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**THE ROLE OF POLISH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN HELPING
UKRAINIAN REFUGEES: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ADAPTATION**

Abstract. The article analyzes the impact of non-governmental organizations on the socio-economic well-being of Ukrainian citizens who left the country as a result of the war. The author identifies the extremely important role of non-governmental organizations in shaping migration policy. The list of Polish non-governmental organizations that have made a significant contribution to the welfare of Ukrainian refugees in Poland is studied. It is proposed to consider the implementation of integration measures and the need for long-term political changes concerning both publicity and local policy in Poland.

Keywords: local self-government, public authorities, public management, NGO, refugees.

Relevance of the study. The armed conflict in Ukraine, which began in 2014, turned into a war in February 2022, causing one of the largest waves of migration in Europe since World War II. Millions of Ukrainians have been forced to flee their homes and seek safety in

other regions of Ukraine and in other countries. According to official data, since the beginning of the active phase of Russia's armed aggression, the population of Ukraine has decreased by 6.7 million people¹. Such displacement of Ukrainians requires expert and scientific reflection, study of best practices of providing priority assistance and further integration into the socio-economic and cultural life of the countries of settlement, as without this it seems impossible to meet the objective needs of life, solve the urgent problems of adaptation to the economic, cultural and educational environment of millions of Ukrainian refugees, and develop effective development strategies, implement state policy in various fields of activity.

Poland was and still is the gateway for the inevitable movement of people fleeing the war to Western Europe. Thus, the total number of people registered at the Polish-Ukrainian border between February 24, 2022 and June 30, 2023 was almost 24 million². In fact, public authorities of all levels - from government agencies to local governments - were involved in providing assistance to Ukrainian refugees.

As citizens, Polish people have demonstrated broad solidarity and willingness to help Ukrainians, passing the test of hospitality, selfless assistance and spontaneous charity. According to the Polish Economic Institute, Poles who transferred funds to non-governmental organizations to help Ukrainians donated more than PLN 10 billion. This is more than for other charitable purposes for the whole year³. Unity has become a defining feature not only of Ukrainians, but the full-scale war in Ukraine has led to an unprecedentedly rapid unification of Polish civil society around this tragedy. Consequently, in this process, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in various fields, including human rights, health, education, culture, environmental protection, etc., became key players, providing vital support and services to those affected by the war.

Problem statement and identification of unsolved issues. It is widely believed among scholars and practitioners that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play the role of effective independent institutional intermediaries between the private and public sectors, which can influence economic development at both local and national levels. On the one hand, they are a socio-political institution (they contribute to solving socio-political problems and offer ways and means of solving them). On the other hand, they represent a socio-economic institution

¹ Верховна Рада України. Пояснювальна записка до проекту Закону України «Про Державний бюджет України на 2023 рік». Київ, 2022. 13 с. URL: <https://itd.rada.gov.ua/billInfo/Bills/pubFile/1527959> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 20.02.2024).

² Звіт про допомогу польських НУО Україні. Варшава, 2023 <https://polishngoHELP.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Raport-UA-final.pdf> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

³ Поляки переказали через неурядові організації на допомогу українцям понад 10 мільярдів злотих. 08.12.2023 <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-society/3797155-polaki-perekazali-cerez-neuradovi-organizacii-na-dopomogu-ukraincam-ponad-10-miljardiv-zlotih.html> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 3.03.2024).

that is able to actively join the economic and social life of society by creating jobs, providing various services (paid and free) that stimulate the improvement of the level and quality of life of society, etc. Taking an active part in various events, they act as strategic partners of public authorities, promoting cooperation and interaction with the public and the private sector.

A great number of scientific works by domestic and foreign scholars are devoted to the study of the essence of the concept of non-governmental organizations: monographs, dissertations by economists, lawyers, sociologists, managers, etc. In particular, theoretical aspects of the activities of non-governmental organizations are covered in the works of such scholars as: I. Vakhovych, A. Halai, A. Demydenko, S. Karpenko, O. Hrytsai, O. Novakova, V. Novokhatskyi, O. Tinkovan, D. Smolich, O. Shumilo, O. Shcherbaniuk and others. At the same time, a number of studies have recently appeared that address the problematic issues of providing assistance to internally displaced persons and refugees since the beginning of the full-scale invasion. For example, the National Institute for Strategic Studies prepared an analytical report analyzing external and internal migration processes during the war period and assessing the likelihood of migrant return and labor immigration during the post-war recovery period. The impact of migration processes on the socio-economic situation in Ukraine was also studied⁴. There is also an informational and analytical report⁵, which is devoted to: an overview of migration and mobility in the Eastern Partnership format; analysis of migration processes in the Eastern Partnership countries and the impact of migration on the economic development of countries that receive and supply migrants; economic motivational factors for the return/non-return of Ukrainian emigrants are studied. As for I. Sologub, based on a study of the attitudes of Ukrainians (data from a survey conducted by the sociological company Factum Group in July-August 2023) who remain abroad or have already returned, she identified factors that influence refugees' decisions to return and their desire to return⁶. In addition, there are the works of Shcherbaniuk O. V. and Sinkevych O. V., who analyze the procedure for conducting pre-trial investigations of international criminal offenses, exploring the role of non-governmental human rights organizations in ensuring the collection of evidence for the International Criminal

⁴ Вплив міграції на соціально-економічну ситуацію в Україні : аналіт. доп. В. Потапенко, А. Головка, О. Валевський та ін., Київ: НІСД, 2023. s.34. <https://doi.org/10.53679/NISS-analytrep.2023.01> (in Ukrainian).

⁵ Вплив міграційних процесів на перебіг повоєнного відновлення України, міграційну політику ЄС та країн Східного партнерства <https://razumkov.org.ua/images/2023/10/25/2023-Pyshchulina-MIGRACIA.pdf> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 15.03.2024).

⁶ Ілона Сологуб. Повернутися чи залишитися? Які чинники впливають на рішення українських біженців / Вокс Україна. Аналітика. Суспільство <https://voxukraine.org/povernutysya-chy-zalyshytysya-yaki-chynnyky-vplyvayut-na-rishennya-ukrayinskyh-bizhentsiv> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 15.03.2024).

Court in the context of the war in Ukraine⁷, consider new functions assigned to NGOs as separate non-governmental human rights organizations that have been operating in Ukraine since the beginning of the full-scale invasion. That is, there are studies that partially address the issue of providing assistance or describe the practice of NGOs. At the same time, the role of NGOs in social and economic assistance to Ukrainian refugees is not sufficiently covered given the duration of the Russian invasion, there is a lack of research on the changes that occur in the process of adaptation to the Polish environment, and the issues of cooperation and interaction between NGOs and public authorities remain unaddressed by scholars.

The purpose of the article is to briefly summarize the experience of non-governmental organizations of the Republic of Poland in assisting Ukrainian refugees during the two years of Russian aggression and to determine the specifics of the role of NGOs at the current stage of refugees' adaptation to Polish society.

Methodology used. The logic used in this article will focus on:

- data from opinion polls conducted by Factum Group in July-August 2023⁸;
- the results of a nationwide and expert survey conducted by the Razumkov Center with the assistance of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Ukraine⁹;
- a survey to determine the detailed situation of refugees by online survey (CAWI), conducted by researchers from the Pedagogical University of Krakow and the Institute of Polonistics at the Jagiellonian University¹⁰;
- materials from the report of the Community of Associations, Confederation of Non-Governmental Initiatives of the Republic of Poland, which contains statistics on the participation of Polish non-governmental organizations in the implementation of projects and initiatives to support Ukrainians since the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion¹¹;
- materials of the report on the assistance provided by Polish non-governmental organizations to Ukraine from February 24, 2022 to June 2023, which presents the involvement of the third sector in helping the warring state (contains numbers and

⁷ Щербанюк О.В., Сінькевич О.В. Роль неурядових правозахисних організацій у забезпеченні збору доказів для міжнародного кримінального суду в контексті війни в Україні. Науковий вісник Ужгородського Національного Університету. Серія ПРАВО. Випуск 80: частина 2. с. 395. <https://archer.chnu.edu.ua/xmlui/handle/123456789/7598> (in Ukrainian).

⁸ Ілона Сологуб. Повернутися чи залишитися? Які чинники впливають на рішення українських біженців....

⁹ Вплив міграційних процесів на перебіг повоєнного відновлення України.....

¹⁰ Długosz, P., Kryvachuk, L., Izdebska-Długosz, D. Uchodźcy wojenni z Ukrainy – życie w Polsce i plany na przyszłość. <https://doi.org/10.52097/acapress.9788362475971> (in Polish) (dostęp 10.03.2024).

¹¹ Прес-конференція «Внесок неурядових організацій Польщі у підтримку України в боротьбі з російською агресією. Спільнота Асоціацій, Конфедерація неурядових ініціатив Республіки Польща. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-KKz7no-Rc> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

scale of involvement, specific cases of organizations and people whom these organizations helped, etc;

- materials of the report “Gdzie teraz jesteśmy? Humanitarian organizations in Poland” in the years 2021-2023. (“Where are we now. Social organizations and humanitarian crises in Poland 2021-2023”)¹²;
- materials of mapping of communities of refugees, persons in need of additional protection and asylum seekers in Ukraine, carried out by the Right to Protection CF “Communities as a resource for supporting refugees and asylum seekers in Ukraine”¹³.

The article is also based on the analysis of practical experience of providing assistance to Ukrainian refugees and discussion of provisions, conclusions and recommendations that exist in the research of foreign and domestic scholars. On the one hand, this is due to the large amount of available data, knowledge and ideas, and this structured knowledge on addressing the social and economic problems of refugees, especially now, needs to be widely disseminated and further rethought not only in the academic environment, but also to further improve the activities of NGOs and strengthen their cooperation with public authorities. On the other hand, we will gradually expand this existing foundation through the study of existing practices, specific examples, and tested thought experiments. Thus, this article is by no means the final stage, but an intermediate stage that corresponds to the overview of the processes over the past 3 years and as of April 2024. The authors also note that they have by no means compiled a complete list of the most relevant references that would fully characterize the object of study.

This article is limited to the socio-economic aspects of assistance to Ukrainian refugees by non-governmental organizations in the Republic of Poland, and partially includes an overview of the role of NGOs in Ukraine. It also does not take into account the fundamental national regulations in force, however, it does include legislation aimed at the adaptation of people fleeing war, providing them with appropriate conditions that will allow them to function in the best possible conditions in the territory of Poland. This does not take into account the activities of NGOs in other countries that have provided shelter to Ukrainian refugees. This is

¹²Raport: “Gdzie teraz jesteśmy? Organizacje społeczne a kryzysy humanitarne w Polsce” w latach 2021-2023. Współpraca i dobre praktyki grantowe. https://konsorcjum.org.pl/storage/2024/02/Ashoka_RP_project_prop_v11.pdf (in Polish) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

¹³ В Україні здійснили перше картографування спільнот біженців та шукачів захисту. <https://rubryka.com/2024/01/09/v-ukrayini-zdijsnyly-pershe-kartografuvannya-spilnot-bizhentsiv-ta-shukachiv-zahystu/> (in Ukrainian), (dostęp 16.03.2024).

material for further research on the capacity of NGOs, given that this study will be a useful basis for further analysis.

Presentation of the main material. To begin with, let us describe the fundamental characteristics of understanding and perception of non-governmental organizations. Thus, scholars and practitioners tend to view the activities of NGOs through the prism of their direct participation in the socio-economic, political and cultural life of society. They create jobs, pay certain taxes, and provide various services (both paid and free of charge) that contribute to raising the level and quality of life of the population, as well as improving business processes, developing competition, etc. The defining features are as follows:

- - non-profitability (not aimed at making a profit);
- - activity in positioning their goals, which forces public authorities to focus on the public interest and take it into account when making management decisions;
- - involvement of a wide range of concerned participants in their activities.

Therefore, for our study, we will use the definition developed by the World Bank, which focuses on the inclusion of NGO diversity, the essential and substantive characteristics of their activities: "...the diversity of non-governmental organizations complicates any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are fully or largely independent of government and have predominantly humanitarian or cooperative goals rather than commercial ones. These include private agencies in industrialized countries that support international development; local groups organized at the regional or national level; and membership groups in small communities. NGOs include charitable and faith-based associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and services to the right places, and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, societies, gender groups, etc."¹⁴. It is from these conceptual approaches that we will study the role of non-governmental organizations in the Republic of Poland in assisting Ukrainian refugees during the two years of Russian aggression.

People who escape abroad from war are usually in a difficult social situation. In new countries, they need to find housing, clothing, food and medicine. Assistance to Ukrainian refugees was provided on a transparent legal basis. In particular, Council Directive 2001/55/EC "On minimum standards for the granting of temporary protection in the event of mass influxes of displaced persons and on measures contributing to a balance of efforts between Member

¹⁴Definitions of an NGO. URL: <https://www.gdrc.org/ngo/wb-define.html> (дата (dostęp 11.03.2024)).

States to take in such persons and to bear the consequences of such reception”¹⁵ of July 20, 2001, set a model for temporary protection measures. For the first time in practice, this Directive was applied specifically to Ukrainians, granting them the right to residence, education, and medical care. At the same time, in order to adapt the legislation so that people fleeing the war would be provided with proper working, studying and living conditions in the territory of the Republic of Poland, on March 12, 2022, the Law “On Assistance to Citizens of Ukraine in connection with the Armed Conflict in the Territory of that State” was adopted¹⁶, which aimed to provide a temporary legal basis for the legal stay of Ukrainian citizens who, as a result of hostilities, were forced to leave their country of origin and entered the territory of the Republic of Poland with the appropriate entry rights. It was the novelties of this legal act that enabled Ukrainian refugees to function in the best possible conditions in the neighboring state. It should be noted that the scope of legal aid provided for by the Law has changed over time, but from the very beginning it was so extensive that a number of non-governmental human rights organizations were involved in providing legal aid. In particular:

- Coordination Center for Legal Aid Provision (volunteer experts work through a national hotline and legal information centers located throughout the country);
- Halyna Nech Legal Aid Center Association (has 20 years of experience in human rights protection, research and educational projects);
- Association of Legal Intervention (since 2005, it has been providing free legal aid to people with migration experience, representing them in courts, and actively participating in the creation of migration law through interventions and expert assessment of legislation);
- The Office of «Żygliska i Wspólnicy», the Polish Migration Forum Foundation, the Polish Red Cross, the Foundation for Social and Economic Development, and the Ocalenie Foundation.

According to the Report on Polish NGOs' assistance to Ukraine¹⁷, approximately 29 thousand NGOs have contributed to financial aid to Ukraine. And almost all Polish NGOs (98%) helped directly Ukrainians who settled in the country after the start of the full-scale invasion. A month after the outbreak of hostilities in Ukraine, organizations from the third sector received

¹⁵Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures promoting a balance of efforts between Member States in receiving such persons and bearing the consequences thereof. Official Journal L 212 , 07/08/2001 P. 0012–0023, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32001L0055> (dostęp 15.03.2024).

¹⁶ Rządowy projekt ustawy o pomocy obywatelom Ukrainy w związku z konfliktem zbrojnym na terytorium tego państwa. Druk Nr 2069 <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm9.nsf/druk.xsp?nr=2069> (in Polish) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

¹⁷ Звіт про допомогу польських НУО Україні. Варшава, 2023 <https://polishngohelp.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Raport-UA-final.pdf>(in Ukrainian) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

10 million zlotys, intended for 43 organizations¹⁸. This made it possible to provide adequate assistance to refugees from Ukraine in a short period of time.

In order to characterize briefly the role that NGOs have played and continue to play in the adaptation and integration of Ukrainian refugees into the Polish environment, it is advisable to group them by the areas of activity in different spheres of interest.

According to the needs of Ukrainians, there has been a kind of segmentation of the spheres of activity of non-governmental organizations. First of all, let's start with the humanitarian sphere of activity. According to a study, 73% of the interviewed war refugees from Ukraine experienced the trauma of war¹⁹, so in order to find themselves in the new reality and cope with the trauma caused by the need to suddenly leave their homeland, war refugees from Ukraine needed psychological support. Many organizations provided free psychological assistance, including: Polish Red Cross, Foundation for Social and Economic Development, Ocalenie Foundation, and others. In general, non-governmental organizations aimed at humanitarian activities in Poland are considered to be:

- The Polish Red Cross (an organization with an exceptional status: neither a foundation nor an association; it provides financial, medical, psychological and therapeutic assistance, implements professional development programs, organizes professional courses and Polish language lessons, and integration meetings on the occasion of holidays);
- The Polish Humanitarian Action Foundation (provides direct financial assistance in the form of payments for refugees by launching the Temporary Assistance Program (TERA);
- The Polish Center for International Aid Foundation; the Polish Medical Mission Association and others.

These organizations are engaged in the resettlement of Ukrainians, distribution of humanitarian aid, creation of coordination centers, focusing on psychological and medical assistance for Ukrainians. It is worth noting that the amount of aid distributed by humanitarian organizations is estimated at least at 440,000,000 PLN ²⁰.

Professional, multidimensional assistance to all those in need is also provided by the association of church communities, Caritas, and at the regional level - by the Jesuit Refugee

¹⁸ Narodowy Instytut Wolności. www.niw.gov.pl/kdspp-podsumowanie-wspolpracy-iwsparcia-organizacji-pozarzadowych-w-kwestii-pomocyukrainie/ (in Polish) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

¹⁹ Długosz P., Kryvachuk L., Izdebska-Długosz D. Uchodźcy wojenni z Ukrainy - życie w Polsce i plany na przyszłość, https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/21387/Uchodzczy_wojenni_net%2814%29.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y (in Polish) (dostęp 11.03.2024).

²⁰ Звіт про допомогу польських НУО Україні.....

Service in Warsaw (offering material, legal and psychological assistance). Caritas is the largest social and charitable organization in Poland, and it was on their initiative that the:

- the creation of centers for assistance to migrants and refugees was launched;
- the Family to Family program, which has been operating for 7 years, was used and improved;
- a number of new initiatives were introduced: Package for Ukraine, financial assistance and Points of Hope.

This is the first segment of Caritas' assistance, which is to help Ukrainian refugees in Poland. At the same time, they also work for Ukrainians who remain in their homeland: Cross-border humanitarian aid; Parcel for Ukraine; Polish Aid Program, etc. If we turn to the language of numbers, the total amount allocated by Caritas Poland to Ukraine in 2022 amounted to 112.7 million zlotys. And the total value of aid to Ukraine provided by Caritas Poland and diocesan Caritas in 2022 amounted to more than PLN 597.7 million. It is worth noting that under the auspices of Caritas Poland, a targeted collection "Ukraine" was organized in churches, where 35.89 million PLN was collected in just one day - 27.02.2022²¹.

It is also worth mentioning the activities of Polish scouts (usually called hartsers), who are united in organizations where youth are educated in the spirit of the values they promote: patriotism, independence, and brotherhood. The largest scouting organizations include: Union of Polish Scouts; Union of Scouts of the Commonwealth of Poland; Federation of European Scouts. Their well-developed structures are located throughout Poland, which made it possible to organize various kinds of aid campaigns. Therefore, scholars rightly point out that not all of their activities have been thoroughly documented, and the involvement of Polish scouts had different dimensions: from helping refugees immediately after crossing the border with Poland, organizing places to stay for the night, to raising money for those fleeing the war. Therefore, it is not possible to give exact figures of the assistance provided in terms of value.

In the context of our study, in order to provide a broader coverage for the analysis of associations and non-governmental organizations in various areas of interest (and thus opportunities to provide various types of assistance and influence the socio-economic aspects of the life of Ukrainian refugees), it is worth focusing on the activities of sports foundations, professional leagues, sports clubs, etc. In essence, we are talking about sport as a multidimensional phenomenon, as a carrier of values and a diplomatic tool. Ukrainian athletes have received not only individual support but also organized trade union assistance. In

²¹ Caritas Polska – Raport 2022, <https://caritas.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/raport-caritas-za2022-viiiis.pdf> (dostęp 17.03.2024).

particular, this includes sports assistance from the Polish Athletics Association, as well as Polish Boxing, Ice Skating, Tennis, Rollerblading, and other associations. For example, logistical and financial support was offered by the Legia (Warsaw, football) and the Polish Volleyball Association (Project Warsaw, Volleyball Unites Nations Program).

It is to be noted that the most effective events were those organized in cooperation with foundations specializing in the integration of people with migration or refugee experience. Joint concerts by musicians from Poland and Ukraine, combined with actions that meet specific needs, joint weaving of camouflage nets or auctions of artworks by Ukrainian artists - all these were completely successful events, the statistics of which are practically not kept and are not generalized.

Therefore, assistance to Ukrainians who moved to Poland after the start of Russia's full-scale invasion was provided by human rights, psychological and legal, humanitarian, church, scouting and sports organizations, and individual artists. However, this list is far from exhaustive, and should be supplemented by cooperative self-help groups, social welfare associations, religious groups, professional and scientific associations, sports and recreational organizations, etc. A study of the social, economic and cultural aspects of migration, as well as possible scenarios for the development of the situation in Poland's policy towards refugees from Ukraine [5], convincingly shows that their support was mainly grassroots, with social initiatives based on the involvement of individuals, social groups and NGOs. Therefore, regional initiatives deserve special attention, such as: *Warto Razem* for Ukraine in Poznan; *Koper Pomaga* Foundation in Łódź; *New Story* Foundation in Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship; *Charity Mission "Do Good"* in Mazowieckie Voivodeship; *Salam Lab Help Center "Live in Krakow"*; *UNITATEM* Foundation in Podkarpacie; *Pestka* Foundation in Kielce; *Association "For the Earth"* and *Biedronka* Foundation, etc.

In the third year of the war, the center of gravity in NGO activities has shifted from humanitarian and financial assistance to integration activities and the need for long-term political changes, both in terms of propaganda and local politics. There is a situation when most organizations do not identify themselves as humanitarian and plan to return to their statutory activities - educational, advisory, mainly at the local level. This is a consequence of the fact that the prolonged delegation of humanitarian responsibility by public authorities to non-governmental organizations has led to fatigue and increased social unwillingness to accept refugees, and increased tension in multicultural groups.

The current agenda is not only about redirecting resources to other conflicts or crises (which leads to a revision of priorities, the risk of losing one's identity while going through the

process of humanitarian professionalization), but also about finding alternative sources of funding, ways of further cooperation with private structures, public authorities of different levels and international non-governmental organizations, including those from Ukraine [9]. An example of such cooperation is the establishment of official cooperation between the search and rescue group of the Valbizhsk Volunteer Fire Service and the fire and rescue services of Vinnytsia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, and Lviv regions²². Cooperation in the field of humanitarian support resulted in the signing of an agreement on joint actions in civil protection, joint training and exchange of experience, as well as active measures to support firefighters' equipment in Ukraine. In addition, we managed to establish close and long-term cooperation with local non-governmental organizations, such as: We Are Vinnytsia, Soldier's Kitchen, Ukrainian Association of Combatants and ATO Volunteers in Vinnytsia Oblast, and Vinnytsia Community Center.

However, when it comes to cooperation and interaction between NGOs in Poland and Ukraine, it is worth taking into account the challenges faced by NGOs in our country, which may hinder their effective work. First of all, these are: state regulation and bureaucracy, which can create barriers to registration, funding and program implementation; pressure from the authorities and intrusive inspections and audits; limited resources and funding (sometimes competition for funding can be intense and smaller NGOs may find it difficult to compete with larger organizations); complex and restrictive legal frameworks that limit the ability of organizations to operate freely and safely; lack of public trust, which can create barriers to cooperation and support

It should be noted that the type of assistance depends on individual needs, but in general it covers a whole range of legal, psychological and medical assistance, financial support, and social protection opportunities. A separate line includes legal advice, training courses on starting your own business, finding a job, or receiving tax advice. As a result, Ukrainians in Poland contribute more to the country's budget than they receive in benefits, stimulating consumer demand and supporting economic activity at a time when the global economy has begun to sink into recession.

According to the National Bank of Ukraine, in the first months of the Great War, Ukrainians spent mostly their Ukrainian savings in Poland and other European countries. In addition, out of the 1.2 million Ukrainians who received social security numbers (a prerequisite for official employment in Poland), half of them found work in Poland. The ECB estimates that

²² Звіт про допомогу польських НУО Україні.....

between 25% and 55% of Ukrainian forced migrants will be employed or actively looking for work in the recipient countries. This will increase the EU labor force by 0.2-0.8% or 0.3-1.3 million people. Thus, refugees from Ukraine can become an impetus for the development of the economies of some EU countries²³. It is not only about the contribution of Ukrainian refugees to the production of goods and services, but also about more active GDP growth, which will increase tax revenues. In particular, in Poland, the amount of taxes paid by Ukrainian refugees reached 2.4 billion dollars. This exceeds the amount of assistance provided by the Polish government to Ukrainian refugees, not including additional expenditures on education and healthcare (education costs for almost 560 thousand Ukrainian children registered there amount to 2.2 billion euros, and the cost of their medical care is estimated at 1.5 billion euros [ibid]). However, there is a certain specificity related to the fact that before the war, Ukrainians worked in Poland mainly in male-dominated professions, while now Ukrainian refugees are mostly women with children and the elderly, so there is clearly a mismatch between the available skills and the needs of the labor market.

The migration of millions of Ukrainians abroad has affected the labor market, consumption and production, and thus gross domestic product. The ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war not only destroys Ukraine's economic structure, but also complicates the country's socio-economic post-war recovery, which will inevitably affect the non-return of a significant number of Ukrainian refugees. This actualizes the need for their cultural integration. Therefore, NGOs, to a certain extent, are responsible for conducting targeted cultural work to familiarize them with historical and cultural traditions, establish mutual understanding with local residents and prevent conflicts that may arise between Ukrainians and Poles. After all, a large flow of foreigners that affects the daily life of the host society can potentially cause conflicts [6]. Taken together, this will help mitigate the socio-psychological consequences of forced migration and their involvement in socio-economic life. In these aspects, we are talking about the interaction and cooperation of local governments, non-governmental organizations and the support of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation.

What are the steps for further cooperation and interaction between Polish and Ukrainian NGOs? Military personnel of the aggressor country commit dozens of crimes that, according to the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal, are considered war crimes and are recognized as violations of the rules of engagement, norms and principles of international humanitarian law. However, like any other war crimes, war crimes require evidence, so a large number of

²³Ярослав Вінокуров (2023). Українські мігранти підіймають економіку Європи. Що буде з Україною без них? <https://www.epravda.com.ua/publications/2023/01/10/695807/> (in Ukrainian) (dostep 15.03.2024).

specialists have retrained as documenters. Non-governmental organizations also work in this sector, such as the Helsinki Union, which is part of the Putin Tribunal initiative, the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union, the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group, and the Center for Civil Liberties. They document events that have signs of crimes under the Rome Statute of the ICC in all regions of the country that have been attacked. Each member of the initiative documents these crimes in a separate region of our country. The Initiative is also actively working at the international level to use existing mechanisms in the UN, Council of Europe, OSCE, EU and ICC to stop gross violations²⁴. The main areas of this activity are:

- disseminating information in the media about the situation of refugees who have suffered as a result of crimes committed by the Russian military, documenting the stories of witnesses to such offenses;

- providing advisory assistance on the qualitative recording of episodes of criminal acts in order to recognize such evidence as proper;

- peaceful assemblies and protests of civil society organizations and active citizens against Russia's war crimes in Ukraine, which is undoubtedly important for the international community to recognize their severity and massive scale.

In addition, the Docudays NGO, with the financial support of the European Union, is launching the website of the Ukrainian Military Archive initiative, which aims to collect video and audio evidence of the war. There is also the Ukrainian Military Archive (UMA), a unified database of video and audio materials documenting the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Thus, non-governmental organizations, including human rights organizations, play an important role in monitoring and collecting information.

Regarding the functionality of non-governmental organizations in Poland, it is worth noting that about 70,000 are active (over 100,000 are registered), and several dozen of them deal with migrants and refugees in accordance with their statutory tasks. Many of them have been operating long before the situation of 2022. Therefore, it seems advisable to take advantage of the many years of experience, knowledge of specialists and developed methods of effective work of foundations and NGOs. After all, "...without the realization that their knowledge and developed methods can be used, this area will practically remain only a theory. To prevent this from happening, it is important to reach out to decision makers, cultural and educational managers, and local community leaders. Through mutual exchange of experience

²⁴ «Трибунал для Путіна»: що відомо про нагороджений Нобелівською премією миру Центр громадянських свобод URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/tshs-matviyчук-radio-svobodanobelivka/32069776.html> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

and information, the source of ideas will not remain an echo of the past. It will no longer be only in theory. As a valuable tool in the hands of dedicated civic activists, it will work for the benefit of the entire diverse community”²⁵. In particular, the Emic Foundation from the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship can be a platform for understanding and communication, as well as a training base for employees of cultural institutions, teachers, and those responsible for implementing integration measures in public authorities.

In this context, it is worth paying attention to the study of Pauliny Chmieleckiej²⁶, in which she studied and analyzed the challenges, threats, risks and opportunities of adaptation activities in relation to the Ukrainian population living in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship during 2014-2022 using the diagnostic survey methodology. The researcher emphasizes that the main actors of social policy that perform adaptation tasks are public administration institutions, non-governmental organizations, and public initiatives. However, due to the lack of interdependence between them, it seems impossible to create a single adaptation plan for immigrants from Ukraine. Therefore, it would be justified to introduce an additional auxiliary communication body, which could be the Mig Info Consultation and Adaptation Center with professional services of people who provide effective assistance to immigrants from Ukraine in many areas of social policy

Conclusions from this study and prospects for further research in this area. Thus, the introduction of a number of systemic decisions by the Polish public authorities regarding refugees from Ukraine, on the one hand, provides the necessary assistance, and on the other hand, promotes their involvement in active activities in society. The unprecedentedly fast unification of Polish civil society and effective cooperation of NGOs with public authorities and the private sector contributed to the adoption and implementation of timely, effective and coordinated decisions in the areas of cargo and passenger logistics, medical and psychological assistance, and cooperation with relevant partners in Ukraine. In addition, the assistance of Polish NGOs to Ukraine took place not only in the context of actions or inaction of local governments, but also in the context of other state institutions: voivodeship offices; county employment centers; education departments or higher education institutions. The specificity is that the sector of non-governmental organizations in Poland mostly operates at the local level,

²⁵ Моніка Дейнецька. Інтеграція, асиміляція, взаємодія : Фонд Еміс про виклики включення української громади. 26 Жовтня 2023 <https://mapujpomoc.pl/uk/intehratsiia-asymiliatsiia-vzaiemodiia-fond-emic-pro-vyklyky-vkliuchennia-ukrainskoi-hromady/> (in Ukrainian) (dostęp 17.03.2024).

²⁶ Paulina Chmielecka. Imigranci z Ukrainy w Polsce – wyzwania, szanse, zagrożenia i ryzyko adaptacji w kontekście funkcjonowania polityki społecznej na przykładzie województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego w latach 2014-2022. https://www.ukw.edu.pl/download/64438/Chmielecka_Rozprawa_doktorska.pdf. (in Polish) (dostęp 22.02.2024).

support was mainly grassroots, and social initiatives were based on the involvement of individuals, social groups, and public organizations. This contributed not only to the growth of the number of NGOs, but also to the expansion of their activities.

At the same time, the issues of first aid are no longer a priority. Moreover, they are disappearing from the agenda, as completely new forms of inclusive activities have emerged that have actually contributed to the integration of different communities. Based on the Ukrainian experience, projects involving other, numerically less representative social groups (for example, Belarusians living in Poland) are increasingly being created, albeit sometimes timidly.

In the future, issues related to competition in the labor market, overloading of the healthcare and educational systems will become more urgent. Their successful resolution requires adapting requirements to opportunities, acquiring additional qualifications, and gradually expanding the offerings of existing language courses. There are also issues of implementation of integration measures and the need for long-term political changes, both in terms of propaganda and local policies, which in turn prompts:

- - restarting the activities of non-governmental organizations: returning to their statutory activities (educational, advisory) or meeting the need for cultural integration of Ukrainian refugees;
 - - changing the forms and methods of cooperation and interaction with public authorities at various levels (introduction of additional auxiliary communication bodies);
 - - search for alternative sources of funding and ways to further cooperate with private entities;
- strengthening cooperation with Ukrainian NGOs in various areas of activity (for example, in the field of humanitarian support or monitoring and collecting information on the situation of refugees who have suffered as a result of crimes committed by the Russian military, documenting the stories of witnesses to such offenses, etc;)
- studying the long-term experience, knowledge of specialists and developed methods of effective activities of foundations and NGOs, and adapting it for refugees.

This is not a complete list of issues that have arisen on the agenda of non-governmental organizations in the process of humanitarian professionalization, revision of priorities, and the risk of losing their identity, which deserve a more thorough study in the dynamics and may be the subject of further research.

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Summary

The article analyzes the impact of non-governmental organizations on the socio-economic well-being of Ukrainian citizens who left the country as a result of the war. The purpose of the article is to briefly summarize the experience of non-governmental organizations in Poland in assisting Ukrainian refugees during the two years of Russian aggression and to determine the specifics of the role of NGOs at the current stage of refugees' adaptation to Polish society.

Ukrainians who moved to Poland after the start of Russia's full-scale invasion were assisted by human rights, psychological and legal, humanitarian, church, scouting and sports organizations, and individual artists. A study of the social, economic and cultural aspects of migration, as well as possible scenarios for the development of the situation in Poland's policy towards refugees from Ukraine, convincingly shows that their support was mainly grassroots, with social initiatives based on the involvement of individuals, social groups and NGOs.

Speaking about cooperation and interaction between NGOs in Poland and Ukraine, it is worth taking into account the challenges faced by NGOs in our country, which may hinder their effective work. These include government regulation and bureaucracy, which can create barriers to registration, funding and program implementation; pressure from the authorities and inspections and audits; limited resources and funding; a complex and restrictive legal framework that limits the ability of organizations to operate freely and safely; and a lack of public trust, which can create barriers to cooperation and support from the general public.

Further, issues related to competition in the labor market, overloading of the healthcare and educational systems become more urgent. Their successful resolution requires adapting requirements to opportunities, acquiring additional qualifications and gradually expanding the offerings of existing language courses, etc.