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Article

Prospects for Integration of Ukrainian Refugees into the German Labor Market: Results of the ifo Online Survey

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Tetyana Panchenko

Prospects for Integration of Ukrainian Refugees into the German Labor Market: Results of the ifo Online Survey*

From May 23 to June 6, 2022 an ifo online-survey was conducted, mainly on social networks. The link on the platform Qualtrics¹ and the text of the invitation to take part in the study was posted in various Ukrainian and Russian-speaking groups of Ukrainians in Germany on Facebook (groups such as “Ukrainians in Germany,” “Help for Ukraine in Germany,” “Refugees from Ukraine in Germany,” and “Ukrainians in Munich” (in Berlin, Hamburg, and many other German cities and states). As an additional tool, an offline survey was also conducted in places with a concentration of refugees from Ukraine (German courses, refugee camps, etc.) to recruit participants for a qualitative interview and supplement the collected data with an online survey. Participants of the offline survey also forwarded the Qualtrics-link to their friends and acquaintances.

Thus, through social networks, personal contacts, and the snowball method, 936 people participated in the survey. Since the participants of the study filled out the questionnaire online and offline on their own, the number of answers received to the different question varies (figures indicate the number of respondents that answered a specific question, or the number of answers in the case of multiple-choice questions). Representatives of all demographic groups, all states of Germany, all types of settlements who came from all regions of Ukraine took part in the survey.

It should be noted that due to the specifics of the survey (the offline survey was conducted exclusively in Munich and its environs), the distribution of respondents in Germany does not correspond to the resettlement of refugees from Ukraine. More than a third of respondents (37 percent) lived in Bavaria, others were divided between 6 eastern German states (22 percent) and the remaining 9 western German states (39 percent) (see Figure 2). In addition, there are still no complete statistics on the sampling frame – Ukrainians who arrived in Germany after February 24, 2022. Thus, the sample is not fully representative

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¹ Qualtrics is an online data collection tool to conduct survey research, evaluations, and other data collection activities.

ABSTRACT

In the framework of the project of the ifo Center for International Institutional Comparisons and Migration Research “Adaptation and Survival Strategies of Refugees from Ukraine in Germany: Between Work and Social Help” a quantitative online survey was conducted. This article aims at reconstructing and clarifying the socio-demographic portrait of Ukrainian refugees in Germany in order to assess their potential in the German labor market and the possible burden on the German social system. The focus of this study is also the plans and intentions of Ukrainian refugees in Germany. This study provides insights on how many Ukrainians will stay in Germany, return to Ukraine, or move to another country, and how many are ready to integrate into the German labor market.

and results should therefore only be considered as indicative. At the same time, many characteristics of the surveys and some results are comparable with the data that were obtained by the systematic survey of INFO GmbH on behalf of the Federal Ministry of the Interior for Homeland (BMI) from March 24 to March 29 with 1,936 interviews (INFO GmbH 2022).

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF REFUGEES FROM UKRAINE TO GERMANY: SOME CLARIFICATIONS

Between the end of February and June 8, 2022, around 855,000 people from Ukraine were registered in the German Central Register of Foreigners. According to an evaluation by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, around 67 percent of them are women (accordingly, men should be about 33 percent) and around 40 percent are children and young people under the age of 18 (Mendiendienst Integration 2022). In the survey of INFO GmbH (2022), 84 percent were women. In the

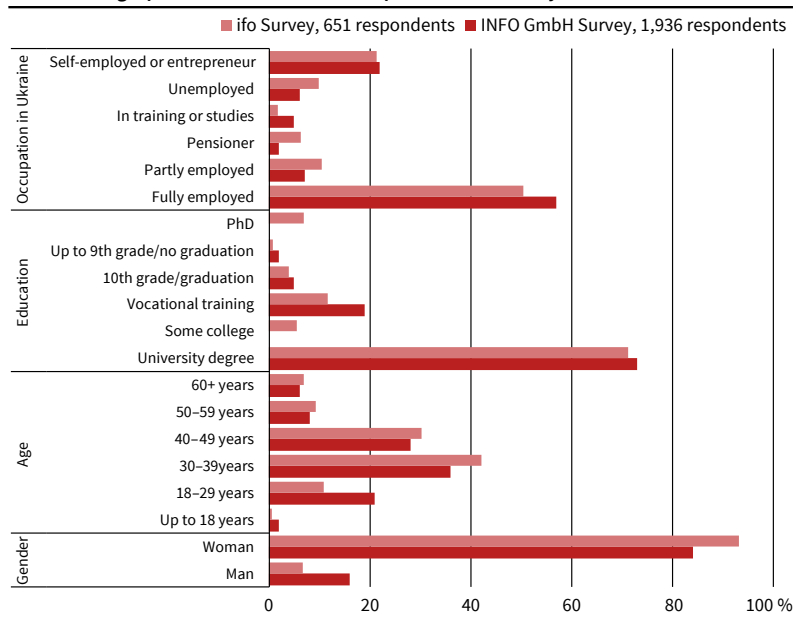


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Figure 1

Some Demographic Characteristics of Respondents of Surveys



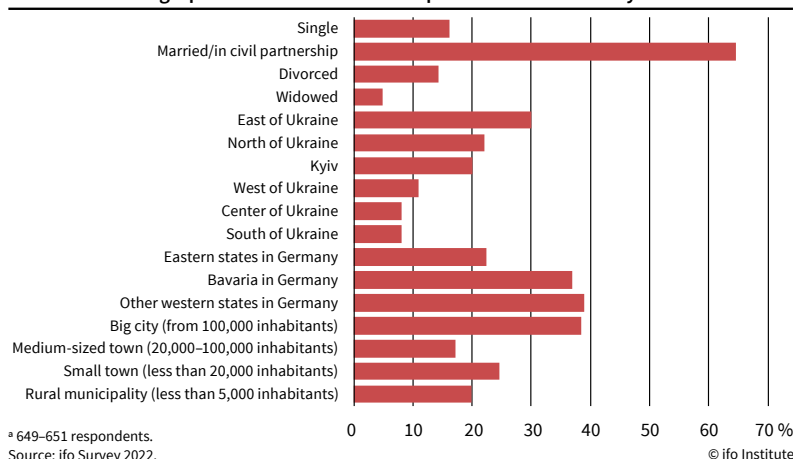
Source: INFO GmbH (2022); ifo Survey 2022.

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ifo survey, the proportion of women is even higher: 93 percent of respondents are women and 7 percent men. At the same time, 12 percent of the women surveyed answered that they came to Germany with their husbands or partners (Figure 3). It is possible that men, some of whom left Ukraine illegally, avoid participating in surveys and the data of both studies differ from those of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees.

For other demographic characteristics measured in both (ifo and INFO GmbH) surveys, the differences are not significant (see Figure 1). Both studies show that among the refugees from Ukraine, there are predominantly people of working age, who were employed in Ukraine. The majority worked full-time, and among them a fifth were self-employed or entrepreneurs.

Figure 2

Additional Demographic Characteristics of Respondents^a of ifo Survey

^a 649-651 respondents.
Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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Both studies confirm that refugees from Ukraine are well educated. Moreover, the proportion of specialists among the surveyed refugees corresponds to their share in the population of Ukraine as a whole. Unlike the data of INFO GmbH, ifo data on university education are more detailed. In addition to people with a master's or bachelor's degree (71 percent), there are also PhD holders (7 percent) and those who have not fully completed their studies at the university (6 percent).²

We also asked about the marital status of the respondents, their place of residence in Ukraine, as well as the type of settlement in Germany, which will allow us to complete the profile of refugees from Ukraine.

Figure 2 demonstrates that the majority of Ukrainians surveyed who arrived after February 24 (65 percent), are married or in partnership. Most of them are women whose husbands or partners have remained in Ukraine. In addition, a large group of divorced (14 percent) and single (16 percent) people is noticeable. Figure 2 shows also that the majority of refugees from Ukraine (38 percent) located to large cities in Germany, in which one-third of the country's population is concentrated. In second place in popularity among Ukrainian refugees are small cities: a quarter of Ukrainians settled in them, which almost corresponds to 27 percent of the German population that lives in this type of settlement. In third place as host places are rural communities, which were chosen by a fifth of the surveyed refugees, while only 14 percent of the country's population lives there. And finally, only 17 percent of the respondents located in medium-sized cities, where almost 28 percent of the country's population is concentrated (Statista 2020).

In addition, the interviewed refugees represent all regions of Ukraine. Moreover, the largest share is from the most dangerous area in the east part of the country (30 percent), most of whose territory is occupied or in the war zone. A fairly large proportion of refugees are from the north (22 percent), where there was a front line in March-April and which witnessed the notorious war crimes committed by Russian forces, and the Ukrainian capital Kyiv (20 percent), which was also recently attacked by missile strikes. A smaller proportion of refugees are from the "west" (11 percent), the "center", and the "south" (8 percent each), although fighting is still raging in parts of the south. The above characteristics of refugees from Ukraine are particularly important for understanding their motives and intentions, which will be considered below.

It is also appropriate to mention here with whom the refugees arrived in Germany (see Figure 3), since the accompaniment gives an idea of how many com-

² The "some college" category may include those who did not complete their education at the university and, in some cases, those who received a bachelor's degree, since most students continue their studies in the master's program immediately after receiving a bachelor's degree; therefore, a bachelor's degree is sometimes perceived as "an unfinished university education."

plete families came to Germany, how many parents with children, and so on.

Figure 3 clearly shows that the most common category of newcomers are parents with children (67 percent), which correlates with the results of the study (INFO GmbH 2022). In particular, the category “women with children” is dominant among married and divorced. The category of those who arrived with a husband or wife also deserves special attention, which amounts to a total of 16 percent of respondents. Among men this group is the most numerous: 73 percent of men came with their wives or partners. There are far fewer such women – only 12 percent. Apparently, a significant number of women whose husbands remained in Ukraine due to the ban on “fighting-age men” leaving Ukraine unless single fathers, fathers of three or more children, and those who accompany disabled people leaving the country came to Germany with other relatives – such as parents, sisters.

ARRIVAL IN GERMANY: REASONS, CIRCUMSTANCES AND FEATURES OF ADAPTATION

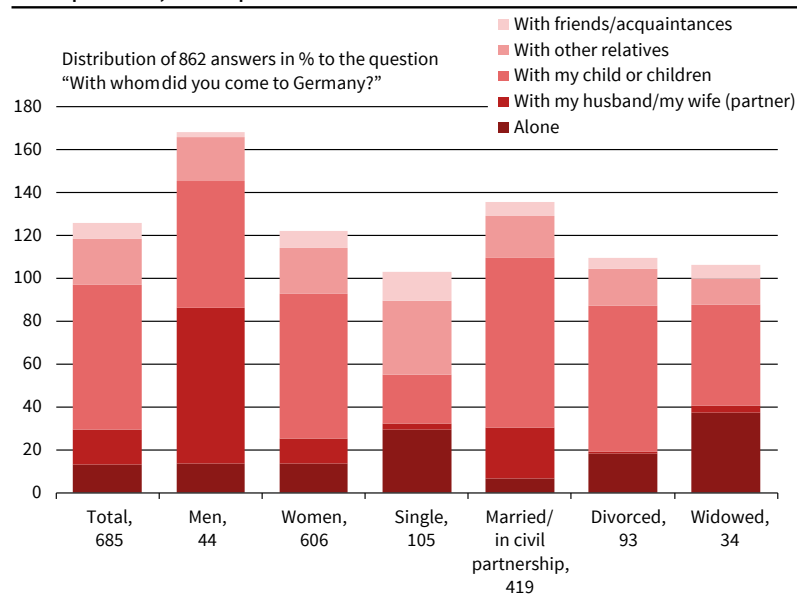
The ifo survey asked questions about the timing and reasons for arriving in Germany, as well as whether other countries were considered as host countries. The peculiarities of adaptation were determined with the help of questions about the realization of the basic rights of persons under temporary protection.

As it can be seen in Figure 4, most of the respondents arrived in Germany from March 4 to March 17, or during the second and third weeks of the war. These data are correlated with the UNHCR data (UNHCR 2022), which demonstrate that it was at that time that the flow of Ukrainians crossing borders with neighboring countries reached its peak. In addition, 11 percent ended up in Germany in the first week of the war (before March 3), and their share is significantly higher among representatives of the western regions of Ukraine (27 percent), who, due to territorial proximity to the western borders, had the opportunity to quickly leave the country. Another 15 percent of the respondents arrived in Germany at the end of March, and those who arrived during this period represent mainly the north and east of Ukraine, when the situation in these regions was especially tense. Since April 2022, the number of arrivals in Germany has decreased significantly. At the same time, it should be noted that since mid-April, the flow of refugees increased from the south of the country, when the Russian army retreated from Kyiv and concentrated in the east and south. Thus, the time of arrival of Ukrainians in Germany is largely explained by the chronicle of the war and is clearly connected with the aggravation of the situation in certain regions.

Most of the newcomers chose Germany because they have friends and/or relatives here (26 and 31 per-

Figure 3

Accompaniment, 685 Respondents

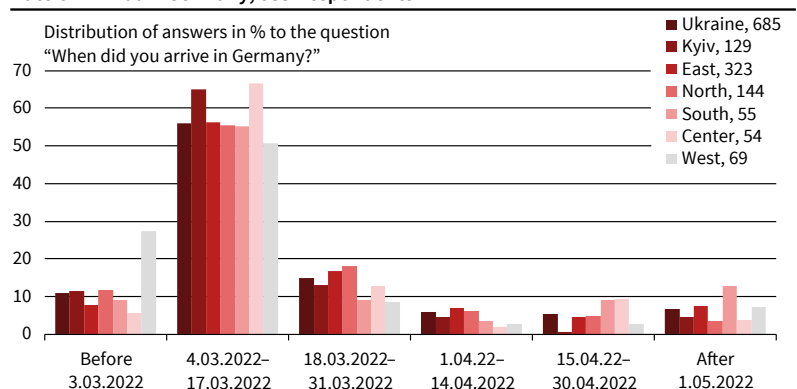


Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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Figure 4

Date of Arrival in Germany, 685 Respondents



Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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Figure 5

Reasons for Coming to Germany in the Context of Various Demographic Groups



Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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cent of respondents), and the factor of having friends and relatives turned out to be significant for representatives of all gender and age groups. Moreover, women and middle-aged people more often mentioned the factor of having friends than men, while young people and older people more often chose Germany because of the presence of relatives here. A fifth of the respondents noted that they arrived in Germany by coincidence. Moreover, the random factor turned out to be more significant again for women and the age group from 30 to 49 years. 17 percent of respondents indicated that they came to Germany in the hope that they would receive assistance, and the expectation of social protection is more common among young people and representatives of the 50–59 age group. For 11 percent of respondents, when choosing Germany, the last experience of living or travel in Germany or knowledge of German culture and language was significant. And finally, only 6 percent of respondents chose the answer “I can find a job quickly here.” It should be noted that men indicated the last two factors twice as often as women. Also, 11 percent of respondents named other reasons for choosing Germany as a destination country. Among such reasons were recommendations from friends/acquaintances, the need for treatment, German roots/relatives, as well as statements such as “volunteers

brought,” “an accommodation can be found here,” or “Poland was overcrowded.”

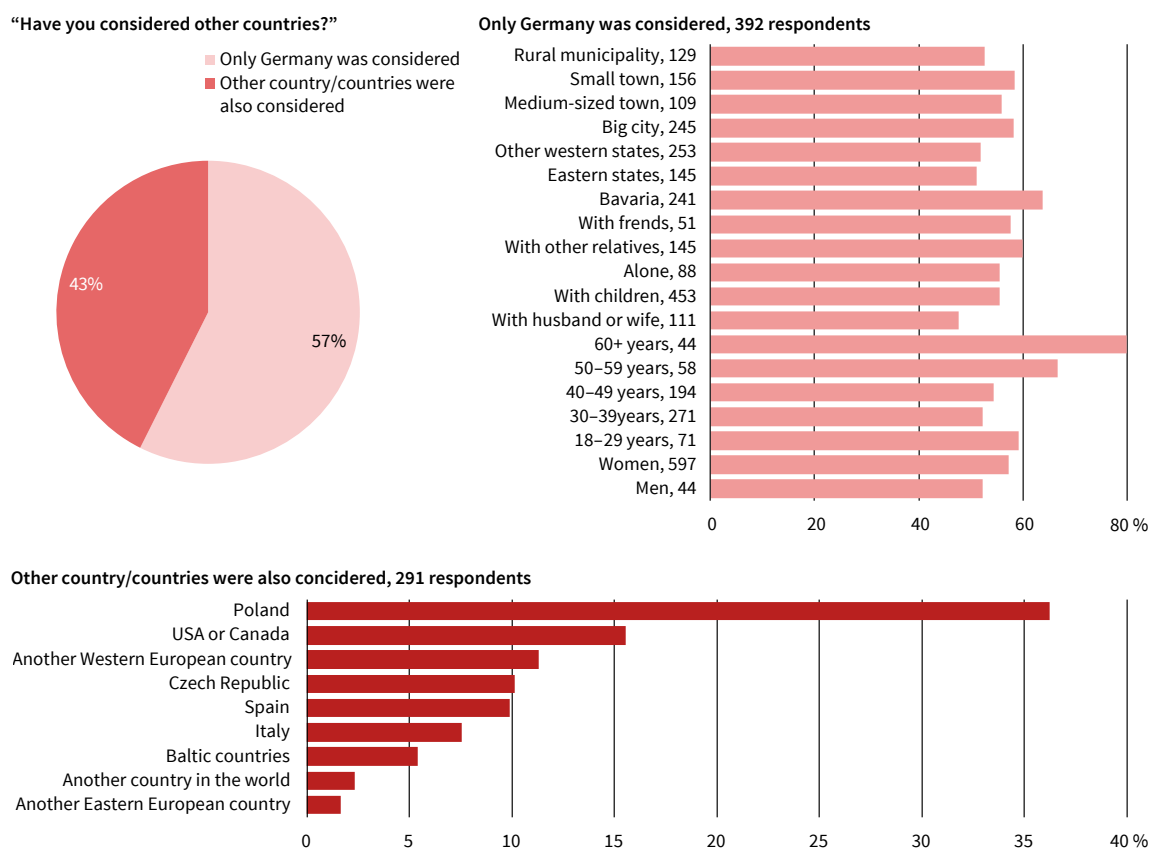
Figure 6 shows the distribution of answers to the question “Have you considered other countries?” (except Germany). The majority of the responding refugees (57 percent) considered only Germany, and for certain groups of respondents, the choice of the country of destination was clearer.

Among them, first of all, are representatives of the older generation, especially those over 60 years old, among whom 80 percent answered that they considered only Germany. They probably came to their relatives and with their relatives, since for this group, too, the lack of alternative choice is seen more clearly than for other groups. It should also be noted that those who arrived in Bavaria considered other countries less than those who arrived in other parts of Germany. Of those groups that were more inclined to consider other countries, full families, meaning those who came with a husband or wife (48 percent), should be noted. Alternatives were also more often considered by men than women, middle-aged people, and those who located in the rural municipalities.

Among the minority who considered other countries as destinations, many were willing to go to Poland (36 percent), which received the largest number of refugees from Ukraine. Much fewer respondents

Figure 6

Planned Refugee Destination, 683 Respondents



Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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considered other countries with a large Ukrainian diaspora, the US or Canada (16 percent), the Czech Republic and Spain (10 percent each), and Italy (8 percent) as potential destination countries. The Baltic countries (5 percent) and other Western European countries were also named – Austria, the UK, Portugal, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, etc.

Figure 7 reflects the specifics of the adaptation of refugees, which demonstrates which of the respondents used a work permit and the right to social benefits (for people who do not work or their earnings do not exceed a certain threshold) – the basic rights of persons under temporary protection.

More than 90 percent of the polled Ukrainian refugees used these rights or are planning to do so. The difference between the number of those who already have a work permit and received social benefits and those who are just waiting for them can be explained by the long wait for registration under the paragraph 24 of Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz* 2004), which includes, among other things, a work permit. Refugees from Ukraine can apply for social benefits without registration for temporary protection, which is obviously what the survey participants did. Only 5 percent of those surveyed said that they did not plan to obtain a work permit and 6 percent said that they did not apply for social assistance and do not plan to apply. It can be assumed that the first and probably partially the second do not plan to stay in Germany, staying for 90 days on a visa-free entry.

PLANS AND INTENTIONS OF REFUGEES FROM UKRAINE

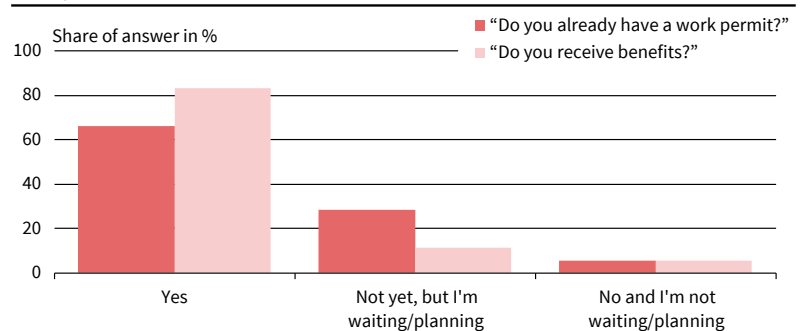
As part of the survey, we directly asked a question about respondents' plans for the next two years. We deliberately chose a relatively long period in order to determine who plans to return in the coming months and who intends to integrate, particularly in the German labor market. The respondents were also asked about their willingness to work in Germany.

Figure 8, which reflects the distribution of respondents' answers about plans for the next two years, clearly demonstrates two dominant strategies for refugees from Ukraine in the future – to stay in Germany or return to Ukraine. The number of those who have further plans to move to another country is insignificant: out of 675 who answered this question, only 1 or 2 percent (the same result (2 percent) was in the INFO GmbH survey (2022). Their choice of the direction of further relocation is not significant due to the small number of answers. However, it should be noted that most of them chose the US or Canada, and this is quite understandable since it is difficult to organize an escape directly from Ukraine across the ocean.

Let us consider in more detail the dominant behavioral strategies. First of all, we note that the pro-

Figure 7

Implementation of the Basic Rights of Persons under Temporary Protection The Right to Work and Social Assistance



Source: ifo Survey 2022.

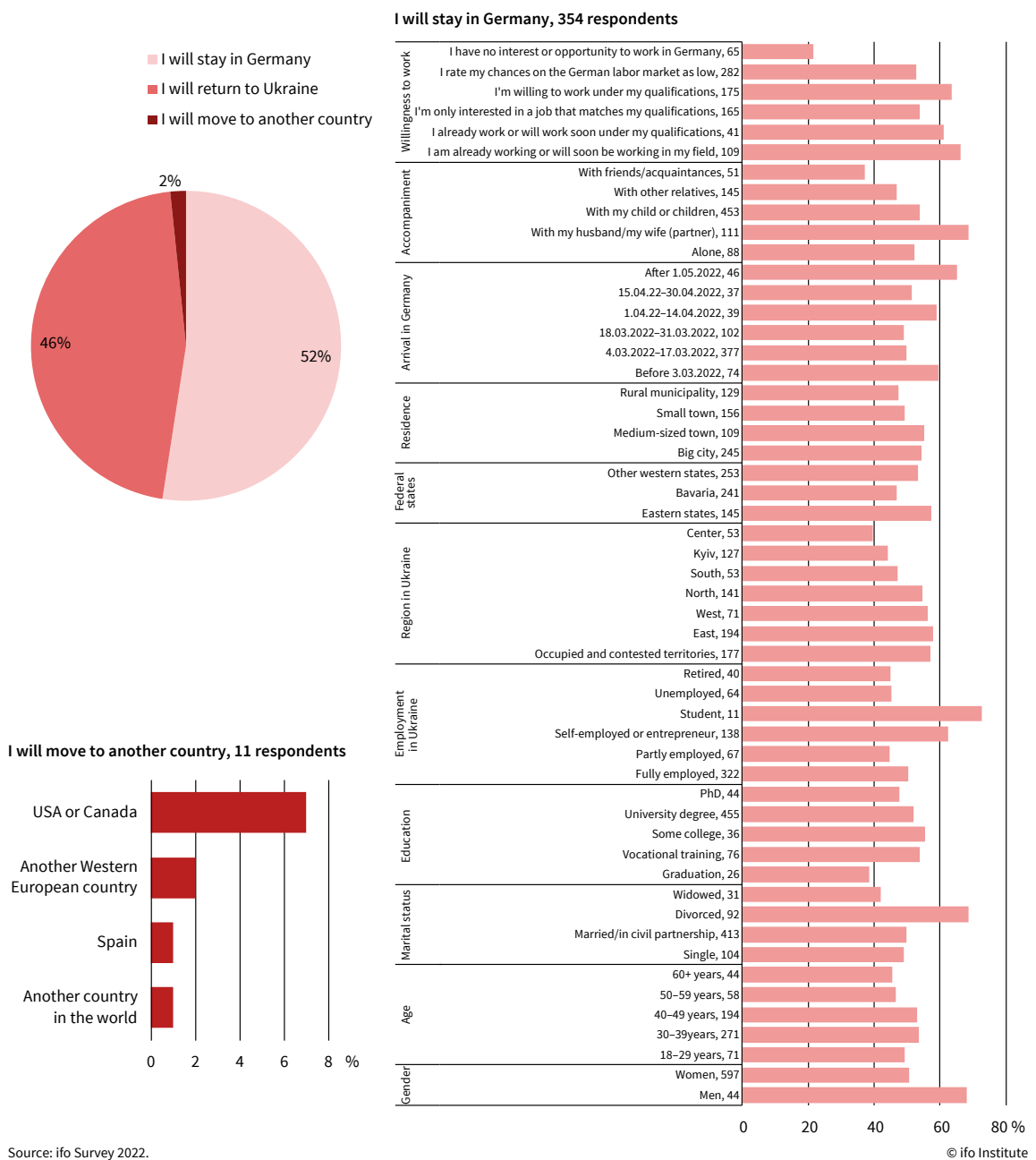
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portion of those who plan to stay exceeds the proportion of those who plan to return, which is also quite consistent with the INFO GmbH Survey data, received in March 2022. In this study, a question was asked about plans for the coming months, which suggested a greater number of alternatives. According to the INFO GmbH survey (2022), 42 percent said they want to stay in their current place of residence, and 32 percent that they want to return to Ukraine. The difference in the number of percentages between these surveys can be explained by the fact that almost a fifth of those surveyed in March said that they had not yet decided.

The distribution of answers to the question about plans for two years among various socio-demographic groups and categories of respondents makes it possible to distinguish the characteristics of those who will remain in Germany and who will return to Ukraine. First of all, it should be noted that more men than women (68 vs. 51 percent) are oriented to stay in Germany. This can be explained on the one hand by the difficulties of departure/return of potential conscripts, on the other hand by the fact that, according to preliminary data, most men are staying in Germany with their families, while the vast majority of women in Germany are staying without their partners. The distribution of answers to this question among different age groups shows a greater tendency for Ukrainians aged 30 to 49 to intend to stay in Germany – that is, the working population with children, while the older generation tends to intend returning to Ukraine. It is noteworthy that more than two-thirds of divorced respondents expressed a desire to stay in Germany, which contrasts with other categories of unmarried or persons without partners (68 percent divorced versus 49 percent single and 42 percent widowed). Regarding the distribution of respondents by level of education, it is worth noting that either those without qualifications or those with the highest qualifications are more likely to return to Ukraine. Among persons who had vocational training, some college, and a university degree, most tend to want to stay in Germany. If we take the employment factor in Ukraine into account, it should be noted that a significant tendency to stay

Figure 8

Plans for the Next 2 Years, 675 Respondents



in Germany was shown by the self-employed or entrepreneurs (62 percent) and students (73 percent, but only 11 students were interviewed). And those who did not work in Ukraine – the unemployed and pensioners or working part-time, showed less desire to stay in Germany (45 percent each).

The plans of the surveyed Ukrainian refugees are significantly determined by the region of their residence in their homeland. Ukrainians who came from the Russian army-controlled or disputed territories, to which part of the eastern “macro-region” of Ukraine currently belongs, as well as refugees from the north of the country, part of which was under occupation or in the war zone in March–April, intend to stay in Germany to a greater extent than their compatriots

who came from the center of the country and the capital. In particular, 58 percent of residents of eastern Ukraine intend to stay in Germany, while only 40 percent of the representatives of central Ukraine are like that. In the partially occupied south and the relatively calm west, however, the opposite tendency can be observed: the percentage of those who intend to stay in Germany is 47 percent for the former and 56 percent for the latter. More representatives of the partially occupied south want to return to Ukraine than stay in Germany (51 percent vs. 47 percent), while representatives of the western macro-region far from the war zone are characterized by the opposite trend: 56 percent of them wish to stay in Germany vs. 42 percent that wish to return. Also of interest is the fact that the

surveyed Ukrainian refugees who settled in Bavaria insist on returning to their homeland more than others (51 vs. 47 percent). The desire to remain in Germany was demonstrated to a greater extent by those who settled in the eastern federal states (57 percent). In addition, Ukrainians seem to be more likely to stay in cities (54 and 55 percent in large and medium-sized cities) than in rural areas and small towns (47 and 49 percent).

No less interesting is the analysis of the distribution of responses of respondents belonging to categories based on the date of arrival, accompaniment persons, and potential employment in Germany. It is worth noting that there is a larger quota of those wishing to stay in Germany among those who arrived early – in the first week of the war (59 percent) and those who arrived relatively late – in the third month of hostilities (65 percent). The relatively small number of people in these categories should be taken into account. The analysis of the distribution of responses in the category of accompaniment quite naturally shows a high rate of those wishing to stay in Germany among those who arrived with a husband or wife (68 percent). Also, among those who came with children there is a significant proportion who want to stay (54 percent). The plans for further stay in Germany, depending on the intentions for employment in the host country, are discussed in more detail below.

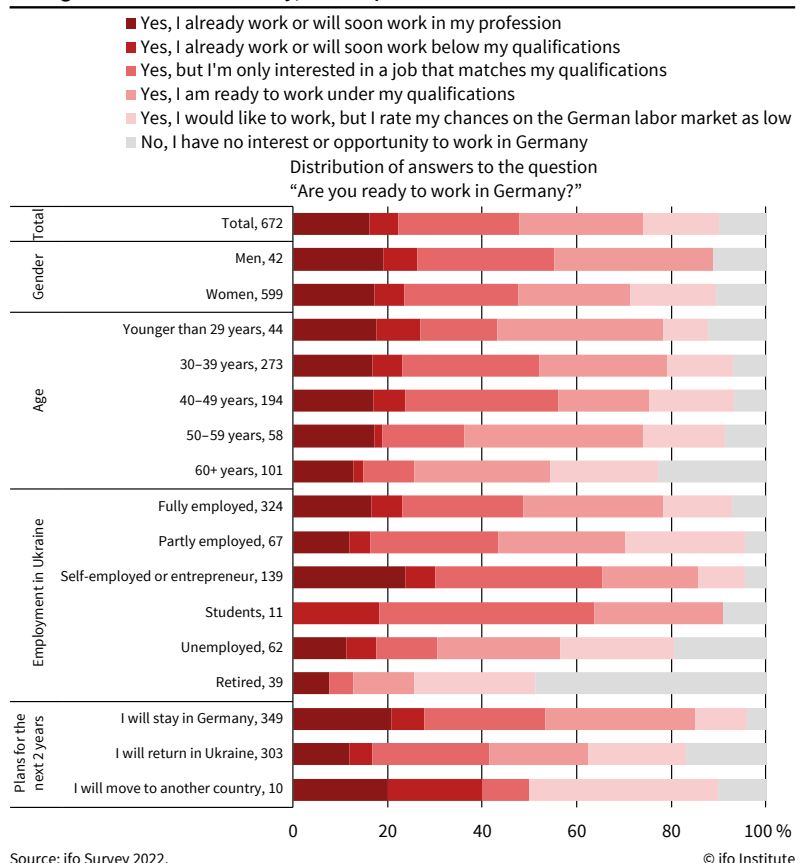
Finally, with the question “Are you ready to work in Germany?” we found the respondents’ intentions to work in Germany. Figure 9 shows the distribution of answers to this question by different socio-demographic groups and categories.

Figure 9 clearly shows the high willingness of Ukrainians to work in Germany: only 10 percent of respondents said they had no opportunity or desire to work. Another 16 percent of respondents wanted to work but assessed their chances in the German labor market as low. Moreover, the share of both the former and the latter responses is the highest among Ukrainian unemployed, pensioners, and people over 60 years old. In particular, 75 percent of retirees, 43 percent of the unemployed, and 46 percent of people over the age of 60 chose one of the two abovementioned answers. In addition, 24 percent of those who work part-time in Ukraine and 18 percent of those aged 40 to 59 estimate their chances of finding employment in Germany as low.

The remaining 74 percent of respondents who expressed their willingness to work in Germany are those who are ready to work exclusively in their profession or already working in their profession (42 percent), and those who are willing to work below their qualifications or already do so (32 percent). In addition, among the 74 percent that are willing to work are those whose intentions have already been realized or will be realized in the near future (22 percent of respondents are already employed or in the process

Figure 9

Willingness to Work in Germany, 672 Respondents



Source: ifo Survey 2022.

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of employment) and those who are ready to work but have not yet looked for work or have just started looking for work (52 percent).

16 percent of respondents said they already work or will soon work in their profession. The share of these is higher among the self-employed or entrepreneurs (24 percent) and slightly higher among men and the youth under the age of 29. Respondents were also asked to indicate the profession in which they are employed or plan to do so soon. The profession of a teacher was the most mentioned (27 mentions), other professions representing various branches of the economy were mentioned no more than three times. In addition, 6 percent of respondents said they were working below their qualifications or would be working soon. Naturally, there were a few more of them among young people and students. The work of a cleaner or an auxiliary worker in the kitchen, construction, or factory was most often mentioned here.

The most numerous categories were those who want to work but have not yet sought or have just started looking for work of appropriate qualifications or unskilled work (26 percent each). It is worth noting that among men and persons under 29 and over 50, there are more people who are ready to work below their qualifications compared to other categories. On the other hand, the self-employed, students, and middle-aged people are more interested in a work that matches their qualifications.

Also of interest are the answers to the question of those who expressed the intention to stay in Germany, to return to Ukraine, or to move to another country within two years. It should be noted that among those who plan to stay in Germany or move to another country, the proportion of those who are already working or will soon be working is significantly higher than among those wishing to return to Ukraine. In addition, among those wishing to stay in Germany, about 40 percent are ready to work or are already working below their qualifications (32 and 7 percent). However, most of them (47 percent) are oriented towards skilled work in their profession, while only 4 percent said they could not or did not want to work, and 11 percent doubted that they could find work in Germany. Among those who plan to return to Ukraine or move to another country, there are much more of those who do not plan to work or their own chances of finding a job are rated low (38 and 50 percent). In addition, among them, the smallest share are those who are willing to work below their qualifications (up to 25 percent). In addition, Figure 9 shows evidence of a relationship between the willingness to work in Germany and plans to stay in this country. We can note high intent to stay among those who already work or will work in their profession, ready to perform work below their qualifications, and low intent to stay among those who do not want to work, and may not want to, and those who doubt their chances.

Aksoy et al. (2021) studied how economic and social integration of refugees who arrived in Germany 2013 to 2016 depends on initial conditions in the county they were exogenously assigned to. Their analysis relied on exogenous allocation of asylum seekers within Germany, using the so-called Königstein Key. Both economic conditions and attitudes towards immigrants are important determinants of integration outcomes. As Ukrainian refugees can freely choose where to search for place to live, they can avoid less favorable locations, making integration easier than it was for previous refugee cohorts. At the same time, those Ukrainian refugees who expect to return home soon have weaker incentives to invest in host-country-specific human capital. Due to these conflicting effects, it is an open question how quickly Ukrainian refugees will integrate.

CONCLUSIONS

Summing up the analysis of the main results of the ifo survey, we can draw the following conclusions. First, this survey fully confirms the results of previous research and observations that among Ukrainians who arrived in Germany after February 24, 2022: there is a predominance of women aged 30 to 49 with children. They, as well as other Ukrainians fleeing the war, are generally well educated and mainly engaged in skilled labor in Ukraine, being mostly fully employed or self-employed. In addition, it was found that most

refugees from Ukraine are married but are staying in Germany without their partners. The exception is a small proportion of men who came to Germany with their families. It was also found that most refugees came from eastern and northern Ukraine, whose territory is or was occupied or in the war zone. At the same time, the share of refugees from the south of the country, which is also partly under the control of the Russian army, is relatively small, but has the potential for growth. In Germany, refugees from Ukraine are more inclined to settle in cities than in rural areas.

Second, the survey found that four-fifths of Ukrainians arrived in Germany during March 2022, especially during the second and third weeks of the war, and the arrival of Ukrainians in Germany is largely due to the aggravation of the situation in some regions. In addition, it was found that Ukrainians chose Germany as their destination mainly due to the presence of friends or relatives in Germany, which confirms numerous hypotheses about the role of the diaspora in choosing a destination. Moreover, it is worth noting that for some groups other factors were important when choosing a host country: random arrival and knowledge of the country for the population from 30 to 49 years, hope for social assistance and support for young people and people of pre-retirement age (retired hoped more for the help of relatives), and intercultural competence and employment opportunities for men. In general, employment opportunities in Germany were the least important for most respondents.

It was also revealed that most Ukrainians surveyed aimed only to come to Germany and did not consider other countries. Moreover, there were more such people among older and young people, persons who arrived accompanied by relatives and friends, as well as those who are in Bavaria. Those who considered other countries mainly considered Poland, only a few considered the US, Canada, and some European countries. During the study, it was revealed that Ukrainians who arrived in Germany generally prefer to register for temporary protection while receiving a work permit. Even sooner, they apply for social payments and receive them. Only a few Ukrainians do not enjoy the rights of persons under temporary protection.

Third, the study proved that there are two dominant strategies for the further behavior of Ukrainians who fled the war and are currently in Germany: stay in Germany or return to Ukraine. Moving onward to another country (usually the US or Canada) was the plan of a few. The number of those wishing to stay in Germany for at least two years slightly exceeds the number of those who plan to return. At the same time, we can single out certain categories of Ukrainians for whom the strategy of staying in Germany is the most acceptable. Among them, the largest group is the active working population from 30 to 49 years, usually with higher or professional education, whose

chances of integrating into the German labor market are quite high. Most of them came to Germany with children who currently need support from the state, but if they stay in Germany, they will be able to significantly support the German economy in the future. In addition, some smaller groups of Ukrainians who plan to stay in Germany deserve attention. Among them are men who are in Germany with their families, divorced persons (especially women with children) who are ready to build their lives in another country, self-employed, or entrepreneurs who are not afraid of challenges. In addition, among those who plan to stay in Germany, there are more who came from regions of Ukraine where it is especially dangerous (especially from the east part of the country), those who settled in Germany in cities and eastern states (probably in hopes of better opportunities for integration), those who arrived from Ukraine rather quickly or relatively late (probably due to more conscious decisions), as well as those who have already become employed or almost employed in Germany or ready to work below their qualifications.

In addition, it is possible to identify groups of Ukrainians who are more inclined to return to their homeland than their compatriots. First of all, these are older people who find it difficult to integrate. Also, this category can include young people under 29 years old, born in independent Ukraine and very patriotic. These young people, moreover, as a rule, are still single and do not have children yet. Also, people without vocational education, those with the highest qualifications, Ukrainians who arrived from the capital or relatively calm center of the country (but not from the calm West!), those who located in Bavaria, as well as in rural areas of other states are less likely to stay in Germany.

Finally, the study concludes that Ukrainians are mostly ready to work in Germany. Only a quarter of Ukrainian refugees surveyed said they were not

interested in employment in Germany or were estimating their chances of finding employment as low. And among them are mostly older people, some of whom are retired, and the Ukrainian unemployed. It should be noted that one-fifth of respondents are already working, mostly in their profession. The rest were divided in equal proportions between those who are willing to work exclusively within their profession and those who are willing to perform work below their qualifications. It should be noted that men, young people, and people over the age of 50 are willing to work below their qualifications, while among those who are ready to work exclusively in their profession, a large proportion are the self-employed, students, and middle-aged people. In addition, among those who plan to stay in Germany, the share of those who are already working or will soon work, as well as those who are willing to work below their qualifications is higher than among those who plan to return to Ukraine.

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