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**Social challenges in the reintegration of temporarily occupied Crimea:
pathways and capacities for overcoming them**

Liubov Zharova,

Kyiv-Mohyla School of Professional and Continuing Education of the National
University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy"

University of Economics and Humanities in Bielsko-Biala, Ukraine,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3568-775X>

Ievgen Khlobystov,

National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", Ukraine,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9983-9062>

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Abstract: *The article examines the social challenges of reintegrating the temporarily occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea and identifies pathways and capacities for overcoming them in the post-de-occupation period. The study employs a risk-based and interdisciplinary approach, combining institutional and legal analysis, comparative assessment of post-conflict reintegration cases, and structural analysis of social protection systems, human capital recovery, and cultural resilience. The research identifies systemic social risks, including unemployment, loss of social guarantees, educational disruption, housing conflicts, institutional distrust, and pressure on social protection systems. A matrix of key social risks is*



developed, along with a framework for digital social governance and a targeted incentive system for rebuilding the personnel reserve. The role of culture, civil society, and international support is substantiated as a functional component of social cohesion. Research conclude – Crimea's reintegration requires a socially driven, risk-sensitive governance model integrating social protection, human capital development, transitional justice, and institutional trust-building.

Keywords: *territorial development management, development strategies, reintegration, education management, temporarily occupied territories, sustainability.*

**Соціальні виклики реінтеграції тимчасово анексованого Криму та
потенціал їх подолання**

Жарова Любов Валеріївна,

доктор економічних наук,

Києво-Могилянська школа професійної та неперервної освіти, Національний
університет «Києво-Могилянська академія»,

Університет економіки і гуманістики в Бельсько-Бялій, Україна,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3568-775X>

Хлобистов Євген Володимирович,

доктор економічних наук, професор

Національний університет «Києво-Могилянська академія», Україна,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9983-9062>

Анотація. *Метою пропонованої статті є комплексний аналіз соціальних викликів реінтеграції тимчасово окупованої Автономної Республіки Крим та визначення шляхів і спроможностей їх подолання в умовах після деокупаційного періоду. Дослідження спрямоване на*



обґрунтування соціального виміру реінтеграції як ключового чинника відновлення довіри до державних інституцій і забезпечення сталості пост конфліктного розвитку. У дослідженні застосовано міждисциплінарний підхід із використанням методів структурно-функціонального аналізу, порівняльного аналізу міжнародного досвіду постокупаційної реінтеграції, ризик-орієнтованого підходу до соціальної політики, а також елементів інституційного та нормативно-правового аналізу. Інформаційною базою стали нормативно-правові акти України, аналітичні матеріали міжнародних організацій, дослідження громадянського суспільства та сучасні наукові публікації. Встановлено, що соціальні ризики реінтеграції Криму мають системний характер і включають масове безробіття, втрату соціальних гарантій, освітні та ідеологічні розриви, житлові конфлікти, дефіцит довіри до інституцій та перевантаження системи соціального захисту. Розроблено матрицю ключових соціальних ризиків із визначенням їх імовірності, впливу та груп ураження. Обґрунтовано роль цифровізації соціальних сервісів як інструменту перехідної справедливості. Запропоновано систему стимулювання кадрового резерву як базову спроможність відновлення освіти, охорони здоров'я та публічного управління. Доведено значення культурної стійкості, громадянських ініціатив і міжнародної підтримки у формуванні соціальної згуртованості. Дослідження підсумовує, що реінтеграція Криму потребує переходу від декларативних політик до ризик-орієнтованої моделі соціального управління, що поєднує соціальний захист, розвиток людського капіталу, гнучке перехідне правосуддя та інституційну спроможність держави. Запропонований підхід може бути використаний як аналітична та прикладна основа для формування державної політики деокупованих територій.

Ключові слова: управління розвитком територій, стратегії розвитку, реінтеграція, управління освітою, тимчасово окуповані території, стійкість.



Problem Statement and Its Connection with Scientific and Practical Tasks. The reintegration of temporarily occupied Crimea constitutes one of the most complex post-conflict governance challenges facing Ukraine. Beyond questions of territorial sovereignty, reintegration entails the restoration of social cohesion, protection of vulnerable groups, reconstruction of trust in state institutions, and mitigation of long-term consequences of occupation-related social engineering. Prolonged occupation has resulted in deep social fragmentation, identity distortion, demographic displacement, and systematic repression of indigenous and pro-Ukrainian communities, particularly the Crimean Tatars.

The unresolved problem lies in the absence of a comprehensive, operationalized framework that links social protection, cultural resilience, and human capital recovery to reintegration policy. While political and legal aspects of de-occupation are widely discussed, the social dimension of reintegration remains insufficiently conceptualized as a field of strategic state capacity. This gap has direct practical implications, as ineffective social policies may exacerbate distrust, fuel hybrid threats, and undermine the legitimacy of post-de-occupation governance.

Thus, the research problem addressed in this article is the need to identify and systematize social challenges arising from prolonged occupation and to define viable pathways and capacities for overcoming them within Ukraine's reintegration strategy.

Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Recent academic and policy-oriented studies (2019 – 2024) increasingly focus on the consequences of occupation, hybrid warfare, and post-conflict recovery, including works on Crimea's socio-cultural transformation, repression of indigenous peoples, and mechanisms of identity erosion [1-5]. Researchers emphasize the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage as a tool of domination and long-term destabilization [6]. Human rights organizations and civil society actors document systematic violations against



Crimean Tatars, forced displacement, and what is described as “hybrid deportation” [7].

Comparative research on reintegration processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Germany, Cyprus, and Korea highlights the importance of education reform, cultural policy, and socio-economic stabilization as preconditions for sustainable reintegration. International organizations underline the role of civil society, psychosocial support, and inclusive governance in post-conflict settings. At the same time, existing studies predominantly: focus on political illegality and international law, emphasize cultural repression without linking it to social protection systems, or analyze reintegration as a symbolic or diplomatic process, rather than a socio-institutional one. As a result, the interaction between social risks, social guarantees, cultural resilience, and state capacity remains fragmented in the literature.

Previously Unresolved Parts of the Overall Problem. Despite growing scholarly attention, several critical aspects remain insufficiently explored:

- the transformation of social protection systems under conditions of prolonged occupation and transitional justice;
- the role of culture and identity as functional components of social cohesion and resilience, rather than symbolic markers;
- the capacity of grassroots initiatives and diaspora networks to complement state-led reintegration policies;
- the absence of risk-based, population-focused models linking social challenges to concrete policy instruments.

This article addresses these gaps by integrating social risk analysis, social protection mechanisms, and human capital recovery into a unified analytical framework for Crimea’s reintegration.

Objectives of the Article. The objective of this article is to substantiate a comprehensive approach to addressing social challenges in the reintegration of



temporarily occupied Crimea by identifying key risks, institutional capacities, and policy instruments. To achieve this objective, the article aims to:

- identify the core social challenges generated by prolonged occupation and hybrid governance practices;
- analyze the impact of cultural repression and identity transformation on social cohesion;
- systematize social risks affecting different population groups during the post-de-occupation period;
- assess existing and potential capacities – state, civil, and international – for overcoming these challenges;
- propose structured pathways for reintegration grounded in social protection, human capital development, and institutional trust-building.

These objectives reflect the internal logic of the article and correspond to its analytical structure.

Summary of the main research material.

Social Guarantees for the Reintegration of Crimea. In general terms, social protection constitutes a system of socio-economic measures aimed at providing material security for the population against social risks, including illness, disability, old age, loss of a breadwinner, unemployment, occupational accidents, and related contingencies. In other words, it represents a system for managing social risks with the purpose of compensating for damage, reducing their impact, or preventing their negative influence on the process of expanded population reproduction.

As a socio-economic category, social security reflects relations concerning the redistribution of national income in order to ensure established social living standards for every individual under conditions of exposure to social risks.

The social risks associated with the reintegration of Crimea are not secondary or derivative phenomena; rather, they constitute a central arena in the



struggle for public trust. Ignoring or underestimating these risks inevitably amplifies hybrid threats and undermines the legitimacy of reintegration policies.

Regulatory and Legal Framework and Strategic Guidelines. The foundational strategic document is the Presidential Decree “On the Strategy for the De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol.” [8] At present, this Strategy serves as the principal instrument defining the priorities of state policy, including its social and humanitarian dimensions.

Social guarantees for educators and healthcare professionals are addressed in the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “On Amendments to the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for the De-occupation and Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol.” [9] These measures are aimed at forming a кадровий (personnel) reserve and restoring the education and healthcare systems. These objectives are further integrated into the nationwide recovery framework through the Health Care System Development Strategy until 2030 [10].

The recognition of educational outcomes is regulated by the Law of Ukraine “On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine Regarding the Recognition of Learning Outcomes of Persons Who Resided in the Temporarily Occupied Territory of Ukraine.” [11]. This legislation is a key instrument enabling residents of Crimea to undergo certification procedures in order to confirm knowledge and qualifications acquired under occupation, which is critically important for ensuring the right to education.

The right to work and the recognition of employment history are addressed in the draft Law of Ukraine “On the Principles of State Policy for the Transitional Period,” [12] developed by the Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories. The draft law proposes a framework for verifying employment records and pension rights accumulated during the period of occupation.



Housing rights are regulated by the Law of Ukraine “On Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territory of Ukraine.”[13]. In particular, Article 11 establishes that ownership rights to property located in Crimea remain with their lawful owners, regardless of any decisions issued by occupation authorities or courts.

To operationalize the identified social guarantees and regulatory mechanisms, it is essential to move from a normative description to a structured assessment of the social risks that may emerge during the reintegration of Crimea. The complexity of the post-de-occupation environment requires an analytical tool capable of capturing both the probability and the potential impact of these risks across different time horizons. In this regard, a social risk matrix serves not only as an instrument of diagnosis, but also as a foundation for prioritizing policy responses, allocating resources, and designing targeted social interventions. The matrix (table 1) below summarizes the key social risks associated with the reintegration of Crimea, taking into account their likelihood, expected impact, and the population groups most affected in the short- and medium-term perspectives.

Table 1.**Matrix of Key Social Risks in the Reintegration of Crimea***

No	Social Risk	Category	P	I	Risk Level	Affected Groups
1.	Mass unemployment after de-occupation	Employment	High	High	Critical	Youth, former civil servants, internally displaced persons (IDPs)
2.	Non-recognition of employment records from the occupation period	Social protection	High	Medium	High	Public sector employees
3.	Social frustration due	Social protection	High	High	Critical	Pensioners



	to the loss of Russian social benefits					
4.	Lack of access to medical services	Health care	Medium	High	High	Persons with disabilities
5.	Educational gaps and ideological distortion	Education	High	Medium	High	Children, youth
6.	Housing rights conflicts	Housing	Medium	High	High	IDPs, local residents
7.	Distrust in Ukrainian institutions	Institutional	High	High	High	Entire population
8.	Overload of the social protection system	Governance	Medium	Medium	Medium	State institutions
9.	Manipulation of social protests by the Russian Federation	Security	Medium	High	High	Entire population

Source: created by authors

* Assessment criteria:

Probability (P): low / medium / high

Impact (I): low / medium / high

Risk level: combined assessment (low / medium / high / critical)

Time horizon of analysis: short-term (0 – 12 months after de-occupation) and medium-term (1 – 3 years)

Key constraints include: limited state financial resources; shortages of qualified personnel; legal collisions inherent to the transitional period; and widespread psychological trauma among the population.

Operational Dimensions of Social Protection in the Reintegration of Crimea. Following the identification of key social risks, the next analytical step is to assess the functional capacity of Ukraine's social protection system to respond to these challenges in a post-de-occupation context. Social protection mechanisms play a dual role in the reintegration process: on the one hand, they mitigate individual vulnerabilities arising from prolonged occupation and armed conflict; on the other, they serve as an institutional signal of state presence, fairness, and legitimacy. The table 2 presents a structured analysis of core areas of social protection relevant to



Crimea's reintegration, highlighting existing opportunities, systemic risks and threats, as well as institutional and legal constraints that may hinder effective implementation.

Social Protection in the Reintegration of Crimea - social protection against illness, disability, old age, loss of a breadwinner, unemployment, occupational accidents, and related social risks. Key policy directions include:

- Guarantees of the right to work and rest, including compliance with the Labor Code of Ukraine and the transition to digital employment records through the Electronic Services Portal of the Pension Fund of Ukraine.
- Guarantees of housing rights, through compensation mechanisms for damaged property (the eRecovery program) and restitution (return) of unlawfully expropriated property.
- Education and health care, including re-certification of teachers; implementation of Ukrainian educational standards through the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine; integration of medical institutions into the eHealth system and guaranteed access to free medical services under the Medical Guarantees Program.

Table 2.

Analysis of Social Protection in the Post-De-occupation Period

Object of Protection	Opportunities	Risks and Threats	Constraints
Protection against illness and access to health care	Integration into the eHealth system (National Health Service of Ukraine) and access to the "Affordable Medicines" program	Risk: Collapse of the health care system due to the departure of medical personnel loyal to the Russian Federation. Threat: Epidemiological risks caused by the absence of access to Ukrainian vaccination registries.	Need for comprehensive verification of medical diplomas and professional licenses.



Old-age protection (pensions)	Transition to digital services of the Pension Fund of Ukraine	Risk: Significant financial deficit resulting from the sudden emergence of hundreds of thousands of new pension beneficiaries. Threat: Use of pension databases by the Russian Federation for manipulation and blackmail.	Lack of verified employment records in Ukrainian registries for over ten years.
Disability and occupational accidents	Access to modern rehabilitation services and prosthetics funded by the state	Threat: Mass demand for rehabilitation among individuals affected by hostilities (including combatants from both sides, posing ethical and security dilemmas).	Need to establish new Medical and Social Expert Commissions (MSEC) to review all disability statuses.
Loss of breadwinner	Granting legal status and benefits to families of fallen defenders of Ukraine originating from Crimea	Risk: Social tension between families of fallen members of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and those of individuals mobilized by occupation authorities.	Legal difficulties in establishing the fact of death in active combat zones.
Right to rest and recreation	Restoration of Crimea as Ukraine's primary recreational hub; sanatorium treatment for veterans	Threat: Mining of coastal areas and forest zones. Risk: Monopolization of resort facilities by oligarchic groups.	Severe degradation of ecosystems and wastewater treatment facilities during the occupation period.

Source: created by authors

Summing up, the reintegration of Crimea after prolonged occupation represents an unprecedented challenge for Ukraine's social protection system. The analysis allows for the formulation of three fundamental principles that should underpin state policy in this area:

Digitalization as an instrument of justice. The implementation of digital services (through the *Diia* portal and Pension Fund registries) is the only viable means of ensuring transparent verification of housing rights, employment records, and social benefits. This approach can prevent administrative chaos and minimize



corruption risks during the restoration of legal statuses for hundreds of thousands of citizens.

Priority of human capital over infrastructure. The physical reconstruction of hospitals and schools is meaningless without a critical mass of qualified and loyal professionals. The proposed system of incentives for a кадровий (personnel) reserve – financial bonuses, housing guarantees, and career advancement mechanisms – must be launched prior to full de-occupation so that teachers and medical staff are prepared to begin work on the very first day of restored control.

Flexibility of transitional justice mechanisms. Social protection in Crimea cannot be implemented using standard mainland procedures. A special legal regime is required to recognize educational outcomes (in accordance with Law No. 3482-IX) and employment records of individuals who did not commit crimes, while simultaneously ensuring unconditional restitution of property rights to lawful owners.

Human Capital as a Core Capacity for Post-Occupation Reintegration.

The effectiveness of social guarantees and institutional recovery in Crimea will ultimately depend on the availability of a qualified, loyal, and resilient кадровий (personnel) reserve. In post-occupation environments, public administration, education, and health care systems face acute кадровий depletion due to out-migration, collaboration screening, and security risks. Under such conditions, standard public service incentives are insufficient. A dedicated system of economic, social, professional, and institutional stimuli is therefore required to ensure rapid deployment, retention, and long-term consolidation of human capital in Crimea. The proposed incentive system below (table 3) is designed as a temporary but intensive intervention mechanism, aligned with transitional justice principles and post-conflict recovery objectives.



Table 3.

Incentive System for the Personnel Reserve in the Reintegration of Crimea

Instrument	Mechanism Description	Eligibility Conditions	Duration	Expected Effect
Block 1. Economic Incentives				
Crimean Coefficient	Salary bonus of +50 – 100% (differentiated by position scarcity)	Contract for service in Crimea for at least 3 – 5 years	Until regional stabilization (5 – 7 years)	Rapid filling of critical vacancies
Relocation Grant	One-time relocation payment plus rental compensation (6 – 12 months)	Relocation from another region of Ukraine	First year of service	Reduction of mobility barriers
Preferential Mortgage (eOselya+)	Interest rate $\leq 3\%$, priority quota for personnel reserve	After 12 months of service	Until home acquisition	Long-term staff retention
Block 2. Social and Living Incentives				
Service Housing with Privatization Option	Provision of housing with buy-out rights (20% ownership per year of service)	Continuous service	5 – 7 years	Long-term territorial attachment
Comprehensive Health Insurance	Insurance package for employee and family (including mental health services)	Contract-based service	During service period	Social security, burnout reduction
Family Support and Wellness	Priority rehabilitation vouchers, educational vouchers for children	Presence of family	Annually	Social stability
Block 3. Professional Incentives				
Accelerated Service Record (1 year = 2)	Double credit for service in a high-risk region	First 5 years of service	Limited period	Increased attractiveness of service
International Fellowships	Erasmus+, Euroguidance with mandatory knowledge transfer	After 2 years of service	3 – 6 months	Import of governance best practices
Career Fast Track	Priority access to managerial positions in the public sector	Successful KPI evaluation	Permanent	Formation of a new administrative elite
Block 4. Institutional Guarantees				



Instrument	Mechanism Description	Eligibility Conditions	Duration	Expected Effect
Instrument	Content	Responsible Authority	Objective	
Crimea Service Contract	Individual contract specifying incentives and KPIs	Central executive authorities / Military-Civil Administrations	Legal certainty	
Annual Performance Review	Performance assessment with eligibility for incentive renewal	Independent commission	Quality-based governance	
Mentorship	Assignment of an experienced mentor	National Agency of Ukraine on Civil Service	Staff adaptation and integration	

Source: created by authors

Conclusions. The reintegration of temporarily occupied Crimea represents a multidimensional social governance challenge that extends far beyond the restoration of territorial control. The findings of this study demonstrate that prolonged occupation has produced a complex configuration of social risks, including deepened social fragmentation, erosion of trust in public institutions, distortion of educational and professional trajectories, demographic displacement, and long-term psychological trauma. These challenges form a critical vulnerability zone that can be exploited by hybrid threats if not addressed through coherent and proactive social policy.

The analysis confirms that social risks associated with Crimea's reintegration are not secondary consequences of de-occupation but constitute a central battlefield for legitimacy and public trust. Mass unemployment, non-recognition of employment records, loss of social benefits, housing conflicts, and distrust in state institutions pose high to critical risks in both short- and medium-term horizons. The structured risk matrix developed in this article provides an analytical tool for prioritizing state interventions and aligning them with the needs of specific population groups, thereby enhancing policy effectiveness and resilience.

A key conclusion of the study is that social protection mechanisms must function as instruments of transitional justice and trust-building rather than as



routine administrative procedures. Digitalization of social services, employment records, pension systems, and property registries emerges as a foundational condition for ensuring transparency, preventing corruption, and restoring social rights at scale. Without comprehensive digital verification and interoperable registries, reintegration efforts risk administrative overload and social destabilization.

The research further demonstrates that human capital recovery is the decisive capacity for successful reintegration. Infrastructure reconstruction alone cannot ensure functional governance in the absence of qualified, loyal, and motivated personnel. The proposed incentive system for the personnel reserve—combining economic, social, professional, and institutional guarantees—offers a viable model for accelerating кадровий deployment and retention in post-occupation conditions. By transforming service in Crimea into a career-defining opportunity, this system addresses the temporal gap between de-occupation and institutional stabilization.

Cultural resilience and grassroots initiatives are identified as indispensable complementary capacities in the reintegration process. Civil society organizations, volunteer-led cultural centers, advocacy networks, and diaspora engagement play a crucial role in preserving identity, countering disinformation, and supporting psychosocial recovery. The findings confirm that culture is not a symbolic add-on but a functional element of social cohesion and national resilience.

Finally, the study underscores the necessity of a flexible transitional legal regime tailored to the specific conditions of Crimea. Standard mainland procedures are insufficient for addressing the legal, social, and ethical complexities arising from long-term occupation. The recognition of educational outcomes and employment records for individuals who did not commit crimes, combined with the unconditional restitution of property rights to lawful owners, is essential for ensuring social justice and preventing collective punishment.



In sum, the article contributes to the academic discourse by conceptualizing Crimea's reintegration as a socially driven, risk-sensitive, and capacity-based process. The proposed framework integrates social protection, human capital development, cultural resilience, and institutional trust-building into a coherent policy architecture. This approach not only addresses Ukraine's immediate reintegration needs but also offers transferable insights for other post-occupation and post-conflict contexts.

Directions for further research include: empirical assessment of social trust dynamics in de-occupied territories; evaluation of digital social governance tools in transitional justice settings; comparative analysis of personnel incentive systems in post-conflict public administration. These avenues are essential for refining reintegration strategies and strengthening the societal foundations of long-term stability.

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