

Threats to EU Member States induced by mass migration due to the full-scale war in Ukraine: Reconsideration labour legislation

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Abstract. In the contemporary world, large-scale migration flows triggered by global conflicts underscore critical challenges faced by nations worldwide. The full-scale war in Ukraine has prompted significant waves of migration, giving rise to various social and security threats for European Union Member States. This article aimed to reconsider labour legislation by identifying the most pressing threats posed by mass migration to EU countries as a result of the full-scale war in Ukraine. The research employed key methods, including formal-legal analysis, the Saaty hierarchical analysis method, and expert surveys enhanced by the Delphi method. These approaches facilitated the identification of the most significant threats arising from mass migration to EU countries in the context of the war in Ukraine. As a result, a list of the most significant threats posed by mass migration to EU countries as a result of the full-scale war was proposed. Potential interconnections and dependencies among the identified threats have been presented. With expert input, the key threats posing risks to the national security of EU countries due to the mass migration of Ukrainians were characterised. As a result, the article proposes an effective methodological approach for evaluating the significance of these threats. The identified threats were hierarchically ordered, ranging from the most critical to the least significant. Pathways for rethinking labour legislation in response to the most critical threats, as highlighted through modelling, were proposed. Additionally, the necessary amendments to labour legislation to minimise existing gaps were outlined. The practical

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value and significance of the findings lie in their potential use by legislators to refine labour laws, thereby minimising or countering the most critical threats

Keywords: social challenges; immigration policy; Saaty hierarchical analysis; national security; hierarchical modelling

Introduction

The current labour law within the European Union is characterised by a significant degree of flexibility and adaptability. This enables each Member State to develop its own socio-economic conditions while adhering to European standards and requirements. Consequently, modern EU legislation sets a framework for the national labour laws of Member States. Within these boundaries, each EU country has the right to establish specific rules and regulations that correspond to the historical, economic, cultural and other particularities and needs of each Member State. The war in Ukraine has forced millions of people to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, giving rise to economic, social, and security implications for the host nations. This necessitates a review of labour legislation to facilitate the integration of migrants into the labour market, mitigate social tensions, and enhance national security. Reforming the legislation can help better utilise the potential of migrants, fostering their economic adaptation and social stability, which is crucial for maintaining overall European harmony and prosperity.

Many EU countries are making significant changes to their national migration policies to better integrate migrants into the domestic labour market. This includes regulations on legalising documents for work access, and more liberal access to social services such as healthcare, education and social security. In this context, providing migrants with access to a package of social services is critically important, both from an economic perspective and from the standpoint of social integration. Another important aspect to consider when researching migration policy and its optimisation is the challenges faced by national governments in trying to balance the labour market while ensuring the rights of migrants. These challenges include issues such as detecting and combating labour exploitation and ensuring fair working conditions and rights for migrants, regardless of their origin or social status.

Regarding academic literature, it should be noted that there is a limited amount of research dedicated to the topic of the impact of mass migration caused by the full-scale war in Ukraine on the countries of the European Union. However, the migration of Ukrainians to EU countries has interested researchers even before 2022. For example, even before the COVID-19 pandemic, C. Beierlein *et al.* (2016) and E. Davidov *et al.* (2020) studied the relationship between universalism, conservatism, and attitudes towards minorities, indicating that deep-rooted societal values significantly influence the individual needs of migrants.

L. Shimchenko (2023) examines migration processes in Ukraine during the ongoing war, focusing on security challenges and available legal options for migrants. The research highlights how these dynamics impact the broader security landscape of the European Union, emphasising the need for adjustments to legal frameworks to better accommodate foreigners and ensure mutual benefit for both migrants and host countries. O. Dmytrenko (2024) concentrates on contemporary Euroscepticism, analysing how migration influences public and political sentiments within the EU. A comparative analysis of various EU regions indicates that

increased migration from Ukraine might intensify Eurosceptic attitudes, affecting the political climate and potentially impacting labour legislation for migrants. V. Vasechko (2023) explored the right to education for individuals granted temporary protection in EU Member States, which is key to understanding the broader context of migrant integration. Ensuring access to education can increase migrants' readiness for employment, directly linked to labour legislation. V. Vasechko's (2023) findings can support arguments in favour of more inclusive policies that both protect and empower migrants through education, thus contributing to the labour market. T. Kortukova (2021) examines the legal aspects of employment for highly skilled migrants in the EU. This research is particularly relevant as it discusses the integration of skilled workers into EU labour markets, suggesting that easing restrictions and increasing legal support for skilled migrants can mitigate some negative consequences of mass migration by harnessing the potential of migrants for economic contribution.

J. Dennison and A. Geddes (2019) discuss how immigration has become increasingly important in Western Europe, correlating with the rise of anti-immigration political parties. The economic impact of Ukrainian immigrants on EU countries is discussed by P. Strzelecki *et al.* (2022) and P. Spiegel (2022), who detail how migration has contributed to economic growth in Poland, one of the main host countries for Ukrainian migrants since the start of the full-scale invasion. It should be noted that the findings of E. Guild and K. Groenendijk (2023), E. Ociepa-Kicińska and M. Gorzałczyńska-Koczkodaj (2022), and N. Letki *et al.* (2024) demonstrate that there is a real need for legislative improvements, particularly in developing new measures to address key threats. This requires new research to facilitate the solution to this problem.

As a result of the literature review, the aim of the study was to identify the most significant threats posed by mass migration to EU countries as a result of the full-scale war in Ukraine. By identifying key gaps, the following research question can be formulated: to propose an effective methodological approach to assessing the significance of these threats and to analyse current legislation. The object of the study is the phenomenon of mass migration of Ukrainians to EU countries.

Materials and methods

To achieve the research objectives, several methods were employed that best suited the stated aim and research objective. The first method used was an expert survey. Forty experts from fields related to the formulation and implementation of migration policy participated in the survey. These included legal experts such as university professors with over 15 years of experience in teaching and consulting on international and migration law, as well as lawyers specialising in defending the rights of migrants. In the field of social policy, directors of non-governmental organisations and project managers working on the integration of migrants and the provision of social services to this population group were involved in the survey. Government officials, including

heads of migration departments in the ministries of internal affairs and foreign affairs, also participated in the research. The survey was conducted remotely, using electronic communication tools, which made it possible to involve experts from different geographic locations and thus obtain more objective and unbiased data. Before the survey began, all participants were fully informed about the research objectives, how the collected data would be used, and the potential risks associated with their participation. Complete anonymity of the participants was guaranteed, and it was ensured that no information that could identify an individual would be used in reports or publications. All data were processed and stored following the highest standards of security and confidentiality, as stipulated in the Guidance Note of the European Commission on Ethics and Data Protection (2021). These measures helped to build trust between the participants and the research team.

After collecting the information, the survey results were systematised using the Delphi method. This method involved several rounds of surveys that allowed for the refinement and consolidation of expert responses. In each round, experts were provided with the summarised results of the previous round to verify and refine their views. This facilitated the achievement of consensus and the identification of the most well-founded assessments and forecasts regarding migration legislation. Such an approach allowed for the obtaining of balanced and deeply analysed conclusions, which increased the reliability and validity of the research.

The second method employed in the study was Saaty's analytic hierarchy process. The use of this method made it possible to structure the threats, thereby creating a hierarchical model in which each element interacts with others and exerts an influence on them. In the process of this method, an assessment of the importance of each criterion was carried out through a pairwise comparison method, the results of which were used to take into account the weighting coefficients, which became a quantitative reflection of the importance of each factor in the overall structure.

The application of these methods allowed not only for the identification and structuring of the main threats but also for a deeper analysis of their interconnections and interdependencies. The information obtained played a key role in formulating proposals for modernising EU labour legislation aimed at minimising or counteracting the identified threats. Thanks to this approach, the research acquired practical significance and was able to propose concrete steps to improve

the political and legislative response to the challenges associated with migration. Given this, a formal legal analysis was applied to several legislative acts (Directive of the Council of European Union No. 89/391/EEC, 1989; Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2000/78/EC, 2000; Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2003/88/EC, 2003). Such an analysis made it possible to better understand the subject matter of modern migration law both at the EU level and at the national level (Law of Ukraine No. 2449-VIII, 2018; Law of Ukraine No. 2136-IX, 2022). In addition, this analysis made it possible to better assess the existing legal framework that defines and regulates the status and rights of migrants, and their role in society.

Results and discussion

One of the key characteristics of EU labour law is its focus on promoting equal opportunities and preventing discrimination in the workplace, as outlined in Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2000/78/EC (2000), which establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, prohibiting discrimination on grounds of sex, age, ethnic origin, religion, and other factors.

The protection of workers' health and safety at work is another important aspect of European labour law, supported by the Directive of the Council of European Union No. 89/391/EEC (1989), which requires employers to provide and maintain a safe and healthy working environment. The EU places great emphasis on ensuring safe working conditions, setting strict rules and standards for occupational safety and health. Alongside this, maintaining a balance between work and rest is important and is regulated by the Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council No. 2003/88/EC (2003), which includes the formation of regulatory frameworks in the area of working time, requirements for leave, and other standards aimed at optimising working time and preserving the well-being and health of workers, as well as preventing burnout. Given this, it is common practice within the European Union to have pan-European directives and regulatory requirements aimed at changing the vectors of migration and labour policy of EU member states. Over the years, this activity has created a complex network of interactions and dependencies between national and pan-European policies. Labour law plays a key role in migration policy. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the key differences between Ukraine and EU countries in this area (Table 1).

Table 1. Key differences between labour legislation in Ukraine and EU countries

Criterion	Labour legislation in Ukraine	Labour legislation in EU countries
Working hours	The standard working week in Ukraine consists of 40 hours, typically distributed over five days. The minimum annual leave is 24 calendar days, with additional leave entitlements for specific categories of employees, such as individuals with disabilities or those working under hazardous conditions.	The EU also adheres to a 40-hour working week, although some countries, such as France, have adopted shorter workweeks (e.g., 35 hours per week).
Dismissal procedures	Employee dismissals in Ukraine are governed by labour legislation requiring a mandatory two-month notice period and compensation in cases of redundancy. Employers must also consider the social composition of personnel when reducing staff.	Requirements for employers in terms of social composition during staff reductions.

Table 1, Continued

Criterion	Labour legislation in Ukraine	Labour legislation in EU countries
Employment contracts	Standard full-time employment contracts have traditionally been predominant in Ukraine. However, recent reforms aim to increase flexibility by introducing provisions for remote work.	EU countries utilise a wide range of employment contract types, including part-time, temporary, freelance, and task-based contracts.

Source: compiled by the authors based on Directive of the Council of European Union No. 89/391/EEC (1989), Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2000/78/EC (2000), Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council No. 2003/88/EC (2003), Labour Code of Ukraine (1996); Law of Ukraine No. 2136-IX “On the Organisation of Labour Relations under Martial Law” (2022)

In the context of global migration crises, countries often face the necessity of adapting labour legislation to meet emerging challenges. These changes may involve amendments to existing norms governing employment, recruitment, and the rights of foreign workers. Such adaptations can range from simplifying work visa application processes to establishing new regulations for the social protection of migrants.

It should be noted that the migration of Ukrainians to EU countries is not new and is an extremely complex scientific and practical issue that is being considered by scientists and practitioners worldwide. For scientists and practitioners from EU countries, this is, in particular, a question of regulating legislation to achieve socio-economic justice for both migrants from Ukraine and their own citizens. For Ukrainian scientists and practitioners, this is the problem of regulating the balance in such a way as to try to retain qualified workers, but exclusively by democratic methods. At the same time, during the COVID-19 pandemic, a significant number of borders were closed, and as a result, the problems of migration reached the level of finding ways to help their citizens with the mass closure of borders.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, EU countries faced unique challenges regarding labour migration due to the temporary closure of borders, despite the usual absence of internal passport controls within the Schengen *Acquis* (2000). Many EU countries temporarily reintroduced border controls to contain the spread of the virus, which affected the free movement of workers, especially cross-border and seasonal workers who are vital to agriculture, healthcare, and other key sectors. To mitigate disruptions, the European Commission urged member states to ensure that workers identified as essential could cross borders with minimal delays. Special “green corridors” were created to expedite the passage of goods and essential workers, ensuring economic continuity

and supporting healthcare efforts. A new surge of scientific and practical problems related to migration to EU countries occurred with the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation in February 2022 (Fig. 1).

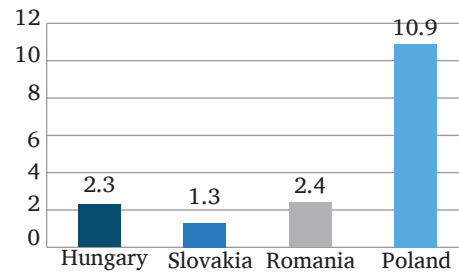


Figure 1. Number of people who crossed the border from Ukraine to EU countries for the period 24 February 2022 – 1 January 2024 (in millions)

Source: compiled based on data from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2024)

EU countries, being the closest neighbours, offered accessible and safe refuge that could be reached relatively quickly and safely compared to more distant destinations. Moreover, the EU rapidly implemented policies, such as Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2001/55/EC (2001), which granted Ukrainians the rights to residence, work, access to healthcare and education services without the lengthy asylum process that is usually required. The largest number of migrants have concentrated in Germany and Poland. This can be explained by several key factors. Firstly, the geographical proximity of these countries to Ukraine facilitates easier and faster movement for people seeking refuge from the war (Fig. 2).

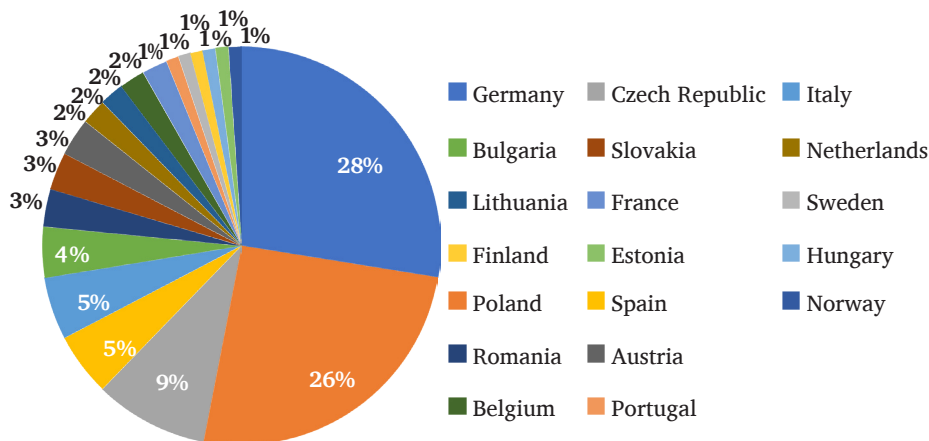


Figure 2. Distribution of registered migrants from Ukraine in the EU as of 1 January 2024

Source: compiled based on data from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2024)

However, the biggest challenges for EU countries were precisely those related to the legal framework. As a result, significant changes were made to the legal status and opportunities for refugees from Ukraine, defining the scope and specifics of legal, financial, or social assistance. Labour legislation underwent the most significant changes. EU countries found themselves tasked with finding the necessary balance between providing opportunities for migrants from Ukraine to work on equal terms with decent pay while avoiding widespread resentment among their own citizens. The most significant changes in EU labour legislation before and after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine have been identified. Before the invasion, most EU countries had established a robust minimum wage system, which was adjusted annually depending on the cost of living and economic conditions. This system was aimed at ensuring fair wages in various sectors. EU countries have introduced strict rules on working hours, generally limited to 48 hours per week, including overtime. These rules were aimed at protecting workers from exploitation and ensuring adequate rest and a work-life balance. Most EU countries were characterised by strong employment protection laws, including protection against unfair dismissal and extensive requirements for consultation with workers during significant organisational changes.

In response to the invasion, EU countries activated the Directive of the Council of European Union No. 2001/55/EC (2001). This allowed Ukrainian refugees to obtain immediate work permits, simplifying and accelerating the process of entering the labour market without the usual lengthy bureaucratic procedures. Following the invasion, most EU countries introduced measures to integrate Ukrainian refugees into the social security system, providing them with access to healthcare, unemployment benefits, and pension rights (The early integration..., n.d.). This was crucial for providing social protection to newly arrived individuals. Particular attention was paid to language and vocational training programs to help Ukrainian refugees integrate more effectively into the labour market. These programs were designed not only to overcome the language barrier but also to fill professional gaps in the EU labour market.

As the war in Ukraine persists, new challenges have emerged for EU countries due to the influx of Ukrainian refugees, necessitating responses and improvements to labour legislation. The most significant issues include:

1. The sudden influx of migrants and prolonged active hostilities put a significant strain on public finances, increasing demand for social services such as healthcare, housing, and education. The need to quickly integrate a large number of people gradually can only lead to significant premature financial burdens on local and national budgets.

2. The large movement of people, especially in conditions where health monitoring and medical services are limited, has led to challenges for healthcare. The risk of infectious diseases spreading increases and the pressure on healthcare systems can lead to reduced access and quality of medical care for all residents (Orcutt *et al.*, 2022).

3. The population increase due to the arrival of refugees has significantly overloaded existing infrastructure such as public transport, sanitation, and housing. This, in turn, has reduced the quality of life for all residents and increased social tensions (International Rescue Committee, 2016).

4. The rapid and large-scale movement of people across borders has created new security challenges. It has become

much more difficult to conduct thorough security checks, increasing concerns about the potential infiltration of individuals who may pose a threat to European security.

5. While migrants may eventually have a positive impact on the labour market, it is important to remember that this causes significant dynamism and constant changes that are not always entirely positive. There is a risk of a mismatch between the skills of migrants and the availability of jobs, leading to higher levels of unemployment or underemployment among both the local population and newcomers.

6. The full-scale war has been ongoing for over 3 years, and Ukrainian culture is gradually beginning to manifest itself in most EU countries. However, this integration has led to social tensions. Differences in language, customs, and values have created barriers to integration and led to social isolation of migrants or an increase in xenophobia among the host population (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2023). Moreover, unfortunately, a significant number of migrants from Ukraine are unwilling to learn the new culture and language of the country they have moved to. This creates a real paradox where there are increasing calls in Ukraine for “communication exclusively in the state language”, but when moving to an EU country, learning the language is still not accepted as a fact that one should “speak their state language”.

7. The arrival of a large number of refugees has become a highly politicised issue. This has led to increased support for nationalist and anti-immigration political parties, creating greater political polarisation and potentially destabilising government policies.

This list was compiled based on the opinions of experts after conducting a survey using the Delphi method. The authors have summarised this list and comprehensively presented its agreed-upon version. The list can be mathematically denoted as M , represented as the following set of threats:

$$M = \{M_1; M_2; M_3; M_4; M_5; M_6; M_7\}, \quad (1)$$

where M_1, M_2, \dots are the corresponding threats from the list agreed upon by the experts. At the same time, some threats are characterised by interdependence and reinforce each other's negative impact. Thus, all threats that have arisen as a result of the mass migration of Ukrainians to EU countries are somehow interconnected or dependent on each other. It is necessary to identify the most significant of them. Through expert analysis, this can be graphically represented. This approach facilitates the visualisation and systematisation of the complex interrelationships between different threats, creating a clear map of interactions that simplifies the process of making decisions on priority legislative changes. This works on the principle of modelling complex networks, where nodes represent objects. Therefore, it allows researchers to visualise and analyse complex interdependencies of large data (Fig. 3). It is important to note that figure 3 becomes the basis for further matrix analysis. According to the applied methodology, two key matrices must be formed. The main goal of the A1 matrix is to analyse and visualise the complexity of interactions between elements. The first matrix, provisionally named A1, which is filled in as follows:

$$A1 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if there is a dependence between threats,} \\ 0, & \text{if there is no such dependence} \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

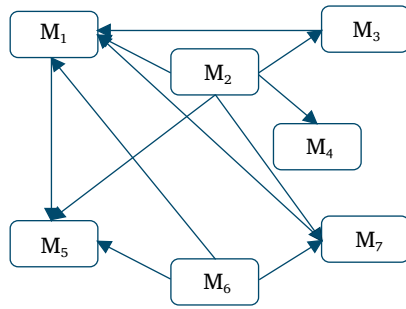


Figure 3. Structural-logical graph of connections between identified threats

Source: compiled by the author

In Saaty’s analytic hierarchy process, numbers are used to evaluate and compare the importance of elements (in this case, the threats presented above) concerning one another. The numbers 0 or 1 are typically used to express the absence of comparison or equivalence, respectively: 0 may indicate the impossibility or inappropriateness of comparing two elements, while 1 means that both elements have equal importance or impact. Such coding simplifies the evaluation process and increases the convenience of using the method, providing a clear and unambiguous definition of the relationships between pairs of criteria or alternatives in complex decision systems. The result for A1 matrix is presented below:

$$A1 = \begin{matrix} & M_1 & M_2 & M_3 & M_4 & M_5 & M_6 & M_7 \\ M_1 & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |0| \\ M_2 & |1| & |0| & |1| & |1| & |1| & |0| & |1| \\ M_3 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| \\ M_4 & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| \\ M_5 & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| \\ M_6 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |1| \\ M_7 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| \end{matrix} \quad (3)$$

Regarding the second matrix, provisionally designated as A2, the following equality will be fulfilled:

$$A2 = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if one threat leads to another} \\ 0, & \text{if not} \end{cases} \quad (4)$$

On the diagonal in the A2 matrix, 1s are placed, as this reflects the comparison of an element with itself. According to the rules of the chosen methodology, each element on the diagonal is compared with itself, and obviously, each element is equal to itself. Such a comparison is identical, so

the value on the diagonal is always equal to 1, expressing absolute equivalence and the absence of a difference between the element and itself:

$$A2 = \begin{matrix} & M_1 & M_2 & M_3 & M_4 & M_5 & M_6 & M_7 \\ M_1 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |0| \\ M_2 & |1| & |1| & |1| & |1| & |1| & |0| & |1| \\ M_3 & |1| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| \\ M_4 & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| \\ M_5 & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |0| & |0| \\ M_6 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| & |1| & |1| \\ M_7 & |1| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |0| & |1| \end{matrix} \quad (5)$$

Furthermore, it should be further noted that if there is a connection between threats, then such a subset of threats will be denoted as $C(M_n)$. At the same time, if one of the threats is a predecessor, then it forms a subset $P(M_n)$. This is used according to the chosen methodology to determine the “zone of influence” of a vertex in figure 3, to find routes in networks, and to analyse structural characteristics such as strong connectivity between selected threats. At the same time, a certain equality must be fulfilled, which forms a third subset (When there is an intersection in graph and matrix analysis):

$$B(M_n) = C(M_n) \cap P(M_n) \quad (6)$$

In cases where $B(M_n) = P(M_n)$ one of the levels of hierarchical ordering of the threats is defined:

$$\begin{matrix} & M_n & C(M_n) & P(M_n) & B(M_n) \\ M_1 & & |1||5| & |1||2||3||6||7| & 1 \\ M_2 & & |1||2||3||4||5||7| & |2| & 2 \\ M_3 & & |1||3| & |2||3| & 3 \\ M_4 & & |4| & |2||4| & 4 \\ M_5 & & |5| & |1||2||5||6| & 5 \\ M_6 & & |1||5||6||7| & |6| & 6 \\ M_7 & & |1||7| & |2||6||7| & 7 \end{matrix} \quad (7)$$

As observed, this equality holds for threats M2 “Healthcare problems” and M6 “Problems of cultural integration”, and they are therefore excluded. This process continues until all levels of the threat hierarchy are formed. Following these intermediate calculations, the results are presented below. The ordered list of potentially the most significant threats affecting EU countries due to mass migration caused by the full-scale war in Ukraine, as determined by Saaty’s hierarchy analysis, is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Changes in EU labour legislation before and after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine

The level of positioning of the weight of influence	Mathematical notation for threat	Threat description
Highest hierarchical level (requires urgent response and changes)	M1	Long-term financial and economic burden
	M5	Ongoing changes in the labour market
Moderate hierarchical level (requires response and changes)	M3	Overloaded infrastructure
	M4	Personal security challenges
	M7	Political and social tensions
Lowest hierarchical level (does not require urgent response or changes)	M2	Healthcare challenges
	M6	Cultural integration issues

Source: compiled by the author

Therefore, it has been established that the most significant threats today are M1 “Long-term financial and economic burden” and M5 “Ongoing changes in the labour market”. It is within the context of these two threats that labour legislation in EU countries should be improved and changed. It should be noted that the issue of the financial and economic burden is extremely difficult to resolve immediately. This is essentially a long-term process that requires significant effort and time. To counteract the long-term financial and economic burden on EU countries caused by mass migration from Ukraine, the European Union can take legislative and fiscal measures aimed at optimising the distribution and use of its own resources. One of the main steps could be to amend the regulations of the EU Solidarity Fund, in particular Regulation of European Parliament and of the Council No. 2012/2002 (2002). While it is primarily concerned with natural disasters, its purpose could be modified. Thus, it could also be adapted to cover crises of large-scale displacement, providing financial assistance to states disproportionately affected by migration. This would require modification of the eligibility criteria and funding mechanisms to include support for integration measures such as housing, education, and healthcare for migrants.

When it comes to labour law, regulating the labour market is crucial. Unsurprisingly, the constant instability in the EU labour market holds such significant weight among all threats. Regarding changes in the labour market, the European Union should reform its approach to integrating migrants into the workforce. One key legislative change could be a revision of the Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council No. 2014/36/EU (2014) on the conditions of entry and stay of third-country nationals for the purposes of employment as seasonal workers. Expanding this directive to include provisions for other forms of temporary and flexible employment would help meet the diverse skills of migrants and the dynamic needs of the labour market. This should include mechanisms for faster recognition of qualifications and skills assessments to quickly match migrants with suitable job opportunities.

Focusing on specific countries, Poland and Germany stand out as the largest hosts of migrants from Ukraine. Given the significant number of Ukrainian migrants, Poland should implement special reforms to simplify employment procedures. These reforms would include: amending legislation to allow Ukrainians to obtain work permits more quickly, facilitating their faster integration into the country's economy. Poland should work on simplifying the process of recognising migrants' educational and professional qualifications, which is key to their employment in skilled areas. Germany should develop mechanisms to actively expand its legislative framework to support the integration of migrants into the labour market. Key areas include: legislative initiatives aimed at providing migrants with access to integration courses, including language training and vocational education; changes in legislation should also include improving conditions for flexible forms of employment, such as part-time or temporary work, helping migrants to adapt more easily to the labour market.

However, it is not only EU countries that need to change their legislation, Ukraine should also improve its own laws to better assist its citizens abroad. Ukraine could amend Law of Ukraine No. 2145-VIII “On Education” (2017) to include provisions that facilitate the recognition of Ukrainian

educational qualifications in the EU. This could involve adopting frameworks similar to the Bologna Process, which promotes the mutual recognition of degrees and other qualifications. This would significantly help with employment abroad. A significant problem in the foreign labour market is that EU countries often require graduates to complete their educational programs within their institutions before obtaining a decent position. Ukraine could also adopt a new legislative act aimed at supporting its diaspora, similar to the Irish and Indian models. This act could involve the creation of a specialised agency responsible for the well-being of Ukrainians abroad, providing them with legal assistance, guidance on employment rights in the EU, and help in navigating social services. This would significantly reduce the burden on embassies, which are already operating in extremely dynamic conditions. In this regard, embassies and consulates should be tasked exclusively with providing legal services (Law of Ukraine No. 2449-VIII, 2018).

O. Pozniak (2023) highlights pressing issues in migration policy caused by such large-scale displacements. These views corroborate observations that the war has triggered a significant wave of migration, necessitating swift and thoughtful legislative changes. The researcher also emphasises the need for substantial changes to labour laws, but these works do not employ quantitative or qualitative indicators or other forms of modelling to narrow down the range of threats posed by migration from Ukraine.

It is also important to recognise that threats can arise from public opinion and a range of political decisions made in EU countries. Therefore, public attitudes towards refugees and the differentiated treatment between Ukrainians and other refugee groups, as noted by D. Mendola and A. Pera (2022) and D. De Coninck (2023), provide context for understanding the most significant socio-legal threats. Researchers demonstrate models for implementing legislative changes and the direction in which reforms should move, not only to address practical needs but also to consider public opinion. However, most threats cannot be resolved solely by public opinion, and therefore, the recommendations relate to legislative changes in labour and other areas of law. Moreover, the research of N. Meidert & C. Rapp (2019) on attitudes towards refugees compared to other immigrant workers in the EU provides insights into the different levels of acceptance and support that various groups receive, which can inform tailored approaches in labour law for effectively accommodating different groups of workers. However, the threats they identified have become outdated due to the significant number of changes since 2019. Even when constructing an effective model for responding to the challenges of migration for EU countries (Dennison *et al.*, 2021), the full-scale war in Ukraine has introduced significant adjustments that cannot be ignored.

J. Doe and A. Smith (2024) discuss the threats to EU countries posed by mass migration due to the full-scale war in Ukraine and emphasise the need to rethink labour laws as a key area for adapting to migration challenges. While their approach is primarily focused on legal aspects, it is worth noting that compared to the research of R. Rananjan (2024), which highlights the socioeconomic consequences for the labour market, these issues are only part of a larger complex of problems. It is important to consider that the socioeconomic impact of Ukrainian refugees, as discussed in the research, also requires due attention when developing new labour

legislation, as the economic integration of migrants is directly linked to the adaptation of legal norms.

A comparison of the research findings shows that while J. Doe and A. Smith (2024) emphasise the threats and the need for legal changes, and R. Rananjan (2024) focuses on the opportunities that migrants can bring to the EU labour market, including filling vacancies and increasing economic activity. This indicates a certain divergence in approaches to assessing the impact of migration, as the first group of researchers is more focused on regulation and threats, while the second group emphasises potential benefits. This underscores the need for a balanced approach that takes into account both sides of the issue.

The findings align with R. Rananjan's (2024) research regarding the socioeconomic impact of Ukrainian refugees, but this study further emphasises the importance of considering long-term effects on the labour market. The study also complements the research of J. Doe and A. Smith (2024) by expanding on the interaction of legal changes with economic integration. This allows for a better understanding of the relationship between labour law and socioeconomic processes, underscoring the importance of a comprehensive approach to addressing migration challenges.

The discussion in the article correlates with current research, indicating a general need for improvements in labour law in the context of the migration crisis. The hierarchical ordering of identified threats and the involvement of experts to assess these threats are key to formulating effective recommendations, which sets this research apart from other publications. As a result, the identification of specific threats and the proposed hierarchical ranking in the study provide clear directions for legislative changes aimed at alleviating social tensions and financial and economic burdens.

Conclusions

In this study, contemporary methodological approaches were employed, including the expert survey method and the Saaty hierarchical analysis method. The combined use of these methods allowed for the evaluation and determination of the level of influence of each threat within the research area. The application of these methods provided tools and vectors for further problem-solving and improvement of existing legal frameworks in this field.

The study attempted to rethink and propose ways to adapt labour legislation, taking into account the most significant threats caused by the mass migration of Ukrainians to EU countries due to the full-scale war in Ukraine. The phenomenon of mass migration became the object of study, and the applied methods allowed for a hierarchical ranking of threats according to their level of importance. It was established that the most significant threats today are the long-term financial and economic burden and labour market instability. The modelling results provided a basis for identifying specific changes in labour legislation aimed at minimising existing gaps, intending to strengthen the national security of EU countries. For example, it was indicated that making changes to the regulations of the EU Solidarity Fund and adapting it to modern realities to cover crises of large-scale displacement, could provide financial assistance to states disproportionately affected by migration. The Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council No. 2014/36/EU also requires updating to include provisions on new forms of temporary and flexible employment, which would help meet the diverse skills of migrants and the dynamic needs of the labour market. Thus, the article proposed a methodological approach to adapting labour legislation, focusing on understanding and analysing significant threats related to the mass migration of Ukrainians to EU countries in the context of the full-scale war.

Despite its strengths, the research has several limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results and adapting them to practice. For example, the study is based on expert opinion, which may introduce a degree of subjectivity. Moreover, the dynamics of migration processes are variable and require constant analysis and systematisation. An escalation of hostilities could introduce new threats to EU countries. Considering these limitations, future research could involve using more dynamic models to forecast future migration trends and their impact on various aspects of public life in EU countries.

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Conflict of interest

None.

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Загрози для країн ЄС спричинені масовою міграцією через повномасштабну війну в Україні: переосмислення трудового законодавства

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Анотація. У сучасному світі масштабні міграційні потоки, спричинені глобальними конфліктами, як ніколи акцентують увагу на критичних викликах, з якими стикаються країни по всьому світу. Зокрема, повномасштабна війна в Україні спонукала до значних міграційних хвиль, що породжують різноманітні соціальні та безпекові загрози для країн Європейського Союзу. Метою статті було переосмислення трудового законодавства через визначення найбільш вагомих загроз, які спричинила масова міграція до країн ЄС, внаслідок повномасштабної війни в Україні. Ключовими методами дослідження були формально-юридичний аналіз, метод ієрархічного аналізу Сааті, метод експертного опитування, посиленого методом Дельфі, які дали можливість визначити перелік найбільш вагомих загроз, які спричинила масова міграція для країн ЄС, внаслідок повномасштабної війни в Україні. В результаті було запропоновано перелік найбільш вагомих загроз, які спричинила масова міграція до країн ЄС внаслідок повномасштабної війни. Було представлено можливі взаємозв'язки й залежності між визначеними загрозами. Завдяки залученню експертів нами було охарактеризовано ключові загрози, які становлять небезпеку для національної безпеки країн ЄС внаслідок масової міграції українців в країни ЄС. В результаті в статті запропоновано дієвий методичний підхід до оцінювання вагомості цих загроз. Визначені нами загрози були ієрархічно впорядковано від найбільш важливих до найменш вагомих. Запропоновано шляхи переосмислення трудового законодавства згідно найбільш вагомих загроз, що виокремлено за результатами моделювання. Окрім того було охарактеризовано, які зміни слід ввести у трудове законодавство щоб мінімізувати існуючі прогалини. Практична цінність й значущість отриманих результатів полягає в можливості врахування законодавцем запропонованих напрямків удосконалення трудового законодавства з метою мінімізації або протидії саме найбільш вагомим загрозам.

Ключові слова: соціальні виклики; імміграційна політика; ієрархічний аналіз Сааті; національна безпека; ієрархічне моделювання