

## Value priorities in labor behavior of Ukrainian war refugees

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### ABSTRACT

The article examines the peculiarities of the labor behavior of Ukrainians who, due to the full-scale invasion of Russia into Ukraine, left en masse to other countries to seek temporary protection and asylum. Therefore, they replenished the ranks of war refugees and, fulfilling the rules and requirements of the host countries, carry out labor activities. The peculiarities of their work behavior are considered through the prism of values, understood as the basis of individual socialization (T. Parsons). The criterion basis for the selection of values for the author's analysis was the European Social Survey of the Values of Democracy and Ways to Achieve Personal Well-being (ESS), in which Ukraine was included in 2012. At that time, the value priorities of Ukrainians in relation to work related to the level of income, job reliability, the ability to combine work and family responsibilities, to improve qualifications and the ability to take the initiative. Having chosen this scale of values as a basis and having processed a number of open statistical and scientific sources, sociological studies, the author found out how much these values have changed/transformed among war refugees who left for European countries, as of the beginning of 2023. In particular, several types of the employee's labor mentality are highlighted, which are based on the ambivalence of the elements of the national labor pattern, and the correlation of these elements with the image of the Ukrainian war refugee of the sample of 2022-2023 years is made (mostly women aged 30-60, with children, has a higher education, is a representative of the average class with high adaptability). It is shown that the prospects of Ukrainian refugees to integrate into the labor market of the host country are generally high due to their high ability to adapt to new social and economic conditions.

### KEYWORDS

*labor behavior, Ukrainian war refugees, values, institutional changes, labor mentality*

### Introduction and research methods

An important addition to the portrait of a modern Ukrainian refugee is an understanding of his labor values as a basic regulator of labor behavior. Such a view of values is methodologically enabled by the theory of social action of T. Parsons, when social value underlies the process of socializing certain individuals and serves as a certain standard of behavior, uniting these individuals into groups, i.e.: "values are first formed as a result of evaluating several options, which implies the presence of certain rules as methods of action (interaction) and the possibility of choosing between them "valuable" and "unworthy", "good" and "bad" (*Petrushyna, Slyuschinskiy, 2018: 107*).

The value foundation of Ukrainians, as shown by many years of continuous monitoring studies by the national sociological operator – the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, – was represented by the following groups of values in descending order: vital (health, family, children, material well-being), "social comfort" (social climate, equal opportunities, etc.), values of self-realization (social recognition, interesting work, intellectual development), values of democracy (state independence, democratic development of the country, entrepreneurial initiative), values of political choice (participation in the activities of political parties and organizations) (*Ukrayinske suspilstvo..., 2020*).

In 2022, with the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Russia into Ukraine, the value dominants of the population

of Ukraine were already distributed in a different way. The sociological agency "Info Sapiens" in a study carried out in September 2022 found that the most important things for Ukrainians were: their own safety and the safety of their loved ones (98.5%), the state independence of Ukraine (97.1%), a strong family (94%), democratic development of the country (94%), home comfort (91.6%), material well-being (73.3%) (*Zhulyeniova, 2022*).

If we compare these two scales of values, we see that with the beginning of the war, security (one's own and that of loved ones) became a welcome value – and this naturally explains the massive migration flow of people from Ukraine. The values of state independence and democracy have risen immeasurably in the value palette of Ukrainians – and this explains the rapid mobilization of people to protect the state and support the Armed Forces of Ukraine. At the same time, the values of comfort and material well-being continue to be among the priorities, including the pattern of labor behavior formed in previous decades, which we will consider further.

The basic criteria of our further analysis were the data of the 6th round of the European Social Survey, which was carried out in 2012 among 30 countries, including Ukraine, to study the values of democracy and ways to achieve personal well-being (*ESS round 6, 2012*). The European Social Survey is an authoritative database, which, among other purposes, monitors and interprets the change of social relations and values in Europe. Ukraine was included



in the 6th round of the study, but was not included in later rounds. But, as we showed above, the Ukrainian monitoring of values proved that the priorities of Ukrainians almost did not change until 2022. Therefore, considerations about the formed standard of labor behavior, based on the ESS data of 2012, seem appropriate and applicable to the current state of affairs.

### Results and Discussion

The perception of labor values and their distribution by priorities, related to the answers of Ukrainian ESS respondents to the question of how important it is for them to take the initiative in the labor process, have a reliable job, high income, the ability to combine work and family responsibilities, and the opportunity to improve qualifications. Of all the mentioned criteria, in 2012, Ukrainians ranked high income (salary) first, reliability of work second, and the ability to combine work and family responsibilities and improve qualifications. The last choice of the five was the ability to take the initiative. Considering labor values according to these criteria, but with regard to Ukrainian labor migrants and war refugees to European countries (the latter, according to Eurostat data, as of June 2023, there were 4.07 million (*Eurostat, 2023*)), it is still worth noting that after a series of social and political upheavals – the Revolution of Dignity, annexation of Crimea and the two eastern regions of Ukraine, many social norms, including labor norms, have undergone a transformation, and by the beginning of 2022, the hierarchy of these priorities would be somewhat different.

#### High income or salary?

It is in this perspective that questions should be asked when commenting on this priority of choosing by Ukrainian respondents. During the thirty years of independent Ukraine, a serious and respectful attitude towards the official salary as the main source of income among its citizens is growing very slowly and has not yet been finally formed. There are several reasons for this. The first is historical. In the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR, a large-scale socio-economic crisis occurred in Ukraine, one of the consequences of which was the long-term non-payment of salaries to employees of enterprises. In order to somehow survive, people began to practice various types of informal employment, mainly trade.

As noted by the Ukrainian sociologist M. Shulga, "a complex social process of declassification and marginalization of a significant part of the society's main social classes took place. Workers, engineering and technical workers, teachers, scientists, officers were forced to massively transfer to "shuttles", became small traders in the markets, managers in small firms, office workers in banks, insurance companies, on the stock exchanges, auxiliary workers in the growing field of trade and services, became taxi drivers, security guards, etc." (*Shulga, 2011*). Survival practices have given birth to a massive misconception that people take care of their well-being independently, without the involvement of the state. And therefore, you do not need to declare your income and pay taxes.

The second reason for Ukrainians to distinguish between income and wages is the imperfect system of labor payment in Ukraine. Just then in the 1990s, due to the inertia of the state system, the appropriate new legislative support for accounting and taxation of citizens' incomes was not quickly formed. A shadow sector of the economy

was formed very quickly, which over time acquired unprecedented proportions and began to be stimulated already by the government and political circles of Ukraine to achieve their electoral goals and quickly enrich the ruling elite.

In this case, we can talk about the formation of a kind of "precarious habitus" – this type of "personal or behavioral tendencies that do not meet the individual or social group requirements to be productive and useful in the society of modernity and competition..." (*Souza, 2007*). And to this day, the consequences of this type behavior are felt due to the positive perception by the majority of Ukrainian society of informal employment practice and "salaries in envelopes" (i.e., wages paid unofficially and not subject to taxation, while the minimum wage is officially paid to the worker). On the website of the State Labor Service of Ukraine, there is information that in 2021, 3 million 61.6 thousand people were informally employed (20% of the working population!) (*State Service of Ukraine on Labor Issues, 2024*)

These practices of informal employment are sometimes transferred to European countries by Ukrainian war refugees. After all, despite the declared access to the labor market of the host countries, refugees, due to ignorance of the language, local laws, lack of competitiveness, as well as due to the above-mentioned behavioral pattern, are looking for such types of employment themselves.

Even before the mass departure of war refugees from Ukraine, in 2019, the labor practices and rights of migrants from Eastern Partnership countries in the European Union were investigated by specialists of the Civil Society Forum of the Eastern Partnership, in particular Ukraine, Belarus and Georgia (*Borisov, 2019*). Regarding Ukraine, this report notes that the labor markets of such European countries as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovakia, Finland, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and France are oriented towards Ukrainians. From this list of countries – Poland and Germany – accepted the largest number of Ukrainian refugees. Traditional spheres of labor efforts for Ukrainians are construction, work in the household and agriculture, and the service sector (*Malynovska, 2016*). Men worked mainly in construction, but they are currently underrepresented in the gender distribution of Ukrainian refugees, so it is natural that female refugees from Ukraine will apply for jobs in the economy and services. The authors of the report, referring to research on migration and human trafficking in Ukraine, noted that Ukrainians often worked illegally and illegally in the EU (*Survey on migration..., 2017*).

A survey of labor migrants then showed that 17% were ready to work without official status, for 6% it was possible to work in closed premises without the possibility of freely leaving the workplace, 3% considered it normal to work in illegal production, 2% considered it acceptable to cross the border illegally and 1% – to give their passport to the employer for the period of employment.

In 2022, experts of the National Institute of Strategic Studies of Ukraine wrote about the risks and dangers of the informal employment spread among refugees after surveys of refugees carried out in Slovakia and Poland: "Since the vast majority of refugees are women, a large number of them take care of young children, they lack knowledge of the language, etc., employment opportunities for them, despite the declared access to the labor market of host countries, are quite limited. In connection with this, informal employment may spread, which increases the risk of exploitation and violation of labor rights, the danger of human

trafficking is actualized" (*Ukrayinski bizhentsi viyny za kor-donom, 2022*).

#### **Reliability of work.**

By extrapolating the definition of the "reliability of work" concept from a technical device to the socio-economic phenomenon of employment, we can predict that, as in the case of a technical device, such parameters as duration, faultlessness, preservation, limit state, etc., are important for reliability. That is, from the point of view of a potential job seeker, the employer must be officially registered, with a good reputation and practice of socially positive business steps, have stable profits, a united team of like-minded people and a system of insurance and employee incentives.

Apparently, this is exactly the understanding that ESS respondents from Germany, Spain, Greece and other countries put into this concept, who chose "job reliability" as the highest priority in the mentioned survey (*Petrushyna, Slyuschinskiy 2018: 109*). In Ukraine, the requirements of a medium and low-skilled worker towards an employer are not so diverse: mainly, job seekers focus on such characteristics as the regular payment of wages and the length of time the company (enterprise) has been working. This is caused by a pattern that has been formed since Soviet times, oriented towards certainty and stability regarding the provision of primary human needs. This desire for certainty, as well as the ability to receive decent pay for low-skilled work (became a push factor), drove our compatriots to earn money in richer and more developed countries, where such work is paid more. The trends of external labor migration began to develop in Ukraine since the beginning of the 2000s: then labor migrants from the western regions of Ukraine (traditionally agrarian and labor-intensive) began to leave for Western Europe to work in care, construction, and agriculture; from the eastern regions (after the restructuring and closure of many industrial enterprises) to the Russian Federation.

Ukraine's obtaining a visa-free opportunity to visit the European Union further strengthened migration flows towards Europe, and remittances from Ukrainian workers even became one of the important components of the Ukrainian budget formation (*Ekonomichna pravda, 2020*).

At the same time, another part of the Ukrainian labor force – highly qualified job seekers, mostly 30-35 years old, show interest in other characteristics of the employer that characterize its reliability: organization of work in the company, its values, stories from real employees of the company, etc. An important value that gradually enters the consciousness of Ukrainians through corporate culture is insurance against various types of dangers (for example, medical). That is, modern young workers transfer certainty as an element of reliability to the organization of the work space, work process, and work communication.

At the same time, they are also prepared for mandatory apprenticeship and advanced training, if it is necessary to fill one or another job vacancy. In this regard, the understanding of "reliable work" among different working generations of Ukrainians is no longer the same: young people understand the reliability and stability of work not as the unchanging workplace for years to come, but as a guarantee of work in the company, if you are ready for constant changes and development of your professional skills. It is this understanding that meets the youth's need for movement and development.

The above considerations regarding reliability in the understanding of different generations of Ukrainian refugees

can be illustrated by an analysis of basic needs provision of refugees in the countries that have given shelter to the largest number of Ukrainians – Germany and Poland.

According to numerous surveys, Germany has the most generous social policy: social benefits, language courses, and housing rent are paid. For example, 73% of refugees interviewed in a study by the Center for Economic Strategy determined that they have enough funds for basic needs. That is, they indicated such characteristics of reliability as the regularity and duration of payments. In the same study, experts present the following portrait of a Ukrainian refugee from the war in Germany: the refugees are mainly from the East of Ukraine, the urban population, their work, or the work of their family members, was more often connected with a large enterprise (accustomed to client-patron relations, they were tied in their work behavior to regular payments). The same is the matter with the largest shares of migrants aged 50+ and the smallest share of children under 18. Germany has the largest share of people who attend language courses – and not only because the country has provided such an opportunity, but also because attending courses is mostly seen by refugees as a "job" for which they receive social benefits and other opportunities (quality housing, compensation for utility services, etc.). It is obvious that those who can overcome the language barrier will be ready to go to work not by qualifications, because they consider more important not professional self-realization, but regular and reliable compensation to meet their needs. Thus, Germany's social policy caused an influx of refugees with a certain work pattern and elderly people who receive social assistance greater than the social benefits they had before in Ukraine.

From regular social payments to Ukrainian refugees, Poland provides only child support (125 euros per month). (And here the largest share of children under 18 years of age is 56%. And among adults, there are mostly women aged 30-49). All other social payments are related either to partial compensations or to local or private initiatives of individual communities and citizens. Therefore, there is the lowest percentage of refugees who consider the amount of assistance received to be sufficient. At the same time, there are more refugees with entrepreneurial skills and a desire to start working immediately. Also, here is the largest percentage of refugees who work remotely in Ukraine or at enterprises relocated from Ukraine. According to the survey "Military refugees from Ukraine. A Year in Poland" held by the EWL Migration Platform and the Center for East European Studies of the Warsaw University on the order of the Office of the Prime Minister of Poland, 84% of Ukrainians of working age who arrived in the country after 02/24/2022 and stayed here have already found employment. At the same time, "refugees are looking for job offers that are more in line with their skills and qualifications, including through learning the Polish language and professional training" (*Ukrinform, 2023*). That is, we can assume that by showing readiness for changes and development of professional skills, Ukrainians showed an example of successful mass integration into the foreign labor market.

#### **Professional Development**

The desire to improve one's qualifications is also connected with the perception of work as a value among Ukrainians.

In 2005, an expert survey of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which concerned the problems of the population's economic culture, showed a fairly high level of perception of work as a

social value – 48.8% (Petrushyna, 2008). Those respondents who did not define work as a value still noted that it is a way to achieve human goals. Therefore, even such an instrumental attitude to work gives reason to believe that upgrading qualifications as a way of self-improvement and increasing one's competitiveness is an important feature of the general labor pattern of Ukrainians. Personal qualities of Ukrainians that permit to say that willingness to study, improve one's qualifications and even master completely new work skills and competencies are rationalism and internal motivation, stress resistance, adaptability, flexibility, creativity. And they are massively hardened in our country after every political and social cataclysm: the spontaneous market of the 1990s, the change in the political vector since 2004, the expansion of labor migration opportunities, the annexation of territories, which caused a huge internal movement of labor resources and their adaptation to local markets, COVID and the development of remote and electronic means of work, a full-scale war and a wave of mass outflow of labor resources outside of Ukraine. Therefore, a modern Ukrainian life with a sense of the inevitability of changes and a constant readiness to resist them, including due to the awareness of the need to learn and constantly master new types of activities or improve one's existing qualifications.

From the highest Ukrainian priority – family, children, well-being – follows the high value of such a component of work behavior as the ability to combine work and family responsibilities. Commenting on this component, we note the high number of families in Ukraine where a child is raised by one mother, and she has to work to support herself and the child(ren) and devote time and energy to raising the child. In addition, to this day, the stereotype prevails in Ukrainian families that a woman should do housework and take care of children – this is evidenced by the data of a sociological survey of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, which was carried out as part of the all-Ukrainian study "Opinions and views of the population of Ukraine (Omnibus)" (2015). Therefore, for a Ukrainian woman, the opportunity to combine work and family responsibilities is an important element of work culture.

If we apply this norm to Ukrainian refugees, we can see that the largest number of middle-aged and older refugees who relate to the process-paternalistic work culture are in Italy and Poland. This is evidenced by the results of a refugees' survey commissioned by the Center for Economic Strategy, which took place in August 2023 (Vyshlinsky et al., 2023). Italy is one of the first centers of modern Ukrainian labor migration, there is a large community of Ukrainians who have long been working in the field of care and housekeeping in this country.

And the refugees to Italy, who remained in this country, mainly joined the ranks of domestic or agricultural workers, and, according to the basic guidelines of this type of culture: value their workplace, seek clear agreements on remuneration, are ready to work illegally and in defense of their rights do not rely on the law, but on their own migration community. Poland provided the greatest shelter to middle-aged women with children who were not very well adapted to life abroad, and now they are not trying to integrate into the local labor market because they are mostly taking care of the children. The basic item of income for them is child benefit, which Poland pays on time, they are "dissatisfied with their life in the host country, have friends among local residents less often than other groups, and believe that the level of social benefits in the host country

and current income is not enough for life» (Vyshlinsky et al., 2023: 42).

By this same criterion – the combination of responsibilities – it is possible to evaluate the choice of young people, for whom the possibility of such a combination is the actualization of the "work for life" norm. This is still a new norm for Ukraine, formed not so long ago, because from the Soviet past, Ukrainians inherited a process-oriented and paternalistic production culture. Process orientation and paternalism are the terms of the well-known theory of the Dutch sociologist Gert Hofstede, related to the analysis of the cultures of any labor organizations based on a number of universal indices (Hofstede, 1994).

In short, the paternalistic (masculine) type of work culture values the opportunity to be recognized, self-realized, to make a career, high ambitions and fierce competition, respect for the strong are recognized. Proceduralism in work culture means looking into the past, expecting quick results, respecting traditions and agreements, desire to live one day at a time and spend what you earn. Labor collectives that profess such an ideology are aimed at subordinating all manifestations of human life to production necessity.

The young generation of Ukrainians no longer perceives the type of process-paternalistic work culture, puts forward rather high demands for the quality of the labor process, working conditions, comfort of the workplace, etc. It is important for them to manage their time flexibly, to plan the working week, non-working hours and leisure time. Such a more dynamic lifestyle (feminine culture - in H. Hofstede's terms) allows one to be more socially active, to have more time, and it helps to maintain a sense of personal freedom. In addition, in contrast to the process and continuity of work, young people are more result-oriented (H. Hofstede's term), aware of the importance of thrift and accumulation, are more purposeful and responsible for the result.

By the way, among refugees aged 18–24, the main reason for moving to the chosen place was the received job offer in this country (Vyshlinsky et al., 2023: 21). This coincides with the new norm of a results-oriented labor strategy. And today, among all age groups, young people have the highest employment rate: 36.8% are employed full-time or part-time.

According to the results of a survey by the Center for Economic Strategy, the largest number of young people aged 18-34 are currently in the Czech Republic (Vyshlinsky et al., 2023: 20). Moreover, they live mainly in large cities, where there are educational centers and large enterprises with modern workplaces. The Czech Republic is a leader among countries where Ukrainians who have left are successfully studying. To the question "Would you like your children to continue studying in the host country even after the end of the war?" refugees to the Czech Republic provided the highest percentage of positive answers (Vyshlinsky et al., 2023: 37). In addition, they are generally more satisfied with living conditions compared to pre-war Ukraine.

#### **Labor initiative**

The criterion of showing initiative in the labor process for the Ukrainian ESS respondents was in the last place among priorities, and this is connected, in our opinion, with the dominance of an individualistic type of work culture in large enterprises and in big business, which H. Hofstede described in the following terms: "employees do not want the organization to interfere in their personal lives, avoid

guardianship on its part, rely only on themselves, defend their interests; the organization has a weak influence on the well-being of its employees; promotion – inside or outside the organization based on the competence and "market value" of the employee; the management is aware of the latest ideas and methods, tries to put them into practice, stimulates the activity of subordinates; social ties within the organization are characterized by a certain distance; relations between the administration and employees are usually based on taking into account the employee's personal contribution (*Hofstede, 1994*). Ukrainian researcher Liudmyla Synyayeva, sharing the view of Ukrainian labor culture as individualistic, singles out several main types of labor mentality depending on the dominant motives of labor behavior:

1) focus on high profit at any cost of labor efforts (mostly men under 30 years old, with higher and secondary special education);

2) focus on guaranteed employment, receiving a small but stable income, the inadmissibility of extra work efforts or additional training (mostly women 45+ with secondary and secondary special education);

3) orientation towards a guaranteed average salary, hard work, communication, realization of knowledge and abilities, inclination to professional mobility and appreciation of the workplace (mainly persons aged 25-45, with higher education).

4) orientation to public benefit and recognition in the team (mostly persons 50+, working at state-owned enterprises, with considerable seniority and work experience) (*Synyayeva, 2016: 114-115*).

This classification of types of work culture can, in our opinion, be applied to the analysis of labor migrants and war refugees – that is, Ukrainians, who voluntarily or forcibly transferred their work ideas and values to another socio-cultural environment. Instrumentally, this can be done through the category of social mobility, which introduces such criteria as flexibility of motivation, mobility, conscious breaking of stereotypes, and plasticity into the analytical discourse of labor migration: in order to live and be successful in the world, a person must be psychologically flexible, able to make choices, act creatively – that is, be mobile. For social mobility, the concept of a channel is also important – a way of moving a person from one social stratum to another. The availability of such channels depends on the individual characteristics of a person, on the structure of the society in which he lives or tries to adapt. Traditionally, the functions of such channels are performed by social institutions (organizations) in a political, economic, religious or professional field.

So, the above-mentioned first type of labor culture, oriented to high profit at any cost of labor effort, is labor migrants from Ukraine, who by February 2022 made up such a significant layer that it allowed to talk in the world about Ukraine as one of the largest donors of labor force in Europe, and the results of the work of Ukrainian migrants are considered an important source of replenishment of the national budget. The gender structure of such migrants was dominated by men aged 30-50, who identified employment outside Ukraine as a channel for improving their social status, and money as an index of improving their social status. Indices of the level of education, the desire for power, and the prestige of work (important elements of upward social mobility) were put on the back burner, and money became the goal and the means both for obtaining an education (for themselves or for their children), and for a sense of power,

and for employment, for occupying more prestigious position in society.

The second type of work mentality, which is oriented towards guaranteed employment, receiving a small but stable income, the inadmissibility of extra labor efforts or additional training, was brought to European countries by middle-aged war refugee women. Their characteristics are dominated by weak adaptation to life abroad, unwillingness or inability to learn the language of the country, and weak motivation for work achievements. More important for them is the desire to have a guaranteed income for a sense of economic security. Therefore, both the channel and the index of social mobility for this type of people are the social payments guaranteed by the host country, for the sake of which they are ready to fulfill the requirements: learn the language of the host country, officially get a part-time job, understand complex bureaucratic issues, related to the provision of social benefits to adults and children, insurance, etc. In Ukraine, they could have a higher socio-economic status than in the country of their current stay, but war losses and life crises discouraged and demotivated them on the path of labor achievements.

Representatives of the third type of labor mentality, who are oriented towards receiving all the advantages of upward social mobility, are defined as "professionals" among refugees (*Vyshlinsky et al., 2023: 44*). Therefore, they use all available channels to acquire a new social status (work, education, acquaintanceship, religious channels, etc.). It can be said that they are more adapted to life abroad: they tend to work in the host country in their own or a related specialty, speak English or even the language of the host country at a decent level, have acquaintances or relatives in this country – and that is, not social benefits, an important key to their adaptation.

They strive to integrate as fully as possible into the new subculture of the host country and for this they try to make friends among the local residents, they evaluate the local attitude towards Ukrainians more positively than other groups of refugees. Among this group, there are many who want to diversify their work and educational experience by receiving a scholarship (grant) in order to continue developing in their specialty, they, more than others, try to learn social norms, patterns and rules of behavior in a new society.

Persons for whom social benefits and recognition in the team are important according to the type of work mentality, among the refugees are a group of "quasi-labour migrants" (*Vyshlinsky, et al., 2023: 43*). These are mainly older persons (50+) who worked in the host country before the war, or have close relatives living here in their homes. Therefore, they do not critically depend (or do not depend at all) on social benefits, are not limited in the duration of their stay in this country and do not have stable ties with Ukraine, since their close relatives are near them. At the moment, the largest number of such refugees is in Italy. Before the war, they either headed a household or were retired and have a higher level of income compared to other refugee groups.

### Conclusion

Thus, we are observing significant transformations in the labor behavior pattern of Ukrainians, which are connected with overcoming the practices of the Soviet past and the perception of the values of European liberal economy and culture.

To this day, there are ideas in the minds of Ukrainians that the salary is not always a source of basic income, that

it is not a guarantee of a future pension, and that the economic success of your state and you personally are not interdependent categories. This enables the practice of mass informal employment, tax "optimization" schemes, tolerance of workplace, "income opportunities". Similarly, the desire to avoid uncertainty in the channels of obtaining income caused massive external labor migration ("employment").

On the one hand, it increased the solvency of Ukrainian families, reduced the burden on the national labor market, contributed to the formation of the middle class in Ukraine and the perception by Ukrainian labor migrants of the experience of modern management, assimilation of the norms and values of other societies. On the other hand, employment had such negative social consequences as depopulation of the country's population, social orphanhood, an increase in the level of crime and corruption in the economic sphere.

At the same time, the practices of the European labor culture are gradually being consolidated and further developed in Ukraine, focused on the constant improvement of labor skills, flexibility and mobility of labor behavior, the perception of a "feminine" type of labor culture with attention to all moments of a person's social life cycle – work, non-work employment, family duties and leisure. This approach to life enhances a person's social activity, supports his sense of personal freedom and the value of individual time.

Scientific studies of the work behavior of Ukrainians are connected, among other things, with the selection of several types of the employee's work mentality, which are based on the ambivalence of the national work pattern's elements, which we have already indicated above. If we compare this typology with the portrait of a Ukrainian refugee in Europe of the sample of 2022-2023 (mostly women aged 30-60, with children, have a higher education, are representatives of the middle class with high adaptation capabilities), then the prospects for her integration as a potential participant in the labor market the host country can be evaluated positively in general. Already, a large share of war refugees in Poland have demonstrated their ability to find work in a short period of time and raise the level of the host country's economy. Refugees in other countries also demonstrate a high ability to adapt to new social and economic conditions. Many of them study in local schools with the official language of instruction, make friends, discover new opportunities for themselves in the developed countries of the European Union, and make plans for the future in these countries. All this is a consequence not only of the effective integration of Ukrainians in the host countries, their rooting, but also of basic labor values, which they were able to learn at least partially thanks to Ukraine's open economic policy.

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## Ціннісні пріоритети трудової поведінки українських біженців війни

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У статті розглянуто особливості трудової поведінки українців, які через повномасштабне вторгнення росії в Україну масово виїхали до інших країн шукати тимчасового захисту та притулку. Відтак поповнили лави біженців війни і, виконуючи правила та вимоги приймаючих країн, здійснюють трудову діяльність. Особливості їх трудової поведінки розглянуто крізь призму цінностей, що розуміються як основа соціалізації індивіда (Т.Парсонс). Критеріальною основою вибору цінностей для авторського аналізу стало Європейське соціальне дослідження цінностей демократії та шляхів здобуття особистого добробуту (ESS), в яке Україна включалася у 2012 році. Тоді ціннісні пріоритети українців щодо роботи стосувалися рівня доходу, надійності роботи, можливості суміщати трудові та сімейні обов'язки, підвищувати кваліфікацію та можливості проявляти ініціативу. Вибравши за основу цю шкалу цінностей і опрацювавши ряд відкритих статистичних та наукових джерел, соціологічних досліджень, авторка з'ясувала, наскільки змінилися/трансформувалися ці цінності у біженців війни, що виїхали до європейських країн, станом на початок 2023 року. Зокрема виділено декілька типів трудового менталітету працівника, які базуються на амбівалентності елементів національного трудового патерну та виконано співвіднесення цих елементів з образом українського біженця війни зразка 2022-2023 років (переважно жінки віком 30-60 років, з дітьми, має вищу освіту, є представницею середнього класу з високими адаптаційними можливостями). Показано, що перспективи українських біженців інтегруватися в ринок праці приймаючої країни, як правило, є високими через високу здатність до адаптації до нових соціальних і економічних умов.

**Ключові слова:** трудова поведінка, українські біженці війни, цінності, інституційні зміни, трудовий менталітет

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