perform work of a certain specialization. At the same time, the majority of internally displaced persons who reported a need to find work, 31% preferred assistance in the form of creating new jobs, and 28% – in the form of educational training to develop the necessary skills and abilities for work. Most IDPs rely primarily on work as a means of obtaining the necessary funds, rather than on social assistance. However, it is not excluded that there are also those who have officially registered as unemployed in order to receive social benefits.

The following data indicates the number of IDP citizens who were officially looking for work: in 2024, about 128 thousand IDPs needed employment; 26.5 thousand received unemployment benefits. If during 2023, on average, about 4 thousand IDPs applied to employment centers every month, then in February 2024 – up to 11 thousand, in March – up to 15 thousand, that is, in fact, the number of applications increased almost fourfold. However, these data can hardly be considered sufficiently complete given the spread of the shadow economy in Ukraine. In such conditions, those employed in the shadow economy can potentially apply to employment centers to receive unemployment benefits, although they actually have unregistered work, and therefore income. Trends in the number of registered unemployed, in particular, may be related to the conditions for the appointment and payment of housing benefits to IDPs, which require employment/assistance in finding a job in order to receive benefits (Analytical Report, 2024). In 2022, thanks to the funds provided by the program for providing employers with compensation for labor costs for the employment of internally displaced persons, almost 16.5 thousand IDPs were employed. However, due to the scale of internal migration, this was not enough. The country needed comprehensive measures aimed at the employment of internally displaced persons and providing them with housing.

On April 7, 2023, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted the resolution "On approval of the Strategy of State Policy on Internal Displacement for the period until 2025 and approval of the operational plan of measures for its implementation in 2023–2025". The goal of the Strategy was to reduce the impact of the negative consequences of internal

displacement caused by armed aggression against Ukraine on citizens of Ukraine, foreigners and stateless persons who are legally present on the territory of Ukraine, by introducing comprehensive and effective mechanisms of state response to challenges that arise after a person makes a decision to move, during their social adaptation and integration in the host community, as well as in the event of a person's voluntary return to the abandoned place of residence and their reintegration. The document stated that the main need of internally displaced persons after displacement is to provide a place for temporary residence (stay), and the lack of a sufficient number of residential or other premises suitable for temporary accommodation of internally displaced persons leads to the fact that such persons decide to go abroad or prematurely return to the abandoned place of residence. In addition, it was emphasized that low motivation to find employment, retraining, and open their own business leads to increased dependence of internally displaced persons on state support and under-receipt of taxes by the budgets of host territorial communities (Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, 2023).

The problem remained in the long-standing absence of a comprehensive state employment strategy that would identify IDPs as a separate priority group. Experts note the importance of developing a general state employment policy that would take into account the challenges posed by the full-scale invasion and their consequences for the Ukrainian economy. In this case, the employment of IDPs should be considered from the perspective of one of the most numerous target groups, and not fragmentarily without taking into account and, accordingly, without measures to overcome those problems that are nationwide. After all, some of the barriers identified by IDPs are not directly related to the fact of their displacement. In particular, this is a small number of vacancies in small communities, difficulties with employment for people of pre-retirement age, etc. In addition, another feature is that, like all other population groups in Ukraine as a whole, some IDPs work without formalizing employment relations (Analytical Report, 2024).

In May 2023, the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine approved a list of 157 specialties for which a voucher is issued – a document that gave the right to study in certain specialties free of charge. These are mainly working specialties, training which took place in vocational education institutions. You can get a voucher at any employment center. (Order of the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine, No. 2040, 2023, April 22). Training was carried out at the expense of the Fund of Compulsory State Social Insurance of Ukraine in case of unemployment. In addition, no restrictions were provided for IDPs in terms of age or experience. However, the voucher could not be used by persons who had already undergone retraining within the last three years. The advantage of the voucher was the competitiveness of citizens who received it in the labor market due to the possibility of mastering a new profession or specialty, improving their qualifications, level of education, or obtaining a new specialization in the acquired profession or specialty.

However, obtaining or improving qualifications in this way had a number of significant limitations, first of all, its cost, which could not exceed ten times the subsistence minimum for able-bodied persons. This limited the potential range of educational institutions that could provide relevant services, due to the fact that the cost of training in them exceeded the amounts specified for the voucher. A certain problem also turned out to be the determination of educational institutions where training could take place: in some cases, their location did not allow IDPs to study or created significant difficulties associated with moving to an educational institution. In addition, to regulate the labor market, it was stipulated that only a certain number of citizens could receive training vouchers. This step was dictated by the desire not to cause the appearance on the market of a large number of specialists who would not be able to be employed due to the lack of places in a particular region.

Retraining of workers has another important caveat: the requirements of competitiveness will require not a simple reconstruction (restoration of old production facilities, standards, technologies), but the formation of new quality workers who will be able to work effectively in new information and technological environments. The creation of retraining that will meet modern requirements and will contribute to the redistribution of workers into sectors that are most likely to be in demand after the end of the war/combat operations will be crucial for this. Among such sectors, construction, healthcare, and information technologies can be distinguished (Pyshchulina & Yurchyshyn, 2023).

Retraining of IDPs in many cases' aims, first of all, to ensure their employment for adaptation in a new place of residence. Often, such retraining involves mastering knowledge in a new specialty, the level of which is relatively lower than that which citizens had in the specialty that was mastered before forced resettlement. That is, the potential of a certain category of specialists may not be fully utilized. This is also facilitated by the limited network of educational institutions in some regions where IDPs move, as well as the capabilities of the regions to accommodate a growing population. Therefore, in the future, it will be necessary not only to adapt the requirements of IDPs to the capabilities of the regions, but also to "tighten" such capabilities to the level and requirements of internally displaced persons. This may be especially relevant in the case of placement of production facilities by foreign investors who can offer more attractive conditions on the Ukrainian labor market. The latter is all the more relevant because a significant part of IDPs is ready to change their place of residence in case of successful search for a high-paying job.

The prospective location of new production facilities, which is most likely to be oriented towards the central and western regions of the country for security reasons, may put the eastern regions of the country at a disadvantage, which may not always be able to provide employees with attractive working and living conditions.

The use of the labor potential of IDPs is also affected by the terms of certain national and regional programs for their placement and employment, designed mainly to deter them from further migration abroad, as well as to provide minimal opportunities for business development.

Several programs aimed at supporting business development were in operation in Ukraine. For example, in 2024, the REDpreneur.UA program began operating, which provides for support for business development with the assistance of the Ukrainian Red Cross and the Austrian Red Cross in cooperation with SCHOOL of ME (Ukrainian Red Cross, 2024, September 19). However, in the summer of 2025, the submission of applications for assistance was suspended. The programs "Residence Assistance", which provided for a monthly allowance of UAH 2000 for adults and UAH 3000 for children and persons with disabilities, "Child Assistance" (an allowance of UAH 3000 for the second child, UAH 4500 for the third and subsequent children), "One-time Assistance" (for those who lost their homes as a result of hostilities, a one-time assistance of UAH 30 000 per person is provided), "Compensation for Destroyed Housing" (provides for the possibility of compensation for destroyed housing at its cost), "Employment" (the state compensates the employer for the costs of employing internally displaced persons in the amount of UAH 6700 for each employed person), "Compensation for the costs of temporary accommodation of internally displaced persons" (homeowners who have sheltered IDPs free of charge receive guaranteed state support in the amount of UAH 14.77 per day of accommodation), "Microgrant Program" (for those wishing to develop their microbusiness, a payment of up to UAH 250 000 is provided for rent, employee salaries, payment for consulting services, purchase of equipment and repair work), "Grant Program for IT Startups" (the grant recipient is obliged to create at least three jobs, depending on the stage of the startup), "Start in IT" (the opportunity to receive funds for training at certified schools in IT specialties).

At the same time, the state cannot currently meet many of the needs of IDPs. According to the results of a survey conducted in 2024, the first place among the needs named by IDP respondents in all assessed regions is invariably occupied by the need for food, mostly in the form of cash assistance (63%) and material support (20%). These needs are especially clearly visible in the Odessa (20%), Volyn (18%), Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Zaporizhia, Khmelnytskyi (16% each) regions and in Kyiv (16%). However, of all the needs assessed at the regional level, the highest percentage of respondents with needs for all of the indicated items was recorded in the Kherson region, where 24% need repair and construction materials. If we take into account only the displaced population, food remains the most urgent need in all assessed regions, and those from Mykolaiv region need it the most (34%). Respondents living in frontline areas report serious needs. In particular, residents of Kherson region are most in need of clothing and other NFE (13% identified this as the most urgent need), while IDPs from Luhansk region demonstrate a significant level of need related to housing rental (12%) (IOM, 2024a, April).

The Strategy of the State Policy on Internal Displacement for the Period Until 2025 and the Approval of the Operational Plan of Measures for its Implementation in 2023–2025 noted that at the local level, the issue of attracting resources to implement measures for the adaptation of internally displaced persons remained relevant. Host territorial communities needed assistance in finding resources and appropriate funding from the state. In addition, ensuring access to reliable and up-to-date information on available services and places for temporary accommodation of internally displaced persons remained relevant (Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 312-p., 2023, April 7). In general, the efforts of the state and local leadership in the area of IDP concentration in certain regions turned out to be insufficiently pronounced. The state primarily tried to ensure that the majority of IDPs did not prefer to go abroad or return to temporarily occupied territories, and the regions mostly did not have sufficient funds to provide IDPs with housing of adequate quality and work. In such a situation, they preferred to return closer to the places from which they were forced to leave, but even there, the problem of housing and employment remained unresolved for many, as evidenced by the desire of a relatively large number of IDPs to change their place of residence if they successfully find a high-paying job.

Conclusions

The hypothesis of increased competition between regions of Ukraine for the concentration of workers of certain qualifications on their territory in order to accelerate economic development, create demand for certain goods and services, and restore production facilities destroyed during the war was only partially confirmed. Housing construction increased in the regions, but the investors were mainly the IDPs themselves. Financial capabilities did not allow the development of enterprises that would provide IDPs with high-paying work, and it is most likely that this will be possible primarily for foreign investors. It is their calculations regarding the location of production facilities that can ultimately determine the places of concentration of IDPs.

The increase in demand for goods and services due to the massive influx of IDPs has had a limited impact on the development of production and services in some regions, such as the western region. This phenomenon is likely due to limited opportunities for receiving IDPs and the lack of necessary funds for investment to ensure their concentration near powerful production centers.

A significant part of IDPs at the beginning of the full-scale invasion had relatively little motivation to find employment in a new place. The reason for this was the calculation of the relatively short duration of hostilities, which would allow most of them to return to their previous places of residence. However, the situation changed as the war dragged on. The majority of IDPs in such conditions preferred employment and retraining, which could ensure a successful search for a new job. At the same time, the focus of retraining indicates the state's interest in IDPs mastering primarily production professions. This made it possible to provide retraining for

relatively small costs, since it was carried out mainly on the basis of educational institutions of the second level, and, much less often, of the third level. Such an approach may be erroneous given the prospects for modernization of the economy and the use of labor primarily of highly qualified workers. The lack of current demand for them and the prospect of their growth after the cessation of war/hostilities may stimulate new retraining of IDPs in order to master professions, the relevance of which may be due, first of all, to foreign investments. However, in this case, the powerful players in the Ukrainian labor market will already be foreign investors, who can somewhat change the existing "rules of the game" by offering certain high-paying vacancies with attractive bonuses.

In prospective studies, it is worth assessing the possibilities of retraining IDPs in higher education institutions to expand their opportunities to participate in the implementation of innovative projects for state reconstruction and increase their competitiveness with the prospect of involving external labor migrants in the recovery process.

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