

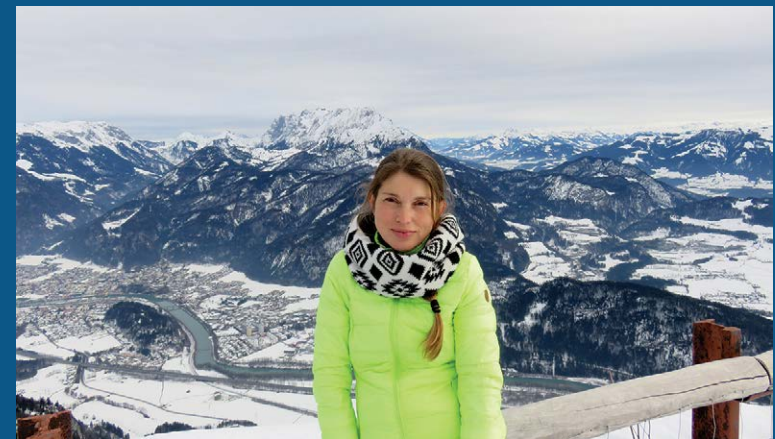


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2020



This publication was supported by the Kharkiv office of Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ukraine. The authors are responsible for the information provided in the publication.

Project coordination: Vasyl Mykhailyshyn, Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Ukraine

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Highly qualified Ukrainian specialist in Germany and Poland / O. Danylenko, T. Panchenko. — Kyiv. 2020. — 29 p.

The publication presents the results of the sociological research with the application of the qualitative methods of sociology, which allowed us to explore the lifeworld of highly qualified Ukrainian labour migrants in Germany and Poland. The main research idea is to consider in unity the whole picture of reasons for moving to another country as well as for returning. Based on the methodological principles of the sociology of everyday life, biographical method and the authors' own lingua-conflict analysis, the analysis tools have been developed, and 24 interviews have been conducted, including 12 in Germany (Munich) and 12 in Poland (Wrocław, Kraków), in the period from 22 October 2019 to 8 January 2020. Additional value for the materials obtained is created by the unique nature of the research circumstances, since the authors themselves currently have a status close to the informants'. Being highly qualified professionals, they moved to another country, although not for a job offer, as most of the people interviewed, but as wives of highly qualified specialists. The biographical situation of the authors defined a unique opportunity to be involved in the material and immerse themselves in the research field: two highly qualified sociologists, using the opportunity of their immersion in the everyday life of Poland and Germany, have decided to apply their competencies and conducted this research.

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1 PROBLEM STATEMENT, INFORMANTS SELECTION PRINCIPLES AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The problem of outflow of highly qualified specialists from Ukraine to other countries is one of the topical issues of the political discourse in Ukraine. This is primarily due to the fact that building the country's future without relying on its intellectual resources is problematic, but no real solutions have been proposed to stop the outflow of intelligent potential, primarily because it is not clear enough what makes people with a high level of salary in Ukraine (for example, in the IT sector) leave their country.

The reasons for the relocation of highly qualified specialists and ways of building life strategies have special features, so in the selection of informants, we have decided to focus on and aimed our research at this particular category of migrants, taking into account primarily the educational level (a university degree) and specific nature of professional activity (employment that requires intellectual work, a high level of qualification, and expertise in the relevant field). The job markets of the countries such as Germany and Poland are being filled with these kinds of specialists in order to effectively develop their economies, and Ukrainian highly qualified specialists are part of those who fill them. The specific nature of our research is to focus on these specialists.

Which mechanisms could be used to attract intellectual resources that have left the country? The question is whether this is an even remotely achievable task. Under what conditions could highly qualified Ukrainian specialists with a university degree return to Ukraine? To understand whether this is possible, fundamental reasons for leaving the country should be examined. At first glance, it seems that the answer is obvious. Common statements such as 'in pursuit of a better life', 'to improve the quality of life' create a feeling of pseudo understanding, because these words may hide completely different meanings: quality of life may be clean tap water for some people and the feeling of safety for others. True reasons, however, may be completely different. What are these reasons? To answer this question, we have conducted the sociological research with the application of the qualitative

methods of sociology with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which we are very grateful to.

It was necessary to apply the qualitative methods of sociology rather than the quantitative ones, because of the qualitative methods are focused on answering the question 'why' and allow us to analyse the reasons for making a decision to move to another country more deeply. At the same time, we consider the reasons for leaving and the reasons for returning as two sides of the same coin, which determined the peculiarities of our analysis tools. In addition, the research was conducted in accordance with the methodological principles of the sociology of everyday life, which analyses the meanings and various manifestations of these meanings at the level of everyday activities and practices, including when immersed in a different socio-cultural environment, as well as considers the issue of 'home' (what does 'home' mean?) and returning home (A. Schutz).

The research has applied the biographical method in the research version of G. Rosenthal² for identifying and reconstructing biographies of migrants in the form of cases and the authors' own lingua-conflict analysis³(a method involving examination of conflict through text and discourse; with this technique, language of conflict can be used as an indicator of the conflict potential of particular socio-cultural identities) for measuring identities through the analysis of linguistic structures in the interview texts. We were also inspired by the ideas of the classics of biographical research in sociology from the early 20th century — The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki⁴.

One of the main hypotheses of our research is that the relocation of highly qualified specialists to Poland and Germany from Ukraine is more connected with the pursuit of safety and stability for themselves and their families than with financial reasons (the money factor could, in our opinion, come to the fore for representatives of blue-collar jobs who really go to earn money, but this is another research topic). As it is common to the qualitative methods, we applied this hypothesis in a 'soft version', since instead of dominating the material, it should only be one of the guidelines in the researcher's inquiry. In addition to searching for answers, we also focused on building new hypotheses and prospects for studying this understudied problem, primarily based on the texts of interviews, including 12 interviews

¹ Schutz A. *Semantic Structure of the Everyday World: Essays on Phenomenological Sociology* / Compiled by: A. Ya. Alkhasov; translated from English by A. Ya. Alkhasov, N. Ya. Mazlumianova; scientific editing of the translation by H. S. Batygin. Moscow: Public Opinion Foundation Institute, 2003.

² Rosenthal G. *Interpretive Social Research*. Göttingen: University Press (in German 2015), 2018.

³ O. A. Danylenko. *The Language of Conflict in the Transforming Society: from Construction of History to Formation of Socio-Cultural Identities*: Monograph. Vilnius: YSU Publishing House, 2007. 402 p.

⁴ W. Thomas, F. Znaniecki. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*: In 2 Vol. N. Y., 1958.

in Germany (Munich) and 12 interviews in Poland (Wrocław, Kraków) conducted by the authors in the period from 22 October 2019 to 8 January 2020. It should be noted that each interview surprised us with something. We were open to this surprise and allowed the interviewees' narratives to develop and unfold as much as possible.

During the interviews, we prompted these narratives, first by asking the interviewees to tell about themselves as if it was a biographical research, and then by asking not only direct questions about expectations from the migration, reasons for moving and, potentially, returning, but also by prompting narratives through questions about home, places where informants feel happier, Ukrainian holidays and holidays of the relocation country. We also used the question of three significant historical events and the future of their country using the lingua-conflict analysis, as an important indicator of identity. You can read more about the specifics of the application of this method in the development of research tools, including in relation to migrant engineers, in publications^{5 6}. The first of these two articles reflects the results of work on research methods for the lifeworld and socio-cultural identities of highly qualified migrants in 2012, while the second article, written in 2005, reveals the features of application of the lingua-conflict analysis to the measurement of socio-cultural identities. Thus, the methodological path to the 2019–2020 research lasted more than 10 years.

The specific nature of the author's approach to the development of analysis tools in the conducted research is the measurement of reasons for relocation and potential return not only (or even not so much) through direct questions about reasons for relocation, but also through indirect questions, given the focus of which we may name them an indirect measurement triangle that includes the following conditional apices: 1) biographical situation; 2) measurement of identities through the lingua-conflict indicators; and 3) questions about home perception.

The research objective is to identify the main reasons for the relocation of highly qualified specialists and the possibility or impossibility of their return (including the conditions thereof) or the reasons for potential further relocation to other countries.

The informants (highly qualified migrant workers from Ukraine to Poland and Germany) in this research have been selected on the basis of the principles of different

⁵ O. A. Danylenko. The Life World and Socio-Cultural Identities of Migrant Engineers from Post-Soviet Countries to Germany: Articulation of Issue. *Bulletin of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv: Sociology*. 2013. 1 (4). 87–90 p.

⁶ O. A. Danylenko. The Methodology for the Construction of the Conflict Metalanguage Map: from Construction of History to New Identities. *Methodology, Theory and Practice of the Sociological Analysis of the Modern Society: Collection of Scientific Articles* Kharkiv: Publishing House of the V. N. Karazin National University of Kharkiv, 2005. 200–205 p.

cases that give a diversified picture: by the number of years of stay in the country, sex, age, profession, regions: place of birth and place of departure from Ukraine, profession and other parameters. Although we applied the snowball method, the diversity of the picture was additionally ensured by several 'entry points' with further development through the snowball method. Based on the need for the diversity and the balanced nature of the picture, we asked the interviewees to recommend further informants, taking into account the diversity we were interested in, and also asked them about communications with people from certain regions of Ukraine, representatives of certain professions, etc., whom we did not interview previously, or looked for such contacts of potential interviewees on our own. It should be emphasised once again that, as any qualitative research, this research in no way claims to be representative; we only wished to expand the range of analysed cases, while, on the one hand, showing the unique nature of a particular case, and on the other, identifying common features of cases despite their variety. We took the sample saturation as a benchmark.

Since Ukraine has significant potential in innovative industries, namely IT, due to the high level of education in engineering, physics and mathematics, a big part of the informants is employed in IT. In particular, 7 out of 12 informants interviewed in Munich and its surroundings are employed in IT and specialise in programming, testing or business analysis, which also corresponds to the unmet need of the German economy for the above technical specialists. Moreover, three of them retrained to IT from other areas, and two of these three successfully work in IT without engineering education. The rest of the informants in Germany work in finance (compliance⁷, financial control, auditing). The interviewees also include a manager in a household appliance production company and a music teacher. In Poland, where, as already mentioned, various channels of entry of Ukrainian specialists into the job market are possible, the range of the sectors of employment spheres is quite wider. 7 of 12 interviewees in Poland are employed in IT, with 6 of them being IT specialists and one working in the IT sector bordering with the German philology and advertising. The rest of the informants in Poland are employed in education, management, telecommunications, economics and finance.

The informants in both countries have diverse degrees, including in engineering, economics, law, philology and music; some (3 in Germany and 4 in Poland) have several degrees, while one of the informants in Poland has academic credentials, and another has four postgraduate degrees received in Poland in addition to the second degree.

⁷ Compliance is an internal control system that helps to manage compliance risks, i.e. liability risks of companies and top managers.

There are 7 women and 5 men among those interviewed in Germany who live there from 8 months to 19 years. The age of interviewees in Germany is 27 to 49 years old. By origin, informants from Germany represent different regions and cities of Ukraine: Kharkiv, Odesa, Kropyvnytskyi, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Cherkasy, Chernihiv, as well as Zhytomyr, Ternopil, Rivne and Sumy regions. At the same time, they relocated through Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odesa, and two moved to Germany through Poland.

There are 6 women and 6 men among the people interviewed in Poland who live there from 3 months to 16 years. The age of informants in Poland is 25 to 54 years old. By origin, informants from Poland also represent various cities and regions of Ukraine: Kyiv, Poltava, Rivne, Lviv, Kharkiv, Luhansk region, Donetsk region. The cities from which the informants relocated to Poland are Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv, Rivne, Poltava and Odesa. The detailed socio-demographic and migration characteristics of the informants are presented in Table 1 and Table 2 at the end of the article. The table also contains names of each case, which figuratively reflect the specific nature of the case, which was most evident in the interview, e.g. *'A citizen of the world with Ukraine in her heart'*, *'We are here for stability'*, *'This IT Adventure!'*, *'I'm not a rat in a wheel anymore'*⁸, etc. (case descriptions are available in the detailed publication in Ukrainian and Russian).

Below are the main research findings. For clarity of the conclusions, we provide a number of quotes from the texts of the interviews conducted in Munich, Wrocław and Kraków with highly qualified Ukrainian specialists. Of course, all the names in the quotes have been changed for the purpose of confidentiality. We are grateful to our informants for their sincere and detailed answers.

Since our research was focused on potential return and development of recommendations based on the interview texts, we offer you the research findings in the following logical order: from the relocation reasons to the reasons of potential return, and from the latter to the recommendations for returning.

⁸ The informant uses the proverb "to spin like a hamster in a wheel" for self-description, but replaces the hamster with a rat.

2 FROM THE RELOCATION REASONS TO RETURN/NON-RETURN REASONS

The analysis of 24 cases of highly qualified migrant specialists (12 in Munich, Germany; 12 in Wrocław and Kraków, Poland) allowed us to find both repeated and singular relocation reasons among their variety, notice a wide range of expectations from relocation, identify key points especially pleasant and important in the new country of residence and those that cause discomfort, as well as assess the possibility/impossibility of returning home (including the conditions thereof) or the reasons for potential further relocation to other countries.

First of all, we have identified a striking domination of non-economic reasons for the migration of highly qualified Ukrainians to Germany and Poland, which echoes the results of some other studies of the fifth wave of Ukrainian migration that demonstrated the domination of personal motivation and professional self-fulfilment. However, in addition to having revealed an even wider range of non-economic reasons for relocation, our research, based on the analysis of interview texts, identified various interconnections between personal reasons and trends in the development of the Ukrainian society, as well as the perception of these changes by informants.

2.1. Main Motives Picture

According to the analysis, almost all the informants **associate their relocation with the interest and desire to try and live in another country, gain new or international experience**, and for many of them, these reasons were prevailing (as a rule, each interview highlighted more than one interconnected reasons, and only in some of them only one reason could be identified as prevailing). At the same time, some explained their desire to live in another country by their youth, that they were not yet bound by obligations (no children or owned housing), so they had the opportunity to *'move light'*; others wanted to test their strengths and abilities; still others wanted to see the world, become part of a more open, international community, get to know another culture and learn a new language. Some of those interviewed are ready to go further and conquer new countries in search of new experience; there are much more of these in Poland than in Germany, and even housing purchased on mortgage in Poland is not an obstacle to further relocation.

Another quite often mentioned **reason for relocation is, in one way or another, connected with the situation in Ukraine — political and/or economic instability and war.** Moreover, the critical reason for leaving in each case was either the war and Russian threat in eastern Ukraine or economic problems (depreciation of the hryvnia, price hike, bankruptcy of Ukrainian banks), or the political situation (Maidan and its aftermath, change of power in Ukraine). This reason was prevailing for some cases in Poland (for example, Hlib, 42 years old: Kraków, Kharkiv⁹, *'We are here for stability'*). Often the situation in Ukraine was mentioned in conjunction with other personal reasons (for example, Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odesa region, who dreamed of living in Germany from her childhood, fled from the economic and political instability as an adult), which made it difficult to determine their place and role in the palette of diverse reasons and expectations of the interviewees. Based on the analysis of the interview texts, we nevertheless have come to the conclusion that these reasons were dominant only in some cases in the German array, but they were quite often found in the Polish array.

Many informants said that *'they have been always interested in gaining international experience. Everything has accelerated due to instability.'* (Alice, 31 years old, Munich, Korosten, Zhytomyr region.) But there is another case: for example, Ivan (32 years old, Wrocław, Kharkiv) spontaneously accepted an offer to work in Poland in 2014: *'It was just interesting to try. Also, the situation in the country at that time.'* (He had not thought about moving before.) This is, however, a rare case. Since many informants left Ukraine during the 2013–2014 Maidan (Euromaidan) or afterwards, the topic of Maidan was brought up quite often. It was also mentioned among significant historical events, for example: *'Maidan... It was a turning point for the society, because people spoke up about what they wanted. For the first time, politicians realised the power of society over them'* (Mykyta, 28 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv); *'The most significant thing is our latest Ukrainian revolution, the Revolution of Dignity, uprising against the corruption of the then-government'* (Yuliia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region).

As the analysis of interview texts has shown, many informants perceive Euromaidan as a positive event (with some exceptions), while its consequences — Russian aggression in Donbas, which caused a severe economic crisis, a threefold depreciation of the national currency and austerity measures — are assessed negatively and mentioned among reasons for moving: *'The revolution itself was a positive event, and it definitely did not make me relocate, but the war and economic recession did'* (Vadym, 36 years old, Munich, Odesa). But in Poland there were two interviews, for whom Euromaidan and the related trends of change triggered the

⁹ Hereinafter in brackets: the first city is the place of current residence; the second city is the place of birth.

idea to relocate, and the interviews showed the rejection of those events: *'...this revolution. I don't understand what happened in our country, and I don't want to figure it out. I know one thing — it ruined my life. And it's very bad'* (Olena, 42 years old, Kraków, Poland). Here is the second interview: Hlib (42 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv) answered the question of who are 'we or friends' and 'they or foes' by saying: *'They are people who made Maidan, because for me there is Ukraine 'before' and 'after'... People who destroyed what we had before. People who... ruined my life, because if not for this, I would never have left Ukraine...'* But such kind of statements were unusual for the general array of interviews (only these two), and the remaining 22 interviews spoke positively of Euromaidan and related changes in Ukraine, as well as characterised it as a significant historical event. For example, Dmytro (54 years old, Wrocław, Dmytriv, Donetsk region) provided an interesting marker of 'foes' in his interview: *'For me, 'foes' are those who can't answer the question 'Whose is Crimea?' That's it, because if a person can't answer this question or answers directly that it's not Ukraine's, he or she is a 'foe.'* At the same time, according to the analysis, regional differences do not matter if it comes to Euromaidan. For example, many of those who come from eastern Ukraine manifest a clearly positive attitude toward the Maidan and related changes.

Although almost all interviewees in Germany, speaking about the reasons for their relocation, in one way or another mentioned the situation in the country; only some of them (Alice, 31 years old, Munich, Korosten, Zhytomyr region; Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odessa region; Yana, 33 years old, Munich, Kirovohrad), following on from this topic, said about the need for stability, social security and security in the future, and they especially appreciated these characteristics in their current life. The interviews conducted in Poland have a different picture of reasons: the value of stability appeared quite often, including when answering the question about the European values, for example: *'For me, the greatest value is the feeling of stability here, the feeling as someone who can dream'* (Dmytro, 54 years old, Wrocław, Dmytriv, Donetsk region).

As you can see, the motive for moving due to dissatisfaction with the political and economic situation in Ukraine is concretized by the informants in the related **need for stability and safety**, which they looked for in the country of relocation. At the same time, although the informants mentioned the need for stability and safety, order and good organisation as reasons for moving, in the German interviews, they spoke more about them when answering questions for indirect measurement of reasons: in the context of expectations, and even more often as those times that they especially enjoy in the new country. Only one of those interviewed in Munich said frankly that his goal was *'comfort, safety, more stable future, good income and respect of my rights in retirement'* (Vadym, 36 years old, Munich, Odesa). Most of

the interviewees became aware of the benefits of a more comfortable and secure life only after the relocation. Stability, peace, ability to plan, safety, etc. were often mentioned in the interviews with Ukrainian migrants in Poland, and not only when describing the quality of life and expectations, but also as the dominant reason in a number of interviews.

Another common motive for moving was **the dissatisfaction with a job** (tasks, working process or relationships within their company, less often — salary) and lack of opportunities for growth or, according to some informants, *'reaching a professional limit'* (Nazar, 35 years old, Munich, Novyi Korets, Rivne region; Kseniia, 40 years old, Munich, Cherkasy). In addition, repeated tasks turning into routine were tiresome: *'When you stay in one place for a long time, you lose interest in everything'* (Mark, 45 years old, Wrocław, Poltava); at the same time, switching to outsourcing was not desirable due to time difference, and there was no opportunity to work with a production company in Ukraine under the current job profile, therefore, since he liked his area of expertise, he *'decided to stay in it, but change the country...'* (Mark, 45 years, Wrocław, Poltava). At the same time, his decision was also influenced by the factor that *'... the country in the form of 73 percent clearly told me that we had different paths to follow'*¹⁰, as well as his worries about the future of his son in Ukraine (military operations in the country). It should be noted that many interviews have a combination of factors, which makes it difficult to single out one dominant reason, and the description given is a typical example of the multi-faceted nature of making a decision to move to another country.

In addition, many IT specialists in Poland and Germany spoke about a desire to work with a non-outsourcing production company, especially those who had experience of working with outsourcing companies in Ukraine. Many of them expected a more interesting job, a better organised development process and, unlike outsourcing, a possibility to communicate *'with founders of a company, sales departments, marketing specialists'* (Ihor, 32 years old, Munich, Chernihiv). Some told about their preferences of working with production companies when answering the question of what could make them return to Ukraine: *'if big companies like that entered the market and opened their branches', 'developing Facebook, Google, as well as the largest international banks...'* (Ruslana, 29 years old, Wrocław, Lviv).

Positive changes in the content of work did not deliver upon everyone's expectations, but representatives of all professions, who in one way or another raised the

¹⁰ This statement has a context that in the elections in Ukraine 73 percent voted for the current President Volodymyr Zelensky.

topic of professional employment, mentioned the respect for employees and their time (*life-work balance*). There were no cases where dissatisfaction with work was the only reason for moving. Many informants frankly said that they did not even try to look for another job in Ukraine but strived for something different.

Some informants who have children **moved to another country because of the future or present of their children**. For example, Petro (40 years old, Munich, Ivano-Frankivsk), who emphasised that he had left Ukraine *'for the sake of his children'*, was convinced that only in Germany they would be able to achieve success in any area; Yana (33 years old, Munich, Kirovohrad) strived to give her children the opportunity to *'grow up in a stable and prosperous country'*; Kseniia (40 years old, Munich, Cherkasy) wanted to *'give her child a chance to learn another culture, society and language'*; for Mark (45 years old, Wrocław, Poltava), one of the reasons for moving was concern for the future of his son in Ukraine; Dmytro (54 years old, Wrocław, Dmytriv, Donetsk region) said that it was important that his son received the *'European charge'*; and Hlib (42 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv), who left *'for stability'*, said that he hoped that it would be easier for his son, and *'I'm a first-generation migrant, so I have to endure.'*

Finally, some informants mentioned **unique reasons for moving related to their personal lives**, such as the desire of a partner to live in Europe or America, the job of the fiancé (a Ukrainian) in Poland (*'I moved because of big love,'* Natasha, 29 years old, Kraków, Kyiv), a job offer for a spouse (for example, Julia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region), but at the same time, being highly qualified specialists, they then built their own career in the new country.

Although the analysis of interviews in the gender terms was not the research purpose, we would like to highlight some points related to gender. The migration scenarios of the interviewed women reveal an option *'of moving following your husband'*, despite their own career in Ukraine, and then they can build a new career in a new country¹¹. There is also a case when, being forced to move following her husband, the informant had set the goal in Ukraine just before the move of finding a job abroad (Natasha, 29 years old, Kraków, Kyiv). There were no such cases as leaving career in Ukraine to follow your wife among the interviewed men in our array, but such cases were mentioned in interviews with women (Yana, 32 years old, Munich, Kirovohrad; Kseniia, 40 years old, Munich, Cherkasy): at the time of the interview their husbands had not found a job yet and decided to study. There was also an interesting *'hybrid'* case: the wife set the goal of moving to another country, but did it by means of finding a job for her husband, and then, having moved to an-

¹¹ The cases of *'decisions not to build a new career'* were also mentioned indirectly in interviews by some informants when talking about their wives.

other country thanks to her husband's job, she built there her career (Alice, 31 years old, Munich, Korosten, Zhytomyr region). One of the interviews mentioned the 'childhood dream' of living in Germany as a reason for moving, and it was realised through 'challenging' the fiancé to find a job in Germany, which allowed the informant to eventually realise her childhood dream (Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odesa region). It should also be noted that during interviews or conversations related to recruiting, the informants mentioned cases of their acquaintances (highly qualified migrants), on the basis of which it might be concluded that unless different roles in professional and personal life are harmonised (which is always a challenge, especially in a new country), this leads either to a return to homeland or a divorce and a return of one of the spouses. The identification and detailed description of these and other potential types and related gender strategies require further study, including additional interviews and interpretation of the existing body of interview texts with a focus on gender strategies. In any case, the research has shown that a family as a system plays a large role in how decisions are made to leave, relocate further or return.

Returning to the reasons for moving, we should note that there were also **sporadic reasons**, e.g. the desire to move was influenced by the need to apply for visa when Ukraine did not have the visa-free regime (Oleksandr, 49 years old, Munich, Kirovohrad) or obtaining of a degree in the EU (Bohdan, 29 years old, Wrocław, Krasnohrad, Lviv region). Sometimes sporadic, as well as recurring reasons are in what the informants name the advantages of living and working in the country of relocation, e.g. they like to '*submerge into a new culture*' (Yuliia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region), and the latter also indicated readiness for further relocation to other countries. The above common and rare reasons are intertwined in various combinations, correlating, in most cases, with the expectation of stability, safety and improvement in the quality of life.

The predominance of non-financial reasons for moving is confirmed by the following statements in the interviews: '*There are things you can't buy*' (Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odesa region), '*Not all things may be measured with money, and for me, the point is... stability is probably not a proper word... This is general peace, which you may feel, I think*' (Ivan, Wrocław, Kharkiv). To better understand how this is embodied at the level of everyday life perception in a new country, see the below analysis of answers to the questions 'What does quality of life mean for you?' and 'What are especially important and pleasant aspects in the country where you live and work for you?' These questions were considered in pairs, and they did not only lead to subjective meanings of the quality of life and help to better understand the life world of a highly qualified migrant, but were also indirect indicators of the reasons for moving.

2.2. What Do Informants Mean by 'Quality of Life', and How is this Related to the Motives for Moving?

To find out the informants' subjective meanings of the concept of 'quality of life', we will list a number of everyday things that were mentioned when answering the question about the quality of life, as well as things the informants like in the country of residence: *'You can drink tap water'* (Svitlana, 34 years old, Munich, Kharkiv; Nazar, 35 years old, Munich, Novyi Korets, Rivne region), *'Tap water is clear, not yellow or smelly... Water is constantly available... Heating is not working when it is hot outside'* (Mark, 45 years old, Wrocław, Poltava), *'The transport situation is really better than in Lviv. I mean here you can get on a tram or bus'* (Ruslana, 29 years old, Wrocław, Lviv), *'If a fixed-route taxi in Ukraine is old and rusty, and you need to pass money for travel, Poland is already at the completely different level. Here there are beautiful buses and trams; everything goes as per schedule. In Germany, it's even better; the prices, however, motivate you to use a bike or walk'* (Ihor, 32 years old, Munich, Chernihiv), *'Transport runs as per schedule and isn't too crowded', 'You can walk at night, and it's not scary'* (Vadym, 36 years old, Munich, Odesa), *'I was pleasantly surprised that trams and streets here were well-maintained'* (Hlib, 42 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv), *'Good infrastructure'* (Oleksandr, 45 years old, Munich, Kirovohrad), *'You can easily take a nature hike'* (Svitlana, 34 years old, Munich, Kharkiv), *'Ability to combine work and nature around us'* (Petro, 40 years old, Munich, Ivano-Frankivsk), *'Clean outdoors'* (Hanna, 27 years old, Munich, Lutsk), *'Roads... public transport system. Here you can easily get to the city centre, and people are completely fine with public transport'* (Yuliia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region).

One more unexpected thing that describes the quality and comfort of life in a new country was outlined in the interview: *'There's no social inequality'*, as in Ukraine (Bohdan, 29 years old, Wrocław, Krasnohrad, Lviv region); and this is not the only interview that mentioned it. A number of interviews in Poland also indicated the impact of the effective use of taxes on the quality of life, stating that it was clear where the taxes went; public transport system worked well, and everything was conveniently developed. In addition, many interviews mentioned the importance of *'keeping within the law'*, paying taxes while seeing what they go for, having social protection, experiencing respect, the government's concern for its citizens, ability to exercise your rights and duties as essential components of the 'quality of life'.

The informants often said that *'it's more comfortable here'*, meaning their country of relocation (Svitlana, 34 years old, Munich, Kharkiv; Alice, 31 years old, Munich, Korosten, Zhytomyr region; Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odesa region; Kseniia, 40 years old, Munich, Cherkasy). But what did they mean by this comfort? Let us give you an example that shows the features of the associated meanings of

our informants in the context. Dmytro (54 years old, Wrocław, Dmytriv, Donetsk region, the case 'Moving for freedom and self-fulfilment... and size 48 shoes') described the importance of comfort as an essential element of respect for a person. Answering the question 'What do you like in the country of living and working?', he said the following about Poland: *'...I just see comfort. I see crazy comfort. In addition, I like the mentality, perception of the world, kind of political solidarity, although there are many different movements here, etc. It's a common practice for either size of shoes or communication, or comfort of life, or comfort of travel on a train or bus, or air conditioning, etc. I believe a person deserves to live in more comfortable conditions...'* This and other similar statements in interviews show the specific nature of the perception of the everyday arrangements not only as a manifestation of everyday comfort, but also as a manifestation of the government's respect for a person, an individual. Here is another example of this kind of answer about the quality of life: *'Starting with simple things such as cleaning entrance hallways, which reflects the attitude to a person, and ending up with a type of transport. How clean it is. How the city maintains the infrastructure, garbage collection'* (Mykyta, 28 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv). A similar discourse is typical for other interviews too. Rather than being limited to financial factors and living conditions, the comfort that informants in Germany and Poland spoke about was also determined by respect for a person, personal freedom, personal space and time.

It is the above multitude of everyday things, together with the secure future and that *'you won't stay on the streets, you won't be fired without notice, the political situation won't change so much that you'll lose everything in one day'* (Hanna, 27 years old, Munich, Lutsk), the ability to plan and often safety that create the concept of 'quality of life' for informants in both in Germany and Poland. Although many say that ideas of the quality of life before and after the relocation have not changed, when describing this concept, they refer to everyday practices of life in Germany or Poland, which we considered important to list in detail in order to better understand the everyday life world of those Ukrainian highly qualified specialists who had moved to Germany or Poland, as well as their motives.

2.3. More about Financial and Non-financial Elements of the Reasons for Moving and the 'Quality of Life'

Based on the analysis of the interview texts, it may be concluded that our hypothesis that today's highly qualified labour migrants are not guided by financial factors when moving (if we understand it as the improvement of life in terms of the financial situation), but strive for stability, safety and improvement in the quality of

life, has been confirmed, although safety is mentioned less often than stability or comfort. The following statements are quite typical in terms of the content: *'Financial factors played no role in my moving (*laughing*)'. At first, I even had the same salary as in Ukraine'* (Natasha, 29 years old, Kraków, Kyiv), *'... I also had a good salary in Ukraine'* (Ruslana, 29 years old, Wrocław, Lviv). Many of the informants said that they were fully aware of the level of costs and realised that there would be no financial benefit. Some of them frankly said that they *'chose quality of life instead of financial advantages'* (Alice, 31 years old, Munich, Korosten, Zhytomyr region), or they expected that the salary would be lower, *'but we got other things in return'* (Yuliia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk).

In Munich, the case of the musician Katia, who left Ukraine 19 years ago, is the only one that shows the key role of financial factors in moving. At the same time, she cannot be called 'materialistic', as she just tried to secure her future while remaining a musician. However, the financial factor prevailed in two out of 12 cases in Poland. These were informants under 30 years old and not from the IT sector (Mariia, 25 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv; Mykyta, 28 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv). But mentioning the financial reason as the main one, they focused on non-financial needs and interests when talking about important things in the new country. It also should be noted that representatives of the same age group (both in Poland and in Germany) employed in IT said that living in Ukraine was uncomfortable for them due to a large gap in salaries of IT specialists and other professions, for example, Yuliia (28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region) said that Poland *'has a difference too, but not the same as in Ukraine, where programmers are gods'*; Bohdan (29 years old, Wrocław, Krasnohrad, Lviv region) and Ruslana (29 years old, Wrocław, Lviv) also emphasised in interviews that it was uncomfortable to receive a high salary in Ukraine, when many other people around were in poverty. Such post-materialistic sentiments associated with the discomfort of living as a rich person among the poor were mentioned in the Munich interviews too, and also by millennials¹². Moreover, some informants frankly criticised their colleagues for *'using IT salaries to shield themselves from the rest of the society. Their life: a car, gym, flat or house, maybe a maid...'* (Ihor, 32 years old, Munich, Chernihiv). Thus, this research confirms the trend of an increase in the importance of non-financial reasons in the behaviour of people and their life in general, which manifested in the interviews of intellectual migrants, but may, in our opinion, be manifested differently in relation to other social groups.

¹² The term 'millennial' refers to representatives of a generation who were born at the turn of the centuries (from the late 80s to the early 2000s), whose childhood and growing-up took place in the era of globalisation and access to digital technology.

If the informants have expected the above things related to the quality of life and now especially enjoy them, many characteristics of people's behaviour in the host society came as a pleasant surprise to many interviewees. In particular, many informants in Germany, in spite of existing stereotypes, said that *'people turned out to be very friendly, helpful and kind'* (Ihor, 32, Munich, Chernihiv), *'polite'* (Vadym, 36 years old, Munich, Odesa), *'open'* (Inna, 30 years old, Munich, village N in Odesa region).

The interviewees in Poland also mentioned the friendliness and smiles of others as an important aspect of the quality of life and the thing people like in the country. For example: *'The quality of life is smiles of people'*, *'This is the quality when you feel comfortable, without stress'* (Halyna, 39 years old, Kraków, Rivne); *'I like the friendliness'* (Yuliia, 28 years old, Kraków, Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region); or more about the Polish: *'Friendly and ready to be flexible if there are any difficulties'* (Mariia, 25 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv). While the quality of life in regards to solving everyday problems may be eventually improved in Ukraine, changing the people and their mentality is more difficult. Many informants are aware of this fact and see it as a major obstacle to their return to Ukraine: *'Several generations should pass so that we become as open and kind as other people'* (Ihor, 32 years old, Munich, Chernihiv). Of course, the mentality, people's attitude to life and each other are not the only obstacle. Some old circumstances related to the situation in the country — war, economic stagnation, corruption, political instability, populism, which do not at all contribute to changes in the quality of life — prevent Ukrainians from returning home.

3 FROM THE RETURN/NON-RETURN MOTIVES TO RECOMMENDATIONS

According to many interviewees, Ukraine's membership in the European Union, groundbreaking changes in politics and public relations that would lead to an end to the war, elimination of corruption, compliance with laws, economic growth, etc. may encourage their return to Ukraine. One part of the informants does not believe that such changes are possible, the other part believes but realises that such changes take time, and, in this regard, prefers to 'wait' for them outside Ukraine: *'We left because we didn't want to be part of the transition period that Ukraine would need. We decided not to wait for many years for it to get better, but live where it's good now.'* (Ihor, 32 years old, Munich, Chernihiv). We should also quote the following statement: *'I don't have time for experiments. If in 20 years Ukraine gets better, excuse me, but I don't play these games.'* (Hlib, 42 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv.)

At the same time, some informants still point out real or, at least, potential incentives for specialists to return, such as favourable environment for innovations, starting a business, interesting and creative cultural life, continuation of the visa-free regime. Those engaged in IT have more incentives: competitive salary, low taxation and easy job search. In addition, compared to Germany or Poland, Ukraine has quite affordable housing, quality and relatively cheap services, and, of course, in Ukraine there are no problems with linguistic barrier or limited social circle that most migrants face. High real estate prices are especially critical for those living in Germany, because, despite low loan rates, many informants have given up hope to purchase their own home. It is the inability to purchase their own housing that most of the interviewees named as a factor that caused discomfort in Germany, and some were thinking of returning to Ukraine because of that. In Poland, many, including those who are still in their 30th, bought their own housing thanks to favourable loan terms, though they would not be able to afford it in Ukraine. Therefore, beneficial mortgage terms for highly qualified specialists could become a factor that can increase chances of their returning home.

But only in the case of progressive changes in Ukraine (changes in politics and public relations that would contribute to progress in the Ukrainian society), the above factors associated with the prospects for business development and purchase of own housing, opportunities for self-expression in cultural life and high incomes in IT may become real incentives for the return of highly qualified specialists. Currently, they may only work out in conjunction with personal reasons.

The analysis of informants' answers to direct and indirect questions regarding a possible return to Ukraine in conjunction with marker question of identities and questions about the perception of home allows us to conditionally divide the interviewees into two groups: 1) *'do not exclude the possibility'* — those who could return to Ukraine someday (in Tables 1 and 2, the lines with the characteristics of these cases are in italics — see Appendix); 2) *'do not want to return to Ukraine'* — those who find this scenario to be currently unacceptable. This does not mean that the representatives of the first group are going to return, as almost no one sets such a goal, and they are successfully adapting and sometimes have plans for further relocation to other countries, but they at least consider the option. Therefore, the first group is the target audience, which the policy on the return of labour migrants should be focused on. The recommendations below on the creation of conditions for the return of highly qualified specialists to Ukraine are based on the results of the analysis of their interviews, since they would usually give specific proposals for the desired changes in Ukraine.

Before passing on to the recommendations, let us highlight those things that not only impede the return to Ukraine (mentioned by representatives of both groups above) but prevent it for the representatives of the second group. They relate not so much to the current political and economic situation in the country but with the weakly expressed national identity, lack of emotional connection with Ukraine¹³, plus disappointment in the Ukrainian politics and, sometimes, in Ukrainian people. Other factors that reduce the likelihood of returning to Ukraine include long time of residence outside Ukraine, successful integration and strong social ties in the new homeland, as well as high standards of quality of life in Germany or Poland, including confidence in the future, predictability and ability to plan, which are difficult to achieve in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, based on the analysis of 24 interview texts and according to our opinion, 8 out of 12 interviewees in Germany and 8 out of 12 in Poland fall into the category of informants who (at least hypothetically) entertain the idea of returning to Ukraine, in contrast to those who unambiguously reject this possibility in their statements. 'Those who do not exclude the possibility of return' are only a potential target audience, for which conditions of return should be created. In the future, it is necessary to divide this group by types (subgroups) in order to differentiate the consideration of return mechanisms, taking into account the features of each type. For now, we only note that this group is very heterogeneous. It includes those who are thinking of returning and taking certain steps in this direction (there are very few of them, one in Germany and one in Poland), and those

¹³ Although one case demonstrates a sharp exception (Mykyta, 28 years old, Kraków, Kharkiv); further analysis is required.

who simply do not exclude the possibility but set no goal and, therefore, take no steps in this direction. Moreover, the latter also speak differently about the possibility of returning. Some frankly say that Ukraine is their backup option, where they may return in retirement or in case 'something goes wrong', others associate the possibility of returning with personal or family circumstances, still others, speaking of short-term plans, state that they are not going to return in the near future, but at the same time they name the conditions of their possible return to Ukraine and benefits thereof. We cannot determine the likelihood of their return or say who of them will return. We only draw attention to the fact that the recommendations on creating conditions for the return of highly qualified specialists may be relevant to these people. We have shown above the directions for searching a 'catch' for them to return, using the example of specific cases.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CREATING CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF HIGHLY QUALIFIED SPECIALISTS TO UKRAINE

Conditions for the return of highly qualified specialists may be created at the level of companies or organisations, the government and the society.

At the micro-level, i.e. for the companies and organisations, primarily IT companies, the simplest thing to be done is decent attitude toward employees, which was lacking for those who left Ukraine due to dissatisfaction with their work. For those who have worked in Germany, Poland and other countries, respect for personal opinion and time of each individual employee, ability to make decisions and be responsible for them as well as always paid overtime have become a standard. The introduction of such standards at Ukrainian organisations is also an effective preventive measure that may stop the staff drain. It should also be taken into account that European qualified workers have more vacation days and more free time to rest. There are also practices of an individual approach to vacations and working hours that may be applied to the returning specialists. The organisation of processes at Ukrainian companies in accordance with the international project management standards could become an important practice. Social safety net, which may be ensured by companies if not by the government, is also important for many employees. In addition, not all programmers are fine with the private entrepreneur status; they want to work as full-time employees of companies with a legal official salary and appropriate social guarantees, so that *'we feel the stability and long-term perspectives of working in Ukraine'* (Petro, 40 years old, Munich, Ivano-Frankivsk). The latter is important but not for everyone, as many are quite satisfied with the low taxes of a private entrepreneur. This suggests that at the organisational level, an individual approach to both returning qualified specialists and all employees whom companies are interested in is critically important. Companies should take into account the aspiration of modern employees for individualisation and independence, their ability to independently assert their interests and openly negotiate directly with an employer on the establishment of the most favourable and beneficial employment conditions.

It should be noted that some interviewees mentioned the availability of a convenient relocation package offered by companies in Germany and Poland to help in

all steps of moving, including partial coverage of the associated costs, as an advantage for moving to work in another country. Therefore we believe that the development of special relocation packages for the return of specialists, whom Ukrainian companies especially need, could be a factor in favour of deciding to return to Ukraine.

At the macro-level, or the government level, the political and economic changes, which would entail significant economic growth of the country, ensure business security and increase possibility for its development, allow to eradicate corruption, embody the meritocratic¹⁴ principles of management, etc., would be most effective. However, even less significant changes could prompt the return of at least those who consider about it but hesitate. Some measures that would stimulate the return of migrants and their reintegration are provided for by the Strategy of State Migration Policy till 2025¹⁵ and the Action Plan for its implementation¹⁶. In particular, these documents refer to the creation of a single information portal for the citizens of Ukraine, who moved abroad but expressed a desire to return to Ukraine, regarding documents, customs procedures and other information necessary to return to Ukraine (planned for 2019), as well as the support to the employment of labour migrants and members of their families after their return to Ukraine, taking into account the level of their education, professional experience, expertise and job market needs (planned for 2020). Unfortunately, the information portal is yet to be created, and it is difficult to predict how the process of finding a job will be supported.

Certain preferences for returning specialists are suggested by the programme Come Back and Stay announced in December 2019 by the President and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, which is aimed at those who want to open a business in our country (primarily those who are considering the emigration option) and those who have left but are thinking of returning; it also provides affordable loans for those who want to start or expand their businesses. It is still difficult to predict the results of this initiative, providing for low interest rates on loans to be available to everyone. Even if successful, it is obviously not enough. Not everyone who thinks of returning wants to open their own business. In addition, measures that would

¹⁴ Meritocracy (literally means 'the power of the worthy') is the principle of management, according to which the most talented people should hold leading posts, regardless of their social origin or financial status.

¹⁵ On the approval of the Strategy of State Migration Policy of Ukraine till 2025: Order of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine No. 482-r dated 12 July 2017 URL: <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/482-2017-%D1%80> (submission date: 20 January 2020).

¹⁶ On the approval of the Action Plan for 2018–2021 regarding the implementation of the Strategy of State Migration Policy of Ukraine till 2025: Order of the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine No. 602-r dated 29 August 2018 URL: <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/ua/npas/pro-zatverdzhennya-planu-zahodiv-na-20182021-roki-shchodo> (submission date: 20 January 2020).

facilitate the return of specialists should be comprehensive, focused not only on the specialists themselves, but also on their family members.

When creating the conditions for the return of specialists, the first direct measure should be the guarantee of duty-free transportation of personal belongings, as, for example, Germany does, where those who are moving can transport personal belongings, even a car, without paying customs duties. The equally important measure is the provision of administrative support by the migration services. It is not so much about the creation of a single information portal for migrants, as provided for by the Strategy of State Migration Policy till 2025, but about the individual support for families who wish to return to Ukraine as well as targeted assistance in paperwork. Employment preferences for returning specialists and their family members — such as the opportunity to return to the previous workplace (as people return after a parental leave) or the provision of an equivalent one; preferential loans for the purchase of housing; provision of places for children in kindergartens, schools, institutions of additional education; organisation of activities related to the reintegration of children, following the example of how support for migrants is organised by relevant services in other countries, in particular, Germany — would not go amiss. The above set of measures may be guaranteed by a national programme for the return of highly qualified specialists, which may be named Yellow-Blue Card. In a similar manner to European programmes (such as the European Blue Card or Austrian Red-White-Red Card), this programme should target highly qualified specialists whom Ukraine is interested in, but with a focus on **the return** of highly qualified Ukrainian specialists to their country.

In addition to direct measures related to re-emigration and reintegration, the government and the society are quite capable of introducing indirect measures that would stimulate the development of a network of civic education, in particular, they can attract upholders of European values who have returned from Europe (who felt and ‘experienced’ and implemented those values in everyday life), as well as those Ukrainians who continue to live and work outside the country, to work in such organisations. This does not exclude simultaneous work in this direction through the educational institutions and the media.

It is important to use the capabilities of upholders of unique life experience in both European and Ukrainian realities. Their experience, practical knowledge and skills will help to instil European values in Ukraine more efficiently: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, human rights, strict observance of laws, non-discrimination, tolerance and solidarity. It is the acceptance of these values by the Ukrainian society that will draw the country nearer to the desired changes, including the eradication of corruption, which, as this study has shown, is one of the most important conditions for the possible return of labour migrants to Ukraine: answers

to the questions on the conditions for returning to Ukraine often mentioned the need to eradicate corruption in Ukraine, although the informants gave no specific proposals or recommendations. Unfortunately, we also cannot offer specific effective mechanisms for eradicating corruption in Ukraine at the macro-level, but we propose facilitating the demonstration of examples of everyday life and everyday practices where laws are respected and corruption is suppressed, thereby initiating changes from the micro- to the macro-level.

In our opinion, the implementation of the desired changes in the Ukrainian society can be promoted through the following: so that European values are not perceived by Ukrainians as abstract concepts and the practices of implementing European values in the Ukrainian reality are cultivated, it is advisable to create channels (institutions) through which highly qualified specialists who live in European countries outside Ukraine could share their experience of everyday life related to the implementation of European values by describing specific cases of their implementation at the level of everyday practices based on their personal experience, as well as reflect on the transformation of their behaviour. Our interviews contained this kind of reflection, thereby showing prospects for further work in this direction. It is advisable to use the contacts developed through the recruiting of interviewees in order to find speakers who are ready to share their experience in future workshops on this topic, including online ones (using the methods of quality sociology when conducting group interviews and moderating discussions). At the same time, this will create a platform for activities 'between countries', which may increase the 'gravitational field' for highly qualified migrants to Ukraine through their involvement in activities of helping to Ukraine in the implementation of the above progressive changes.

It is also important to provide reasonable patriotic education (taking into account the 'ethics of discourse'¹⁷), develop environmental awareness, peaceful disposition, conscious attitude to life, cultivate understanding that *'Maidans are not necessary — it is enough to work efficiently, restrain from stealing, pay taxes and be involved in some public activity'* (Vadym, 36 years old, Munich, Odesa), as well as invest in culture. Halyna (39 years old, Kraków, Rivne), who has lived for many (16) years in Poland, said as follows: *'I would love to see Ukraine independent, free and strong, a country that invests not only in the economic development but also in culture'*, emphasising that the development of culture is the basis for quality of life.

According to this research, some Ukrainians, while remaining representatives of the diaspora, are ready to contribute to the development of Ukraine by participating in

¹⁷ 'ethics of discourse' is the key idea of J. Habermas about the rules of communication that contribute to the formation of rational political will and the development of democracy.

the workshops and webinars proposed above in order to share their experience in implementing European values, as well as supporting various scientific, educational and technological projects. Their potential should also be taken into account, and their initiatives should be encouraged in every possible way.

Summing up the research, we should highlight the following: what others (many who remained in Ukraine) see as a problem and unnecessary stress (not only learning a language) is often an interesting challenge or a new opportunity that requires intellectual work for intellectual migrants. Therefore, it is especially important that people who have such potential and personal qualities return to Ukraine and apply their knowledge, skills and competencies for the development of their country.

The presented analysis findings¹⁸ are the beginning of exploring the lifeworlds of highly qualified labour migrants from Ukraine through their personal stories and biographical situations, but the material obtained is more abundant and requires further comprehension and interpretation. The continuation of work in this direction may be a study of motivation and life strategies of those who have already returned to Ukraine: this analysis has outlined the ways of such a 'mirror study' in the future. It is also important to further analyse the gender particularities of the strategies of highly qualified migrants, since in addition to showing the significant role of family in making decisions about leaving, further relocation or return to Ukraine, the research has also allowed us to preliminarily indicate that options for the implementation of gender roles have a significant impact on building migration strategies, including potential return or non-return home.

¹⁸ The detailed research findings are presented in the book *Highly Qualified Ukrainian Specialist in Germany and Poland (Case Analysis in Munich, Kraków and Wrocław)*, where the testimonies are presented as a collection of cases, inviting a reader to a dialogue or joint interpretation.

Table 1. Socio-Demographic and Migration Characteristics of the Interviewees in Germany (italicised lines indicate information about the interviewees who entertain the idea of returning to Ukraine, 'not exclude the possibility of returning')

No.	Name, case	Age	Current place of residence	Period of residence in Germany	Degree	Field of work / position	Marital status	Place of birth	Place of departure from Ukraine	Notes
1	Oleksandr, <i>'Alpine IT specialist thinking of returning home'</i>	49	<i>Poing, Munich</i>	<i>5 years</i>	<i>Engineering (1992)</i>	<i>IT, Quality Assurance Engineer (QA)</i>	<i>Married, 3 children</i>	<i>Kirovohrad</i>	<i>Kharkiv</i>	
2	Hanna, <i>'A citizen of the world with Ukraine in her heart'</i>	27	<i>Munich</i>	<i>3.5 years</i>	<i>Engineering (2015)</i>	<i>IT, QA</i>	<i>Civil partnership</i>	<i>Luts'k</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	
3	Svitlana, <i>'Fascinated by Germany'</i>	34	<i>Munich</i>	<i>2 years</i>	<i>Applied Mathematics (2007)</i>	<i>IT, Business Analyst (BA)</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Kharkiv</i>	<i>Kharkiv</i>	<i>Lived 3 years in Poland before Munich</i>
4	Petro, <i>'Almost a German Citizen for the sake of his children'</i>	40	<i>Munich</i>	<i>6.5 years</i>	<i>Two, Economics (2001, 2003), Engineering — distance study (2006)</i>	<i>IT, Senior Software developer</i>	<i>Married, 2 children</i>	<i>Ivano-Frankivsk, grew up in Ternopil region</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	
5	Alisa, <i>'In pursuit of success and quality of life'</i>	31	<i>Mark Schwaben, Munich</i>	<i>4 years</i>	<i>International Relations (Kyiv, 2011)</i>	<i>IT, QA</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Korosten, Zhytomyr region</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	<i>Came for the family reunification, looked for a job in Germany</i>
6	Nasar, <i>'I'm not a rat in a wheel anymore'</i>	35	<i>Munich</i>	<i>5 years</i>	<i>Economic Cybernetics (2006)</i>	<i>IT, Web-Developer</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Novyi Korets, Rivne region</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	
7	Inna, <i>'A childhood dream has come true'</i>	30	<i>Vaterstetten, Munich</i>	<i>4 years</i>	<i>Economic (2011)</i>	<i>Finance, Financial Controller</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Odesa region</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	<i>Came for the family reunification, looked for a job in Germany</i>
8	Yana, <i>'Now she is feeding the family'</i>	33	<i>Munich</i>	<i>More than a year</i>	<i>Law (2008), Economics (2011)</i>	<i>Finance, Internal Consulting</i>	<i>Married, 2 children</i>	<i>Kirovohrad</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	<i>Relocation within the company</i>
9	Katia, <i>'Music is forever'</i>	40	<i>Munich</i>	<i>19 years</i>	<i>Conservatory (2007)</i>	<i>Music, Music Teacher, violin class</i>	<i>Married, 2 children</i>	<i>Kharkiv</i>	<i>Kharkiv</i>	<i>Came to study</i>
10	Kseniia, <i>'Second attempt or Starting over'</i>	40	<i>Munich</i>	<i>Less than a year</i>	<i>German Philology (2001)</i>	<i>HR management, team assistant</i>	<i>Married, has a daughter</i>	<i>Cherkasy</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	<i>Relocation within the company</i>
11	Ihor, <i>'Programming for migration'</i>	32	<i>Munich</i>	<i>Less than a year</i>	<i>Economics (2007)</i>	<i>IT, Java Programmer</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Chernihiv, grew up in Konotop, Sumy region</i>	<i>Odesa</i>	<i>Lived in Poland for 4 years before Munich</i>
12	Vadym, <i>'Lonely Auditor'</i>	36	<i>Munich</i>	<i>More than a year</i>	<i>Applied Mathematics (2005)</i>	<i>Finance, Senior Auditor</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Odesa</i>	<i>Kyiv</i>	

Table 2. Socio-Demographic and Migration Characteristics of the Interviewees in Poland (italicised lines indicate information about the interviewees who entertain the idea of returning to Ukraine, 'not exclude the possibility of returning')

No.	Name, case	Age	Current place of residence	Period of residence in Poland	Degree	Field of work / position	Marital status	Place of birth	Place of departure from Ukraine	Notes
1	Ivan, 'Open to new opportunities without any plans to return to Ukraine'	32	Wrocław	5 years	Pedagogy (2010) / Computer Science and English Teacher	IT, Software Developer	Married	Kharkiv	Kharkiv	Plans further relocation (considers the steps), but definitely not to Ukraine
2	Mark, 'Analyst with critical thinking who calculates the options'	45	Wrocław	Less than half a year	Engineering (1997); second degree in Economics (2000)	IT, Lead Business Analyst (BA)	Married, has a son	Poltava	Kharkiv	
3	Ruslana, 'Typical Millennial'	29	Wrocław	5 years	Finance (2012)	IT Department in a bank, Team Lead People Manager	Single	Lviv	Lviv	Moved to London to work in IT shortly after the interview
4	Hlib, 'We are here for stability'	42	Kraków	4 years	Applied Linguistics (2000)	Large International Company, Lead IT Service Manager	Married, 2 children	Kharkiv	Kyiv	Moved from Switzerland, where he was previously sent on a long business trip from Kyiv
5	Yuliia, 'We went for a different quality of life'	28	Kraków	5 years	Engineering / Social Informatics (2011)	IT, Quality Assurance (QA) Engineer	Married, has a son	Sievierodonetsk, Luhansk region	Kharkiv	Came for the family reunification
6	Mariia, 'We are all materialists'	25	Kraków	Less than a year	German Philology (2017)	IT, Senior Executive Processing	Married	Kharkiv	Kharkiv	
7	Natasha, 'For big love, but with a job offer'	29	Kraków	4 years	Finance (2011)	Finance, Business Analyst (BA)	Married	Kyiv	Kyiv	
8	Mykyta, 'Agemate of Ukraine with two degrees'	28	Kraków	6 years	PR (2013); second degree in Management (2016)	Oil company, Global Operations Analyst	Single	Kharkiv	Kharkiv	Received his second degree at the university in Poznan
9	Halyna, 'Sixteen Years in Poland'	39	Kraków	16 years	Bookkeeping and Audit (2002); second degree in Economics and Marketing (2003)	Finance, CFO	Single	Rivne	Rivne	Defended her PhD in Poland, has Polish roots and Polish citizenship
10	Olena, 'Closed door'	42	Kraków	4 years	Engineering (1999)	Communications, company co-owner	Married, 2 children	Poltava	Poltava	Has a common business with her husband; two years ago they separated
11	Bohdan, 'This IT Adventure!'	29	Wrocław	9 years	Computer Engineering, Bachelor's Degree (2010), Master's Degree (2013)	IT, Banking / Technical Team Leader	Single	Krasnohrad, Lviv region	Lviv	Has Polish roots and Polish citizenship
12	Dmytro, 'Moving for freedom and self-fulfilment... and size 48 shoes'	54	Wrocław	7 years with a break (returned to Ukraine for 7 months)	Economics and Law, 1995; second degree in Security Management (Master's Degree, 2017)	Education, Educational Institution Head	Divorced, son lives with the informant	Dmytriv, Donetsk region	Odesa	Got his second degree in Poland and four postgraduate degrees: Teacher Training, Education Management, Public Administration, Entrepreneurship

Наукове видання

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УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ФАХІВЕЦЬ
У НІМЕЧЧИНІ ТА ПОЛЬЩІ**

(англійською мовою)

Відповідальний за випуск
В. В. Михайлишин
Редакція авторська
Комп'ютерна верстка
О. А. Мірошниченко

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