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**MIGRATION ISSUE IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF MODERN UKRAINE: CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION****МІГРАЦІЙНЕ ПИТАННЯ В ПОЛІТИЧНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ СУЧАСНОЇ УКРАЇНИ: ВИКЛИКИ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ****Sakun A. V.,**

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*The problems associated with the study of the migration issue, migration policy in the modern political discourse of Ukrainian society in the context of globalization are raised in this article. It is noted that the possibility of considering migration in a political context allows us to establish the relationship of migration and political processes, their interaction. From this point of view the most important type of migration is labor migration. This is "the movement of a person associated with crossing the state border in order to perform or search for work." Labor migration has ceased to be only a social and economic phenomenon, therefore, thorough monitoring of migration processes, their current trends and manifestations, the creation of an effective model for managing external migration flows, and response to changes should be a priority task of migration policy to satisfy the national and regional interests of modern Ukraine.*

**Keywords:** migration, migration policy, labor migration.

*У статті висвітлюються проблеми, пов'язані з вивченням міграційного питання, міграційної політики в сучасному політичному дискурсі українського суспільства в умовах глобалізації. Зазначається, що в політичному аспекті слід розглядати, насамперед, трудову міграцію, яка визначається як «переміщення особи, пов'язане з перетинанням державного кордону або меж адміністративно-територіальної одиниці з метою виконання або пошуку роботи». Зазначається, що міграція відіграє помітну роль в політичному дискурсі сучасної України, впливає на протікання політичних процесів, перестає бути суто соціально-економічним феноменом. А тому ретельне відстеження міграційних процесів, їх сучасних тенденцій та проявів, створення ефективної моделі управління міграційним рухом, регулювання зовнішньої трудової міграції, реакція на зміни з метою підпорядкування національним та регіональним інтересам стає пріоритетним завданням міграційної політики.*

**Ключові слова:** міграція, міграційна політика, трудова міграція.

*(стаття друкується мовою оригіналу)*

**Formulation of the problem.** The Strategy for the State Migration Policy of Ukraine for the period up to 2025 defines that "Ukraine is simultaneously a country of origin, destination and transit of migrants, an area

of variegated, large-scaling and diverse migration flows" [7]. Therefore, ensuring state regulation in the field of migration is a complex task that requires a comprehensive, systematic approach, adequate funding, personnel and scientific support. Migration plays a significant role in the political discourse of modern Ukraine, influences the course of political processes, ceases to be a purely social and economic phenomenon. This determines the relevance of this study.

**Analysis of recent studies and publications.** The basis for the study of migration is the works of E. Ravenstein, B. Khorev, V. Iontsev, G. Vitkovska, Zh. Zayonchkovska, R. Yablukova and others, as well as Ukrainian researchers O. Malinovska, I. Pribitkova, M. Romaniuk, O. Homry, S. Teleshun and others. The vast majority of studies on migration processes raises social and demographic, social and economic as well as social and labor issues. Thus, the general issues of migration and their impact on society and economy are considered in the works of M. Weiner, E. Giddens, N. Glazer, C. Joppke, J. Hollifield and others. Problems of conflict and the politics of multiculturalism are studied by P. Buchanan, D. Maharidge, L. Austin and others.

The political aspect of the study of migration began to develop only in the last decade of the twentieth century and was not enough developed. American scientist A. Solberg analyzed scientific understanding of migration policy as an important factor in migration processes. In the last ten years, only a few scientific studies on the mentioned issues have appeared in the national scientific space. It is worth paying attention to the works of the Russian researcher Yu. Efimov (2005) and Ukrainian researchers - B. Yuskiv (2010), L. Chervinska (2015) and H. Fogel (2018). But they also do not cover the full extent of the migration issue in terms of its relationships and interplay with policy. Therefore, the theoretical study of the issue of the place and role of migration in political processes in the context of globalization remains insufficient.

**Unresolved parts of the common problem.** The task is to find out, analyze and identify the interconnection of political processes and migration, to identify the nature and focus of such interaction. Comprehensive analysis and clarification of the causal relationship of the mechanism of migration processes of modern Ukraine will allow to improve the management of these processes, make it possible to regulate the social and economic and political relations qualitatively. Migration policy is able to minimize the risks posed by migration and attract the positive potential of migration for the benefit of the country's development.

**The purpose of the article** is to study and analyze the migration issue in the political discourse of modern Ukraine in the context of globalization.

**Presentation of main material.** Global geopolitical changes of the modern world cause unification of the world social and economic, cultural and political space, integration of national economies and cultures, which causes intensification of migration processes. Migration is one of the main features, consequences, and driving force of globalization [6, p. 91]. Migration as a phenomenon has acquired a global character in the

modern world and affects not only economic processes but also has certain political consequences. Therefore, we can talk about the study of migration issues in the political discourse.

The excretion of political discourse as a separate concept emerges from the understanding of politics as a particular sphere of social life connected with the phenomenon of power, which permeates all spheres and levels of social interaction.. This is a set of all speech acts [8, p. 6], implemented in oral and written forms, assuming consideration of the background, expectations of the author and audience, hidden motives, story schemes, etc. Political discourse is a meaningful side of political relations, a "social dialogue" between individuals, groups and between political institutions over a particular issue that needs a solution. It is formed in the context of the functioning of political institutions (government session, parliamentary session, party convention, etc.) and is political if accompanied by a political act in the appropriate institutional atmosphere.

The basis of political discourse is the notification of facts and their commentary, and it reflects the political situation, sets forth possible forms of political practice. Therefore, L. Chervinska believes that migration issue arises in in political discourse at least in three dimensions [11, p. 24-25]. Firstly, it is the sphere of reconciling the interests of migrants and society, articulating and rationalizing the problems that arise. Secondly, it is dialogue, competition and approbation of managerial decisions of certain political actors in solving the migration issue. Individual politicians, political parties, interest groups, non-governmental organizations can act as such political actors. Thirdly, it is the development and implementation of migration policy.

Migration policy plays an important role in the political discourse of modern Ukraine in the context of a globalized world society. It is a component of demographic policy, influences the state of labor potential of the country, marriage and fertility, etc. The importance of regulating migration processes, giving them an organized, safe and non-conflict nature is increasing. The Constitution of Ukraine [1, c. 33] guarantees a person the right to freedom of movement and choice of residence, free travelling abroad and returning to the country, protection of citizens by the state during their temporary staying abroad. The main directions of the state demographic policy in the sphere of population migration are ensuring the freedom of movement and regulation of migration flows taking into account the social and economic conditions, demographic structure of the regions of the country and national peculiarities of migrants. "The Strategy for the State Migration Policy of Ukraine for the period up to 2025" was created, where it was stated: "In the conditions of global intensification of migration processes, active participation of the population of Ukraine in such processes, the need for effective state regulation in the specific area is growing, which is a prerequisite for using the positive potential of migration for the purpose of development, minimizing its negative consequences, ensuring the rights and

freedoms of migrants and the whole population. In this regard, improving migration policy should be one of the priorities of public policy" [7]. "The purpose of the Strategy is to direct the efforts of the state and society to formulate and implement the state migration policy, which would positively influence the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation and the security of the state, accelerate social and economic development, contribute to slowing down the rate of depopulation, stabilization of the quantitative and qualitative composition of the population, meet the needs of economy in the workforce, correspond with Ukraine's international standards and international commitments" [7]. "The strategy aims to draw attention to migration problems, to direct and unite the society in order to solve these problems, to ensure the integration of migration policy with other spheres of activity of the state, the transition from the policy of responding to internal and external factors in the sphere of migration to a more active and focused policy" [7].

The Strategy of the State Migration Policy of Ukraine for the period up to 2025 [7] foresees, in particular, the reduction of administrative barriers to the freedom of movement of the population of Ukraine; reducing the negative effects of emigration from Ukraine and increasing its positive impact on the country's development; creating the necessary conditions for the return and reintegration of Ukrainian migrants into Ukrainian society.

According to the UN, Ukraine ranks eighth place among the countries with the highest number of emigrants. The number of Ukrainians abroad is growing, reaching 5.9 million in 2017, accounting for 13.9% of the country's total population [10]. Such migration is called "external migration" and needs to be analyzed for its causes, consequences and prospects.

The main cause of external migration is the uneven economic development of the countries. The essence of international migration is the export and import of human resources, namely labor resources. Without considering the causes of migration, we can speak of the creation of a global labor market related to the "international division of labor," caused by "positions in the information / global economy: producers of high value based on information labor; high-volume producers based on low-wage labour; producers of raw materials based on natural resources; and redundant manufacturers whose work is impaired" [5, c. 153]. The presence of these types of labor, according to Kastels, does not coincide with the division into countries, and therefore "the global economy is geographically differentiated," [5, p. 153] which causes migration.

But the migration issue is not only a matter of moving the population of Ukraine within and outside the country. These are both questions about the employment situation of the individual and the possibilities of competition, freedom and choice in a particular activity.

Particularly acute today is the problem of labor migration, since the departure of Ukrainians abroad for the purpose of employment has become widespread. Today, millions of our compatriots are migrant workers. Thus, according to a study conducted by the Research

& Branding Group (Ukrainian non-governmental company for marketing and sociological research) in May 2019, 5.1 million Ukrainians want to go abroad for work [9], i.e. to become migrant workers. “If we consider that the population of Ukraine is 42.4 million, then 1.3 million people want to leave the country forever. Another 3.8 million see labor migration as a means of earning a living” [9].

“Labor migration is a displacement of a person connected with the crossing of a state border or boundaries of an administrative and territorial unit for the purpose of fulfilling or searching for a job,” is stated in the Law of Ukraine “On employment of the population” [2]. The analysis of the scientific literature [6, c. 11] allows us to distinguish varieties of labor migration. They are irreversible when migrants leave forever; temporary and permanent, when migration is limited by a certain period of stay in the country; seasonal - associated with short-term departure to work in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, services, etc. Daily migration from one country to another and back characterizes the pendulum (shuttle, border) migration. Such migrants are called frontiersmen. Illegal migration is a threat to the economies of both countries that is illegal departure in another country in search of a job. Often, illegal migrants are people who came to the country on a tourist visa. They illegally get a job, pay no taxes, dump their salaries.

A special kind of labor migration is intellectual and educational migration. Activation of such migration is caused by globalization of the sphere of science and education, believes O. Malinovska [6, c. 23]. It is the migration of individuals who hold a PhD degree, who travel abroad on their own volition or on invitation, working mainly in highly intellectual fields: education, science, technology. Scientists distinguish intellectual migration and “brain drain,” believing that “intellectual migration” is a phenomenon more complete from the perspective of international society [6, c. 76].

For foreign students studying at leading educational centers abroad gives them the opportunity to acquire quality knowledge at the same time as learning foreign languages, acquaintance with the culture and traditions of different nations, which greatly improves the position in the international labor market. At the same time, educational migration is being used by host countries as a channel for replenishing human resources by skilled young workers [6, c. 25].

An increasingly prominent form of labor migration is the relocation of workers within transnational corporations.

Labor migration, often, is seasonal and circular, but there is a threat of a gradual transformation of temporary labor migration into resettlement.

Thus, migration is an integral part of the economic growth and development of the global economic system. It performs general and specific functions, influences the structure of the economy of the world. Common is the incentive function that ensures mobility of the population. Migration has a positive effect on the human psyche: it expands the horizons of the world outlook, improves professional level, skill level, etc. Migration promotes social activity of the population.

The distribution function is related to the movement of people to ensure the production with required quantity of labor force, taking into account production capacity, investments and natural and climatic conditions. In this case, the distribution function affects both the level of production and the demographics of the region. Selective function helps to select workers of a certain qualification or profession. The economic function establishes a balance between labor supply and demand in the global labor market. Social function manifests itself in the economic development of a separate economic system. Migrants seek to solve their own problems first.

European experts, including Professor Matthias Benz, speak of the positive effects of migration in the global world. In his opinion, “emigration has great advantages for Ukraine, it gives great opportunities for people, companies and the state” [4]. The living standards of the migrants, their relatives and their families are increasing. Robert Kirchner, a consultant at Berlin Economics, a member of the German Advisory Group of Ukraine, estimates that the funds received from migrant workers are distributed as follows: 31.7% for consumption, 19.4% for housing, 8.7% for treatment and 6.9% for the treatment of children. Thus, according to the expert, “Ukrainian labor migrants are contributing to the growth of the consumer opportunity of Ukrainians, which is beneficial for the Ukrainian economy” [4].

Another positive consequence of labor migration sees the head of the Swiss firm Vetropack. He says that labor migration will create jobs in Ukraine and make them highly paid. “If something becomes scarce, then prices will rise, says M. Benz. - In this case, the salary increases” [4].

Experts see the greatest benefits of mass labor migration in incentives. One of these incentives is to increase productivity at Ukrainian enterprises. “Emigration of workers leads to higher wages. Wage growth is forcing firms to increase production efficiency, drive innovation, make automation and digitalization more profitable,” – explains M. Benz [4].

Labor migration, on the one hand, reduces stress in the labor market, contributes to the well-being of many families. By making proper money, a migrant has the opportunity to transfer some of money to relatives, to their homeland, which is a source of foreign exchange earnings and a factor for economic development. For example, in 2018, Ukrainians working abroad sent home 10.9 billion dollars, accounting for 8.3% of Ukraine’s GDP. [4]. Migrant workers are also a source of intangible transfers - new knowledge and experience that can foster the development of the state.

On the other hand, reducing the scope of external labor migration of Ukrainian citizens will allow to restore their own economy, reduce the shortage of workers in some industries and regions, bring families together, pay attention to children, increase the birth rate. The negative consequences of labor migration are also rising prices, inflation, rising imports. The problem is also the emigration of highly skilled professionals and young people, which negatively affects the age and educational and qualification



structure of the workforce and can hinder economic growth. If migrant workers remain abroad, it will be difficult to retain retirees as society begins to age.

Therefore, the urgent task of the state is to create legal, economic, social and political regulation of migration processes. In particular, the legislation on foreign labor migration consists of the Constitution of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine "On Foreign Labor Migration," [3] other acts of legislation governing relations in the field of foreign labor migration, as well as international treaties of Ukraine.

The priority task of migration policy is to carefully monitor migration processes, their current trends and manifestations, create an effective model of migration management, regulate external labor migration, respond to changes in order to subordinate national and regional interests.

Factors influencing the intensity of migration flows should include the social and economic status of the population, its living and working conditions, wages, entrepreneurship, vocational training and retraining, housing, transport, medical, domestic and cultural services, organization of school education, provision of social infrastructure, volume and improvement of the housing stock, state of the environment, etc.

The migration issue is increasingly emerging in the political discourse of modern Ukraine. This is not just about adopting laws and steps to implement a migration policy strategy. A new factor influencing authorities and politicians is growing and gaining ground in improving the state's migration policy. Civil society, which actively controls the state, articulates interests, proposes change, in particular in the field of migration policy, becomes such a factor. Thus, on the background of labor migration of Ukrainians, public associations of "earners" were created (for example, the public organization "Workers of Ukraine", created in 2018, the public organization "Ukrainian Workers," the date of creation - 2019), which became a form of their self-organization and expressing the needs and interests of migrant workers.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the migration issue in the political discourse of modern Ukraine is one of the most important. Considering the globalization processes that take place in the world and the global nature of international migration, it can be argued that these processes are inevitable. The constructive changes and national security of Ukraine will depend only on the migration policy of the Ukrainian state. International mobility is growing, affecting virtually every aspect of society, and can play a positive role in the economic, cultural, demographic development of a country if it is underpinned by a comprehensive prudent migration policy. Particular attention should be paid to the causes of migration, stages of the migration process, prevention of illegal migration, respect for migrants' rights. Migration policy should be transparent, based on broad public dialogue; be based on accurate and reliable migration statistics and research; be implemented on the basis of clearly coordinated activities of different governmental structures, local authorities, social partners, non-governmental organizations.

*Prospects for further research* are to study a comprehensive solution to Ukraine's migration problems, namely: integration of migration issues into all directions of the state's activity - in strategic economic planning, in the formulation of employment policy, educational policy, development of investment programs, etc.

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