



STUDY OF GENDER SPECIFICS OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM UKRAINE TO THE EU IN THE MILITARY CONFLICT



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The Ukrainian Centre for Economic
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Project manager – Olga PYSHCHULINA

Project team – Olga PYSHCHULINA. Tetyana MARTSINKOVSKA. Vasyl YURCHYSHYN. Danylo DOBROVOLSKYI

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INTRODUCTION

The study of gender specifics of forced migration from Ukraine to the EU in the military conflict was made within the Ukraine Civil Society Sectoral Support Activity, implemented by ISAR Ednannia in consortium with the Ukrainian Centre for Independent Political Research (UCIPR) and the Centre for Democracy and Rule of Law (CEDEM) with the support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The purpose of the project is to improve the operating environment for civil society and strengthen the institutional capacities of civil society organisations in order to advance the self-reliance of the civic sector in Ukraine.

The context of the proposed research is that at present, the causes of forced migration are increasingly associated with international and internal armed conflicts that cause massive and often unorganised departure of people. There is a rapid increase in the number of displaced persons, both internal and cross-border, triggered by Russian large-scale aggression and the spread of hostilities across Ukraine's vast territories. Moreover, the fast intensification of Ukraine population's international mobility is taking place amidst globalisation and the growing intensity of global migration, which raises the urgent problem of regulating migration processes, making them organised, safe and non-conflictual.

The analysis of current migration trends in Ukraine, in the context of its participation in the European and global migration, is one of the important factors in shaping national policy. This problem is linked, both directly and indirectly, with the national security of Ukraine.

The main purpose of the study is to identify the problems, ways, formats, means of integration and prospects for the return of Ukrainian forced migrants based on the analysis of specifics of the new migration wave, which has a pronounced gender bias, and thereupon to assess the potential of Ukraine's post-war recovery.

The study's objectives include analysing the migration-related risks for the country's economic recovery; assessing targeted measures to encourage the return of forced migrants; and outlining the priority steps of economic and financial mechanisms aimed at restoring the country. It also provides for

an assessment of migration consequences for migrants themselves, for receiving countries and for Ukraine, and identifies vulnerabilities and constraints, in particular:

- a) studying the «social dividends» of migration – as an added value of the migration experience – social, ethical, cultural and aesthetic, educational, civic capital, etc., and their impact on life practices, both in the host and home country after return;
- b) studying the extent to which migrants’ individual socio-cultural «assets», namely new life values, behavioural norms and stereotypes, attitudes, relationships and standards, acquired through the European experience, can be applied after their return home;
- c) studying the gender mentality and transformation of gender identity after immersion in the social space of societies with a more democratic gender culture;
- d) studying the processes of accumulation of «gender equality dividends» as a mechanism of identity transformation based on the development of a more democratic «gender code»;
- e) developing a set of appropriate measures to optimise the Ukrainian government’s actions to improve its migration policy with respect to the existing trends of gender-based forced migration; proposing possible joint actions of the EU countries and Ukraine in view of the need for Ukraine’s post-war recovery.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to study the gender specifics of migration, the researchers used «soft», interpretive methods of collecting, processing and analysing information.

A NATIONWIDE SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

The sample included 600 respondents, mostly migrants who had returned home. The target group was defined as individuals aged 18 to 65 who had to live in the European Union for some time as a result of the Ukraine war. The study reproduced the data on gender, age and macro-regional structure of the target group obtained from previous 7 nationwide surveys. Thus, the data set obtained from the survey by gender, age and macro-region reflects the demographic structure of the target group determined on the basis of national surveys.

The respondents were selected based on a combination of a route survey and a snowball sampling method. Among the respondents interviewed face-to-face, 18% were selected using the route method, and 82% were selected using the snowball method.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS

The purpose of the FGD approach was to identify the basic mobility strategies of Ukrainians and patterns of gender differences, as well as to obtain information about migrants' individual socio-cultural «assets» in the form of new life values, behavioural norms and stereotypes, including those acquired through the European experience and applicable after their return home. The researchers were interested not only in the experiences and opinions of respondents, but also in those of their families and friends.

The selection of specialists and experts to participate in FGDs was carried out by searching open sources and using the snowball method.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

The purpose of the expert survey was to identify the risks posed by migration to the country's economic recovery, assess targeted measures for encouraging the return of forced migrants and creating opportunities for their temporary or permanent employment, and identify areas of progress, gaps and challenges in addressing migration policy objectives.

KEY FINDINGS

- ✓ For the vast majority of Ukrainians, migration abroad was forced and rather stressful, with the main motivation being to save themselves and children. However, among women, who make the majority of forced migrants, there were those who had been considering emigration long before the full-scale war. So, the events of February 2022 only accelerated the decision-making and offered additional opportunities for emigration and adaptation abroad.
- ✓ Ending up as forced migrants abroad, most Ukrainians tried to choose a host country where they had useful connections and contacts, such as relatives, friends, acquaintances, who could help them settle in, share experience and useful information about staying in a new country, and, if necessary, provide financial support and shelter. The decision on settling in a new country was also influenced by previous experience and knowledge of its mentality, culture, and lifestyle, geographical proximity to Ukraine, as well as knowledge of a foreign language. Poland met these criteria to a greater extent.
- ✓ In search of better living conditions or for family reunification, some Ukrainians changed several receiving countries. It is not uncommon for them to move from Poland to Germany.
- ✓ A significant number of female respondents described their internal state during the period of forced migration mainly negatively, despite a relative sense of safety and security; they felt lonely, stressed, anxious, unclear about the future and homesick.
- ✓ The respondents and their families' main problems and risks faced in the receiving countries included language barriers; inability to find a job of the same speciality and qualification as in Ukraine; employment problems for mothers with young children; problems with timely medical care, including emergency care; difficulties with renting housing, in particular for large families; bureaucracy and overly long processing of registration documents.
- ✓ Most of the advantages and attractions of European life were related to the quality of life, household comfort, consumption of goods and

services, and social benefits: social protection of the population, high social security standards, free state-supported professional training and retraining programmes; respect for the rights of employees; excellent and free education for refugee children, Instead, the respondents were far less likely to mention the advantages or attractions in the system of European values, social norms and behavioural patterns.

- ✓ The factors that contributed to better adaptation in the new country included knowing a foreign language and having a profession in demand, moving with the entire family, having useful contacts and friends, and less often – having the opportunity to join volunteer activities. Accordingly, the most frequently mentioned obstacles to adaptation were lack of knowledge of a foreign language, unwillingness to take up low-skilled jobs, differences in mentality, culture and lifestyle, «fatigue» with the Ukrainian issue among the locals along with their not always friendly attitude towards migrants. At the same time, even facing a wide range of psychological, economic, social and cultural problems, many migrants have enjoyed a standard of living not lower but in some cases even higher than they had in pre-war Ukraine.
- ✓ Analysing the gender peculiarities of adaptation, the respondents indicated that for men it is generally easier to adapt in a new country, as they can count on higher salaries, work remotely from their families, be relieved of family and household responsibilities; men agree to any work schedule, can work full-time or by the day. Women, on the other hand, cannot work full-time because they need to spend more time with their children; they try to find a job as quickly as possible and tend to accept low-skilled and low-paid jobs to provide for themselves and their children, to create comfortable living and learning conditions.
- ✓ Respondents note that it is easier for children, adolescents and young people to adapt to a new country than for their parents. The respondents' children quickly found friends, received support from teachers, and were more successful in learning a foreign language than their adult relatives. Common problems of adaptation among children include missing a parent who stayed behind, missing home, relatives and friends; stress from frequent changes of residence, psychological discomfort due to the language barrier, and less often – bullying by other students and local residents.

- ✓ The locals are generally positive towards Ukrainian refugee women, especially those with children; male migrants who arrived long before the war and work diligently are also well regarded. Instead, Ukrainian men who arrived after the onset of the war may face negative attitudes, especially when they demonstrate no willingness to work or otherwise violate social norms and rules.
- ✓ The willingness to borrow something from the European way of life and introduce it in Ukraine mostly concerns a sense of security and social protection; law-abiding citizens, low levels of corruption, compliance with labour laws by employers, protection of employees; gender equality, men's involvement in raising children, and compliance with social norms of behaviour. At the same time, most Ukrainian migrants seek not so much to borrow certain social and moral norms and democratic values as to receive in Ukraine the quality of life, social security, developed infrastructure, and affordable education that they have seen in the EU.
- ✓ The impact of Ukrainian migrants on the receiving countries is seen as rather positive, primarily due to the economic benefits from migrants who are working, either as employees or those who even started their own businesses. Also, with forced migration from Ukraine, local residents had the opportunity to get familiar with Ukrainian culture and folk traditions, to shape their own perception of ordinary Ukrainians and their difference from Russia and Russians, to see the values of Ukrainians and their mental and cultural affinity with Europe.
- ✓ Some respondents do not have a clear vision of conditions under which they are ready to return to Ukraine. When deciding on the return, most were caught in internal contradiction, with many arguments for and against. No one denies that the longer Ukrainian migrants stay abroad, the higher the likelihood of their not returning to Ukraine. One of the most important factors in regulating forced migration is the policy of receiving countries that will determine the proportion of migrants to return to Ukraine. Some respondents believe that EU countries are more interested in keeping as many Ukrainian refugees as possible, considering them a better alternative than, for example, refugees from Palestine or Syria.

- ✓ Important factors for the return to Ukraine may include victory in the war, a sense of security in Ukraine, a desire to reunite with family, comfortable living and studying conditions for children; the beginning of economic recovery along with the labour market development; restoration of infrastructure, substantial payments to returnees in Ukraine; curtailment of refugee assistance programmes in receiving countries, or dissatisfaction with life abroad, coupled with problems with adaptation, including professional self-realisation in the host country.
- ✓ Barriers to the return include loss of housing, the ongoing occupation of a hometown; deterioration of the security situation, blackouts; higher quality of life abroad, including better living conditions and financial security; successful social and economic adaptation, better prospects for children abroad.
- ✓ The respondents identified the following priority problems in Ukraine in the post-war period: lack of unity in Ukrainian society, a possible split, and even confrontation between different groups – those who fought in the war and those who did not, those who went abroad and those who stayed in the country; the need for psychological rehabilitation, in particular for those who took part in combat action, lack of psychologists and rehabilitation specialists; lack of labour force and specialists critical for the post-war recovery, destroyed infrastructure, mined areas, etc.
- ✓ A significant number of female respondents support a ban on men travelling abroad during the war, but only if the relevant law is observed by all to whom it applies and if corruption schemes that allow men to leave Ukraine for bribes are eliminated. Common arguments in favour of the ban are as follows: if the ban is lifted, the flow of draft evaders will increase, leading to the growing shortage of men necessary to reinforce the Armed Forces, continue the war and achieve victory; men need to stay in the country not only to fight but also to ensure the sustainable operation of the economy and the development of the home front.
- ✓ Common arguments against the ban on men leaving Ukraine are as follows: the ban is not a democratic European norm and restricts

human rights; the ban has given rise to numerous corruption schemes allowing certain groups of civilian and military officials to make money during the war, while the flow of evaders does not reduce; the ban is not effective, as it is difficult to force men with low motivation to fight; men who want to leave could find work abroad and help the country. There were also some suggestions to raise the age of the ban from 18 to 25, and to lift the ban for students.

- ✓ When discussing possible changes in Ukrainian society's gender mentality, the respondents noted that during the war, women proved their effectiveness in all spheres of life and became more confident in own abilities. After the war, they will become more proactive, ambitious and energetic in local governance and politics. After a long stay abroad, Ukrainian women will become more self-reliant and similar to European women – independent of men, mobile, entrepreneurial, and self-sufficient in implementing own projects and initiatives.
- ✓ The biggest changes are expected at the family level, in terms of a more equal distribution of family and household responsibilities between women and men. The experience of temporary migration will only contribute to this, as, according to respondents, gender equality is higher abroad than in Ukraine. At the same time, they feel that after the war, the level of responsibility and burden on women is likely to increase, because in many families, men will either be killed or become temporarily disabled, need rehabilitation or care, so women will have to take on more responsibilities for family maintenance, child rearing and household chores.

SPECIFICS OF FORCED MIGRATION ABROAD AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Forced migration arising from a full-scale war has become a new and more severe challenge for Ukraine compared to migration processes that happened long before 24 February 2022, although the first wave of forced migration occurred in 2014, with the illegal annexation of Crimea and the war in the Donbas.

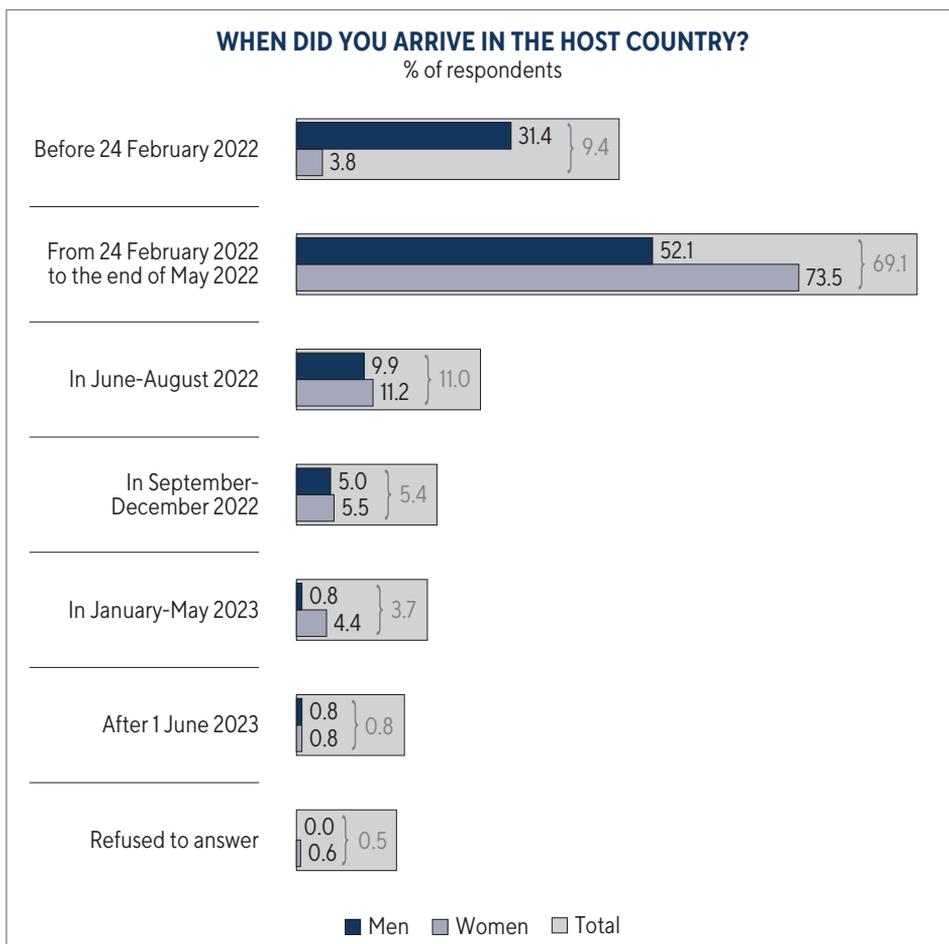
The first and most obvious difference between forced migration and other types of migration typical for Ukraine is its cause – war and life-threatening situations that forced population groups that never considered migration abroad in peacetime to do so. This leads to another significant difference – the socio-demographic profile of forced migrants, dominated by urban women of working age with children, with higher education, highly qualified female professionals with certain professional achievements, and young people under 18.

If labour migrants from the western regions prevailed in the pre-war migration, then forced migration has mostly touched upon the residents of eastern and southern regions more affected by the hostilities. As a rule, forced migrants are urban residents, in particular, inhabitants of Ukrainian metropolises – Kharkiv, Odesa, Kyiv, Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, and Lviv, while before the war, it was mainly residents of villages and small towns from the most depressed regions who left abroad for work.



CHOICE OF COUNTRY

The vast majority of respondents (74% of women and 52% of men) went abroad in the spring of 2022, during the first wave of mass migration, and hoped to return home in a few months. However, due to the dangerous situation in Ukraine, the duration of migration has significantly increased, which to some extent contributed to their adaptation in the new country and helped them identify certain advantages of staying in the EU under various temporary protection and refugee support programmes.



For most respondents who left after 24 February 2022, migration abroad was forced. Some decided to leave in a panic, having no time to think about it, collect their belongings and the necessary documents, guided by the sole intention to save the lives of their loved ones, especially children.

However, the massive wave of emigration caused by the war was not only due to immediate security issues. To some extent, it was also compensatory, meaning that those who wanted to leave but were unable to or could not dare to do so had finally gotten their chance. Therefore, the decision to leave was for some respondents a well-considered one – they were met abroad by friends or relatives who later helped them with housing, work and documents, which somewhat facilitated their adaptation in the new country.

Although there were also cases of people with absolutely no plans to go abroad, the decision to emigrate was influenced by the massiveness of departure. For example, some took advantage of the help offered by volunteers who, in the first days of the war, organised the departure of Ukrainians abroad under various programmes.

The choice of a receiving country and the willingness to leave for the EU was strongly influenced by the presence of relatives, friends and acquaintances who had already adapted or even obtained citizenship there and were therefore able to help with shelter, various domestic problems, and the like. Thus, 45% of women and 41% of men named the presence of relatives, friends and acquaintances as a reason for choosing a particular country, 25% were guided by recommendations of friends and acquaintances. The relocation of most people from their immediate environment was an important factor for 25% of women and 24% of men.

A common border and proximity to Ukraine was another important factor, mentioned by 31.5% of women and 28.2% of men (diagram «*Why did you choose this country as your host country?*»¹).

¹ The «host country» here refers to the country where the respondent stayed the longest after the outbreak of the war.

WHY DID YOU CHOOSE THIS COUNTRY AS YOUR HOST COUNTRY?

% of respondents

	Men	Women	Total
I had relatives, friends and acquaintances in this country	40.8	45.5	44.5
This country has a common border, close to Ukraine	28.3	31.5	30.9
Most people from my environment went to this country	26.7	24.7	25.1
This country was recommended by friends and acquaintances	20.8	24.5	23.8
This country is economically developed	14.2	17.3	16.7
This country offers favourable conditions for accepting Ukrainian refugees, a high level of social assistance	20.8	14.6	15.9
It was easy to get to this country	12.5	16.7	15.9
In this country, they are friendly towards Ukrainian citizens	11.7	15.9	15.0
Affinity of languages	11.8	12.9	12.7
I have an experience of working or job seeking in this country	8.3	12.1	11.3
Cultural affinity	23.3	7.2	10.5
I always wanted to visit this country	11.7	8.9	9.4
An opportunity to enrol children in school or kindergarten	10.8	6.3	7.3
Other (specify)	8.4	6.8	7.1
I know the language of this country	9.2	3.4	4.6
It is easy to get to other European countries from this country	1.7	4.4	3.9
In this country it is easy to obtain temporary protection or refugee status, as well as prospects for permanent residence in the future	3.3	4.0	3.9
Hard to say	0.0	0.4	0.3

The factors of economic development, cultural and linguistic affinity, favourable conditions for accepting Ukrainian refugees, and even the high level of social assistance offered by the receiving country also influenced the respondents' choice, but they are far less important than personal connections. For example, 21% of men and 15% of women mentioned the economic development as a motive for choosing a particular receiving country. Better conditions for accepting Ukrainian refugees and a higher level of social assistance are also more important factors for women.

Poland was predominantly chosen by the criteria of language proficiency, similarity of mentality, culture, and lifestyle, In addition to the common border, the two countries share cultural and linguistic affinity, and Ukrainians used to come to Poland in large numbers in search of work and a better life long before the war.



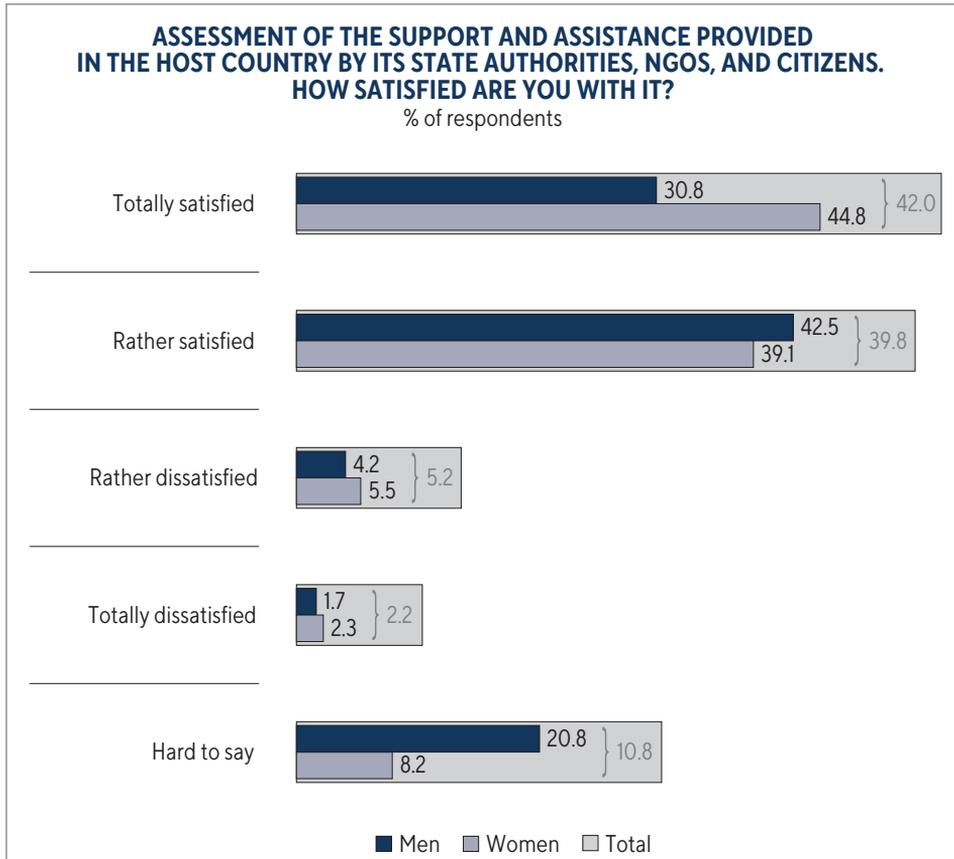
ASSISTANCE TO FORCED MIGRANTS

While abroad, the vast majority of Ukrainian citizens received some form of assistance. Obviously, it was mostly women who received assistance, 9% of women and 29% of men did not receive any aid. The assistance mostly came from the host country's authorities – 74% of women and 55% of men received such an aid. Volunteer organisations also played a significant role, providing assistance to 43% of respondents. Each fifth respondent received assistance from international organisations. Religious organisations also provided Ukrainians with substantial assistance, with 24% of women and 16% of men receiving it, 20% of women received help from their relatives and friends, compared to 13% of men. The same proportion of men (13%) reported receiving assistance from the company where they worked.

It is noteworthy that ordinary citizens of the host countries also actively supported forced refugees from Ukraine, as noted by 14% of respondents.

DID YOU RECEIVE ANY ASSISTANCE DURING YOUR STAY ABROAD?			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
Yes, from the host country's authorities	55.0	74.2	70.3
Yes, from volunteer organisations	41.2	44.0	43.4
Yes, from religious organisations	15.8	23.9	22.3
Yes, from foreign and international foundations, organisations, enterprises	19.3	21.4	20.9
Yes, from relatives, acquaintances, friends	12.6	20.1	18.6
Yes, from citizens of the host country whom I never met before	12.5	14.8	14.3
No, I did not receive any assistance	29.2	8.9	13.0
Yes, from the company where I work (worked)	12.5	4.9	6.4
Yes, from the Ukrainian state	5.0	4.0	4.2
Hard to say/Refused to answer	0.0	0.4	0.3

The vast majority of respondents have been absolutely satisfied with the assistance they received in host countries. Only 5% of men and 8% of women were dissatisfied with the level of assistance.



The problems facing migrants during their departure often force them seek assistance from lawyers and various counselling services. Moreover, the number of women migrants who have sought legal assistance is much higher than men (30% and 16%, respectively). This suggests that women's migration is associated with many more issues that require clarification and special legal guarantees.

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE (FROM ANY SOURCE) RECEIVED IN THE HOST COUNTRY?

% of respondents

	Men	Women	Total
Basic necessities (food / clothing / hygiene products, etc.)			
Received enough	49.2	56.4	55.0
Received but not enough	11.7	20.1	18.4
Did not receive	20.0	15.4	16.4
Do not need this type of assistance	17.5	6.6	8.8
Hard to say/Refused to answer	1.7	1.5	1.5
Search for accommodation			
Received enough	37.5	44.8	43.3
Received but not enough	19.2	18.8	18.9
Не отримували	21.7	20.9	21.1
Do not need this type of assistance	20.0	13.7	15.0
Hard to say/Refused to answer	1.7	1.7	1.7
Financial assistance			
Received enough	33.9	43.9	41.8
Received but not enough	22.3	34.6	32.1
Did not receive	26.4	15.6	17.8
Do not need this type of assistance	16.5	3.6	6.2
Hard to say/Refused to answer	0.8	2.3	2.0
Integration in the host country (language courses, etc.)			
Received enough	21.7	34.2	31.7
Received but not enough	10.0	14.0	13.2
Did not receive	31.7	26.0	27.2
Do not need this type of assistance	31.7	22.4	24.3
Hard to say/Refused to answer	5.0	3.4	3.7
Employment assistance			
Received enough	21.5	18.4	19.0
Received but not enough	14.0	14.2	14.1
Did not receive	26.4	33.6	32.2
Do not need this type of assistance	36.4	29.0	30.5
Hard to say/Refused to answer	1.7	4.9	4.2

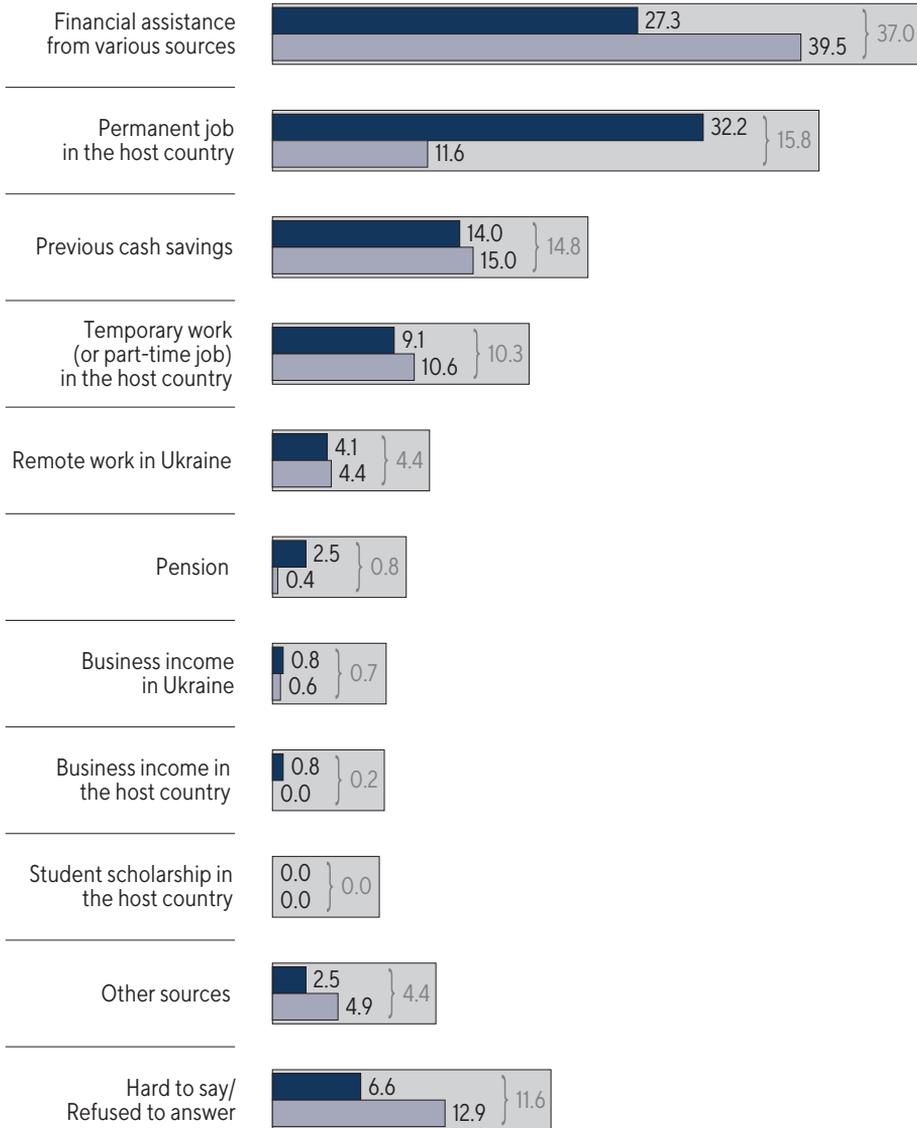
TYPE OF ASSISTANCE (FROM ANY SOURCE) RECEIVED IN THE HOST COUNTRY?			
	% of respondents		
	Men	Women	Total
Legal assistance			
Received enough	17.4	18.6	18.4
Received but not enough	9.1	12.1	11.5
Did not receive	26.4	30.9	30.0
Do not need this type of assistance	41.3	30.9	33.1
Hard to say/Refused to answer	5.8	7.4	7.1
Childcare/leisure activities for children			
Received enough	10.0	19.2	17.3
Received but not enough	6.7	11.0	10.1
Did not receive	25.8	25.5	25.6
Do not need this type of assistance	50.8	38.0	40.6
Hard to say/Refused to answer	6.7	6.3	6.4

As for the Ukrainians' main source of income in the host country, 40% of women lived mainly on financial assistance, while 32% of men named a permanent job as their main source of livelihood. And while financial assistance also played a significant role for men, with 27% of them receiving it, only 12% of women had a permanent job that could be counted on as their main source of income, 15% of men and women relied on previous cash savings, and 10% lived on temporary part-time jobs (table «*Main sources of livelihood abroad*»).



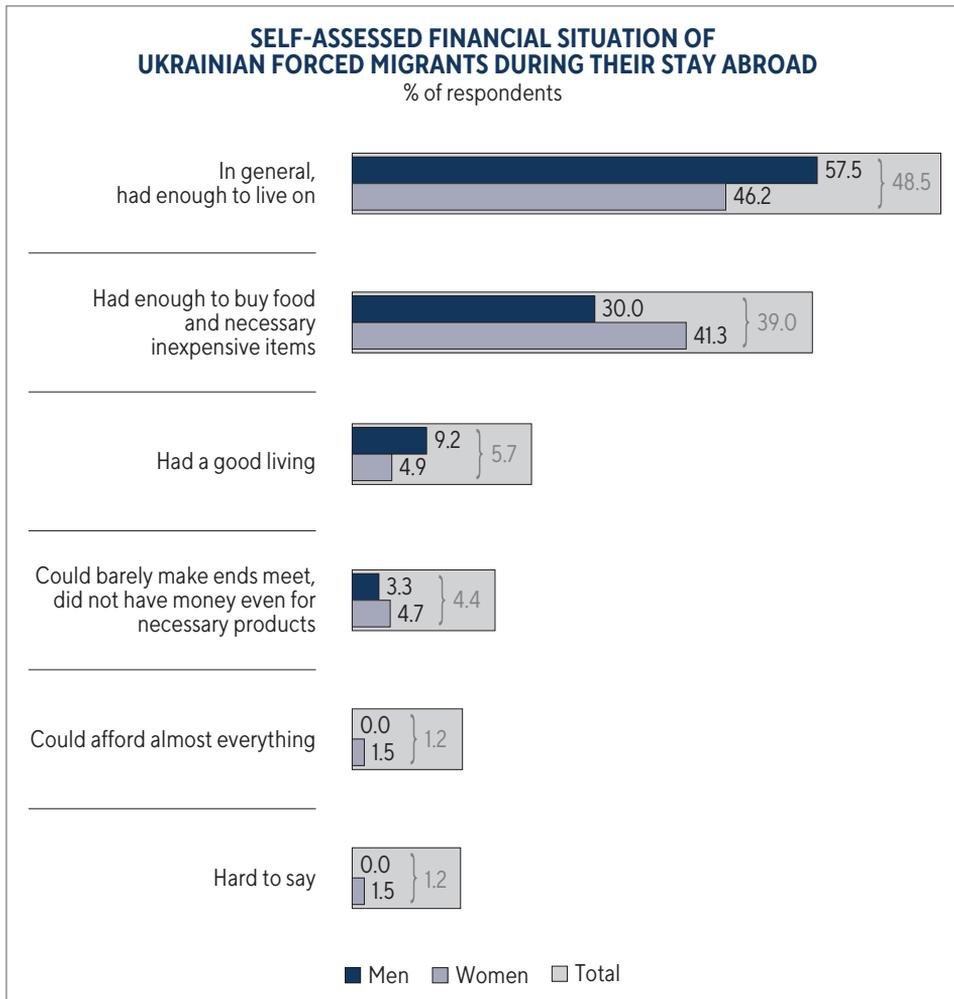
MAIN SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD ABROAD,

% of respondents



■ Men ■ Women ■ Total

Given the measures taken by the European countries in relation to Ukrainian forced migrants, their adaptation was quite successful. When assessing their financial situation, 9% of men and 4% of women said they had a good living, and 57% of men and 46% of women had enough money to live on. For 30% of men and 41% of women, the assistance was enough to buy food and necessary inexpensive items. Only 3% of men and 5% of women could barely make ends meet, did not have money even for necessary products. Only 3% of men and 5% of women could barely make ends meet, did not have money even for necessary products.



CONDITIONS OF STAY ABROAD: UKRAINE VS EUROPE

RESIDENCE STATUS

Citizens of Ukraine who left for the EU after the full-scale invasion were entitled to apply for temporary protection or refugee status. Therefore, temporary protection in the host country was granted to 58% of women and 37.5% of men.

Among the returnees, however, there are many of those who did not receive any status guaranteeing their legal stay abroad. For example, 37.5% of men and 16% of women had no temporary protection or refugee status and never applied for it, 8% of men and 5% of women reported applying for temporary protection or refugee status but were not granted it.

CONDITIONS OF STAY

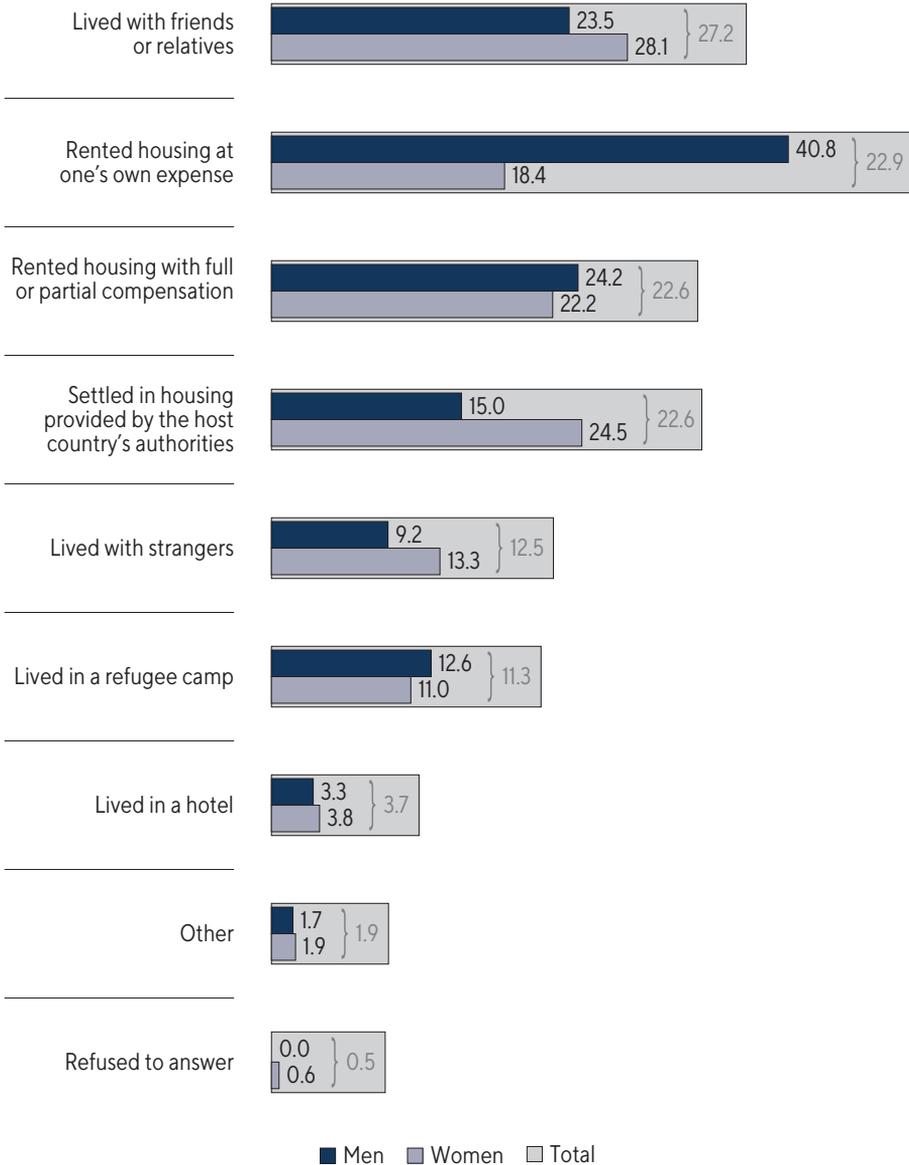
Ukrainians' conditions of stay abroad have notable gender distinctions. In particular, men mostly rented housing at their own expense (41%), lived with friends or relatives (23.5%), or rented housing with full or partial compensation (24%). Women were more likely to live with friends or relatives (28%), settle in housing provided by the host country's authorities (24.5%) or rent housing with full or partial compensation (22%) (diagram «*Living abroad*»).

Most polled Ukrainians state that their housing issues have been addressed, but their descriptions of living conditions hint that they hardly were good. For example, people who arrived in Poland during the most acute phase of the war were accommodated in refugee camps arranged in boarding houses, schools and shopping centres equipped with the necessary sanitary conditions, beds, places to shower, cook, wash clothes, etc.

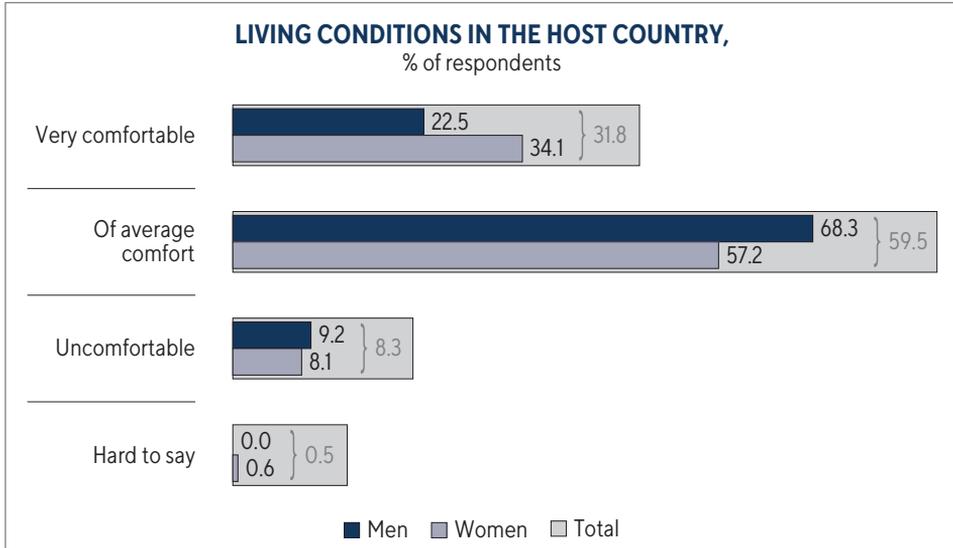
At the same time, there are almost no complaints about current living conditions. The vast majority of both men and women rate their living conditions as of average comfort. However, women had the opportunity to get

LIVING ABROAD

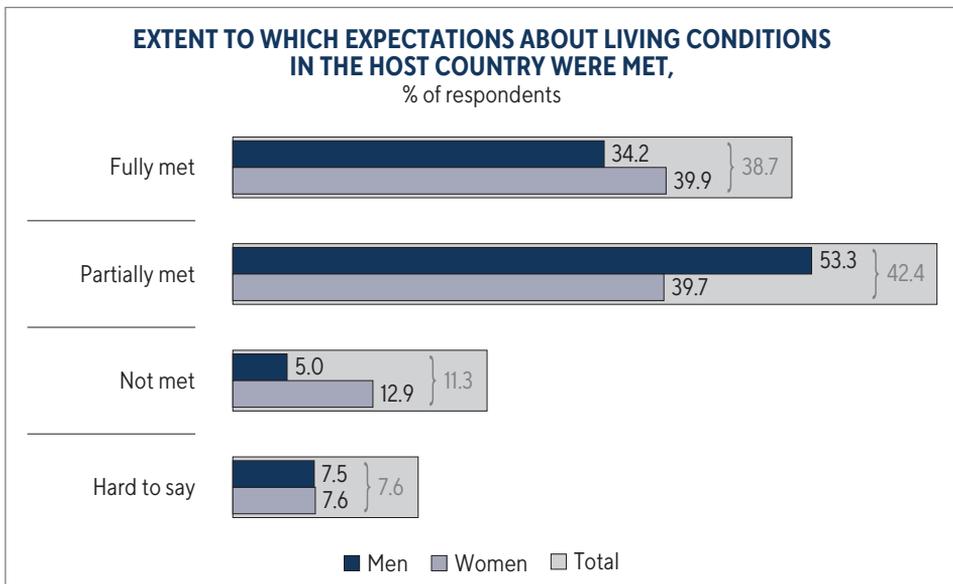
% of respondents



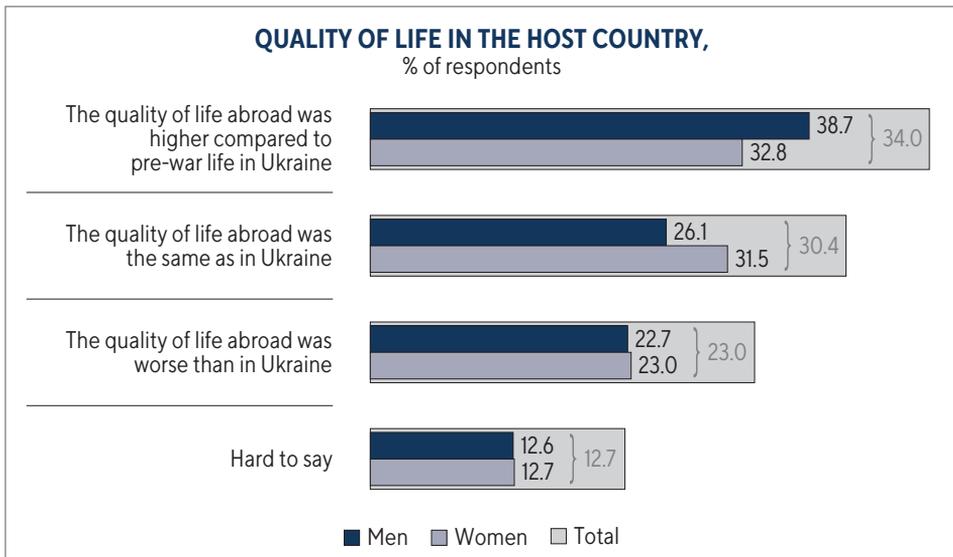
more comfortable housing compared to men, as they are more likely to rate their living conditions as comfortable (34%) compared to men (22.5%).



In general, both women and men's expectations regarding living conditions were fully or partially met. However, 13% of women and 5% of men said that their expectations weren't met.



Speaking of the quality of life assessment, gender differences are not significant. Men rated the quality of their stay slightly higher compared to their pre-war life in Ukraine, 31.5% of women and 26% of men rated the quality of life abroad as the same as in Ukraine, 23% of men and women alike rated the quality of life abroad as worse than in Ukraine.



Ukrainians have been given a unique opportunity to see first-hand and to compare European life with Ukrainian life. And this comparison certainly provides a lot of food for thought, Ukrainians generally rate the quality of life in their host countries higher than in Ukraine, but its individual components are assessed differently. In fact, in some areas. Ukraine is significantly ahead of Europe, but there are many criteria by which it is losing out.

AREAS WHERE UKRAINE HAS AN EDGE

Health services

Although Ukrainians can use health facilities in the receiving countries on an equal footing with the locals, they almost unanimously note one problem – long queues to see narrow specialists. In many European countries, one has to wait for weeks, and sometimes for months to see a particular specialist. Another problem is the cost of health services. Tests and simple

outpatient procedures are very expensive. Although health insurance facilitates the process of attending the clinic, both for a routine visit in case of illness or injury and in case of emergency hospitalisation, but the ability to make an appointment with a private or public specialist at any time and have the necessary tests done immediately – a service that comes naturally to Ukrainians – is very difficult for Europeans.

Digitalisation of services

Ukraine seeks to digitalise most public services, so user-friendly apps are something Ukrainians are used to. That is why the inability to obtain a certificate or extract online, the difficulty of opening a bank account and reissuing a plastic card, the lack of an option for quick funds transfer between accounts, the need to visit a bank for any trivial matter are the things that really surprised Ukrainians abroad.

Business hours of stores

In Ukraine, people are used to the fact that they can buy anything they need at any time of the day or night. Of course, the working hours nowadays are limited to curfews, but in peacetime there were no restrictions. All stores normally operate even on public holidays. In Europe, shops and pharmacies are mostly open only until 8:00 p.m., and it is almost impossible to find a business that is open on Sunday.

Banking services

Based on interviews, Ukrainian migrants rate Ukrainian banking service as the best. One of the reasons is that it is impossible to get services in European banks that have long existed in Ukraine and have become commonplace, such as multi-currency accounts, two or three cards in different currencies, phone-based account management, foreign currency cash exchange, money transfers between individuals using the card number and the cardholder's name. Also, it is impossible to pay with European cards on most websites. In Ukraine, there are no such problems.

Service and delivery

Ukrainians can receive their orders from any online store or a parcel from another part of the country in less than a day, and martial law has

even accelerated these terms. Groceries from a store or food from a restaurant are delivered within 30-60 minutes. Europe is lagging far behind Ukraine in this regard. Some European countries, however, are now showing positive dynamics, such as Glovo in Poland or Gorillas in Germany.

Food quality

In general, the quality of food in Europe is considered higher than in Ukraine. However, one can only compare what is identical. For example, Ukraine has predominantly natural products, which is almost impossible to find in European countries.

In Ukraine, the number and quality of top- and middle-class restaurants are highly valued, especially in terms of price/quality ratio.

Some respondents noted that familiarity with the European lifestyle reinforced their belief that they lived much better in Ukraine, and that pre-war Ukraine was not inferior to EU countries in many aspects.

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
Food quality			
Much better than in Ukraine	16.7	18.0	17.7
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	37.5	30.0	31.5
Roughly the same	24.2	27.5	26.8
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	14.2	18.4	17.5
Much worse than in Ukraine	5.0	5.5	5.4
Hard to say	2.5	0.6	1.0
Food prices			
Much better than in Ukraine	17.6	12.9	13.9
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	26.9	26.6	26.7
Roughly the same	27.7	35.1	33.6
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	18.5	17.8	17.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	6.7	6.8	6.8
Hard to say	2.5	0.8	1.2

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Affordability and quality of housing			
Much better than in Ukraine	8.3	7.4	7.6
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	31.7	18.9	21.5
Roughly the same	32.5	31.1	31.4
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	15.8	23.5	22.0
Much worse than in Ukraine	5.8	7.6	7.3
Hard to say	5.8	11.4	10.3
Accommodations for people with disabilities			
Much better than in Ukraine	35.0	36.2	35.9
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	35.0	30.2	31.2
Roughly the same	11.7	11.0	11.1
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	1.7	2.1	2.0
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	1.7	1.5
Hard to say	15.8	18.8	18.2
Environmental improvement and ecology			
Much better than in Ukraine	34.2	38.3	37.5
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	44.2	33.5	35.6
Roughly the same	17.5	20.8	20.1
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	1.7	5.5	4.7
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	1.3	1.2
Hard to say	1.7	0.6	0.8
Accessibility and quality of public transport			
Much better than in Ukraine	21.8	27.5	26.4
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	38.7	32.1	33.4
Roughly the same	31.1	25.8	26.9
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	2.5	9.3	7.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	2.3	1.9
Hard to say	5.9	3.0	3.5

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Culture of communication, attitudes towards to each other			
Much better than in Ukraine	26.7	25.6	25.8
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	35.0	27.9	29.3
Roughly the same	29.2	32.3	31.7
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	5.8	9.1	8.4
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	1.1	0.8
Hard to say	3.3	4.0	3.9
Road quality			
Much better than in Ukraine	65.8	61.3	62.2
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	25.0	28.5	27.8
Roughly the same	3.3	7.4	6.6
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	3.3	1.3	1.7
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	0.6	0.5
Hard to say	2.5	0.8	1.2
Travel opportunities			
Much better than in Ukraine	45.5	37.4	39.1
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	30.6	32.1	31.8
Roughly the same	10.7	15.9	14.8
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	3.3	3.0	3.0
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	0.4	0.5
Hard to say	9.1	11.2	10.8
Quality of life in general			
Much better than in Ukraine	34.5	30.1	31.0
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	44.5	40.7	41.5
Roughly the same	14.3	20.3	19.1
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	4.2	5.1	4.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	0.4	0.3
Hard to say	2.5	3.4	3.2

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Social security			
Much better than in Ukraine	41.3	24.1	27.6
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	30.6	40.4	38.4
Roughly the same	14.9	16.9	16.5
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	5.0	3.6	3.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	1.7	1.5	1.5
Hard to say	6.6	13.5	12.1
Civil safety in emergencies			
Much better than in Ukraine	33.6	23.5	25.5
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	27.7	31.1	30.4
Roughly the same	19.3	18.4	18.6
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	2.5	1.7	1.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	0.6	0.5
Hard to say	16.8	24.7	23.1
Retail chains and stores			
Much better than in Ukraine	16.7	21.3	20.4
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	37.5	31.4	32.7
Roughly the same	35.8	39.2	38.6
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	3.3	3.8	3.7
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	1.7	1.5
Hard to say	5.8	2.5	3.2
Accessibility and quality of infrastructure for adults, including opportunities for sports and cultural events			
Much better than in Ukraine	30.0	17.1	19.7
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	28.3	31.5	30.9
Roughly the same	30.8	30.9	30.9
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	4.2	8.5	7.6
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	2.1	1.9
Hard to say	5.8	9.9	9.1

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Accessibility and quality of infrastructure for children			
Much better than in Ukraine	23.5	18.0	19.1
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	23.5	29.4	28.2
Roughly the same	14.3	23.9	22.0
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	5.0	6.6	6.3
Much worse than in Ukraine	5.9	3.2	3.7
Hard to say	27.7	19.0	20.8
Functioning of state institutions			
Much better than in Ukraine	20.2	14.8	15.9
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	27.7	22.2	23.3
Roughly the same	20.2	23.5	22.8
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	8.4	8.5	8.4
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	3.4	2.9
Hard to say	22.7	27.7	26.7
Cafés and restaurants			
Much better than in Ukraine	15.8	14.6	14.8
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	31.7	19.8	22.2
Roughly the same	31.7	38.8	37.4
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	7.5	11.8	10.9
Much worse than in Ukraine	1.7	4.6	4.0
Hard to say	11.7	10.3	10.6
Pre-school and school education			
Much better than in Ukraine	11.6	12.2	12.1
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	9.1	16.0	14.6
Roughly the same	21.5	19.2	19.7
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	7.4	9.1	8.7
Much worse than in Ukraine	3.3	3.2	3.2
Hard to say	47.1	40.3	41.7

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Public services			
Much better than in Ukraine	8.3	12.7	11.8
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	27.5	21.1	22.4
Roughly the same	30.8	27.2	27.9
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	9.2	11.6	11.1
Much worse than in Ukraine	4.2	5.1	4.9
Hard to say	20.0	22.4	21.9
Organisation of health care system and quality of medical care			
Much better than in Ukraine	14.9	10.8	11.6
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	25.6	18.2	19.7
Roughly the same	14.9	20.5	19.4
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	29.8	25.8	26.6
Much worse than in Ukraine	7.4	12.9	11.8
Hard to say	7.4	11.8	10.9
Financial and banking services			
Much better than in Ukraine	12.5	11.0	11.3
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	23.3	17.1	18.4
Roughly the same	34.2	34.0	34.1
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	15.0	15.4	15.3
Much worse than in Ukraine	3.3	6.3	5.7
Hard to say	11.7	16.1	15.2
Online shopping			
Much better than in Ukraine	8.3	11.0	10.5
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	16.7	12.3	13.2
Roughly the same	37.5	43.3	42.2
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	3.3	3.6	3.5
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.0	2.1	1.7
Hard to say	34.2	27.7	29.0

COMPARING THE HOST COUNTRY WITH UKRAINE: WHAT IS BETTER AND WHAT IS WORSE??

% of respondents

(continued)

	Men	Women	Total
Digitalisation of services			
Much better than in Ukraine	16.0	8.9	10.3
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	15.1	11.7	12.4
Roughly the same	21.8	24.8	24.2
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	23.5	24.8	24.5
Much worse than in Ukraine	10.9	17.8	16.4
Hard to say	12.6	12.1	12.2
Higher education			
Much better than in Ukraine	12.6	9.3	9.9
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	10.1	12.7	12.1
Roughly the same	16.8	11.4	12.5
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	1.7	3.4	3.0
Much worse than in Ukraine	2.5	1.5	1.7
Hard to say	56.3	61.8	60.7
Postal services and deliveries			
Much better than in Ukraine	11.8	9.1	9.6
Somewhat better than in Ukraine	25.2	17.9	19.4
Roughly the same	33.6	37.1	36.4
Somewhat worse than in Ukraine	7.6	10.3	9.8
Much worse than in Ukraine	0.8	4.9	4.0
Hard to say	21.0	20.7	20.7

AREAS WHERE UKRAINE LAGS BEHIND

According to respondents, Ukraine lags far behind the EU in terms of quality of life in general, but most of all – in accessibility and quality of public transport, environmental improvement and ecology, accommodations for people with disabilities, accessibility and quality of infrastructure for children, travel opportunities, social security, civil safety in emergencies, and road quality.

Most of the spontaneously mentioned advantages and attractions of European life were related to the quality of life, household comfort, consumption, as well as social benefits for the entire community but not just for those with high incomes. Respondents acknowledge that:

- ✓ The EU offers high-quality and free education for children of refugees and forced migrants; well-organised and properly equipped educational institutions, starting with kindergartens; a smooth process of education and rearing; individual approach to students; quality school meals; and a generally positive atmosphere in educational institutions.
- ✓ Developed infrastructure, even in small communities, including venues for entertainment and recreation, children's and sports grounds, convenient public transport, well-equipped bus stops, etc.
- ✓ Rich and diverse cultural life, the opportunity to visit museums, excursions, festivals, mass cultural and sports events, etc.
- ✓ Developed culture of consumption; flexible system of discounts for popular goods; efficient and clever self-service system; absence of queues in public places, including supermarkets; availability and variety of food products; a large number of charity events organised by stores and various charities to provide nutritious food to everyone, especially the poor.

ADVANTAGES OF THE HOST COUNTRY

An undeniable and obvious advantage of the receiving countries is the opportunity to live a peaceful life.

- ✓ In addition to physical security, which for many respondents is the main reason for their forced migration, they note the following advantages of living in European countries compared to pre-war Ukraine:
- ✓ High living standard in general; quality housing, well-developed infrastructure, comfort in everything – from good roads and clean streets to well-equipped and convenient stores, places for recreation, etc.

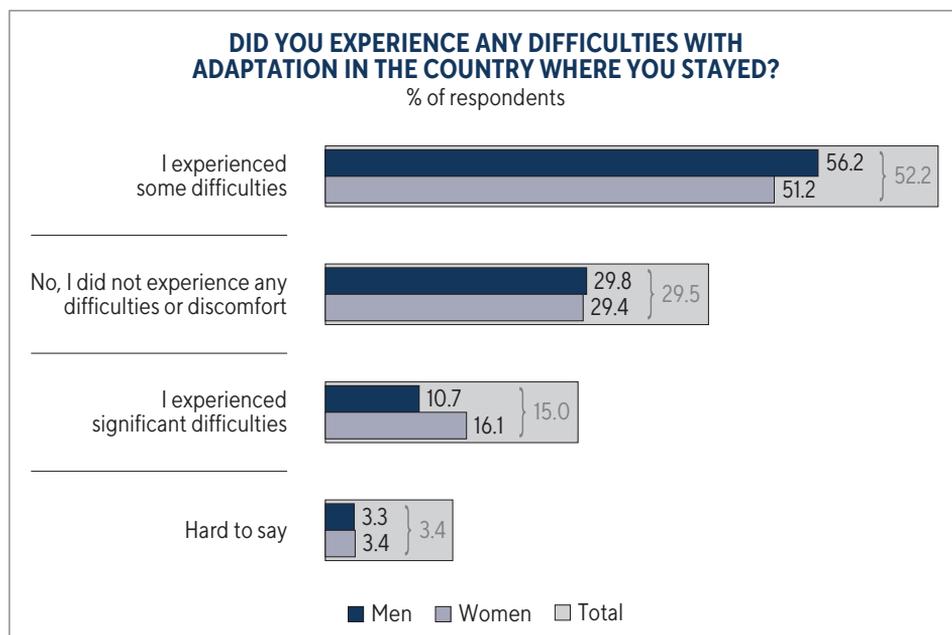
- ✓ Safety of the population with high standards of social security and assistance to the unemployed, low-income families, etc. For example, the size of assistance to refugees in Germany is significantly higher than the average salary of a highly qualified specialist in Ukraine.
- ✓ Free state-supported professional training and retraining programmes; comprehensive assistance to refugees wishing to study and work, such as travel benefits, free language courses, etc.
- ✓ Observance of the rights of employees, the terms of employment contracts, and labour laws.



ADAPTATION IN A NEW COUNTRY

Forced relocation abroad is accompanied by a number of problems and risks for migrants. True, people are safe there, not having to think about finding a cover and hiding from enemy shelling. However, there are other problems that need to be addressed. Since living in another country is primarily about changing a lifestyle, practice shows that adapting to new conditions is difficult for the absolute majority of people. It is for good reason that psychologists estimate the migrants' adaptation abroad at a maximum 100 points on the stress scale. Therefore, preparing for the future new way of life is crucial for the adaptation process. In the case of forced migrants from Ukraine, they had no preparatory period at all and had to make the immediate decision to leave.

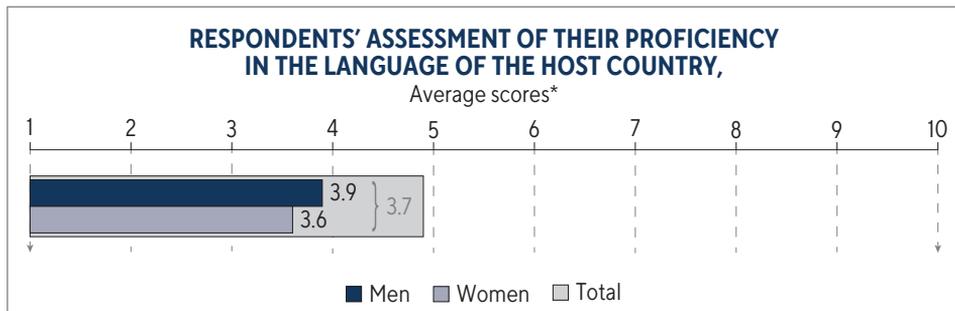
Among those who returned to Ukraine after staying abroad, 56% of men and 52% of women reported having some difficulties with adaptation in the host country. For 16% of women and 11% of men, such difficulties were significant. Instead, 30% did not experience any difficulties with adaptation abroad.



Despite the many advantages of European life and a relative sense of safety and security, many respondents described their internal state during migration mostly negatively, feeling lonely, unclear about the future, stressed, anxious, and homesick, to name the few.

The adaptation of Ukrainian migrants abroad was further complicated by the fact that the «classic» homesickness overlapped with additional anxiety about their relatives and friends who remained at home and, in general, anxiety about what was happening in Ukraine.

Not knowing the local language makes many internal processes impossible. This obstacle was mentioned by 39.5% of women and 32% of men. In particular, on a 10-point scale, men rated their proficiency in the language of the host country at 3.9, while women rated it at 3.6. The language barrier concerns not only the cultural context and everyday life in the host country – the lack of proficiency in written language, for example, seriously complicates the preparation of documents for legalisation. The language problem was particularly highlighted by women in terms of their children’s difficulties in a new country (language barrier and lack of friends).



* On a scale from 0 to 10, where «0» means «not proficient at all» and «10» means «fluent».

The main problems and risks faced by the respondents in the receiving countries include the following:

- ✓ Lack of legal information, lack of knowledge of the country’s laws, legal procedures, ways to solve problems, sources of various types of assistance, etc.

- ✓ Lack of understanding of the local mentality, social and cultural differences.
- ✓ Problems with employment, especially for mothers with young children. According to such women, childcare facilities in small settlements operate only until 13:00, which significantly reduced their chances of finding a job.
- ✓ Inability to find a job in the speciality and qualification as in Ukraine. A significant number of highly educated and experienced professionals (lawyers, financiers, accountants, managers, architects, doctors, etc.) are forced to accept low-skilled jobs. In addition, the level of remuneration of refugees and forced migrants is generally lower than that of citizens of the receiving country.
- ✓ Problems with receiving timely medical care, including emergency care for patients with chronic diseases, and doctors' formal attitude. According to the respondents, the quality and efficiency of health services and the professional level of health workers were significantly lower compared to Ukraine's health system before the war.

One of the most serious problems for Ukrainians was finding accommodation and renting a house, especially for large families with young children and/or pets. In addition, quite common were rejections exactly because applicants came from Ukraine.

The respondents also mentioned corruption, which, according to some migrants, is more sophisticated and elaborate than in Ukraine and allows for the circumvention of prohibitions and laws in almost all areas of life.

Some respondents pointed to a significant number of drug addicts, especially among young people, as well as greater accessibility and prevalence of drug use compared to Ukraine. Some were also unpleasantly surprised by poor culture of behaviour among adolescents and young people (table «*What problems or risks did you face in the host country?*»).

WHAT PROBLEMS OR RISKS DID YOU FACE IN THE HOST COUNTRY?

% of respondents

	Men	Women	Total
Anxiety about relatives and friends who remained in Ukraine	50.8	57.7	56.3
Anxiety about what is happening in Ukraine	50.8	52.0	51.8
Homesickness	40.8	50.7	48.7
Lack of knowledge of the local language	31.7	39.5	37.9
Financial problems, lack of money	24.4	26.8	26.4
Problems with finding a job	14.2	20.1	18.9
Problems with renting a house	22.5	16.7	17.9
Problems with medical treatment and care	16.7	21.6	20.6
Bureaucratic issues with financial assistance, temporary protection or refugee status	15.0	18.4	17.7
Complex system of registration, obtaining documents	13.3	16.5	15.9
Difficulties with cultural adaptation	12.5	16.7	15.9
Lack of housing	10.8	15.4	14.5
Lack of career and professional prospects in the host country	5.8	14.4	12.6
Lack of communication with compatriots	15.0	15.2	15.2
Difficulties in combining education in a Ukrainian and a local school (mandatory study in the host country)	5.8	11.8	10.6
Children's difficulties in adapting to a new country (language barrier, lack of friends in the new place, missing friends and relatives)	0.8	16.3	13.2
The need to choose between Ukrainian and foreign education (for children)	1.7	9.3	7.8
No problems	10.8	7.0	7.8
Changes in the type of settlement (e.g. an urban resident has to adapt to a rural life or vice versa)	5.0	8.0	7.4

WHAT PROBLEMS OR RISKS DID YOU FACE IN THE HOST COUNTRY?			
	% of respondents (continued)		
	Men	Women	Total
Uncomfortable housing	9.2	9.1	9.1
Few people of my age	6.7	3.0	3.7
Few people of my marital status	4.2	3.0	3.2
Problems with organising children's leisure time	0.8	4.9	4.1
Negative attitude of local residents	8.3	3.0	4.0
Lack of beauty services		3.8	3.0
Conflicting relations with previous waves of Ukrainian emigration in the host country	5.0	2.5	3.0
Lack of acceptable educational options for children	1.7	2.1	2.0
Other	1.7	0.8	1.0
Hard to say / Refused to answer	0.0	0.0	0.0

ASSISTANCE WITH ADAPTATION

Host countries provided assistance to facilitate Ukrainians' adaptation in the new place. Most adaptation-related assistance came from volunteers and local residents (3.7 and 3.4 points on a 5-point scale). Humanitarian headquarters and coordination centres have been set up in EU countries to provide forced migrants from Ukraine with essential items and food. Ukrainians also felt support from members of Ukrainian communities (3.3 points) and international organisations (3.3 points). To the least extent, Ukrainians felt support from refugee associations (2.9 points) and Ukrainian consular structures (2.6 points) (diagram «*To what extent did each of the following factors help you to adapt in the host country?*»).

INCENTIVES AND OBSTACLES TO ADAPTING IN A NEW COUNTRY.

In general, even facing a wide range of psychological, economic, social and cultural problems during their adaptation as refugees, many Ukrainians abroad have enjoyed a standard of living not lower but in some cases even higher than they had in pre-war Ukraine. The following factors contributed to better adaptation in the new country:

- ✓ Quickly finding a more or less acceptable job in the host country; continued part-time employment through remote work in Ukraine; having a profession in demand, which, in particular, does not require deep knowledge of a foreign language, long-term training, retraining, diploma confirmation, licensing, etc.
- ✓ Knowing a foreign language.
- ✓ Moving with the entire (large) family, in particular, a woman with children comes to her husband who already works abroad, or a woman leaves Ukraine with her husband or other relatives. Having useful connections, friends who helped with relocation.
- ✓ Having an opportunity to join well-developed volunteer activities or cooperate with local NGOs. Joining a local team usually helps to learn a foreign language faster, adapt, receive moral support, and solve problems, including related to work and housing.

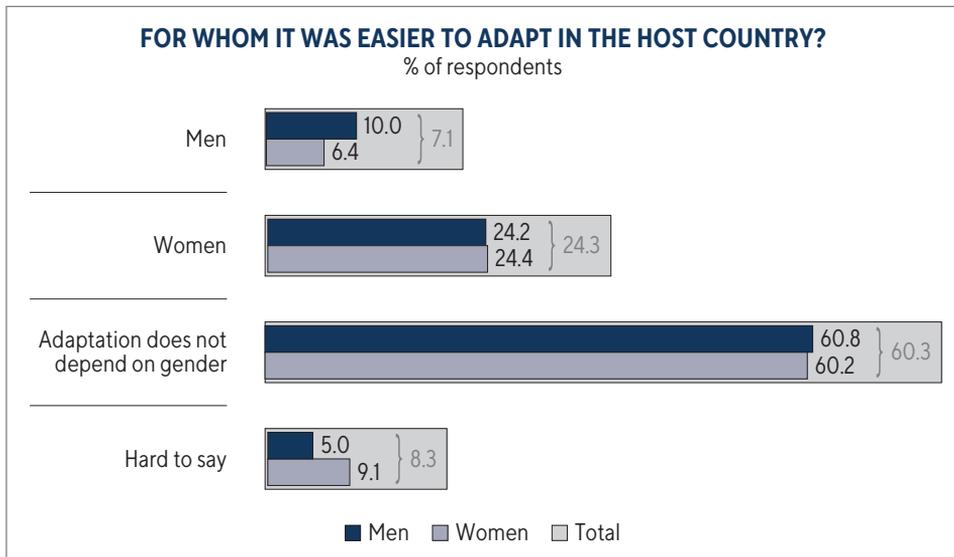
Meanwhile, the most frequently cited obstacles to adaptation included not knowing the foreign language; differences in mentality, culture and lifestyle; unfriendly attitudes of local residents, their «fatigue» with the Ukrainian issue and the war in Ukraine; migrants' high demands for potential jobs, unwillingness to take low-skilled jobs; high level of ambition, hesitancy, not knowing how to act and what to do, or unwillingness to work; readiness to wait until the end of the war and then to return to Ukraine, and until then to live off assistance and social benefits.

According to respondents, adaptation largely depends on the locality where Ukrainians: migrants usually end up in small towns or villages where social ties are strong, where most people know each other well, and where the community's public opinion matters. Accordingly, the community's position on the Ukraine war, its willingness or unwillingness to accept people

from another country and culture determined the level of support for forced migrants and their further integration.

GENDER PECULIARITIES OF ADAPTATION

With regard to gender peculiarities of adaptation, 60% of respondents believe that adaptive abilities do not depend on gender, while 24% of men and women think that it was easier for women to adapt.



In general, respondents find it difficult to definitely tell whether it is easier for women or men to adapt in a new country. In this context, most respondents agreed that the success in adaptation depends on both external factors and personal qualities, character, temperament, professional level, skills and experience, which do not depend on gender. At the same time, respondents had some observations and considerations regarding gender peculiarities of adaptation. It should be noted that in this case, respondents compare «adaptation» with the ability to provide for themselves and their families, that is, adaptation primarily means «successful employment»:

- ✓ Women are generally more sociable, energetic, proactive, creative, and better at establishing social connections;

- ✓ Women try to find a job as soon as possible, accept low-skilled and low-paid jobs to provide for their children and create comfortable living, educational and social conditions;
- ✓ Men are more ambitious and demanding and their job search lasts longer; they go to interviews, look for better conditions, and stay on social security for as long as possible;
- ✓ Women rarely work full-time because they have to spend more time with children, and this narrows their employment opportunities;
- ✓ Men are more mobile and are less involved in family responsibilities, care of children and old relatives; they can work separately from their families; they can usually work full-time or by the day, and agree to any work schedule that may be a priori unacceptable for women with children;
- ✓ Men find it easier to get a job, in particular because even more vacancies have appeared abroad since the onset of the war, because some male labour migrants have returned to Ukraine or were unable to leave the country because of the ban;
- ✓ Men, unlike women, are able to perform physically demanding tasks, work in unfavourable and even extreme, dangerous conditions.

As a result, opinions on gender peculiarities of adaptation are divided. Both men and women who took part in the mass survey think that it is easier for women to adapt abroad. But during the focus group discussions, most women conclude that it is easier for men to adapt in a new country. This is because male migrants can expect higher salaries, work full-time and extra hours, go to work on weekends and holidays with higher pay, receive additional bonuses, bonuses, etc.

At the same time, respondents admit that adaptation depends not so much on gender as on the presence of children, the extent of childcare responsibilities and the scope of household duties. In other words, it is easier to adapt for those who do not have children.

In this case, both positions are quite correct, but depending on the context. Indeed, in the classical paradigm of migration, especially in its labour component, it is easier for men to adapt, especially since female migration is a riskier undertaking than male migration.

However, in the situation of forced migration from Ukraine amidst the war, women fleeing hostilities are treated differently from men. Thus, host society perceives women as victims of armed aggression, while men are required to defend their homeland, especially young men. And the attitude towards men in foreign communities is less lenient.

PECULIARITIES OF ADAPTATION OF SPECIFIC GROUPS

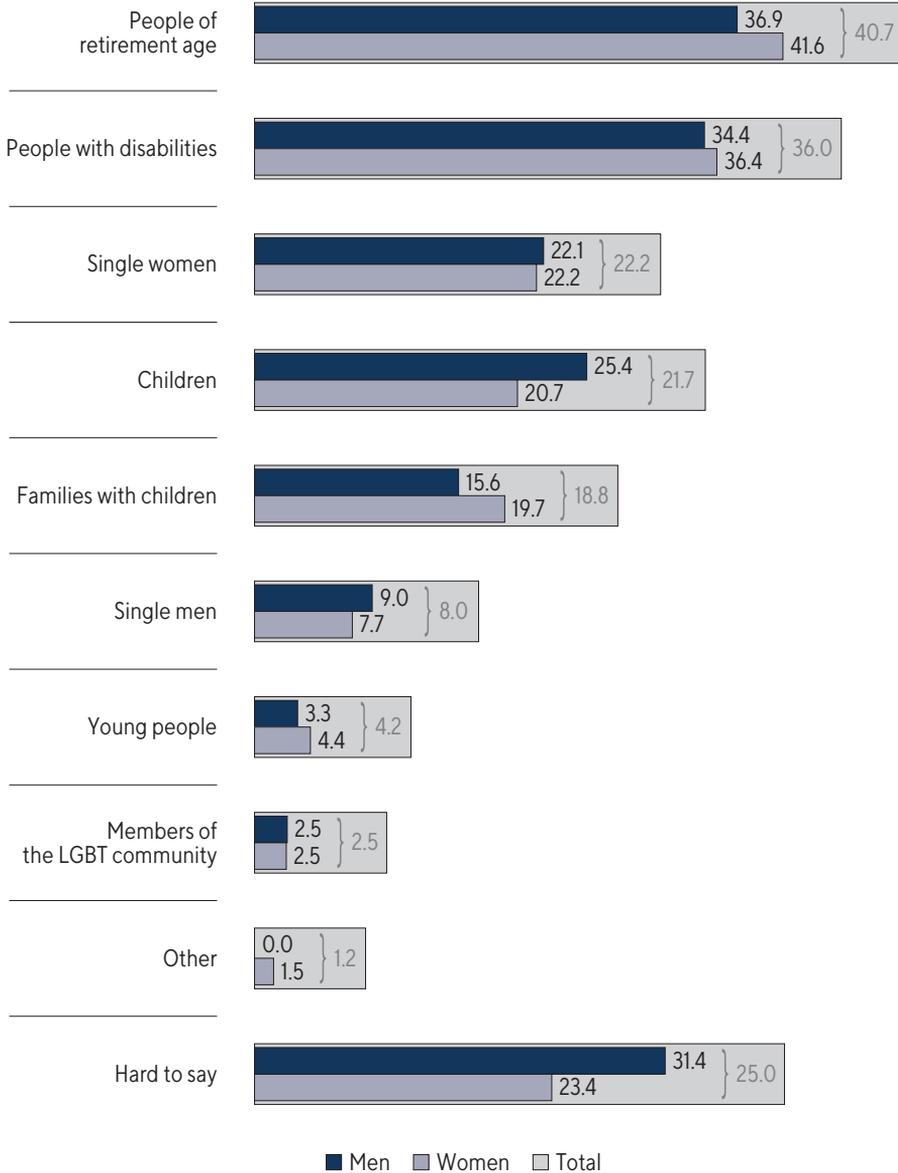
According to 41% of respondents, the elderly who lived a moderate and comfortable life are the most vulnerable group of refugees that finds it most difficult to adapt, and the lack of previous experience of staying in a foreign country makes the situation even worse for them. 36% named people with disabilities as a vulnerable group, while for 22%, children are the most vulnerable in this regard (diagram «*Groups of refugees who are the most vulnerable and unprotected?*»).

According to the survey participants, it is easiest for young people to adapt in the host country. This opinion is shared by almost 60% of both men and women. Single women and men, as well as children also find it easier to adapt. Usually, children rarely face any adaptation difficulties as they easily find a common language with others. The most comfortable age is 7-9 years, when kids adapt on the fly, pick up all the language features, organically immerse themselves in a new cultural environment and make friends. Families with children are also named among the easily adaptable groups.

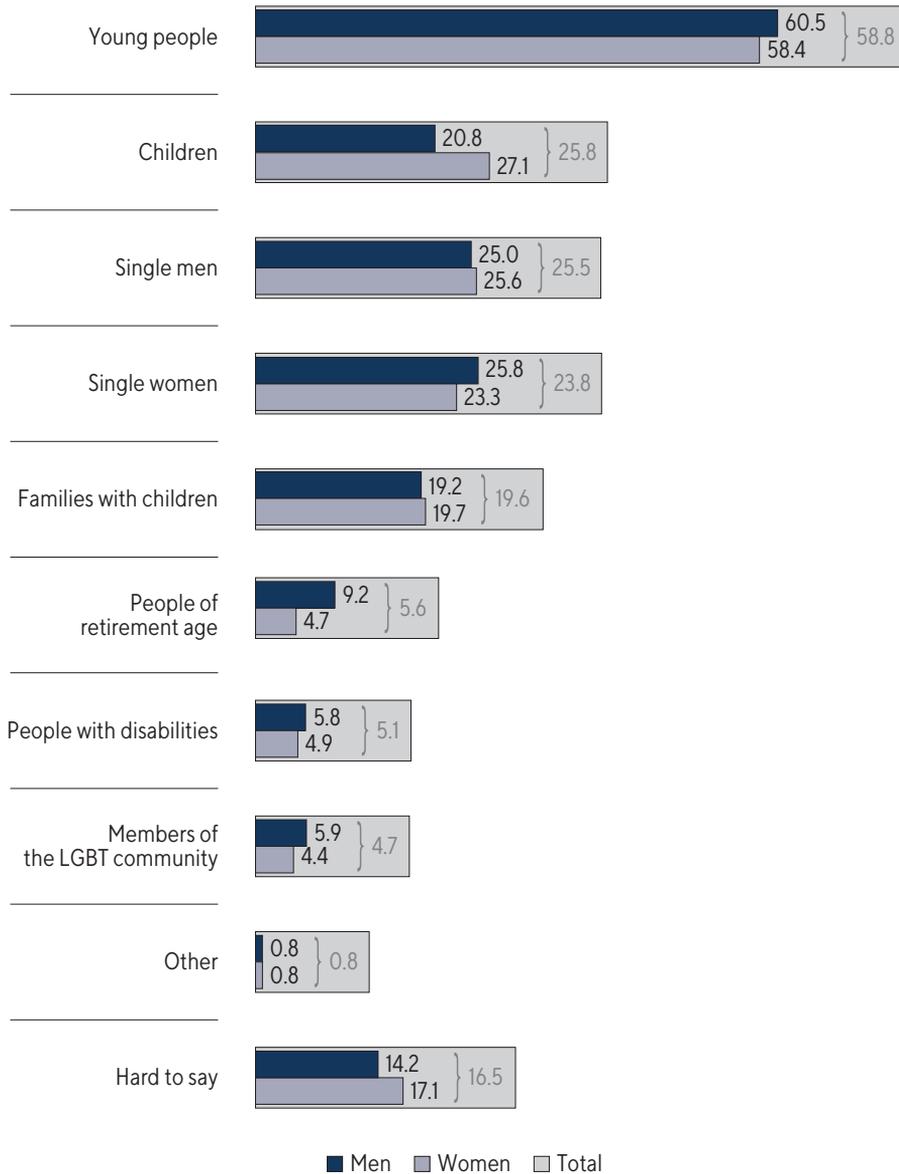
People of retirement age, people with disabilities and members of the LGBT community have a harder time adapting, although tolerance towards this group is almost a core value of the European community (diagram «*Groups of refugees who find it easiest to adapt in the host country?*»).

GROUPS OF REFUGEES WHO ARE THE MOST VULNERABLE AND UNPROTECTED,

% of respondents



GROUPS OF REFUGEES WHO FIND IT EASIEST TO ADAPT IN THE HOST COUNTRY, % of respondents



PECULIARITIES OF CHILDREN'S ADAPTATION

Many respondents generally agree that it is easier for children, adolescents and young people to adapt to a new country compared to adults, including their parents.

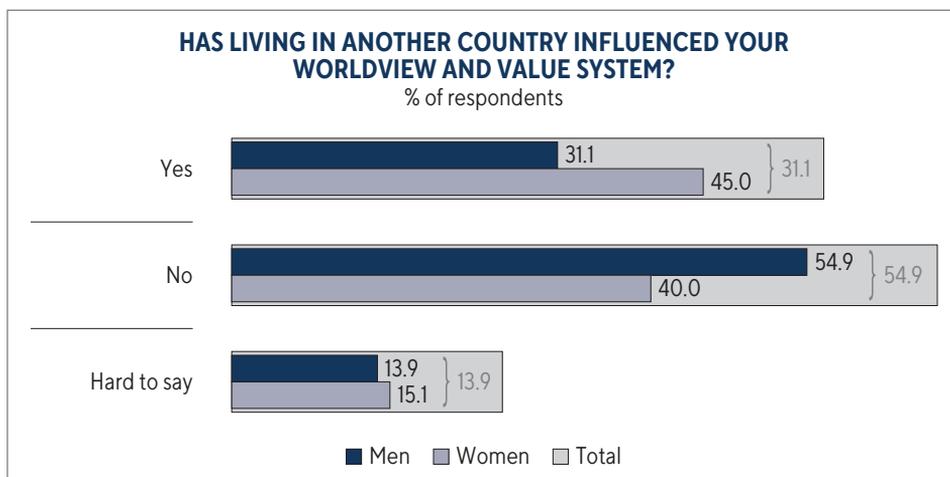
At the same time, children's experience of adaptation was sometimes diametrically opposed, ranging from positive to negative, just like that of adults. It depended on the environment, on the local community's attitude towards forced migrants, as well as on the treatment by teachers and classmates. Apart from the fact that children, especially teenagers, can be quite cruel in their own right, including to newcomers, they could also translate their parents' position in relation to the events in Ukraine and the massive wave of forced migrants. The following were identified as common problems of adaptation for underage children, especially those of primary school age:

- ✓ Children took hard the absence of their fathers, missed home, relatives and friends, and therefore long insisted on returning home.
- ✓ Children had difficulties with frequent changes of places of residence, schools or even countries, and a change of language environment.
- ✓ Just like adults, children experienced problems and psychological discomfort due to the language barrier, and worried that they were not understood by peers.

But perhaps the worst thing that some Ukrainian children faced was bullying in schools and the unwillingness of teachers and school administrators to address this problem, which led to them having to change schools.

IMPACT OF MIGRATION EXPERIENCE ON WORLDVIEW, VALUE SYSTEM, BEHAVIOURAL PATTERNS

Answers to the question of whether living in another country has influenced respondents' worldview and value system have shown that the perception of values is not gender-neutral, although depends on many factors. The study has shown that women are much more sensitive to the norms, traditions and social stereotypes in society, and women are more likely to be affected by them. For example, 45% of women said that living in another country influenced their worldview and value system, while 40% said that their values were not affected. As for men, 31% felt that their values had changed as a result of living in another country, while 55% remained unchanged.



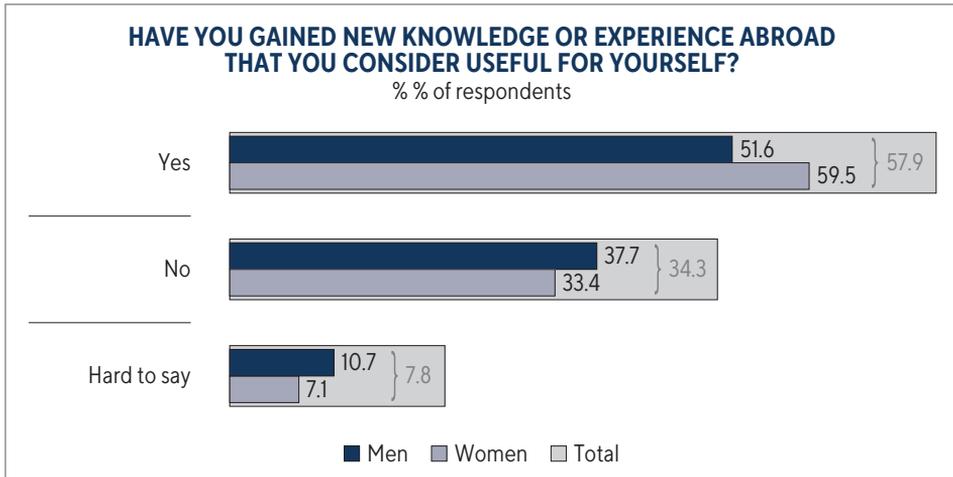
When asked how exactly living abroad influenced their worldview, most men could not answer this question. This is why data on men were excluded, as less than 50 male respondents mentioned such an influence, rendering statistical analysis for this group impossible. As for women's responses, the only thing that connects most of the answers is that people began to appreciate and love Ukraine more, to value time spent with their families, to appreciate what they have and how good life was in Ukraine before the war.

WHAT EXACTLY IT INFLUENCED? WHAT HAS CHANGED?²		
% of respondents		
	Women	Total
It is better at home	10.7	11.6
I started to appreciate and love Ukraine more	10.7	10.3
I started to value time spent with my family more	8.3	8.3
I started to appreciate what I have	8.7	8.3
I have experienced a different life	8.7	7.4
The way people treat each other	5.3	4.5
Respect for myself and others	2.4	3.7
Environment	3.4	3.7
I appreciated how good life was in Ukraine before the war	3.9	3.3
I started to appreciate the level of service in Ukraine more	3.4	2.9
I saw how one should live	2.9	2.9
Culture of behaviour	2.4	2.5
I felt more confident in myself	2.9	2.5
A sense of security	2.4	2.5
Work on myself	2.9	2.5

² % of those who said that living in another country influenced their worldview and value system.

Data on men are not included because of a very small number of respondents (less than 50) indicating such an influence.

Most men (52%) and women (59.5%) reported receiving new knowledge and experience abroad that they consider useful for themselves. At the same time, 38% of men and 33% of women do not think they have gained new knowledge or experience that would be useful in their future lives.



When asked to specify the new experiences gained abroad, men and women note local residents' higher level of environmental responsibility, including waste sorting, more frequent use of public transport and bicycles, etc.

Another new experience is that people abroad live with a sense of security, trusting each other and the police. By the way, distrust of others is one of the basic features of Ukrainian society, as noted by sociologists.³ In particular, surveys traditionally show that almost half of Ukrainians do not trust the people around them or are hesitant about it.⁴

Ukrainians also note a fundamentally different attitude of foreigners to travelling within their country and elsewhere, which is very appealing. In general, Europeans travel much more often than Ukrainians, being the most active travellers in the world – according to the World Tourism Organisation, 55% of all tourists are Europeans.⁵ Moreover, 89% of them do not leave

³ Why is it difficult for us to trust people? <https://elle.ua/otnosheniya/psihologija/chomu-nam-buvaskladno-doviryati-lyudyam/>.

⁴ Who do we trust? <https://voxukraine.org/komu-my-doviryayemo>.

⁵ World Tourism Organization a UN Specialized Agency. <https://www.unwto.org/>.

the Old World during holidays but travel around Europe. Factors such as income, distance, open borders or ticket prices are insignificant, while traditions play a much bigger role. For Ukrainians, the quality of housing, comfort, prestigious cars and the like are of great importance, while Europeans pay far less attention to such things. That's why the latter put a lot of emphasis on vacations,⁶ with family traditions and character being the factors.

WHAT NEW EXPERIENCE OR KNOWLEDGE DID YOU GAIN ABROAD?			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
People live with a sense of security, trusting each other and the police	57.1	55.6	55.9
Higher level of environmental responsibility among citizens, including waste sorting, more frequent use of public transport and bicycles, etc.	57.1	50.2	51.4
Attitude to travelling within the country and elsewhere	42.9	44.2	44.0
Attitude towards the country's cultural heritage	31.7	37.5	36.5
Attitude towards the country's history	27.0	30.9	30.2
More responsible attitude towards own health	32.3	29.1	29.7
A simpler attitude to cooking	33.9	28.4	29.4
Children abroad are usually more independent than in Ukraine	20.6	23.9	23.3
Greater use of sports and active lifestyle	9.7	24.9	22.2
Different vision of home decoration and keeping things in good working order	19.0	20.0	19.8
Lower parental involvement in school affairs	4.8	20.4	17.6
Different distribution of family responsibilities	17.5	17.5	17.5
Greater involvement of adults and children in cultural events	6.5	16.8	15.0
More responsible attitude to nutrition	11.1	15.8	14.9
Different perceptions of family budget allocation	14.5	13.7	13.8
Teachers' more respectful attitude to students	3.2	8.1	7.2
Other	6.5	3.8	4.3
Hard to say	0.0	0.4	0.3

⁶ Ipsos Affluent Europe Survey. <https://www.ipsos.com/en/24th-annual-european-affluent-survey>.

Reflecting on whether they would like to borrow something from the European way of life and introduce it in Ukraine, in addition to generally higher quality of life, the respondents would like to see the following becoming commonplace in Ukraine:

- ✓ law-abiding citizens, adherence to established rules;
- ✓ high level of culture, adherence to social norms, good manners and politeness in public places and in everyday life, loyalty and tolerance, friendly and positive attitude towards others regardless of their status;
- ✓ a sense of freedom, including internal freedom and freedom of expression;
- ✓ low level of corruption not seen in everyday life;
- ✓ a sense of security and social protection, where a refugee, an unemployed or homeless person does not feel abandoned, and has shelter and adequate food;
- ✓ rich and active cultural life, accessibility and diversity of leisure activities.

In general, most respondents' reflections and answers were not so much about borrowing and adopting certain social and moral norms and democratic values, but rather about Ukraine developing a standard and quality of life, social security not lower than in Poland and Germany, including well-developed infrastructure and affordable education.

IMAGE OF UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS ABROAD

The question of image of Ukrainian migrants abroad did not generate a clear answer; it was often discussed in the context of respondents' own image and the attitude of the locals towards them.

Experts believe that Ukrainian migrants, especially Ukrainian women, generally create a positive image abroad thanks to the following qualities:

- ✓ diligence, entrepreneurship, perseverance, desire to find a job as soon as possible, and not rely only on social benefits. Many women show

strength of spirit, courage, business knowledge and creativity; they are not afraid to start own businesses;

- ✓ patriotism, as many participate in volunteer projects, raising funds and necessary items for the Armed Forces;
- ✓ high level of culture, good manners, higher level of education compared to the locals; many Ukrainian migrants have higher education or serious professional qualifications;
- ✓ high level of integration, as well as mentality and values similar to European; the vast majority of Ukrainian migrants quickly integrate into society, accept European norms and rules, and learn the language quickly.

Those migrants who show no effort to adapt and learn the language, who are in no hurry to find a job and continue to live on social benefits, or generally demonstrate anti-social behaviour are very likely to create a negative image. This causes rejection among local residents, who tend to believe that migrants are parasites living at the expense of their taxes, so they should start working, paying taxes and no longer being a burden for the budget of the country or city.



MIGRANTS' IMPACT ON THE HOST COUNTRY

According to respondents, ordinary citizens of European countries were not interested in and knew almost nothing about Ukraine and Ukrainians before the war. With the start of war-induced migration, locals received an opportunity to familiarise with Ukrainian culture, folk traditions, including dances, songs, and Ukrainian dishes, to hear the Ukrainian language, to form their own idea of ordinary Ukrainians, their difference from Russia and Russians, and to feel the values, mental and cultural affinity of Ukrainians with Europe.

Nowadays, the number of projects for promoting Ukrainian culture, art, etc. has increased.

In addition to demonstrating gratitude and persistence in learning a foreign language, local rules, culture, and traditions, Ukrainian migrants share their own country's cultural heritage by organising various events to promote Ukrainian culture and raise funds for the Armed Forces.

The economies of the receiving countries also benefit from Ukrainians, as they not only work as employees but also start small businesses.

When staying in a relatively large group in a particular locality, Ukrainian migrants introduce Ukrainian culture, customs, traditions, cuisine to local communities and generally create a clearer picture of the Ukrainian people, about whom some Europeans had only a limited knowledge before the full-scale war.

It should be noted, however, that discussions about the Ukrainian mentality, and especially about its difference from that of Europeans, are extremely politicised. This leads to situations where it becomes very difficult for our compatriots in European countries to form an objective opinion on how different the mentality of Ukrainians really is from that of Europeans.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS UKRAINIAN EMIGRANTS

Recently, there have been reports indicating that the level of support for Ukraine in EU political circles is still high, but fatigue with the «Ukrainian agenda» is growing among some people. Our study tried to find out whether this is true.

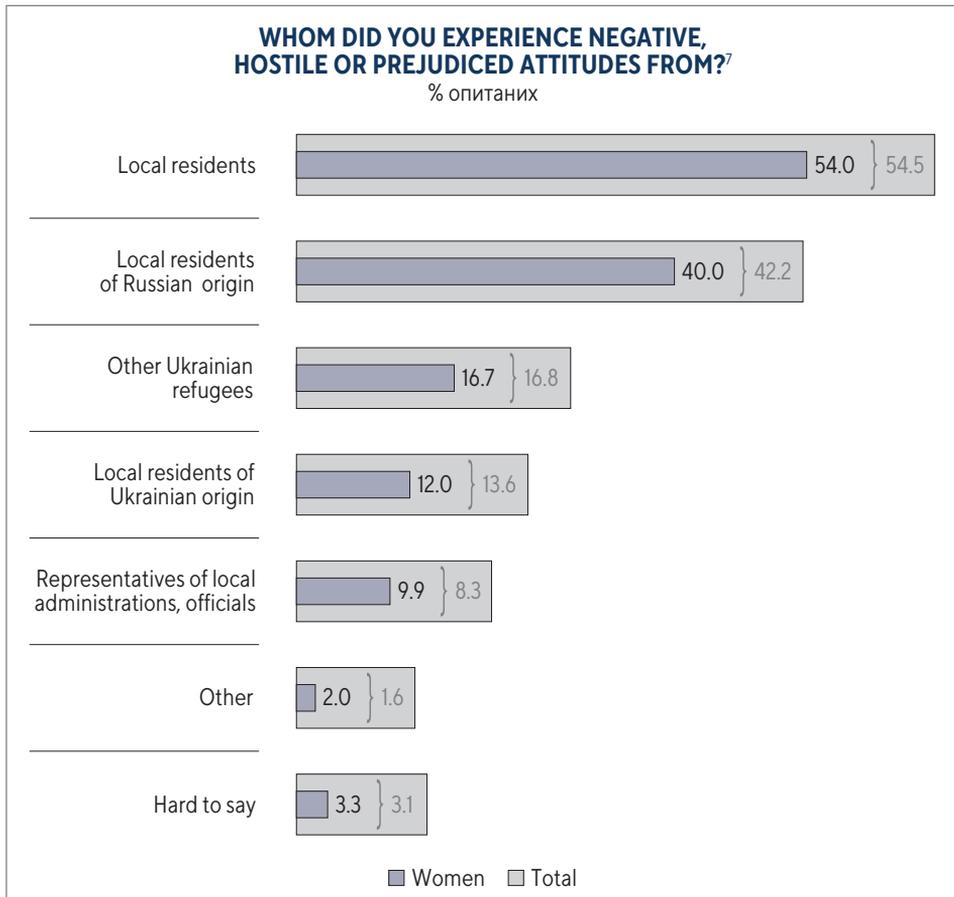
When asked whether they have ever encountered negative or prejudiced attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees from the local community during their stay abroad, 63% of women and 58% of men said they had never confronted prejudice, and that attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees were always friendly. 26% of men and women said that there were cases of negative or prejudiced attitudes towards Ukrainians; 11% of men and 7% of women faced insults; 3% of men and 4% of women had conflicts.

DURING YOUR STAY ABROAD, HAVE YOU ENCOUNTERED NEGATIVE OR PREJUDICED ATTITUDES TOWARDS UKRAINIAN REFUGEES FROM THE LOCAL COMMUNITY?			
% of respondents			
	Чоловіки	Жінки	Загалом
No, never. Attitudes have always been friendly	58.3	63.2	62.2
There were some cases of negative or prejudiced attitudes	24.2	26.4	26.0
There were insults	10.8	6.6	7.4
There were conflicts	3.3	4.2	4.0
Hard to say	7.5	5.9	6.2

Local people’s attitude to Ukrainian refugees is generally positive, especially towards women with children. There were also few reports of sexism or harassment.

While men were reluctant to talk about the negative, hostile or prejudiced attitudes they had experienced abroad, women reported prejudice mainly from

local residents (54%) and from local residents of Russian origin (40%), while 29% mentioned hostile attitudes from local residents of Ukrainian origin and from other Ukrainian refugees.

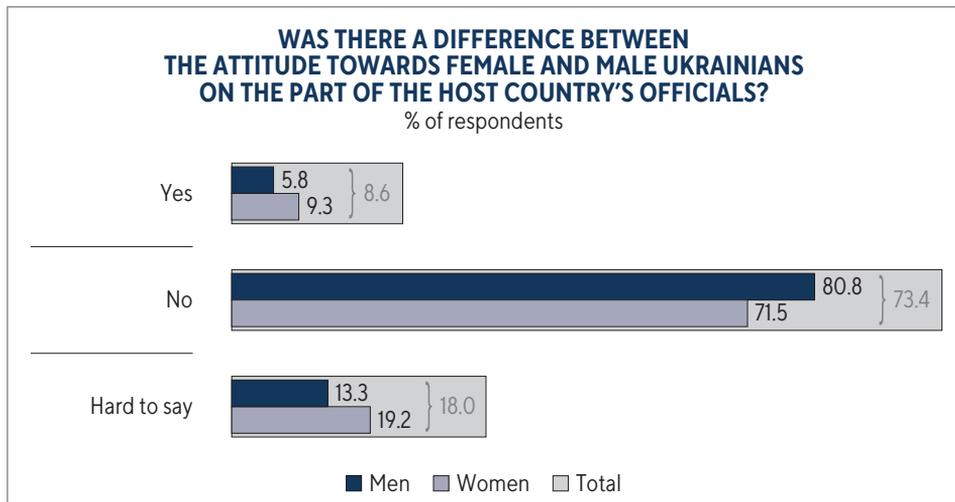


Speaking of the displays of chauvinism and negative attitudes by the locals, Germany was mentioned somewhat more often than other countries. Moreover, such chauvinism was directed specifically at Ukrainian refugees, unlike, for example, refugees from Turkey or Syria. In particular, local residents made claims and accused Ukrainian refugees of living off their income and taxes and told them to start working immediately and should not count on highly skilled jobs with decent pay.

⁷ Data on men are not included because of a very small number of respondents (less than 50) indicating such an attitude.

There were frequent cases of ill-will on the part of compatriots who had emigrated or come to work long before the war in Ukraine – these people had no access to various types of assistance under refugee protection programmes and thus considered such assistance to new migrants unfair, or even were openly jealous of the level of support, living conditions, and the amount of cash payments for forced migrants.

GENDER ASPECTS OF PREJUDICE

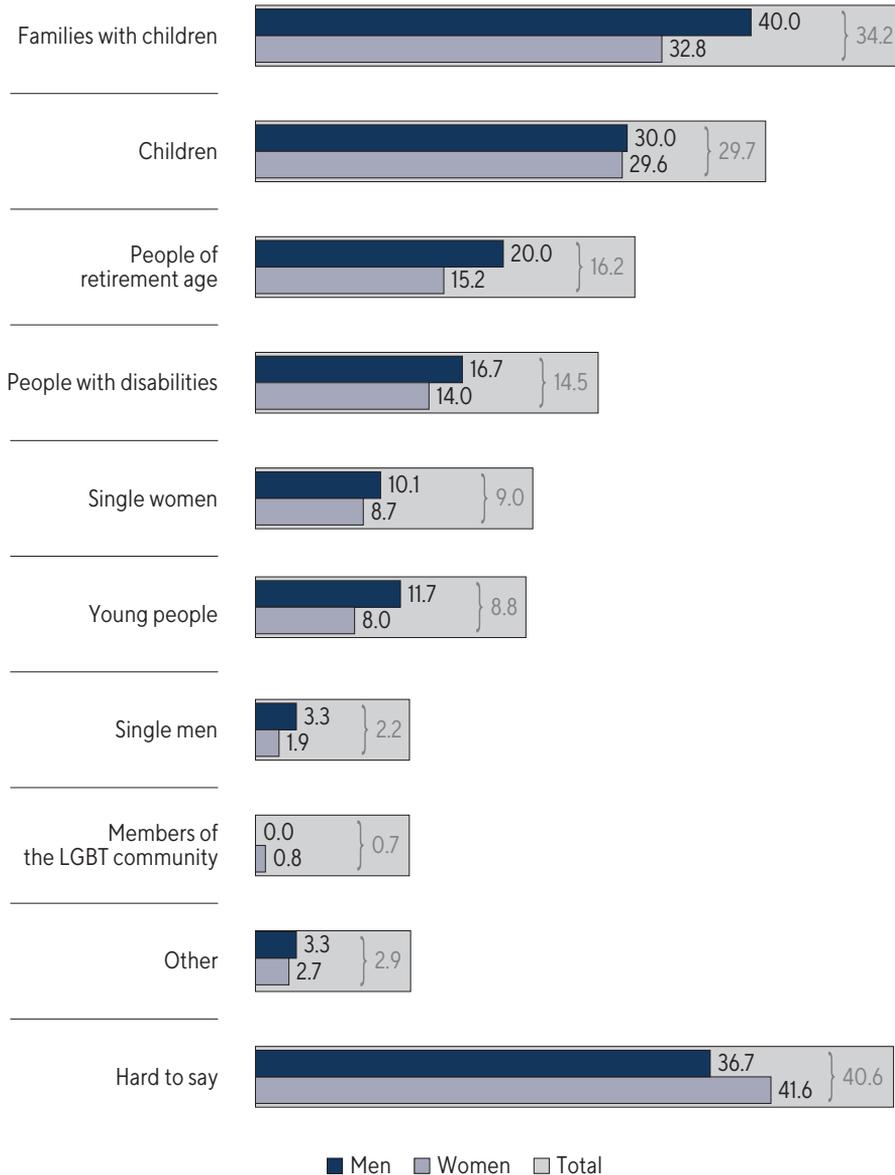


Local public's attitudes towards male migrants vary. Those who work diligently, whom they already know, and who arrived long before the war are well regarded; instead, Ukrainian men who came after the onset of the war, who disregard established social norms and show no willingness to work may face negative attitudes.

Many respondents found it difficult to answer the question about who enjoys friendlier attitude on the part of the host country's officials – as many as 42% of women and 37% of men could not assess the attitude of EU officials towards Ukrainian refugees. Nevertheless, according to observations, the attitude was still more friendly towards families with children (40% of men and 33% of women) or to children (30%). The least friendly attitude was towards single men and single women, as well as towards members of the LGBT community.

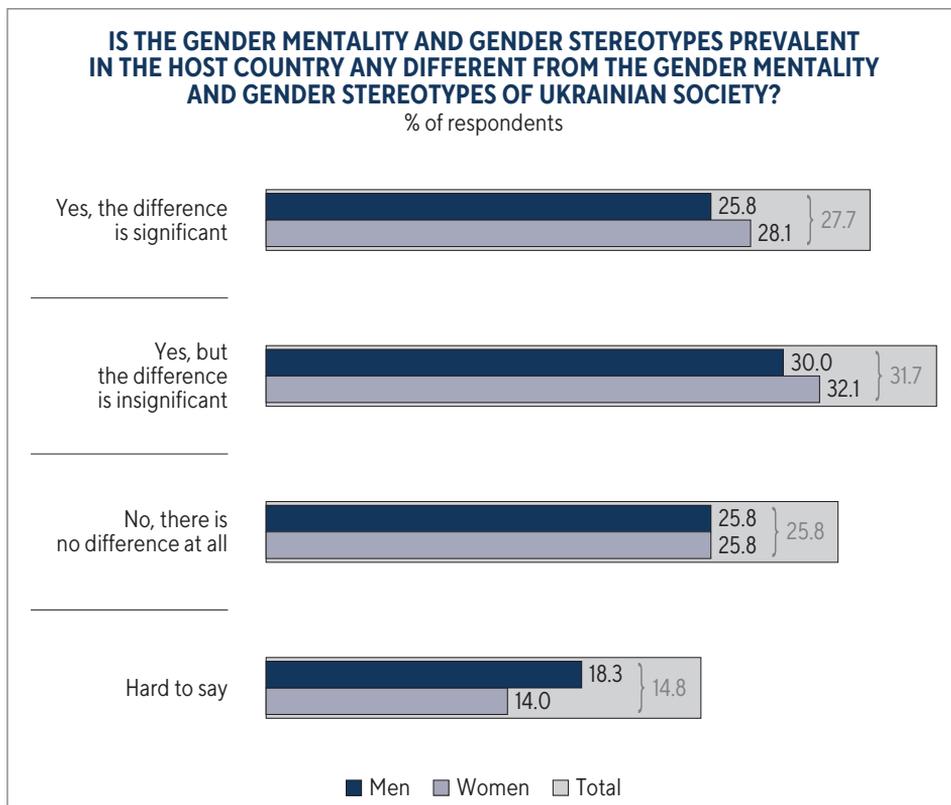
WHO WAS TREATED IN A MORE FRIENDLY FASHION BY THE HOST COUNTRY'S OFFICIALS?

% of respondents

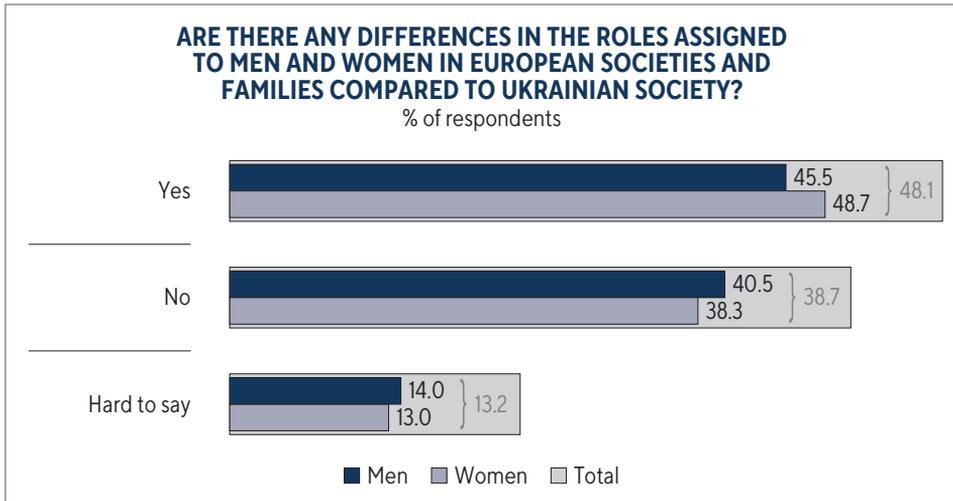


GENDER MENTALITY OF SOCIETY: PECULIARITIES OF UKRAINE AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

When asked whether gender mentality and gender stereotypes prevalent among citizens of the host country differ from the gender mentality and gender stereotypes of Ukrainian society, 28% of men and women believe that there is a significant difference. 26% think that there is no difference at all, and 32% say that there are differences, but insignificant. Interestingly, there are almost no gender differences in the assessments.



When further asked whether there are differences in the roles assigned to men and women in European societies and families compared to Ukrainian society, 48% of respondents said that there are differences and 38% said that there are none.



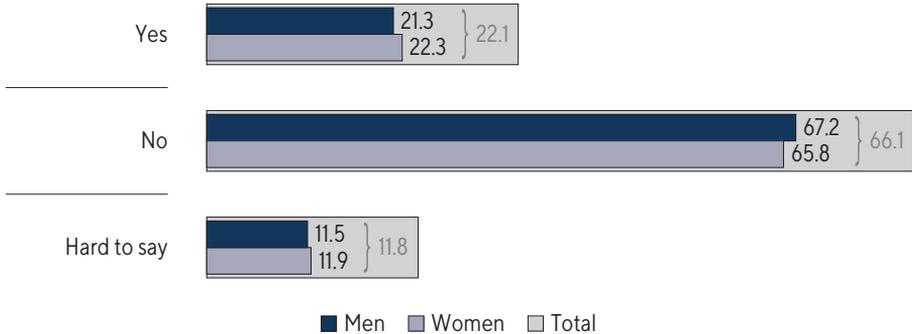
To begin with, there exist differences between countries within the EU in the factors influencing perceptions of gender roles, so it is premature to draw generalised conclusions.

The distribution of answers to the question whether person's own gender stereotypes have changed in a number of aspects during his or her stay abroad has shown that there are almost no gender differences in the perception of stereotypes (differences exist only at the sociological error level).

Changes in personal gender stereotypes in relation to the assignment of roles and responsibilities of women and men at the society level (for example, the role of women in politics) occurred in 22% of respondents; in relation to the assignment of roles and responsibilities of women and men at the family level (family responsibilities, child rearing, etc.) – in 28% of respondents; and in relation to the assignment of roles and responsibilities of women and men in labour relations («male» and «female» professions, career opportunities, etc.) – in 23% of respondents.

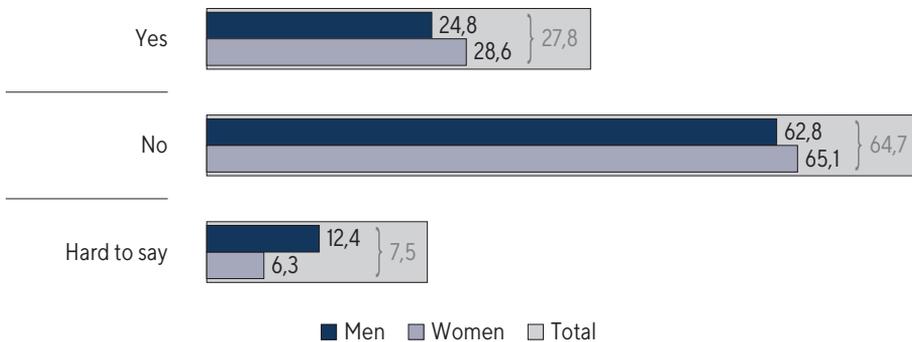
**HAVE THERE BEEN CHANGES IN YOUR PERSONAL GENDER STEREOTYPES
IN RELATION TO THE ASSIGNMENT OF ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
OF WOMEN AND MEN AT THE SOCIETY LEVEL
(FOR EXAMPLE, THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS)?**

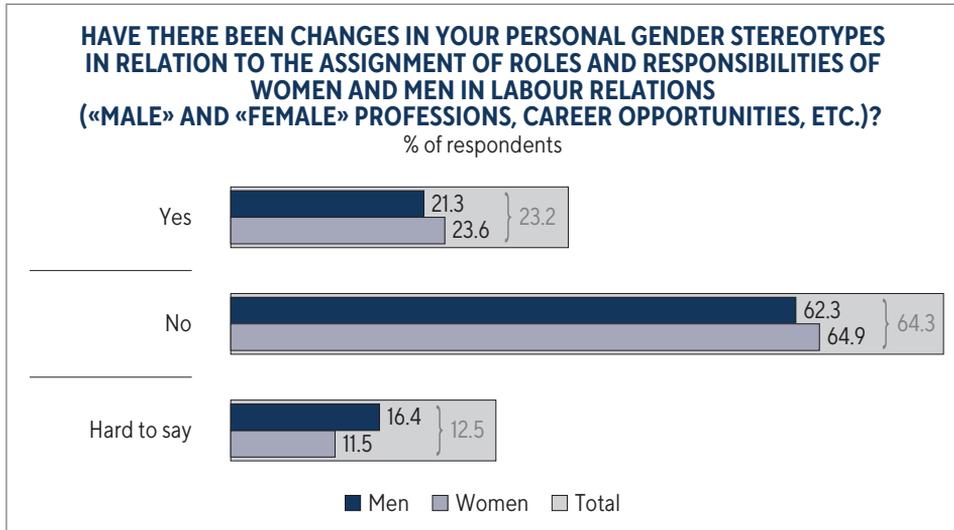
% of respondents



**HAVE THERE BEEN CHANGES IN YOUR PERSONAL GENDER STEREOTYPES
IN RELATION TO THE ASSIGNMENT OF ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
OF WOMEN AND MEN AT THE FAMILY LEVEL
(FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES, CHILD REARING, ETC.)?**

% of respondents





To summarise, Ukrainian forced migrants generally view gender roles mainly in the socio-demographic context without further analysis of its possible impact on the gender mentality of Ukrainian society and the further promotion of gender equality.

Analysing the possible changes in the distribution and perception of gender roles and gender sensitivity of Ukrainian society as a result of the war, one can outline certain trajectories of change:

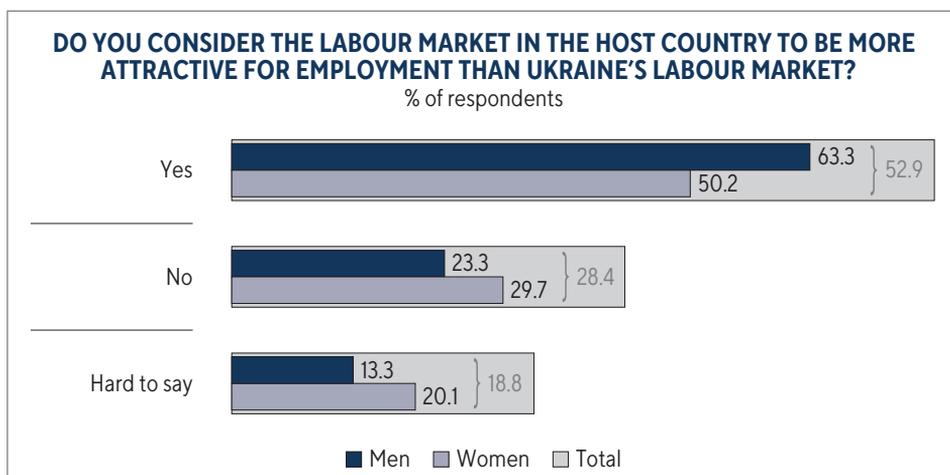
- ✓ On the one hand, the full-scale war has somewhat reinforced the «patriarchal» trends in Ukrainian society, in which men are assigned the role of defenders, warriors, and women the role of caretakers. Experts note that paternalistic narratives gain strength whenever the economic or security situation in a country deteriorates.
- ✓ On the other hand, the war has promoted gender equality in «traditional male» areas, including the military. The role of women soldiers in the Armed Forces of Ukraine who fight for victory alongside men becomes increasingly noticeable.
- ✓ The war mostly takes the lives of men of working age, so one should expect not only an increase in the share of women in the post-war Ukraine's demographic profile, but also an increase in the weight of women's labour, women learning new professions, even sharing family responsibilities and everyday tasks that were previously perceived as «male».

- ✓ Given the lack of labour resources, promoting gender equality in traditionally «male» and «female» professions and activities will have a positive effect on the country's recovery.
- ✓ On the other hand, potential politicians among women may face new obstacles and stereotypes from the electorate, which is likely to favour those who fought at the front and to show some disapproval of those who were not fighting or left the country altogether. The question is whether this disapproval will be limited to men who have illegally fled to avoid possible mobilisation, or whether it will also affect women who became forced migrants.
- ✓ Certain changes are likely in family ties within families of forced migrants, where parents live separately and often cannot fully participate in supporting and upbringing of children. As a result, these responsibilities fall on women. In fact, a significant number of children are raised in single-parent families.
- ✓ A special demand from society for promoting the heroes of war, who are mostly men, in politics will increase their influence on public opinion on key issues of the country's development. And some of them, according to gender experts, already demonstrate a commitment to the right-wing ideology, have conservative views on gender equality and may have an extremely negative attitude to the concept of a multigender society. Therefore, gender studies and gender equality/anti-discrimination programmes should be implemented in democratic Ukrainian society. The ideas of gender equality and its benefits in the country's recovery should be actively articulated given the presence of conservative views.
- ✓ The security situation for women may deteriorate, including due to domestic violence in families as a result of post-traumatic stress disorder in men who fight in the war.

So, changes in attitudes towards women and men's roles and responsibilities in society among more than a quarter of Ukrainians can be considered a significant step to further institutionalisation of gender equality in Ukrainian society. However, there may also be risks of a rollback to non-egalitarian models resulting from significant changes in social relations caused by the war, including the growing influence of conservative views and the emergence of potential lines of conflict between different social groups based on their behaviour during the war.

EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION

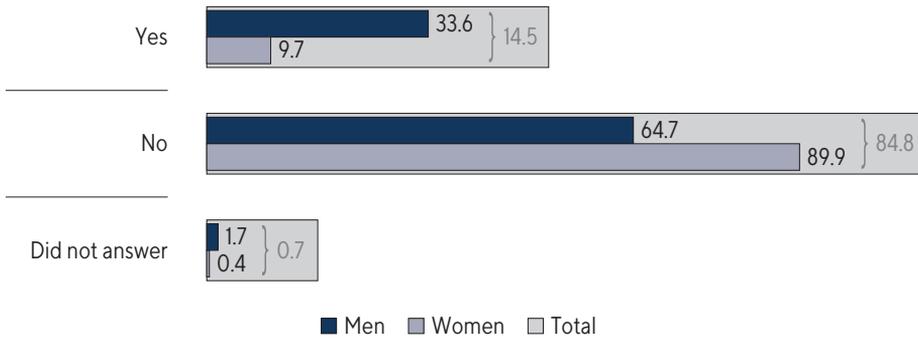
63% of men and 50% of women consider the labour market of the host country to be more attractive for employment than the domestic labour market. Such beliefs dominate in the public opinion of Ukrainians even though only 34% of men and only 10% of women had previously worked in the host country – in other words, most of those who have now returned to Ukraine have had no previous work experience abroad.



Ukrainian male migrants have been employed in a variety of occupations, ranging from unskilled labour to positions requiring high qualifications. And female labour migration, as shown in the previous section, is characterised by a very limited number of «female» professions associated with traditional gender roles.

HAVE YOU HAD PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF WORKING IN THIS COUNTRY?

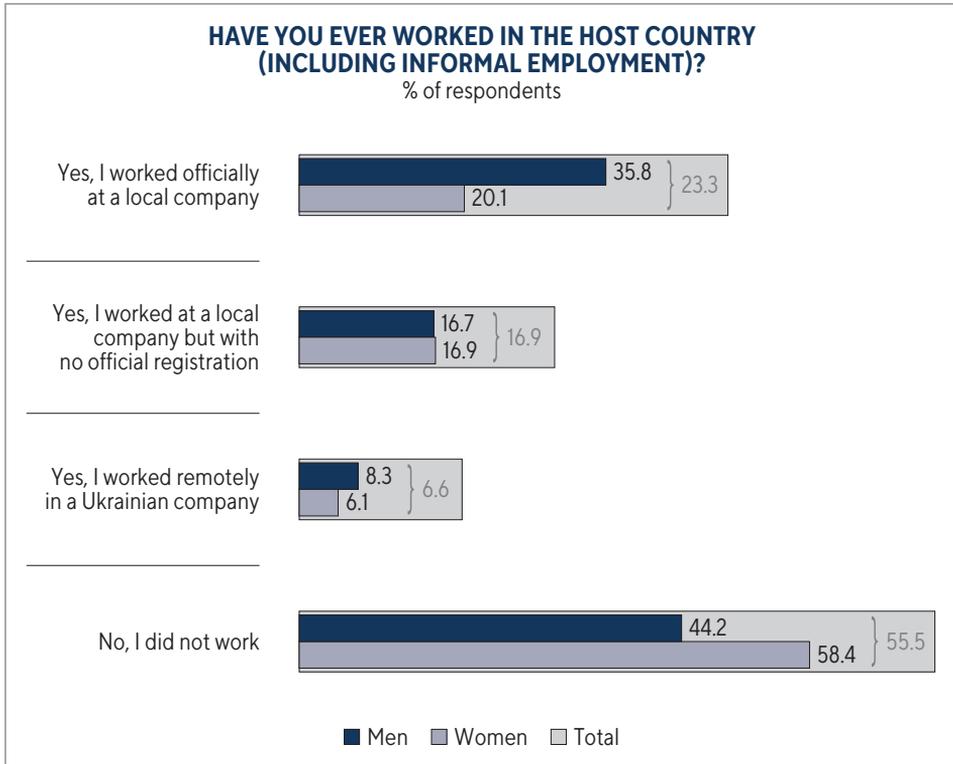
% of respondents



Survey findings showed that 56% of men and 42% of women were employed during their stay abroad. Of these, 36% of men and 20% of women worked officially at a local company; 17% of men and women worked at a local company, but with no official registration; 8% of men and 6% of women worked remotely at a Ukrainian company.

It should be noted that the inclusion of Ukrainian refugees in the EU countries' labour markets was faster than that of other refugees from other countries. In some European countries, the share of able-bodied Ukrainian refugees already exceeds 40% (in particular, in the Netherlands, Lithuania, Estonia and the UK). In other countries, such as Poland and the Czech Republic, this figure may be even higher if short-term and informal employment is also taken into account. In other countries, the share is lower but growing.





WORKING CONDITIONS

Despite their relatively rapid entry into the labour market, the current employment structure of newcomers from Ukraine at least partly reflects the networks available to them rather than their actual professional skills. Many forced migrants were given the opportunity to work in mostly low-skilled jobs with non-matching qualifications, although the possibility of finding a job in their speciality was much higher for men than for women. Thus, 36% of men were employed abroad in their speciality, compared to only 14% of women. As noted above, women who have been forced to leave Ukraine because of the war face many challenges, including in finding a job. Part-time employment is also more likely for Ukrainian refugees due to childcare responsibilities.

At the same time, 87% of men and 67% of women reported being fully satisfied with their working conditions. 87% of men said they were also

satisfied with the level of pay. Women are less happy about their remuneration, with only 67% of them reporting being satisfied with the level of pay. Relationships with other employees are highly appreciated by both men (93%) and women (75%). Compared to other conditions, forced migrants from Ukraine (69% of men and 57% of women) are the least satisfied with the level of social guarantees.

ASSESSMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS AT A LOCAL COMPANY IN THE HOST COUNTRY?			
% of those who worked abroad			
	Men	Women	Total
Have you been satisfied with relations with managers?			
Yes	88.5	78.3	80.9
No	3.3	13.1	10.6
Hard to say	8.2	8.6	8.5
Have you been satisfied with relations with other employees?			
Yes	93.4	74.9	79.7
No	4.9	12.6	10.6
Hard to say	1.6	12.6	9.7
Have you been satisfied with the level of pay?			
Yes	85.2	71.3	74.9
No	14.8	21.8	20.0
Hard to say	0.0	6.9	5.1
Have you been satisfied with working conditions?			
Yes	87.1	67.2	72.5
No	11.3	23.0	19.9
Hard to say	1.6	9.8	7.6
Have you been satisfied with employee social guarantees?			
Yes	68.9	56.6	59.8
No	19.7	25.4	23.9
Hard to say	11.5	17.9	16.2
Have you worked in your speciality?			
Yes	36.1	13.8	19.6
No	63.9	85.1	79.6
Hard to say	0.0	1.1	0.9

The desire to improve one's own financial situation was obviously the main motivation for employment, and this equally concerns women and men. Unlike women, many men (32%) had another serious motivation to work, namely the lack of other sources of income. The number of women who mentioned this motive was twice as low.

WHAT MOTIVATED YOU THE MOST TO ENTER THE LABOUR MARKET IN THE HOST COUNTRY?			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
Desire to improve my financial situation	56.5	56.0	56.1
Lack of other sources of income	32.3	17.7	21.5
Unwillingness to be a «burden» for the host country, desire to avoid the humiliating position of a social assistance recipient	4.8	6.9	6.3
Desire to realise myself as a professional and a personality	3.2	4.0	3.8
Desire to distract myself, get busy and spend time among people	0.0	5.1	3.8
Desire to master a new profession or try myself in a new professional environment	0.0	2.3	1.7
Social pressure from local residents, friends or family, who either hinted or openly told that a healthy person of working age should work	0.0	0.6	0.4
Other	0.0	0.6	0.4
Hard to say	3.2	6.9	5.9

The obstacles to employment look much more diverse. For both women and men, the language barrier was the main obstacle, with 37% of women and 29% of men mentioning it. Other factors equally affected the motivation to get a job.

In particular, the impossibility of getting a job for men is related to such factors as the availability of only low-paid jobs on the labour market (25%); lack or shortage of employment opportunities in the area of residence (10%); the impossibility (or complicated procedure) of confirming formal education, qualifications and work experience (10%); the need to care for children or older family members (10%). At the same time, 22% of men said they did not want to work in the host country, and 14% indicated that it was economically unprofitable to work there.

For women, the main obstacle was the need to care for children or older family members (27%). 11% of women indicated that there were only low-paid jobs available to them; 9% complained about complicated procedure for confirming formal education, qualifications and work experience. 15% said they had no desire to work, and 14% said that working in the host country was economically unprofitable.

IF YOU HAD A DESIRE TO WORK BUT DID NOT FIND SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY,			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
Language barrier	28.8	36.6	35.3
Need to care for children, older family members or other family responsibilities	10.3	27.4	24.6
I had no desire to work in the host country	22.0	15.4	16.5
In your situation, it was economically unprofitable to work	13.6	14.4	14.2
Only low-paid jobs were available	25.4	10.7	13.1
Impossibility (or complicated procedure) of confirming formal education, qualifications and work experience	10.2	9.0	9.2
Lack or shortage of employment opportunities in the area of residence	10.2	7.0	7.5
Only jobs below my qualification level were available	5.1	7.7	7.3
Other formal job requirements that I could not meet	13.6	5.0	6.4
Difficult working conditions	5.1	6.4	6.1
Difficulties in finding accommodation in the place where the job was offered	1.7	6.4	5.6
Only work with no official registration was offered	1.7	4.7	4.2
Unwillingness of company management to hire refugees	0.0	2.0	1.7
Other	12.1	5.4	6.4
Hard to say	3.4	2.3	2.5

* Please indicate the main reasons that prevented you from doing so (up to three reasons).

MEASURES FOR INTEGRATING UKRAINIAN REFUGEES

A key issue of integrating refugees in the labour market, particularly relevant for Ukrainians due to their high level of education, is how to balance between the early labour market entry and the need to secure sustainable employment that matches their qualifications. Low-skilled jobs can be easily accessible, often in sectors and with skills that do not match those of refugees. The risks of a mismatch between the Ukrainians' average qualification level (which is seen as quite high) and the jobs offered to them are also highlighted by the studies conducted in the countries hosting Ukrainian forced migrants.⁸

For example, according to the Polish Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, about half of refugees worked in lower-skilled jobs.⁹ In Latvia, about 40% of the employed work in basic professions. A study conducted in Slovakia in the same period paints a similar picture for working Ukrainian women and reveals a significant skills mismatch.

A very sensitive point in this context is that women who have had successful careers and good positions in Ukraine are forced to accept jobs that are irrelevant to their experience, as it is difficult to compete with the locals. Although one in three female refugees working in the country has a university degree, only 4% work in professions that require this level of qualification. Furthermore, two out of five Ukrainian women in Slovakia have accepted jobs that can be done with a primary education, although almost all (96%) have at least a secondary education.¹⁰

In principle, the Ukrainian forced migrants' rapid entry into the labour market is to be welcomed. It allows them to restore their livelihoods and potentially provides a space to interact with the host society. In addition, it saves money for the host country's budget and thus contributes to a better

⁸ OECD (2022). The potential contribution of Ukrainian refugees to the labour force in European host countries. OECD Policy Responses on the Impacts of the War in Ukraine. OECD Publishing, Paris. <https://doi.org/10.1787/e88a6a55-en>.

⁹ Ministry of Family and Social Policy (2022). 102.000 Ukrainian citizens have already found employment in Poland. <https://www.gov.pl/web/rodzina/zatrudnienie-w-polsce-znalazlo-juz-102-tys-obywateli-ukrainy>.

¹⁰ Hábel. B. and M. Veselková (2022). Prácu si našlo už 13 % odídencov. 40 % pozícií obsadených odídencami však vyžaduje len základné vzdelanie. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/system/files/2022-05/Habel_Veselkova_2022_Zamestnanost_odidencov.pdf.

reception of refugees. However, there is a risk of refugees being trapped in low-skilled positions due to lost training opportunities, devaluation of skills, reduced job search efforts or other reasons.

Integration of migrants and refugees into the labour market has become a priority for many receiving countries. Some of them already had experience in integrating refugees and mainstream populations, while others sought to tailor approaches to the newcomers' specific demographic characteristics. However, governments of these countries have had to significantly step up reception and integration efforts in any case.

Given the Ukrainian forced migrants' high level of formal qualifications, the issues of skills transferability and foreign qualifications assessment become particularly relevant. Some countries have improved their recognition systems, including through better outreach. Countries have also facilitated access to regulated professions by simplifying recognition procedures or abolishing specific professional requirements, in particular in the health sector.

Ukrainian migrants (45% of men and 52% of women) named language courses sponsored by the host country's government as the main measure to integrate them into the local labour market. 24% of men and women mentioned the government's calls to local employers to hire Ukrainian refugees. 25% of men and 18% of women mentioned the organisation of special job search consultations for Ukrainian refugees. 16% of respondents mentioned job fairs offering jobs for Ukrainian refugees. At the same time, 20% of men and 16% of women have not heard of (or apparently were not interested in) any special measures for the integration of Ukrainian migrants.

WHAT MEASURES FOR INTEGRATING UKRAINIAN REFUGEES INTO THE LOCAL LABOUR MARKET ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED BY YOUR HOST COUNTRY'S GOVERNMENT?

% of respondents

	Men	Women	Total
The country's government sponsors language courses	45.0	52.4	50.9
The government encourages local employers to hire Ukrainian refugees	24.4	24.5	24.5
Special job search consultations are organised in the country for Ukrainian refugees	25.0	18.2	19.6
I have not heard about any special measures	20.0	15.9	16.7
Job fairs in the country offer jobs specifically for Ukrainian refugees	15.0	16.9	16.5
The government promises that all employed Ukrainian refugees will be able to stay in the country legally after the war ends	11.8	10.1	10.5
The country has legally established quotas for hiring foreigners and Ukrainian refugees are included	14.3	7.6	9.0
The country has a very simple procedure for recognising Ukrainian formal education and qualifications	10.0	7.8	8.3
The country does not implement any measures	0.8	0.2	0.3
Other measures	5.8	5.1	5.2
Hard to say	10.0	12.5	12.0

* Please indicate all those you know about.

RETURN TO UKRAINE

So far, mostly men and women who left Ukraine before 24 February 2022 have returned to the country. According to a nationwide survey, 58% of women and 37% of men among these returnees left the country before the full-scale invasion.

It is likely that these citizens were not granted temporary protection, because many EU countries cannot grant such a status to those Ukrainians who moved from Ukraine before 24 February 2022 or who were outside Ukraine before this date for work, study, vacation, family or medical visits, or other reasons. Although the EU Council recommended that temporary protection should also be granted to people who left Ukraine shortly before 24 February to escape a possible war or if they were on holiday or business trip in the EU, this remains at the discretion of national governments.

Anyway, 49% of both men and women said they had returned to Ukraine for good. 21% of respondents have returned for a long term but have plans to travel back depending on the circumstances. 16% of women came to Ukraine for a short-term stay of several days to several weeks. 3% of women have returned to Ukraine for more than one month, but still plan to return abroad. Unlike women, men have returned to Ukraine for a longer period (8%), but also plan to return abroad.

The overwhelming majority (84%) of surveyed women among those who came for more than a few weeks do not regret returning to Ukraine. The number of men who do not regret returning home is slightly lower at 69%. Also, 12% of male returnees admit that initially they did not regret returning, but now they do, and their decision was a mistake. Among women, only 3% think that their decision to return was a mistake. It is likely that men's regrets about returning home are related to the announced intensification of mobilisation measures recently reported in Ukraine (diagram «*Do you regret returning (coming) to Ukraine?*»).

I HAVE RETURNED TO UKRAINE?

% of respondents

For a few days and then plan
to return abroad



For a few weeks and
then plan to return abroad



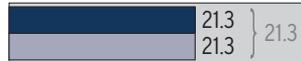
For a few months and
then plan to return abroad



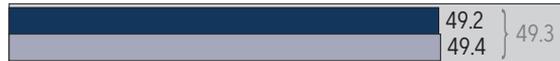
For a longer period,
but then plan to return abroad



For a longer period, but then may
go abroad depending on
the circumstances



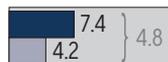
For good



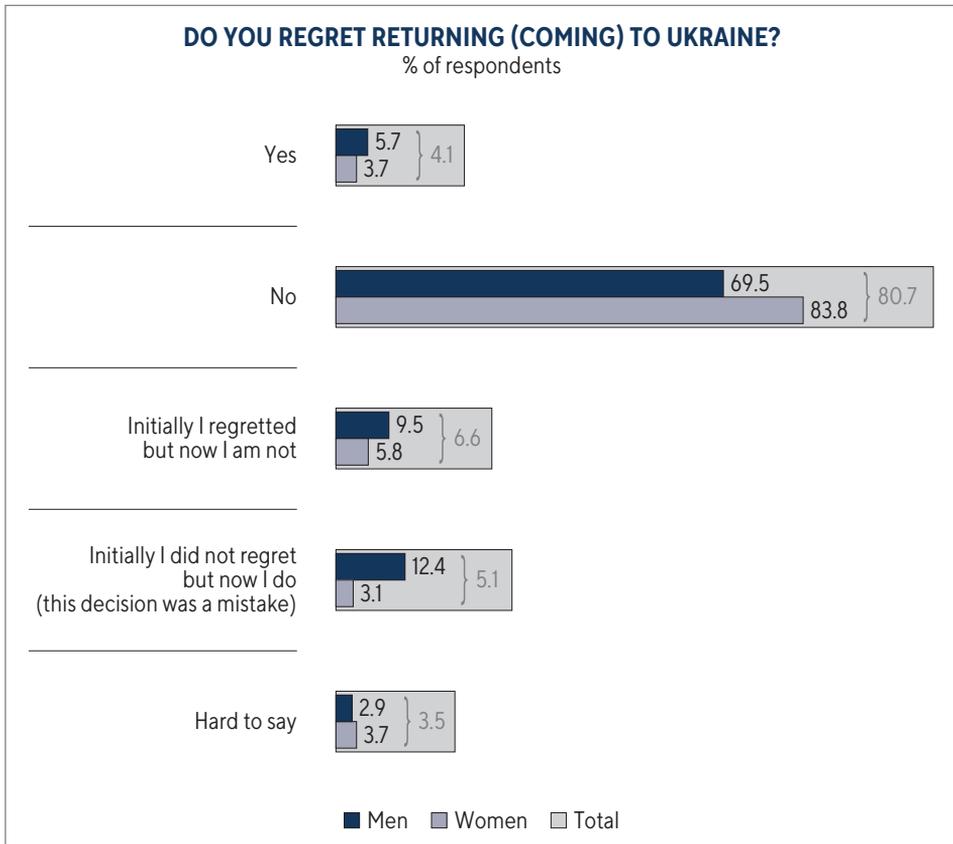
Other



Hard to say

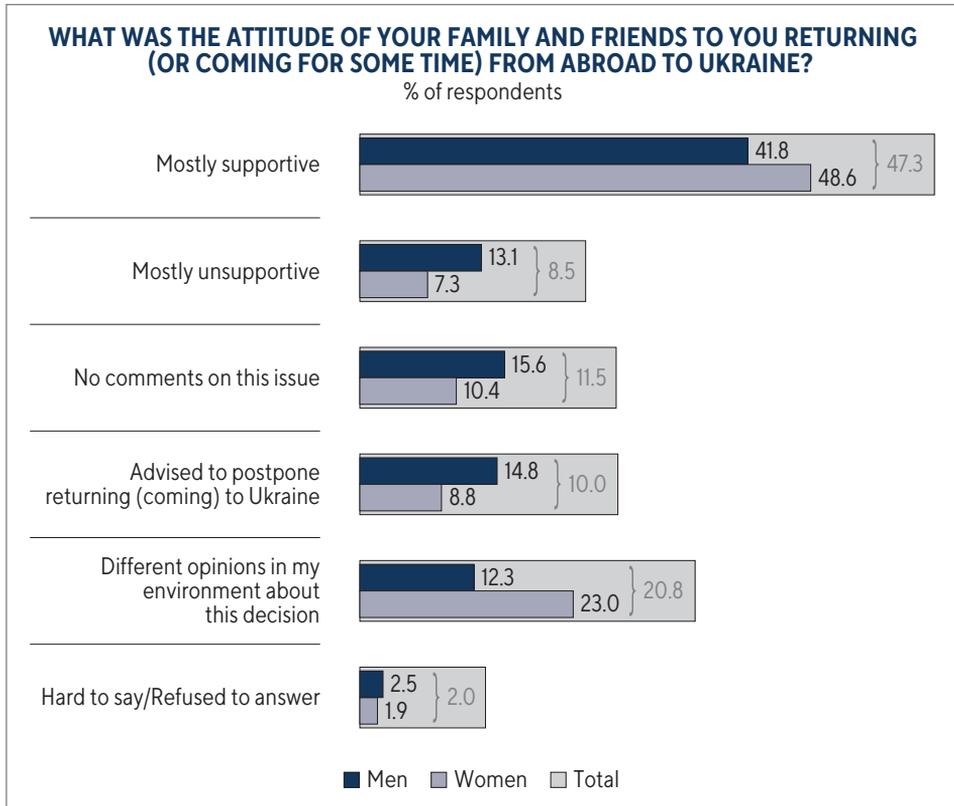


■ Men ■ Women ■ Total



When asked about the attitude of family and friends to their returning (or coming for some time) to Ukraine, 42% of men and 49% of women said that their relatives supported this decision. However, it can be seen that relatives and friends are far less supportive of the idea of men returning from abroad. Although the very idea of returning causes considerable debate, 12% of men and 23% of women said that there were different opinions about it in their environment.

Some of female returnees emotionally emphasise that they regret their initial decision to go abroad due to panic and fear for their children.



When making the decision to return, most were caught in internal contradiction, with many arguments for and against and emotional experiences. Quite common are examples of women and their children wanting to return home as soon as possible, but their close relatives in Ukraine making every effort to delay their return because of the danger.

The vast majority of respondents name the emotional difficulty of living in a foreign country as the main reason for men and women's return to Ukraine. This was mentioned by 53% of women and 47.5% of men. The main factors are homesickness, nostalgia, and psychological or physical discomfort of staying in the host country. There is a strong desire to «return home» and to resume the usual way of life.

Family reunification as a reason for the return was mentioned by 34.5% of women and 20.5% of men. And additional 26% of respondents mentioned the desire to visit family and friends.

The motives for men's return are also revealing. 28% of male returnees said that they returned to Ukraine for ideological reasons, precisely because at such a time it is the duty of any Ukrainian to be in his homeland. For women, the ideological factor is less important, with only 7% of them saying that they returned because it was important for their homeland.

WHAT ARE THE REASONS OF YOU COMING OR RETURNING FROM ABROAD?			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
I missed home; it was emotionally difficult to live in a foreign country	47.5	53.1	52.0
Family reunification; return to my spouse	20.5	34.5	31.7
I came to visit family and friends	25.4	26.8	26.5
I came to settle certain legal formalities (paperwork, etc.)	17.2	16.3	16.5
The situation in the country in general has improved	12.3	16.7	15.8
Lack of financial resources	9.8	15.4	14.3
Shelling of my settlement has ceased or reduced	17.2	13.0	13.8
Difficulties in communication, not knowing of foreign language	12.3	11.7	11.8
Ideological reasons: at this time, the duty of every Ukrainian is to be with his / her homeland	28.1	6.7	11.0
Lack of affordable housing abroad	9.0	10.5	10.2
The opportunity came to get a job/resume work in Ukraine	7.4	10.9	10.1
Problems with finding a job that matches my qualification or specialty	6.6	9.6	9.0
The need to care for parents/children/close relatives	12.3	7.1	8.2
Lack of medical care or aid of adequate quality; unavailability of necessary medicines	4.9	8.6	7.8

WHAT ARE THE REASONS OF YOU COMING OR RETURNING FROM ABROAD?			
% of respondents			
	Men	Women	Total
Hostilities in and around my settlement have ceased	9.0	6.7	7.2
Impossibility to work remotely	2.5	7.5	6.5
Social benefits abroad were cancelled (reduced)	2.5	4.0	3.7
The need to get a job abroad	5.7	2.3	3.0
My settlement was liberated/de-occupied	1.6	1.7	1.7
Infrastructure in the place of my permanent residence has been restored	2.5	1.3	1.5
Discrimination in the host country	0.8	1.5	1.3
The term of temporary shelter in the host country has expired	0.0	1.5	1.2
Damaged housing was repaired or compensation was provided by the state for damaged housing	0.8	0.6	0.7
None of the above	1.6	0.8	1.0
Other	4.1	2.7	3.0
Hard to say	0.0	0.4	0.3

Important factors for the return include the following:

- ✓ Comparatively better, more comfortable conditions of living, staying and studying (for children) in Ukraine.
- ✓ Dissatisfaction with life abroad and problems with adaptation, including with professional self-realisation in the host country. This is a particularly important marker, a key factor in deciding whether to return for those who have had significant professional achievements, success and a certain social status in Ukraine.
- ✓ The beginning of Ukraine's economic recovery and development of the labour market. At the same time, according to the respondents, most refugees will not be ready to participate in the country's recovery and would rather return to the already restored country; they will not want to give up their comfortable European life and return to inferior conditions.

- ✓ Relative security in forced migrants' respective hometowns compared to the beginning of the war, restoration of infrastructure and life.
- ✓ Various substantial payments to returnees, such as the state programmes for restoring damaged housing or paying compensation for lost housing.
- ✓ The curtailment of refugee assistance programmes by the receiving countries, in particular after Ukraine's victory, or changes in the host countries' policies towards Ukraine and its citizens.

Some female respondents also added that those who had a decent standard of living in Ukraine and had their property undamaged, who could restart their business or resume work would be more likely to return.

However, the key incentive and primary condition for the return of most forced migrants is undoubtedly Ukraine's victory in the war and the provision of further security and development.

BARRIERS TO RETURNING TO UKRAINE.

It is quite obvious that the decision to permanently emigrate or return to Ukraine is affected by a complex of different factors, such as the level of insecurity in one's hometown, prospects abroad, the interests of children and other family members, etc.

Some female respondents who are currently in emigration admit not having a clear vision of the conditions under which they would be ready to return to Ukraine and give themselves some more time (six months, a year) to understand how well they will be able to adapt in a new country. They also emphasise that, like most women, they will be guided primarily by the interests of their children.

Those who are currently abroad link their decision to return to Ukraine not so much to the situation in the country (kind of victory in the war, economic development, standard of living, etc.) as to the level of satisfaction with their life in the host country.

The respondents do not deny that the longer Ukrainian migrants stay abroad, the higher the likelihood of their not returning to Ukraine.

One of the most important factors in regulating the return is the policy of receiving countries that will determine the proportion of migrants to return to Ukraine. Moreover, EU countries are reportedly more interested in keeping as many Ukrainian refugees as possible, considering them a better alternative than, for example, refugees from Palestine or Syria.

For young people and for those who value professional growth, the reduction of jobs and career prospects due to the war may be an obstacle to return. So those refugees who have already lost their jobs in Ukraine will have less motivation to return. Those who seek professional growth and higher income often try to find a job in the host country, and if they succeed, the likelihood of their return diminishes. The situation is similar for those whose occupation allows them to work remotely – some may stay safely abroad, as their income and professional growth do not depend on the country of residence.



HOW TO CHANGE THE SITUATION: EXPERT OPINIONS

STRATEGIES OF STATE MIGRATION POLICY

Although forced migration from Ukraine retains some trends of other types of pre-war migration, it requires particularly deep study and prompt development of new strategies of state migration policy with active involvement of experts from various fields, all levels of government and, most importantly, coordinated actions of Ukraine and receiving countries in the EU.

In this context, the following trends should be highlighted:

1. Migration research in peacetime was neither regular, nor systematic and far-reaching. A similar situation can be observed today, as the most significant studies of Ukrainians' migration abroad are presented by Western institutions and international organisations.

2. In peacetime, the state lacked awareness of the need for and importance of studying migration processes, reducing labour migration, addressing its negative consequences, and further optimising migration policy. The strongest incentive to improve migration legislation was not so much an understanding of the internal need as external influence from the EU when it came to Ukraine implementing the necessary reforms, in particular for the signing of the visa-free regime and the Association Agreement with the EU.

3. The situation has now somewhat improved as the government is aware of the significance, scale and consequences of forced migration; it understands the need for Ukrainian citizens to return home, and at least demonstrates concern about the problem of forced migration.

4. Although the problem of forced migration and its negative consequences is covered in the media and at various levels of society, the government's position on forced migrants is either not fully formulated or is formulated but not properly communicated to society, expert community, ordinary citizens, including forced migrants themselves.

5. The receiving countries and the EU currently have a greater influence on Ukrainian migrants than Ukraine.

6. On the one hand, forced migrants can be perceived as a burden for the budget, but on the other hand, the receiving countries facing a demographic crisis, population ageing, and lack of labour force can successfully solve their internal problems through the large inflow of forced migrants from Ukraine. Accordingly, one can hardly assert that the interests of the receiving countries and Ukraine in relation to forced migrants coincide, and this may hinder Ukraine's intentions to return most of its citizens.

Any mass migration undoubtedly affects almost all spheres of society, primarily social, demographic, economic and cultural. When analysing the possible consequences of forced migration, the focus should be on the large number of negative effects of forced migration, both generally and compared with labour migration.

Speaking of possible benefits of forced migration for Ukraine, one should not forget that the **highest value of such migration is the preservation of the lives of Ukrainians, their physical and mental health**. In this context, the Ukrainian government should be commended for facilitating the evacuation of people from the most dangerous areas not only to safer regions of the country, but also abroad.

In addition, the forced migration of at least 5 million citizens has reduced the social burden on the country's budget, which, according to experts, is now entirely dependent on funds from international partners.

Looking at the longer term, a certain share of migrants will join the Ukrainian diaspora, representing and lobbying for Ukraine's interests at the international level. And those who return can use the experience gained in migration to rebuild and revive Ukraine.

THE RETURN OF MIGRANTS TO UKRAINE

It is quite logical and almost indisputable that the longer the war lasts, the more people want to emigrate; the longer people stay in forced migration, the more they adapt in a new country, reducing the likelihood of their return to their homeland. This logical chain leads to a rather sad and extremely negative scenario for Ukraine. When forced migrants

become labour migrants and then diaspora, it becomes much more difficult to return them to Ukraine.

In this context, **it is very important for Ukraine to maintain connection with forced migrants** – either by entrusting this function to diplomatic missions or by developing a state information policy, which, among other things, would call for the return and emphasise the migrants' value in bringing the victory closer and rebuilding the country. All this should be promoted within the **national policy of tolerance and unity of the Ukrainian nation**, with forced migrants being one of its target audiences. The relevant information campaign should involve media outlets, NGOs, activists, public figures from various fields, bloggers and other opinion leaders who have their own audiences.

It should be borne in mind that migration policy for the return is «expensive and time-consuming» and «you cannot force people to return, you can only make them interested». So, the logical question is how to motivate/stimulate most forced migrants to return home. The incentives include the following:

- ✓ Creating new jobs, expanding opportunities for employment, career growth and professional self-realisation, including using professional experience gained as a result of forced migration.
- ✓ Providing housing for those who have lost it and physically have nowhere to return to, in other words, for those whose forced migrant status will switch to IDP with all the typical challenges of employment, accommodation, and family adaptation in a new place.
- ✓ Developing a methodology for confirming/recording work experience abroad. Similar methodology should be developed for confirming education obtained abroad.
- ✓ Introducing a «trend» for the return with proper coverage of return stories and impressions from the returnees in mass media, online, social media and so on.
- ✓ Creating online resources and an official application for those who want to return (with legal support, search for financial aid, employment

and housing, registration of children to school and kindergarten, obtaining necessary documents and other useful functions).

- ✓ Ensuring financial support for the relocation of forced migrants along with their property from the receiving country to Ukraine.
- ✓ Setting up separate centres in Ukraine similar to TSNAPs (administrative services centres) or separate units within existing TSNAPs serving Ukrainian citizens who return from forced migration.

Since the key motivation for the return revolves around a decent quality of life and prospects, one can see a kind of a vicious circle here: in order to create the preconditions and incentives for the return, Ukraine needs funds, time, and most importantly, resources (primarily human), which are already in short supply and will become even more so after the victory, during the period of country's recovery and revival. For their part, many interviewed migrants do not see themselves directly involved in the country's recovery and take a waiting position, pragmatically comparing countries in terms of better quality of life and better prospects, especially for children.

Migrants and experts interviewed within this study equally place their greatest hopes for Ukraine's recovery on the volume of foreign investment and assistance from allied states and the fight against corruption.

Experts also do not rule out that in the settings of the demographic, social and economic crisis, and the shortage of labour resources, there will be a need to attract labour migrants from other countries, such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Moldova and Georgia.

ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OPTIMISING MIGRATION POLICY

Various measures that can further contribute to the return of forced migrants and help optimise migration policy can be implemented at the national, regional and local levels:

- ✓ Legalising dual citizenship in Ukraine.
- ✓ Implementing the national information policy of tolerance and unity.

- ✓ Demonstrating greater respect for the people by government officials, MPs, and state agencies. Avoiding calling people, including forced migrants, as a «labour or demographic resource» in public rhetoric.
- ✓ Conducting research of forced migration, communicating and holding consultations with forced migrants, their representatives and businesses that can facilitate employment.
- ✓ Ensuring active involvement of local governments and mayors in the return of forced migrants.
- ✓ Improving organisational, financial and conceptual capacity of employment centres; borrowing and adapting the positive experience of similar institutions in other countries, for example, of Jobcentres in the EU, in particular in Germany, to Ukrainian realities.
- ✓ Attracting new technologies and new production to the country through international cooperation.
- ✓ Introducing a set of measures in regional development strategies to attract forced migrants, encourage their return and successful integration in their home communities or in a new location.
- ✓ Studying and using the positive experience of other countries in stimulating the return of migrants.
- ✓ Stimulating international remittances from forced migrants to Ukraine. Introducing preferential customs rules for those importing tools for production to Ukraine. Ensuring state support for setting up or expanding businesses in Ukraine using funds earned abroad. In this context, experts cited the positive experience of China, Mexico, and Moldova.

As arguments in favour of promoting gender equality in Ukrainian society, experts point to study findings by international institutions and organisations confirming that gender inequality has a negative impact on the economic development of EU countries and the well-being of citizens. Moreover, promotion of gender equality has a positive impact on the country's GDP. Experts further consider it appropriate to conduct relevant research in Ukraine or adapt already developed international strategies to achieve gender equality.

The possibility of amending the Electoral Code is also being considered, with one proposal designed to protect the right of Ukrainian citizens who were forced migrants and have been outside Ukraine for a certain period of time to run as candidates in elections.

MEASURES TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY

- ✓ Policies and measures of the state aimed at returning migrants should specifically target women, who make up the majority of forced migrants. It is women who usually decide whether to return home, whether to reunite the family and in which country, where it is safer for their children to live, and in which country they will have a better future.
- ✓ Given the shortage of population for the economic recovery, it is necessary to promote women's self-realisation, to encourage them to acquire professions relevant to the country and pursue professional careers.
- ✓ Electoral laws need to be improved to guarantee the electoral quota provided for by the current legislation and to prevent fraud in the registration of female candidates.
- ✓ Amendments to the Electoral Code are also being considered, including one proposal to protect the right of Ukrainian citizens who were forced migrants and have been outside Ukraine for a certain period to run as candidates.

GENERALISED RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE RETURN OF FORCED MIGRANTS

The study allowed us to formulate the basic preconditions for the return of Ukrainian forced migrants. In the most generalised form, these prerequisites lie directly in the area of EU policy towards forced migrants from Ukraine and the policy of their reintegration in Ukraine, in particular:

EU POLICY

The European Union policy is an important factor in the return of Ukrainian forced migrants. When assessing the prospects for their return to Ukraine, it should be borne in mind that they are determined by the specifics of their legal status, that is, the status of a temporary protection recipient, which does not grant them the right to permanent residence in the EU.

After the expiry of the Temporary Protection Directive, European governments will have to initiate the process of mass return of migrants with temporary protection status. In this context, one can already see how some European countries encourage migrants to return to their countries of origin by providing financial incentives. In particular, as of 1 January 2024, Norway, Switzerland, Finland, the Czech Republic, Ireland, and the United Kingdom – countries that have granted temporary protection to Ukrainians – have already introduced compensation programmes for refugees who decide to return to Ukraine.

Currently, the **Council of the European Union has extended the temporary protection mechanism for Ukrainians until March 2025.**¹¹ But individual countries, starting with the Czech Republic and Poland, are

¹¹ Ukrainian refugees: EU member states agree to extend temporary protection. – Council of the EU. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/09/28/ukrainian-refugees-eu-member-states-agree-to-extend-temporary-protection/>.

gradually reducing their support. Therefore, EU countries may shorten the duration of this status, which will encourage Ukrainians to return home.

Forced repatriation is another option,¹² but it seems unlikely because it contradicts the principles of the UNHCR,¹³ which supports only voluntary repatriation.

REINTEGRATION POLICY IN UKRAINE

To ensure the sustainability of the return process and minimise the motivation for re-emigration, the Ukrainian government should pursue an effective reintegration policy. Reintegration should cover the economic, social and psychological aspects of migrants' adjustment to life in the home country. In particular, successful reintegration should include:

- ✓ proper security conditions
- ✓ free access to education;
- ✓ free access to healthcare;
- ✓ free access to social security;
- ✓ employment opportunities;
- ✓ opportunities to obtain housing on market or preferential terms.

Successful reintegration is essential for achieving national cohesion and effective post-war reconstruction.

Sources of funding for migrant reintegration programmes may include:

- ✓ State Budget of Ukraine;
- ✓ local budgets;
- ✓ assistance from international donors.

In order to maintain the principle of social justice between those Ukrainians who remained in Ukraine and those who return (returnees), direct financial assistance upon return cannot be an element of the reintegration programme. Returnees should not enjoy any exceptional or preferential conditions (except for resolving housing issues for those whose housing was destroyed as a result of hostilities) compared to other citizens.

¹² The return to the country of citizenship, permanent residence or origin of persons who have found themselves, for various reasons, in the territory of other states. See United Nations, Refugee Centre. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Publications/FactSheet20ru.pdf>.

¹³ UNHCR against forced repatriation of refugees from Iraq. UN News. <https://news.un.org/ru/story/2009/10/1153711>.