

# TEMPORARY PROTECTED UKRAINIANS AND OTHER UKRAINIANS IN ESTONIA, 2022

Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in  
Estonia, 2022

Ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlased ja teised Ukraina  
sõjapõgenikud Eestis 2022. aastal

Українці зі статусом тимчасово захисту та інші українці в  
Естонії, 2022

Украинцы со статусом временной защиты и другие  
украинцы в Эстонии, 2022 год

Tilapäistä suojelua saaneet ukrainalaiset ja muut  
ukrainalaiset Virossa vuonna 2022

Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Heidi Ann Erbsen, Olha Lysa & Kerly Espenberg



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**UNIVERSITY  
OF TURKU**

ISBN 978-951-29-9016-0 (printed)  
ISBN 978-951-29-9017-7 (Internet)  
ISSN 2489-2319 (printed)  
ISSN 2324-0369 (E-publication)  
Painosalama, Turku, Finland 2022

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Research project

*Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022* focuses on the war-related migration of Ukrainians to Estonia and their everyday lives in Estonia in 2022, a few months after the start of the war in Ukraine.

The war started on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022 when Russia attacked Ukraine. Following the worries among local populations and calls from the ministries of home affairs in EU member states, on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2022, the European Commission proposed that the Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 be activated. The next day, the Council of the European Union unanimously adopted the decision to invoke this directive and to activate the temporary protection guaranteed under the directive. This directive (the “temporary protection directive”, TPD) sets the minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures to promote a balance of efforts between Member States in receiving such persons and bearing the responsibility for their protection.

This directive guarantees the right to temporary protection and access to accommodation, employment, health (medical) care, education for children and social welfare in European Union (EU) member states (see European Commission 2022b) for Ukrainians fleeing the on-going war in Ukraine. As of October 2022, over four million Ukrainians were registered for Temporary Protection or similar national schemes in Europe (UNHCR 2022). Over seven million war-fleeing Ukrainians were in Europe and millions were internally displaced within Ukraine.

It was agreed that the directive measures would be implemented for Ukrainian citizens and their family members who had left their country on or after the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, the TPD is somewhat open to interpretation when it comes to defining who else besides Ukrainian citizens is eligible for temporary protection in the EU. Among ‘non-Ukrainian citizens’ who could be eligible for protection are third-country nationals or stateless persons who had to leave their country or region of origin, or had been evacuated, and had international protection status in Ukraine when the war began. Besides these refugees with permanent residence in Ukraine, eligible people could also include third country nationals who were permanent residents in Ukraine and who could not return safely to their country of origin; however, the latter were not included (European Commission 2022; Motte-Baumvol et al. 2022) since including them would have meant protecting a large number of Russian nationals residing permanently in Ukraine.

Within this context, we had three aims in our research. First, we conducted research on the physical mobilities of war-fleeing Ukrainians residing in Esto-

nia in the summer of 2022. These included their migration patterns to Estonia after the beginning of the war and their future plans to migrate onward to third countries, return to Ukraine or remain in Estonia.

Second, we analyzed how all aspects of TPD met the needs of Ukrainians in Estonia. We considered their access to accommodation, employment, health (medical) care, education for children and social services (see European Commission 2022). To give voice and agency to Ukrainians, we focused on the viewpoints of individuals to share their own personal context and situation in Estonia related to the TPD.

Third, we focused conceptually on the temporary protection of people fleeing dangerous situations in their country of origin and the related governance of asylum-related migrants in the EU (see Caponio 2022; Rasche 2022; Motte-Baumvol et al. 2022). Many terms, such as refugee, protected individual, migrant, immigrant, and more, are used, often mistakenly, to describe these individuals, including Ukrainians fleeing the war in Ukraine. These aforementioned categories often inaccurately describe the situations of these individuals or groups and are regularly used for political purposes in receiving countries. People fleeing from their home may be labeled by various definitions that change over time, and these individuals have little say in this labeling (Crawley and Skleparis 2018). In the case of the EU's implementation of TPD, some scholars have criticized the organization for having 'double standards' in implementing the directive for 'Europeans', such as Ukrainians in 2022, but not for 'non-Europeans' in 2015 (Carrera et al. 2022).

By the end of September 2022, more than 100,000 war-related migrants from Ukraine had come to Estonia since the beginning of the war. Of them, 57,000 had plans to stay in Estonia and the majority would seek temporary protection: 36,000 by that time. This made a rather small share of the millions of Ukrainians who had to leave their homes and Ukraine. Many escaped to neighboring countries where they waited to see if and when it would be possible to return to Ukraine. Furthermore, millions of Ukrainians were internally displaced, having to move within Ukraine to less dangerous areas (UNHCR 2022). Estonia is a small country in terms of size (45,200 square kilometers) and population (1.3 million inhabitants). At the time of this study, the share of Ukrainians fleeing war in Ukraine among the population in Estonia (4.3%) was the highest in the EU.

The exact number of Ukrainians in Estonia is difficult to know since it depends firstly on how Ukrainians are defined: by a person's citizenship, mother tongue and/or self-proclaimed ethnic belonging. Moreover, there was not a precise overview of how many Ukrainians left Estonia in the first half of 2022, making the number of Ukrainians in the country even more difficult to calculate accurately. With these limitation in mind, it is estimated that in July 2022 there were about 90,000–100,000 persons who defined themselves as Ukrainian



in Estonia; one out of 13 people in Estonia were Ukrainians. Of these individuals about 70,000–80,000 were citizens of Ukraine and about 45,000–50,000 had come to Estonia during the war and remained in the country. According to the Police and Border Guard Board (2022), of Ukrainian citizens and permanent residents of Ukraine, by the end of September, about 36,000 had received or were in the process of receiving temporary protection in Estonia and about 2,000 had withdrawn their temporary protection status. Of Ukrainians, about 1,300 in Estonia had either received or applied for international protection, making 83% all applications for refugee status. In addition, by late September, about 40,000–45,000 Ukrainians had transited through Estonia to a third country (Estonian Social Insurance Board 2022). The details of Ukrainians in Estonia are discussed more in depth in Section 3.3.

Estonia and its capital Tallinn were not the closest places to reach from Ukraine. It is 920 kilometers from the western border of Ukraine to the southern border of Estonia, and the two capitals Kyiv and Tallinn are much farther apart: 1,760 kilometers from each other through Poland, Lithuania and Latvia and 1,550 kilometers through Russia, when access to the later was possible. The distance from Kyiv to Tallinn is thus much farther than to the capitals of several other EU countries such as Warsaw (780 km), Bucharest (910 km), Budapest (1,120 km), Sofia (1,300 km), Vienna (1,330 km), Berlin (1,350 km), Prague (1,400 km) or Ljubljana (1,600 km).

Although TPD was designed two decades ago, the EU-wide application of the measure in 2022 makes it a unique and important case. The European Commission and the European Council invoked the directive very quickly, less than two weeks after the beginning of the war. The two bodies considered the situation to be one of a “mass influx” of people from outside the external borders of the EU. Following this, Ukrainians could flee to EU member states, and, following the principle of solidarity, member states accepted their temporary protection, and provided access to elements of basic welfare by balancing efforts and capacity to host these fleeing individuals (European Commission 2022). Although the political decision was unanimous, the implementation of the TPD in the EU requires action in each member state. In the end, the real action takes place locally in concrete places where Ukrainians live among the local host population.

Due to the geography and the unique demographic context (discussed further below), Estonia is a relevant case for analyzing the implementation of the TPD. The small size of the country and its population makes it possible to cover the entire country. The large share of Ukrainians in relation to the Estonian population also suggests that the implementation of the TPD required many resources. Furthermore, being a neighbor of the aggressor state, Russia, Estonia also makes it possible to analyze different migration patterns of people fleeing war. In this case, it was possible to include Ukrainians traveling through several

EU member states to Estonia and those traveling directly from Ukraine through Russia.

In this study, we pay attention to the processes and practices of implementing the TPD in Estonia and in its municipalities. We also consider the role that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and people in Estonia play in this process. The governance of Ukrainians and the whole TPD process in the EU is connected to national and local policies of integration and adaptation, including that of Estonia (see Cohesive Estonia Strategy 2030 2022). Sustainable short- and long-term impacts are difficult to achieve due to the temporary dimension of protection under the TPD. The temporariness suggests that Ukrainians would return to Ukraine after a certain time. If this is not the case, new policies and instruments will need to be implemented to make their residence more permanent in the EU member states where they reside. The practices surrounding TPD then oscillate between hosting, adapting and integrating, depending on the topics. It is possible that many Ukrainians will remain in EU member states, including in Estonia. Those returning to Ukraine will maintain contact with many people and public and private organizations they encountered in the EU during their stay.

There is an additional dimension related to language and culture in Estonia's reception of Ukrainians. Before the beginning of the war, there were about 16,000 Ukrainian citizens registered as living in Estonia, making up 1.2% of the country's population (Statistics Estonia 2022). In addition to residents, there were about the same number of temporary, short-term visitors from Ukraine. Russian is the mother tongue for some Ukrainians and a large majority of non-native Russian-speaking Ukrainians understand Russian, including many of those who arrived in Estonia after the beginning of the war. Because of Estonia's past in the Soviet Union and the Russian language having been studied in school, a larger portion of the Estonian population is able to communicate in Russian compared with other EU countries. According to a survey from 2020, about 54% of Estonians have the language skills to communicate in Russian to some degree (Monitoring of Integration in Estonian Society 2022). This makes many practical aspects of settling in Estonia easier in the beginning as Estonian is a language that has nothing in common with Ukrainian. However, for many Ukrainian pupils it is still challenging to follow Estonian-language based education, at least in the beginning.

In addition to the large portion of the population being able to communicate in Russian, there is a large native Russian-speaking population in Estonia. Of the population in Estonia, 27% are native Russian speakers, 24% (more than 315,000) consider themselves to be ethnically Russian and 6% are Russian citizens (more than 81,000 people). In some areas and urban districts (such as towns in North-Eastern Estonia or districts in Tallinn), Russian is the dominant language.

By the self-defined ethnicity, Estonians make a half (53%) of the population in Tallinn and only less than one out of five (18%) in the Ida-Viru (North-Eastern) county which is on the border with Russia (Statistics Estonia 2022). In particular, in Narva, Estonia's third largest city, Russian is the main language and many of its inhabitants are Russian citizens. Thus, when it comes to language, the communication between Ukrainians and Russian-speaking Estonians would be linguistically easy. However, such communication can be a sensitive issue and the viewpoints on the war in Ukraine may vary among Russian speakers in Estonia. It is therefore important to study how sharing the same social space between Ukrainians and Russian speakers in Estonia takes place. Ultimately, the straightforward implementation of the TPD within the different contexts in the EU is much more complex than the political decision made in March 2022 to utilize the directive.

## **1.2 Research questions, material and methods**

The main questions of the research are as follows:

1. How many and what kinds of Ukrainians came to Estonia after the start of the war? Who remained in Estonia, and what were their everyday lives like in Estonia as of July 2022?
2. Based on the viewpoints of temporary protected Ukrainians in Estonia, how were the requirements of the EU's "Temporary Protection Directive" met?
3. What were the migration aspirations of Ukrainians in Estonia?

The main empirical material for this research is based on the field research conducted in different parts of Estonia in June and July 2022. This material was complemented with information and statistics from international and Estonian organizations. In 2022, hundreds of newspaper articles about Ukrainians appeared in Estonia, and public authorities and NGOs also published information about Ukrainians in Estonia. We used these for general information regarding the developments between February and September 2022. In addition, we had direct contact with Ukrainians in Estonia in the months leading up to the survey and analysis which helped to contextualize the results.

The main empirical contribution for this research consists of responses to a semi-structured survey by 527 Ukrainian citizens fleeing the war who came to Estonia after the beginning of the war. 500 of the respondents had temporary protection status and 27 were still waiting for it or remained in Estonia with a different status. The sample was about 1.1% of adult Ukrainians who had arrived to and had remained in Estonia after the beginning of the war.

In January 2022, i.e. before the beginning of the war, there were 27,826 self-proclaimed Ukrainians registered as residents in Estonia. These included a variety of people: citizens of Ukraine (15,934 persons), those having Estonian

or Russian citizenship but whose mother tongue is Ukrainian (about 500 persons), and self-proclaimed ethnic Ukrainians (about 11,000 persons) who did not speak Ukrainian as their mother tongue (Russian was usually the mother tongue for these individuals). Furthermore, in the beginning of 2022, around 16,000 Ukrainians were in Estonia without being registered as residents. The total number of Ukrainians in Estonia was about 44,000 in the beginning of 2022.

The survey was conducted in Ukrainian and Russian between June 2 and July 5, 2022 in Estonia (for details, see Section 4.1). The survey consisted of 107 questions and statements, of which 56 were structural, 23 were semi-open and 28 were completely open. The structural questions and statements (answer options: yes/no; yes/maybe/no; yes, fully/yes, partly/no; I agree/I don't know/I disagree) were about the respondents' background (gender, mother tongue, university education, employment, etc.) and journey to Estonia, as well as experiences in Estonia regarding the themes of the TPD (accommodation, employment, health services, education and social services). The semi-open questions dealt with more detailed aspects about their journey to Estonia (reason for leaving, experiences during the journey, etc.) and their everyday lives (personal experiences on various issues, future plans, destinations, etc.) in Estonia. The open questions dealt with the respondents' reasons for leaving their country of origin, their daily activities in Estonia and their broader aspirations and goals.

We carefully considered ethical issues and followed ethical practices in this research. All Ukrainians responded to the survey anonymously, and they are not identifiable in the research. We explained the scope and ethical principles of the research to the survey respondents and reminded them of these principles at the beginning of the questionnaire. In practice, we approached individual Ukrainians in areas where they lived and spent their free time. The locations in different parts of Estonia were selected to gather a representative sample of the local environments in which Ukrainians lived in Estonia (see Table 1.1). We decided the number of respondents based on official national statistics regarding Ukrainians' places of residence in Estonia and additional information from Ukrainians themselves.

**Table 1.1.** Distribution of Ukrainian survey respondents by region of Estonia.

Region of Estonia	Respondents	%
Tallinn	256	49
Põhja-Eesti (Nothern Estonia)	100	19
Kirde-Eesti (Northeastern Estonia)	28	5
Lääne-Eesti (Western Estonia)	63	12
Kesk-Eesti (Central Estonia)	15	3
Lõuna-Eesti (Southern Estonia)	65	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>100</b>

In practice, we approached Ukrainians of at least 18 years of age close to where they lived or at places where Ukrainians gathered. If the person agreed, then he or she was provided with a questionnaire to fill out. If necessary, a pen was also provided. If the person was not willing, he or she was not pressured to participate in the survey. Any participant could withdraw from filling out the questionnaire at any time or leave questions he or she did not want to answer blank. The survey was conducted in the field by five individuals, one of the authors of this report and four assistants. When the questionnaire sheet was completed, usually in 15–20 minutes, the participant returned it. Of all respondents, 115 preferred to fill the survey sheet electronically. For the latter, we used the program SurveyMonkey to gather survey answers in an online format.

After collecting the survey sheets, we coded all responses to the individual survey questions. The answers to semi-open and open questions were translated into English by proficient and experienced translators. Next, we inserted coded responses into the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) database. We inspected the consistency of the inserted data with systematic checks. Later, we analyzed the survey data quantitatively with descriptive statistics and cross tables.

This study is the result of a team effort. Cooperation between various actors enabled the current report, and we thank everyone who directly or indirectly contributed to its creation. In particular, we thank Pagulasabi (Estonian Refugee Council) and Politsei ja Piirivalveamet (Police and Border Guard) in Estonia for their help in providing information as well as Minni Saapar and Kadri Lees with the help in the analysis. We are grateful to all respondents who put in effort to complete the questionnaires. Funding from the University of Turku facilitated the research activities.

### 1.3 Research highlights

- To provide temporary protection for millions of fleeing Ukrainians, the Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 (the “Temporary Protection Directive”, TPD) was invoked for the first time in the EU in March 2022.
- In the implementation of the TPD, EU member states such as Estonia agreed to provide temporary protection for Ukrainians fleeing war in Ukraine and provide access to accommodation, employment, health care, education for children, and social services.
- Before the start of the war, there were about 28,000 self-proclaimed ethnic Ukrainian residents in Estonia; of them, about 16,000 were Ukrainian citizens. Additionally, about 16,000 unregistered Ukrainian citizens were in Estonia, and this number had grown in the country due to labor-related immigration.
- As of September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, seven months after the initiation of the war, over 100,000 persons from Ukraine had arrived in Estonia. Of these, 43,000 (43%)

expressed their intention to transit through Estonia to a third country and 57,000 (57%) to remain in Estonia (Estonian Social Insurance Board 2022).

- As of September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, the proportion of war-fleeing Ukrainians in Estonia per capita was the highest (4.3%) in the EU.
- As of March 19<sup>th</sup>, more than 20,000 war-fleeing persons from Ukraine had expressed their aspiration to remain in Estonia; by April 25<sup>th</sup>, there had been more than 40,000; by the mid-August, had been more than 50,000.
- According to the Estonian Police and Border Guard, as of September 26<sup>th</sup>, 35,971 applications for temporary protection had been submitted in Estonia and around 500 new applications were being submitted weekly; about 2,000 persons had withdrawn their temporary protection status; and about 1,500 persons had applied for international protection (of whom 1,247 were Ukrainian citizens)
- Of the war-fleeing Ukrainians who had registered their residency in Estonia as of September 2022, 72% were women and 28% were men; around 14% were 0–6 years old, 27% 7–17 years old, 55% 18–64 years old and 5% at least 65 years old.
- As of September 2022, the share of the war-fleeing Ukrainians who had registered their residency in Estonia varied from 0% to 3.5% in Estonian municipalities' population.
- As of September 2022, of 45,000 15–74 years old Ukrainians in Estonia, 23,000 (12,600 men and 10,400 women) were employed (including 8,100 persons with temporary protection) and 22,000 (7,500 men and 14,500 women) were not employed (including 16,100 persons with temporary protection), and 5,900 were registered as unemployed.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 30% came from areas of Ukraine with major active military conflict, 37% from areas with some active military conflict, and 33% from areas without substantial military conflict.
- The most common reason to select Estonia as the destination country (for 54% of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection) was having family or friends in Estonia (either having them before or during the migration), followed by having heard positive things about Estonia (25%).
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 45% lived in separate housing, 14% lived in shared apartments or houses, and 29% in collective temporary accommodations; 5% lived alone; 50% of them were fully and 41% partly satisfied with their current accommodation; 70% lived in somewhat crowded accommodations (more than one person per bedroom);

18% had shared bathrooms, but only 4% claimed not to have enough bathrooms or amenities.

- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 80% claimed to receive benefits (52% regular and 28% some). Among benefits were those for children, unemployment, accommodation and pension.
- Of 18–64-year-old Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 27% of were employed full-time and 6% were employed part-time or self-employed. Of those employed, 41% were fully and 51% were partly satisfied with their current employment; of those who mentioned their average salary, 81% earned less than 1,000 euros per month and 32% were able to save money from their salary.
- Of 18–64-year-old Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 51% were employed and looking for a job (52% of men, 51% of women), and 12% were economically inactive (11% of men, 14% of women).
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 29% felt fully and 57% partly satisfied with their health and 14% were not satisfied. 82% of those who had used health care services were satisfied with them. The major reasons for dissatisfaction were difficulty in accessing health care and communication challenges.
- According to Haridussilm (the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research report portal) (2022), in the spring semester of 2022, 4,716 Ukrainian students were enrolled in the school system in Estonia, 40% of whom were in Tallinn, and they comprised of about 36% of all school-aged Ukrainians in Estonia. The language of Ukrainians' schooling in Estonia was Estonian for 79.5% of pupils, Russian for 20% and English for 0.5%.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents having temporary protection status and 0–6 years old children in Estonia, 41% said that their children went to a kindergarten in Estonia, and of those having 7–17 years old children in Estonia, 49% said their children attended school there; 84% mentioned that it was easy to find a place in a school for their children and 39% hoped that their children would continue their education in Estonia in Estonian language from September 2022 onward.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 80% mentioned that they received benefits or financial help such as food, clothing, medicine, or hygiene products. 79% said that they needed much more money to improve their own situation and 42% said that their accommodation costs were fully or partly paid by the state.



- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection that had used health care in Estonia, 81% were satisfied with the service.
- Overall, 92% of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection felt that they were treated well in their current place of residence, 92% said that Estonians were friendly toward them, and 75% had friends in Estonia and 33% had Estonian friends.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 66% aspired to return to Ukraine, 24% said they might return, and 10% said they would not return to Ukraine. 2% aspired to migrate from Estonia to a third country.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents having temporary protection, 12% thought they would probably live for the rest of their lives in Estonia. This was more typical among those who had their spouses and children in Estonia, were employed in a sector matching their skillset, and felt treated well.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, in practice all had a command of Ukrainian and/or Russian: 70% were native Ukrainian speakers and 47% native Russian speakers (28% responded as speaking both Ukrainian and Russian as native languages). In addition, 6% spoke English well and 22% moderately, and 11% said they had some (usually very little) command of Estonian. In day-to-day communication in Estonia, 96% used Russian, 59% Ukrainian, 34% English, and 21% Estonian. Of those employed, 92% used Russian at work.
- Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 17% felt uncomfortable in the presence of Russian speakers in Estonia.
- In practice all (100%) Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection had used the Internet in either Ukraine, during the journey to Estonia and 98% respondents used it in Estonia. For 71%, the use of social media was important during the journey. Some had become more active Internet and social media users since arriving in Estonia. They used phone calls and digital means to be in frequent contact with people remaining in Ukraine.
- Ukrainians in Estonia had been offered protection from the war regardless their status. The implementation of the TPD facilitated access to accommodation, employment, medical care, education and social service to those Ukrainians who had asked for and been granted temporary protection status in Estonia. However, not all services were equally accessible for all Ukrainians in Estonia and not all Ukrainians had enough knowledge of the services or the possibility of accessing them.
- The relationships between the TPD and national and local integration and adaptation policies needs to be scrutinized to have coordinated efforts to



support the everyday lives of Ukrainians in Estonia as well as in all EU member states; Ukrainians need to have an active role and agency in the design and practices of the TPD implementation.

- The national and local implementation of the TPD requires both short and long-term guidelines as well as partnerships between the international, national and local levels. It is important to involve local hosting inhabitants and in particular Ukrainians in this process.
- The short- and long-term impacts of the TPD implementation in individual EU member states, and its connection to and impact on the overall migration and asylum policies in the EU need to be analyzed in individual EU member states.

## 2. Temporary protection in the European Union

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the war in Ukraine, initiated by Russia on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, brought about the EU-wide use of Article 63(2) of the EC Treaty by the Council Directive 2001/55/EC. On the one hand, it defines the minimum standard of temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons. On the other, it sets forth measures promoting a balance of efforts between the EU member states to receive such persons and bear the consequences thereof (Arenas 2005, 435).

The roots of the TPD are in the aftermath of World War II and the 1951 Geneva Convention (United Nations 1951). The Geneva Convention became the key point of reference to delineate who can be defined as a refugee (i.e., a person needing international protection), and how the procedures of giving protection should take place. The Geneva Convention is a general framework for defining a refugee in individual cases. However, many countries hesitated or were not able to implement this framework quickly in cases of large numbers of people seeking protection at once.

Prior to the establishment of the TPD as a tool, temporary protection statuses and stay arrangements had already been codified by the United Nations as separate measures. These were not to “replace existing international obligations, in particular the 1951 Refugee convention and/or its 1967 protocol, or regional refugee instruments, such as when *prima facie* or more favorable protection is available” (UNHCR 2012). The current EU directive on temporary protection follows the same logic. As discussed below, the TPD is a temporary measure that is not meant to replace efforts toward establishing more sustainable solutions for individuals fleeing conflicts.

As the key organization dealing with refugees and displaced persons, the UNHCR expressed its argument in favor of issuing the TPD in 1992, regarding the war in Yugoslavia:

[A] flexible system of temporary protection would respond adequately to the emergency situation and encourage return as the most desirable and feasible solution. However, whatever mechanism for burden-sharing is adopted, it must not limit the right to seek asylum. In this – as in other situations – admission and protection, at least on a temporary basis, should be given without discrimination to all those who need it. (UNHCR 1992)

In 2001, the EU thus agreed on formulating the TPD and defining the context in which it could and should be applied. As Article 2(a) of the TPD states:

‘temporary protection’ means a procedure of exceptional character to provide, in the event of a mass influx or imminent mass influx of displaced persons from third countries who are unable to return to their country of origin, immediate and temporary protection to such persons, in particu-

lar if there is also a risk that the asylum system will be unable to process this influx without adverse effects for its efficient operation, in the interests of the persons concerned and other persons requesting protection.

The TPD remained dormant in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century as there were no particular contexts in which it could have been applied. However, the situation changed in 2015, when 1.3 million people quickly fled to the EU territory seeking international protection. These people were allowed to enter the EU territory, but the asylum system slowed to a halt in many countries. The asylum seekers continued to arrive in 2016 until the EC made a deal with Turkey that it would more strongly prevent the departure of migrants from Turkey to Greece. The growth of arrivals was manifold compared to earlier years. Nevertheless, the TPD was not invoked.

The result of the situations in 2015 and the early 2016 was that the EU's asylum system faced challenges. Many asylum seekers had to wait in the administrative asylum system for years. This also created an unbalanced burden on EU member states, mainly depending on their geographical location (i.e., where the asylum seekers first arrived). The EU member states (and a few other countries) agreed to follow the principles of the 1990 Dublin Convention to determine which EU member state would be responsible for examining each application for asylum. However, not all countries follow the convention properly. There was a failure to implement financial and administrative burden sharing of processing asylum applications and caring for asylum seekers receiving or not receiving protection and rights in the EU. The gap between the EU's asylum laws and actual asylum practices of member states widened (Trauner 2016), creating an increasing mismatch between broader European values, asylum policies and practices (Lave-neux 2018). Jones et al. (2016) argue that incompleteness is a key feature of EU agreements and a trigger for further integration; this further complicated the asylum and integration policies in the EU (see Scipioni 2018).

When the war started on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, many Ukrainians soon began to flee Ukraine for neighboring countries, including EU member states. Very soon the United Nations General Assembly gave the Resolution of 1 March 2022 (A/RES/ES-11/1). In this resolution the UN used the concept of 'aggression' to characterize the initiated conflict between Ukraine and Russia. A few days later, the EU Council Decision (2022/382) of March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2022 used the concept of 'invasion' regarding the event. This wording by the Council paved the way to acknowledge that it was possible to consider the existence of a mass influx of displaced persons from Ukraine to the EU member states. The context was suitable for the implementation of Article 5 of the Directive 2001/55/EC which would introduce temporary protection far beyond immediate humanitarian needs.

As mentioned above, the European Commission, the European Council, and the member states had recently had complex experiences with the non-imple-

mentation of the TPD in 2015 when many people entered the EU at once to seek protection. Even before 2015, several concrete events indicated that such large-scale movements could take place. These included the Hungarian displacements of 1956, the Czech displacements of 1968, the Southeast Asian displacements in the 1970s, and the (former) Yugoslavian displacements in the 1990s (Arenas 2005, 435–436).

In the TPD, the concept of a mass influx of displaced persons was left open to interpretation. The directive mentioned a “large number of displaced persons” and the “scale of the movements” without detailed specification. However, the TPD was to be a complementary and subsidiary regime of protection in the EU for exceptional situations (see Arenas 2005, 339–340). As indicated by the decisions of the European Commission on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, the European Council on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, and the consequent invocation of the TPD in the EU member states, the flight of Ukrainians to EU territory following the initiation of war in Ukraine qualified as one such exceptional situation of a mass influx of displaced persons (European Commission 2022).

More concretely, in its current form, the TPD obliges EU member states to follow the principles of non-refoulement and fair burden-sharing as well as to provide a standardized set of services to people fleeing in cases of large-scale displacement (Table 2.1). As the TPD was invoked in 2022, it is important to know and understand how it was implemented and how the temporariness of protection fits into larger and longer processes of the European integration and adaptation of new people into the territory and communities of the EU and its member states.

**Table 2.1. Obligations of the EU member states implementing the TPD.**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a residence permit for the entire duration of the protection (which can last from one year to three years)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• appropriate information on temporary protection</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• guarantees of access to the asylum procedure</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to employment, subject to rules applicable to the profession and to national labor market policies and general conditions of employment</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to suitable accommodation or housing</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to social welfare or means of subsistence if necessary</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to medical care</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to education (for persons under 18 years, to the state education system)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• opportunities for families to reunite in certain circumstances</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• access to banking services, for instance opening a basic bank account</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• freedom to move to another EU country before the issuance of a residence permit</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• freedom to move freely in EU countries (other than the EU member state of residence) for 90 days within a 180-day period after the issuance of a residence permit in the host EU member state</li> </ul>

Source: Modified from the European Commission (2022).

## 2.1 EU member states and policies on asylum-related migrants

Despite a series of so-called 'refugee crises' in the EU (Krzyżanowski, et al. 2018), the implementation of migration-related policies in the EU continues to be multifaceted. These include multiple levels of governance, namely, international (including the EU and external partners, see Rygiel et al. 2016 and the United Nations Global Compact on Refugees), supranational institutional (EU economic and trade policies), intergovernmental institutional (EU foreign policy and security), national (EU member states), and regional-local (local governing bodies and organizations) levels. According to Caponio (2022), less attention has been paid to local authorities and NGOs than to the upper tiers of the EU's multilevel governance of asylum-related policies and practices.

Moreover, heavy politicization and subsequent media coverage of migration-related issues, in particular since 2015, have muddled the terms used to describe different groups of migrants to the EU. Common terms include, but are not limited to, migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, irregular migrant, undocumented migrant, and paperless. Those using these terms often do not know or pay attention to the differences between such terms, nor to the consequences, legal responsibilities, and opportunities that can be derived for people of such statuses in the member states (see Crawley and Skleparis 2018). As discussed in further detail below, the history of migration to the EU and the tense political and humanitarian discussions surrounding EU countries' handling of migration make the unanimous decision to implement the TPD a unique case.

Compliance with EU policies related to migration, and more specifically toward individuals with refugee, asylum-seeking, and special protection status, largely depends on member states' capacity and motivation (i.e. the political and public will). However, non-compliance also can be a purposeful practice to avoid the implementation of unpopular EU policies (Kriegsmair et al. 2022). Compliance depends on enforcement measures, capacity, and motivation. Where one of these variables is low, the others should be high for compliance to occur (Schmälter 2018). Moreover, enforcement, capacity, and motivation must be higher where the issue at hand is broad in scope or contested so that this issue would comply with broader demands. In the case of the EU, the multilevel governance structure and intergovernmental nature of migration policy make enforcement measures rather weak at the EU level and dependent on national capacities and motivation at the member state level (see Caponio 2022). At the same time, coordinating the interests of the 27 EU member states and their regions, and those of the EU and international institutional levels, make the scope of migration-related policies broad.

Compliance related to migration refers to member states' implementation of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), which includes the recently invoked TPD. The implementation of the CEAS and TPD, which is at the focus

of this analysis, differs in part due to the diverse capacities and political will of individual member states. In cases where enforcement is weak and the terms of compliance are open to interpretation, the capacity and political will of a member state again influences how policies are implemented. This refers also to the case of the TPD.

In the 2020s, the European Commission increased the annual budget by over 200 million euros for asylum policy support in the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). The budget was 6.6 billion euros from 2014 to 2020 and increased to 9.9 billion euros from 2021 to 2027 (European Commission 2022). Nevertheless, the challenges of the temporariness of the TPD and differences in institutional, economic, and social capacities of EU member states will not be solved with the increased budget alone.

Even though the EU follows clear, internationally recognized definitions of which individuals are to be protected under refugee status, asylum procedures, or temporary protection, the interchangeable and increasingly politicized use of these defining terms in public debates and in the media influences the public's will and support (see Crawley and Skleparis 2018). Moreover, the language of migration-related policies is open to interpretation in each member state and their respective publics. For example, the EU member state obligations of the TPD (see Table 2.1) suggest that implementation includes providing appropriate information, suitable housing, access to social welfare, medical care, and education, and opportunities for families to unite in certain circumstances. However, what is considered 'appropriate,' 'suitable,' or 'accessible' differs among member states in the EU.

The way in which differences in interpretations and implementation of the EU's migration policies have been growing since 2015 make the unanimous support for the TPD in 2022 exceptional, at least during its initial decision and early implementation. It was an important step towards the social protection of Ukrainians displaced against their will and, in addition to the existing EU humanitarian aid policy, the TPD provides an exhaustive legal framework for such protection (Motte-Baumvol et al. 2022). While some argue that this implementation could be seen as a success for common policy making in the EU (see Rasche 2022), we are aware that the swift evocation of the TPD was made within a small window of opportunity. The EU member states' motivation was unanimously high, and the political position of the EC was clear. This was, however, a rapid reaction to surprising and horrific events. The long-term commitment of the member states will be seen only in 2023 and later.

As previously noted, temporary protection is not a replacement for refugee protection and the asylum system. It is, as the name implies, a common, temporary measure for states to aid individuals fleeing conflict when the number of these individuals is exceptionally large, and the handling of these individuals af-

fects the entire EU territory and its administrative-political system. Thus, there is potential for the TPD to be either a tool for the deeper integration of the EU's multilevel policy facilitating on migration, or a temporary delay to the continuation of member states' diverging implementation of migrant protection policies.

## **2.2 Migration in European politics and the media**

In the last two decades, the emphasis on migration within and to the EU has shifted significantly. As of 2003, migration was not described as a 'security threat' in either the European Union Global Strategy (EUGS) or the European Security Strategy; rather, it was considered an issue for 'home affairs' (Ceccorulli and Lucarelli 2017). Large-scale migration to the EU (notably from the former Yugoslavia in 1992) and within the EU (particularly from the new eastern EU member states after the EU enlargement in 2004 to the older member states) were treated as demographic and employment challenges and opportunities to be addressed by the member states. In principle, the free movement of labor is a tool for successfully balancing demand and supply in the EU-wide labor market.

In 2015, migration was put high on the EU agenda due to what was referred to globally as the 'Syrian refugee crisis' and commonly in Europe as the so-called 'migration crisis.' From 2006 to 2014, the number of asylum-related migrants to the EU was close to 200,000 per year but grew to 1.3 million in 2015 (Eurostat 2016). Asylum-related migration continued at high levels until the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016 which substantially reduced such migration from Turkey to Greece in the EU (Haferlach and Kurban 2018).

On the one hand, economic growth in the EU is dependent on the migration of people within and from outside the EU to address declining population in several EU member states and fill demand for both seasonal jobs and long-term transformations in the labor market (Paul 2020). The EU's migration policies promote migration as an integral tool to foster the common market within the EU and cooperation with EU partners. The migration policies support student exchange programs, such as Erasmus, which are domestic and public diplomacy policy tools to support idea and value exchange in the region (Van Mol 2018; Mastenbroek et al. 2022).

On the other hand, diverse EU member states experience changing patterns of migration differently and have varying capacities and political will to implement EU policies. Thus, migration had already been on the EU agenda prior to 2015, when it became a very real economic and social challenge in many countries. Yet, because "enforcement of EU policies can take place at both the domestic and the European level" (Schmälter 2018, 1331), the common EU policies on refugee rights, asylum procedures, and temporary protection (outlined in the CEAS) are enforced at multiple levels, often having different configurations among different EU member states.

Since the 2015 ‘migration crisis,’ individual EU member states have faced unique challenges in incorporating new EU policies while managing economic and social policies within their borders. The different narratives that emerged in relation to these policies, such as “renationalization” (Brekke and Starver 2018), “security,” “selectivity,” and “global responsibilities” or “values” narratives (Cecorulli and Lucarelli 2017), continue to influence current debates surrounding migration from third countries to the EU. In fact, Carrera et al. (2022) criticize the EU asylum policy for its discriminatory grounds and lack of equal solidarity regarding European (in this case, Ukrainian) and non-European (in this case, Afghan, Iraqi, etc.) people fleeing conflicts and war and seeking protection and asylum.

The diverse reactions among the EU member states to the large-scale asylum-related migration in 2015 created an “acute migration-security nexus” (Fakhoury 2016), which influenced each level of decision-making in the EU. A complex combination of policies, practices, and techniques was implemented to direct, control and regulate the present and future of asylum seekers, undocumented migrants, and other asylum-related migrants as well as their activities and the organizations involved. This combination became part of the broader biopolitical and geopolitical orders in the territories with which these migrants were acquainted inside and outside EU borders. Such context has been referred to by the term ‘biogeopolitics.’ With the context of this term, various stakeholders develop their preferred geopolitical orders through biopolitical-physical and discursive governance and (mis)management of asylum-related migrants within broader geopolitical interests (see Jauhiainen 2020). This applies both to the EU as a whole as well as to its specific member states that have adopted very critical tones toward asylum-related migration. From this perspective, it seems somewhat surprising that in 2022 the EU could invoke the TPD so quickly and unanimously. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how unanimous solidarity will be in the longer-term implementation of the TPD.

Despite consistent attempts to establish a common, EU-wide approach toward refugees, asylum seekers, and temporary protection, the implementation of the EU migration policies remains dependent on state and regional actors. Political and media discourse at the regional, national, and EU institutional levels have heightened differences among approaches to migration in the EU (Georgiou and Zaborowski 2017). In addition, the politicization of immigration to the EU and its member states (and specific, often sensational media coverage of that phenomenon) mean that certain key political parties and individuals influence the general discussion and public opinion on immigration to the EU. The rise of right-wing political movements gained support by including anti-immigration in their platforms, over-simplifying asylum-related migration and creating stronger borders between endangered ‘us’ and threatening ‘them’ (Lamour and



Varga 2020). Within the EU, the capacity and political will to address increasing number of refugees, asylum seekers, and individuals needing temporary protection depends on the real and perceived economic and social challenges experienced by the EU member states.

### **3. Temporary protected Ukrainians in Europe and Estonia**

To assist in understanding the reasons for fleeing, needs and demographic backgrounds of Ukrainians fleeing from different regions in Ukraine to Estonia in 2022, we provide an overview of the development of the war in Ukraine and subsequent migration.

#### **3.1 War in Ukraine from February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, and its antecedents**

Weeks before Russia initiated the attack on Ukraine in February 2022, large concentrations of Russian military troops in areas close to the Russian border with Ukraine had been observed (Brown 2022). The opinion prevailed that Russia would not attack Ukraine regardless of the Russian involvement in many wars in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including in Ukraine (Gardner 2022; Yilmaz 2022). Later, some scholars argued that the war that erupted was a continuation of the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 (Heinmüller 2022).

In 2013, the Ukrainian parliament voted in favor of the EU–Ukrainian Association Agreement. However, Mr. Viktor Yanukovich, then the pro-Russian president of Ukraine, decided not to sign it. Instead, he suggested intensifying relations between Ukraine and Russia and the broader Eurasian Economic Union. This resulted in large-scale protests among the pro-EU population in Ukraine, and as a result, Yanukovich fled Ukraine on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2014. The next day, the Ukrainian parliament took several symbolic measures including a proposal to revoke the 2012 law which established Russian as a legally recognized regional language in Ukraine in regions in which the Russian-speaking population was more than 10 percent of the population (see Tass 2014). Although this proposal was not enacted, it created unrest among pro-Russian stakeholders and the Russian-speaking population in parts of Ukraine as well as in Russia (Kulyk 2016).

In the end of February 2014, Russian-backed armed forces attacked and conquered Crimea. After a disputed referendum in March, Russia entirely annexed Crimea (Bebler 2014). Shortly thereafter, pro-Russian groups in other, primarily Russian-speaking regions of eastern Ukraine launched protests against the Ukrainian government. The Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which are part of the larger, mostly Russian-speaking area of Donbas in Eastern Ukraine, declared self-determination as the People's Republic of Donetsk and the People's Republic of Luhansk. Then, in April war broke out between pro-Russian separatists and Ukrainian military forces (Mitrokhin 2015). Armed conflict has continued at different intervals ever since. The particular composition and location of different ethnic groups in the 2020s in Ukraine, including Russian-speakers, derive from the tragedies, famine, deportations and relocations of populations during the Soviet Stalinist era about a century ago (see Ellman 2007).

On February 21<sup>st</sup>, 2022, Russia officially recognized the People's Republic of Donetsk and the People's Republic of Luhansk as states and openly sent military troops to these territories. Russia used the need to protect these areas' Russian-speaking population from Ukraine as one excuse to support this action (Rainsford 2022). By this time, the rhetoric about the Russian Donbas had already become more widespread in Russia and in areas with many Russian-speakers in Ukraine.

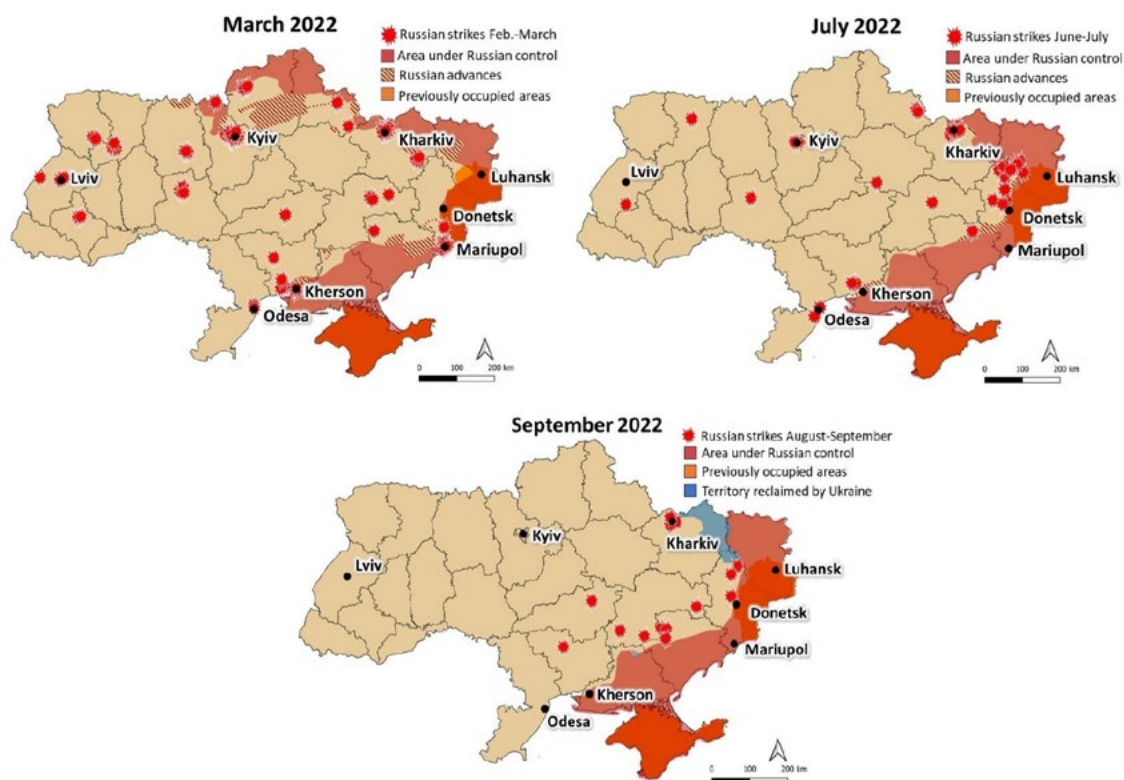
War in the sovereign territory of Ukraine started in the early morning on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022. According to official Russian rhetoric, it was not a war but a targeted “special military operation” (in Russian, специальная военная операция) (United Nations Security Council 2022; Osborn and Nikolskaya 2022). On the one hand, the war was connected to the broader geopolitical position of Russia in the post-Soviet world and the recent developments in the areas bordering Russia. Over the years, Russia has made statements concerning how the dissolution of the Soviet Union was “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century” (NBC News 2005). Many former Soviet republics and states belonging to the former pro-Soviet Warsaw Pact had become members of NATO. Since 2008, Ukraine also repeatedly expressed the wish to join NATO (Makarychev and Yatsuk 2014). On the other hand, the war was related to the internal politics of Russia as the initiating country, in terms of the manipulation of its own population and the legitimization of the ruling powers. According to the Russian domestic narrative, throughout history, ‘good and strong’ Russian leaders were able to enlarge Russian territory, whereas weak Russian leaders allowed the territory to become smaller. Where Russia had ever been, these areas were somehow eternally belonging to Russia, at least historically (see President of Russia 2022). Part of this discourse was the idea that external forces were threatening the integrity of Russia and oppressing the Russian population in many areas outside the country. Official justifications were used as rhetoric to cover many other motives.

On the first day of the war, the Russian military troops invaded Ukraine by land, sea and air and attacked many parts of Ukraine (BBC News 2022). By the beginning of March, Russian troops had advanced into several regions in Ukraine. This and widespread bombardment resulted in the need for millions of Ukrainians to flee their homes. Yet, the advance of the Russian military became slower as Ukrainians resisted and fought back.

By the end of March, the occupied territories covered parts of the northern, eastern and southern oblasts such as Zhytomyrska, Kyivska, Chernihivetska, Sumska, Kharkivska, Luhanska, Donetska, Zaporizka, Khersonka and Mykolaivska (Figure 3.1). However, in the following weeks, Russians had to withdraw from their positions near the capital Kyiv and the northern parts of Ukraine. By the beginning of June, many Ukrainians started to return to the capital region from

both abroad and inside Ukraine since Russians had withdrawn from the Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Sumy oblasts (Figure 3.1).

During the summer of 2022, Russia primarily attacked the parts of Donbas that were not already held by the separatists. By early August, the Russians had occupied most of Donbas and continued to occupy large parts of the Black Sea coastal areas. They launched rather random missile attacks in different parts of Ukraine (Figure 3.1). The Ukrainian forces started a strong counter-attack in September 2022 and the Russian president announced partial mobilization in Russia in September 21<sup>st</sup>. There were so-called referenda in the Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk and Zaporizka oblasts to join the Russian Federation on September 28<sup>th</sup>, and on September 30<sup>th</sup>, the President of Russia gave a speech in Moscow to the Russian parliament about the annexation of these oblasts in Russia. As of October, 2022, when this report was finished, the war in Ukraine continued. Ukraine made counter-attacks and Russia attacked various sites in different parts of Ukraine.



**Figure 3.1.** Military frontlines in Ukraine in the beginning of March, July and September of 2022. Source: Modified from Neuer Zürcher Zeitung (2022).

### 3.2 War-related migration regarding Ukraine

The war in Ukraine has had a strong impact on the local population and infrastructure, and it has resulted in the migration of many Ukrainians abroad as well as inside Ukraine. In areas directly bombarded and in which direct military confrontation has taken place, the population had to flee as quickly as possible. Not fleeing these areas would have meant facing risks of being wounded or killed. For various reasons, not all could leave their homes and home region even if they would have liked to do so. During the early months of the war, several areas in Ukraine were under siege, causing substantial casualties among the civilian population (OCHA 2022).

Leaving one's home due to the war, a person could try to find a safer place within Ukraine or leave the country. Deciding whether or not to migrate, the person could not know what would happen in the near or more distant future. The decision needed to be made on an estimation of the potential risks of remaining in Ukraine or a specific region there. In the beginning of the war in particular, many feared that the Russian military could quickly advance deep into Ukrainian territory, including to the capital city of Kyiv (Atlantic Council Military Fellows 2022).

Considering the migration from Ukraine to abroad, there are two major issues. First, on March 4<sup>th</sup>, the TPD became legally binding in the EU (see Chapter 2.1) and facilitated the reception of the outmigrating Ukrainians in EU member states. Individual EU citizens, NGOs and member states supported their journeys from the Ukrainian–Polish border and other western borders to different parts of the EU. Second, due to the imposition of martial law in Ukraine, certain citizens, specifically male citizens aged 18 to 60 and those in key administrative positions, were temporarily restricted from leaving Ukraine. These restrictions were to ensure the defense of the Ukrainian state and to maintain the combat and mobilization readiness of the Ukrainian armed forces and other military formations (Mustafa 2022). Exceptions were made, for example, for 18–60 years old Ukrainian men who had several children who depended on their support. Therefore, outmigration from Ukraine resulted in specific gender- and age-based characteristics, i.e., the majority of fleeing Ukrainians were women with children.

The number of people leaving Ukraine is an estimation based on official border crossings. However, people could also leave Ukraine without being registered by authorities. After early March, the number of Ukrainians in different EU member states was based primarily on estimates. Not all Ukrainians were immediately registered to receive the status of temporary protection, and some Ukrainians traveled back and forth from Ukraine in different stages of the war. For these reasons, it is impossible to know precisely how many Ukrainians left the country, how many returned, and where

all emigrating Ukrainians went in the EU, including Estonia, or elsewhere in Europe.

According to the UNHCR, the EU and Ukrainian statistics, by March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2022, within eight days of the war and one day before the implementation of the TPD, more than one million Ukrainians had crossed the border into the EU (Figure 3.2), mostly to Poland (Table 3.2). Such a large-scale migration towards the EU from a non-EU country, a million persons by that time, provoked and supported the decision to invoke the TPD. This measure consequently facilitated the further outmigration from Ukraine to EU member states. A month after the beginning of the war, the number of border crossings from Ukraine to abroad had risen to almost 3.7 million (Figure 3.2) (UNHCR 2022b). In July, Poland, Germany, and the Czech Republic were the countries hosting the most Ukrainians fleeing the war besides Russia (Table 3.2). Before the war, there had already been more than 300,000 Ukrainians living in Poland (Migracje 2022).

The advancement of the Russian military within the Ukrainian territory and its advance on the capital city of Kyiv and other large cities, such as Kharkiv (see Fig. 3.1), made many people leave Ukraine. By the end of May, it was estimated that around 7 million individuals, approximately 5.3 million Ukrainians and 1.7 million non-Ukrainians had crossed the border (Frontex 2022). Ukrainians were found in all EU member states. The largest numbers were in Poland (est. 3.5 million), Germany (est. 900,000) and the Czech Republic (est. 400,000) (BBC 2022b; UN News 2022). However, by then, more than 2.1 million border crossings had been made into Ukraine since the beginning of the war (UNHCR 2022; Table 3.1; Figure 3.2). Many of them were people who considered the return to Ukraine possible and safe, or those who needed to return involuntarily for family, work or military reasons. There were also tens of thousands of Ukrainian and foreign nationals who went to Ukraine to fight in the war or to otherwise support the civilian population there. Some individuals crossed the border frequently to support Ukrainians in Ukraine.

Following the retreat of the Russian military from its positions near Kyiv and many northern parts of Ukraine, more border crossings were made into Ukraine. By the end of July, the number of border crossings into Ukraine had reached four million since the beginning of the war; almost two million of these were made in June and July alone (Table 3.1; Figure 3.2; UNHCR 2022). Some Ukrainians who had received temporary protection status in an EU member state returned to Ukraine temporarily to take care of necessary matters before returning to the country that had granted this status.

In the autumn of 2022, Ukrainians continued to flee from Ukraine, especially from the eastern parts, where active fighting took place (recall Figure 3.1). By mid-September, 4.1 million Ukrainians had registered for temporary protection status (or a similar status within another administrative category).

**Table 3.1.** Ukrainians' migration during the war since February 24th, 2022.

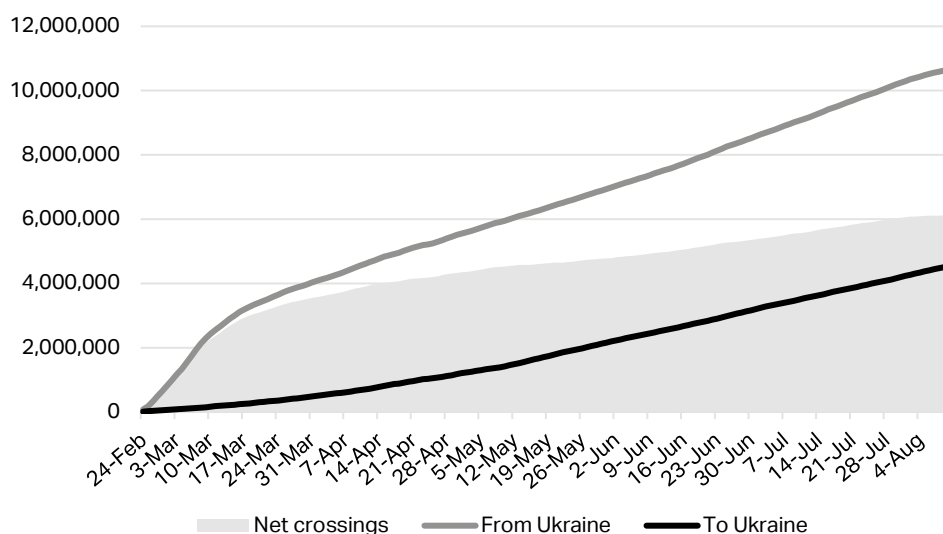
	March 8 <sup>th</sup>	end of March	end of May	mid-July	mid-September
Border crossings leaving Ukraine	2,132,000	4,026,000	6,939,000	9,351,000	13,082,000
Border crossings returning Ukraine	137,000	482,000	2,192,000	3,546,000	6,088,000
Recorded Ukrainian refugees in Europe	2,011,000	4,019,000	4,713,000	5,818,000	7,400,000
Ukrainians with TPD status or in similar national protection schemes		1,234,000*	2,928,000	3,654,000	4,070,000
Internally displaced Ukrainians	6,478,000**	7,139,000	7,134,000	6,645,000	6,243,000

\*data not available from Germany, Cyprus, Hungary and the Netherlands. \*\*data from March 16<sup>th</sup>. Sources: UNHCR (2022a); Eurostat (2022); IOM (2022).

**Table 3.2.** Ukrainian citizens in 2020 and Ukrainian war-related migrants registered in the EU and other countries in July 2022.

	Ukrainian citizens, 2020	Ukrainian war-related migrants, mid-July	% of population	% of all in EU	Ukrainian war-related migrants, mid-September	% of population	% of all
Poland	500,000	1,222,000	3.2	33	1,391,000	3.7	32.9
Germany	80,000	893,000	1.1	24.1	1,003,000	1.2	23.7
Czech Republic	166,000	392,000	3.7	10.6	434,000	4.0	10.3
Italy	223,000	145,000	0.2	3.9	160,000	0.3	3.8
Spain	95,000	126,000	0.3	3.4	143,000	0.3	3.4
France	15,000	92,000	0.1	2.5	101,000	0.2	2.4
Bulgaria	8,000	88,000	1.3	2.4	136,000	2.0	3.2
Romania	2,000	84,000	0.4	2.3	80,000	0.4	1.9
Slovakia	40,000	81,000	1.5	2.2	94,000	1.7	2.2
Austria	10,000	74,000	0.8	2.0	82,000	0.9	1.9
Netherlands	7,500	68,000	0.4	1.8	77,000	0.4	1.8
Lithuania	31,000	58,000	2.1	1.6	65,000	2.5	1.5
Belgium	5,000	51,000	0.4	1.4	56,000	0.5	1.3
Portugal	29,000	47,000	0.5	1.3	50,000	0.5	1.1
Estonia	13,000	45,000	3.4	1.2	55,000	4.1	1.3
Sweden	6,000	41,000	0.4	1.1	47,000	0.5	1.1
Ireland	2,000	41,000	0.8	1.1	47,000	0.9	1.1
Latvia	9,000	34,000	1.8	0.9	40,000	2.2	0.9
Finland	6,000	31,000	0.6	0.8	39,000	0.7	0.9
Denmark	13,000	29,000	0.5	0.8	35,000	0.6	0.8
Hungary	58,000	27,000	0.3	0.7	30,000	0.3	0.7
Greece	19,000	17,000	0.2	0.5	19,000	0.2	0.4
Croatia	2,000	15,000	0.4	0.4	18,000	0.4	0.4
Cyprus	4,000	14,000	1.6	0.4	16,000	1.3	0.4
Slovenia	3,000	7,000	0.3	0.2	8,000	0.4	0.2
Luxembourg	1,000	6,000	0.9	0.2	7,000	1.1	0.2
Malta	1,000	1,000	0.2	0	1,000	0.2	0
<b>EU total</b>	<b>1,347,000</b>	<b>3,702,000</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4,234,000</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>100</b>
Russia	2,000,000–3,000,000	1,625,000	1.1		2,692,000	1.8	
Turkey	20,000	145,000	0.2		145,000	0.2	
United Kingdom	32,000	91,000	0.1		126,000	0.2	
Moldova	42,000	85,000	2.1		92,000	2.3	
Switzerland	3,000	56,000	0.7		65,000	0.7	

Sources: Eurostat (2022); IOM (2021); Turkish Statistical Institute (2022); Office for National Statistics (2021); UNHCR (2022a); World Bank (2022); Worldometer (2022).

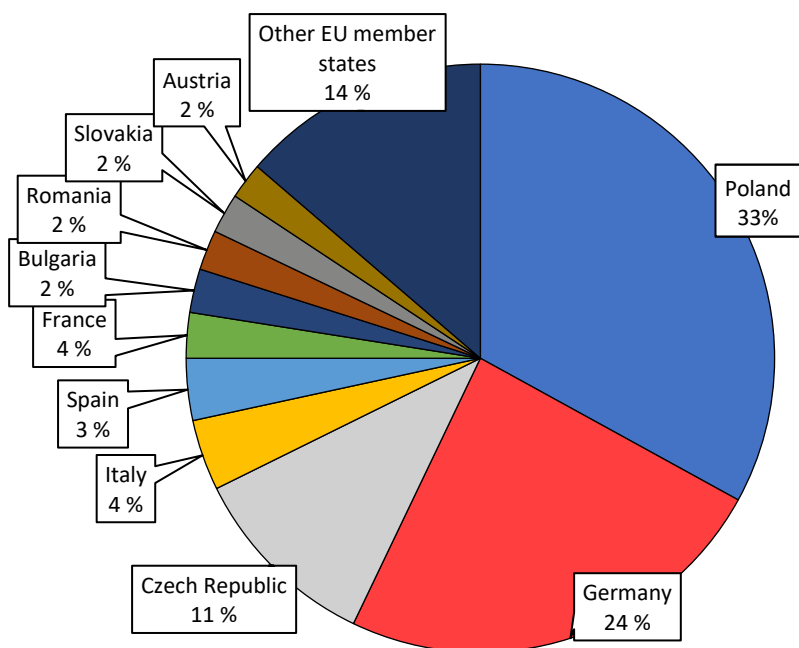


**Figure 3.2.** Border crossings from Ukraine to abroad and from abroad to Ukraine between February 24<sup>th</sup> and August 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022. Source: Modified from UNHCR (2022a).

ry) in the EU. The largest number of these people were in Poland (1.4 million Ukrainians), Germany (709,000) and the Czech Republic (409,000) (UNHCR 2022c). Over 7.4 million individuals fleeing Ukraine had been registered across Europe (UNHCR 2022c). Over half (55%) of individuals fleeing the war who had been registered in the EU had received temporary protection at the time of this report; this number however, does not include unregistered individuals, which as previously discussed are difficult to accurately account for. By mid-September, the number of border crossings from Ukraine to abroad had passed 13.1 million of which 9.8 million were to the neighboring EU member states. The numbers of border crossings to Ukraine are difficult to estimate. These account for 5.8 million border crossings from Poland, Romania and Slovakia. However, border crossings to and from Ukraine also include people going back and forth several times (UNHCR 2022c).

As of mid-July 2022, the time when this empirical research was conducted in Estonia, about one third (33%) of individual Ukrainians registered as fleeing to Europe (“refugees” in the simplified terminology in the media) were registered in Poland, about one fourth (24%) in Germany and nearly one ninth (11%) in the Czech Republic (Figure 3.3.). Combined, these three countries hosted more than two thirds (68%) of Ukrainians fleeing the war who were registered in the EU. The share of Estonia was 1% of all Ukrainians registered in the EU.





**Figure 3.3.** Share of individual war-fleeing Ukrainian registered in the EU member states as of mid-July 2022. Source: Modified from UNHCR (2022).

### 3.3 Ukrainians in Estonia

Understanding the Estonian context is essential to knowing how Ukrainians residing in the country after the beginning of the war in Ukraine in 2022 view their current situation in Estonia. The large number of Ukrainian people fleeing was a novel situation in Estonia since the country had had very few migrants, asylum seekers and refugees prior to 2022.

Since the adoption of the Refugee Act and the ratification of the Geneva Convention in Estonia in 1997, Estonia had received exceptionally few asylum applications. A total of 1,248 applications had been issued, less than 50 applications per year on average. Before 2022, the only refugee group with more than 100 persons was Syrians with 196 people. The next largest groups were people from Ukraine (93 persons), Russia (54), Iraq (41) and Sudan (26). In total, since 1997, international or subsidiary protection had been granted to 554 persons, including those who came to Estonia through the relocation system. This was slightly over 20 people per year. In 2020, 332 people (including their family members) having international protection lived in Estonia, making 0.03% of the national population (Siseministeerium 2021). When compared more broadly with the European context, these Estonian numbers are very low.

Overall immigration to Estonia has also been low, although in recent years the level of immigration has been increasing. The number of new residents to

Estonia rose from just 2,639 people in 2012 to 19,524 people in 2021. However, many of these individuals were Estonian migrants returning from other EU member states. For example, 2,790 people arrived from Finland in 2021, and among them were many Estonians. The next largest country of arrivals prior to 2022 was Ukraine with 2,525 reported individuals in 2021 (Statistics Estonia 2022).

Despite the very small numbers of asylum seekers and new immigrants, Estonia had worked with integration-related topics consistently since its re-independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Estonia had to discuss and implement integration policies regarding the large Russian-speaking population who came to the country during the Soviet occupation.

Prior to Estonia's joining the EU in 2004, integration policies addressed the Russian-speaking population. Initially, in 2000–2007, the focus was on integration through the teaching of the Estonian language. Later, in 2008–2013, broader social integration, including cultural autonomy, social interaction, civic, legal, and economic aspects, was supported through interaction between the ethnic Estonian population and the Russian-speaking and other minority populations. In 2014–2020, the integration program *Strategy of Integration and Social Cohesion in Estonia 2020* focused on three aspects: native Russian speakers, new immigrants, and Estonian society. Until then, societal policies were divided between the integration of Russian-speakers and adaptation of recently arrived immigrants. The adaptation of newly arrived immigrants and the policy of population activities were directed until 2020 through the National Defense Development Plan 2015–2020.

The current strategy, in force until 2030, *Cohesive Estonia Strategy 2030*, is a joint venture between three ministries in Estonia, namely the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are two foreseen paths: integration is aimed at Russian-speaking populations already living in Estonia, while adaptation is aimed at newcomers, including Ukrainians, without knowing how long they will stay in Estonia. The aim is to make Estonia a more cohesive and inclusive society.

The Cohesive Estonia Strategy 2030 considers Estonia as a nation-state to develop and continue the Estonian nationality, language and culture through the ages. The strategy aims to enable Estonian people to share constitutional values and understanding, to value the Estonian language and culture, and to define Estonian people as members of Estonian society. “Estonian people” refers to both the people who are permanently or temporarily living in Estonia and people living abroad but having ties with Estonia.

In regard to Ukrainians in Estonia in 2022, the Estonian government reacted very quickly to the Russian attack on Ukraine and condemned it clearly and strongly (ERR News 2022). The Estonian media reported intensively and actively

about the situation in Ukraine. Several public events were launched to support Ukraine. Many authorities, public figures and ordinary people wore Ukrainian symbols, and Ukrainian flags were visible around the country. Many NGOs, individuals and private businesses were also quick to launch campaigns to support Ukraine and Ukrainians, especially those fleeing war in Ukraine.

From the spring of 2022, access to Ukrainian broadcasting was also facilitated as a complimentary service in Estonia, while access to Russian broadcasting was restricted and several Russian and Belarussian services banned (including: RTR Planeta, NTV Mir/NTV Mir Baltic, Russia 24, TV Centre International (TVCI), and Belarus 24) (ERR 2022). In addition, digital communication companies provided complimentary access or substantially reduced costs to call Ukraine from Estonia (Elisa 2022; Tele2 2022; Telia 2022). The overall atmosphere in Estonia was very supportive toward Ukrainians. Although very little criticism was openly expressed in relation to public resources to support Ukrainians and their arrival to Estonia during the first six months of the war, some concerns were presented on the upper limit of Ukrainians that Estonia could receive (see Vasli 2022).

Before the beginning of the war, knowledge about Estonia existed among hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians living in Ukraine, and tens of thousands of them had direct contacts in Estonia. In the beginning of 2022, of officially registered residents in Estonia, 27,828 people defined themselves as Ukrainians (Statistics Estonia 2022). Over the years, tens of thousands of Ukrainians have worked in Estonia, and many Ukrainians have been in the country as students or tourists. Furthermore, there were Ukrainians who had lived in Estonia since the Soviet Union period (Masso et al. 2021). Of these almost 28,000 Ukrainians, about 12,000 use Ukrainian as their mother tongue (43% of all Ukrainians in Estonia), about 15,000 people (54%) use Russian, and about 600 use Estonian (2%) (Statistics Estonia 2022). In addition, there were about 16,000 Ukrainians in Estonia as short-time workers, students and tourists who were not formally registered as residents in Estonia.

The first war-fleeing Ukrainians entered Estonia before March 9<sup>th</sup>, before the Estonian Governmental Decree was implemented allowing citizens of Ukraine and their family members who have fled to Estonia to escape the war and apply for temporary protection in Estonia. A Ukrainian citizen could apply for temporary protection if the person had lived in Ukraine until February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022, and then left the country because of the military conflict on or after that date. Temporary protection would be granted for one year following the basic regulations of the TPD. Besides Ukrainian citizens, temporary protection could be applied to stateless persons and nationals of third countries other than Ukraine who had enjoyed international protection or equivalent national protection in Ukraine. This was also true for these individuals' family members (a spouse, partner, mi-

nor unmarried child, other close relatives who lived in the same household and were dependent on the person) and those of Ukrainians if the family was already in Estonia before February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022.

Despite these specifications about residency prior to the Russian invasion to Ukraine, the Estonian government decided that all Ukrainian citizens had the right to stay in Estonia without applying for temporary protection or qualifying as persons eligible to request temporary protection. The latter included, for example, Ukrainians who had already been in Estonia when the war started. For this, they needed to submit an application to the Police and the Border Guard Board. They could also ask for international protection in Estonia (Government of Estonia 2022). After the initial one-year period, Ukrainian citizens and their family members should, in principle, be able to extend their temporary or international protection in Estonia if the war in Ukraine were to continue (European Commission 2022).

After the legalization of Ukrainians' arrival in March, many individuals, NGOs and even private enterprises started to organize the transport of Ukrainians from the Ukrainian-Polish border to Estonia (Eesti Pagulasabi 2022). Smaller and larger vehicles drove this route continuously. There were several commercial bus lines between Poland and Estonia and the use of public transport inside Estonia was free for Ukrainians immediately after their arrival (Alas 2022). Furthermore, Estonian individuals and families donated clothing, food and other material support to help Ukrainians in both Ukraine and Estonia. The reception of Ukrainians had strong political and public support in the country (ERR News 2022b).

The reception of war-fleeing Ukrainians started officially on February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2022. The threshold of 20,000 war-fleeing Ukrainians (20,264 persons to remain in the country) in Estonia was reached on March 19<sup>th</sup>. By that date, 2,821 (13.9%) had asked for temporary protection and 5,375 (26.5%) were hosted in state-organized accommodation, including 1,802 minors.

The next threshold of 30,000 war-fleeing Ukrainians (30,255 persons to remain in Estonia) in Estonia was passed on April 13<sup>th</sup>. By that date, 19,893 (65.8%) had asked for temporary protection, and 5,302 (26.7%) were hosted in state-organized accommodation, including 1,847 minors. The threshold of 40,000 war-fleeing Ukrainians (40,047 persons to remain in Estonia) in Estonia was reached on May 25<sup>th</sup>. By this date, 25,969 (64.8%) had asked for temporary protection (Figure 3.4) (Politsei ja Piirivalveamet 2022).

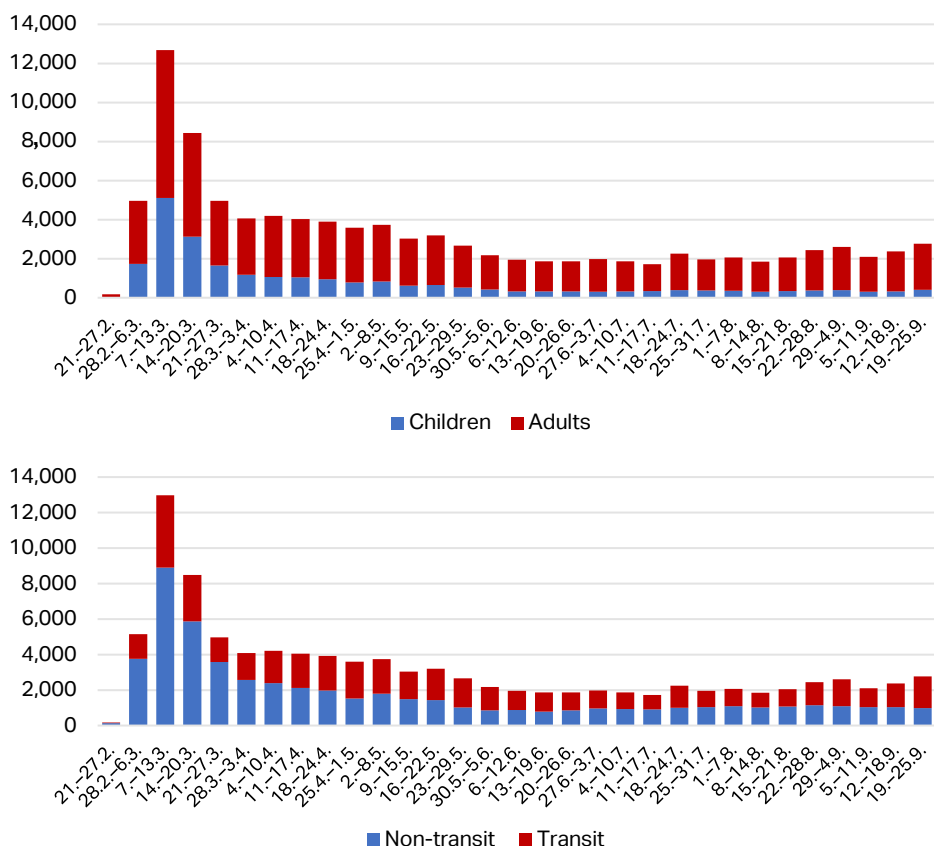
In total, by August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2022, Estonia had received 83,071 Ukrainians fleeing war in Ukraine, 34,712 (41.8%) of whom were in transit to another country. Of all who had arrived, more than one out of four (27.2%; 22,575 persons) were minors (Sotsiaalkindlustusamet 2022). The weekly number of war-fleeing people in transit was rather constant from March to May 2022 at about

1,500–2,000 people per week. In June and July 2022, the number of weekly arrivals was about 1,000 persons and in September less than 1,000 (Politsei ja Piirivalveamet 2022; Figure 3.4). By August 10<sup>th</sup>, 2022, less than 160 days since the first registered arrival, 50,347 Ukrainians fleeing the war in Ukraine had reached Estonia and indicated that they would remain in the country. Of all who had expressed the intention to remain in Estonia, 32,077 (63.7%) had asked for temporary protection by that date (Vahtla 2022) and as of August 9<sup>th</sup> at least 31,512 persons had been registered for temporary protection in Estonia (UNHCR 2022c). As of September 26<sup>th</sup>, 35,971 applications for temporary protection had been submitted in Estonia and 1,977 had withdrawn their temporary protection status. The daily border crossings by Ukrainian and Russian citizens and their net migration in 2022 (until the end of September) are presented in Figure 3.5. Among the Russian citizens are many of those who have permanent residence in Estonia.

According to Estonia's policy, Ukrainian citizens who had been in Estonia prior to the war could stay temporarily in the country as the war continues in Ukraine. However, only those who left Ukraine to come to Estonia after February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022 and their families were eligible for temporary protection and the specific support measures that go with it. While it is not obligatory to apply for temporary protection, almost two-thirds of those registered in Estonia have applied for protection, and all who were eligible received temporary protection (European Commission, 2022d). Of all who had requested temporary protection as of August 1<sup>st</sup>, 3,749 (11.9%) were hosted in state-organized accommodation, including 1,106 (3.5%) children (Figure 3.4; Politsei ja Piirivalveamet 2022).

By the summer of 2022, there was no precise information about how many Ukrainians actually lived and resided in Estonia. Those having received residence permits in Estonia as temporarily protected individuals could leave and enter Estonia freely without being noticed by the authorities. Temporarily protected Ukrainians were allowed to stay in any Schengen Member State for 90 days within a period of 180 days (Estonian Police and Border Guard Board 2022), and they could obviously enter Ukraine. However, temporary protection granted in Estonia was valid for Estonia only and not in other EU member states.

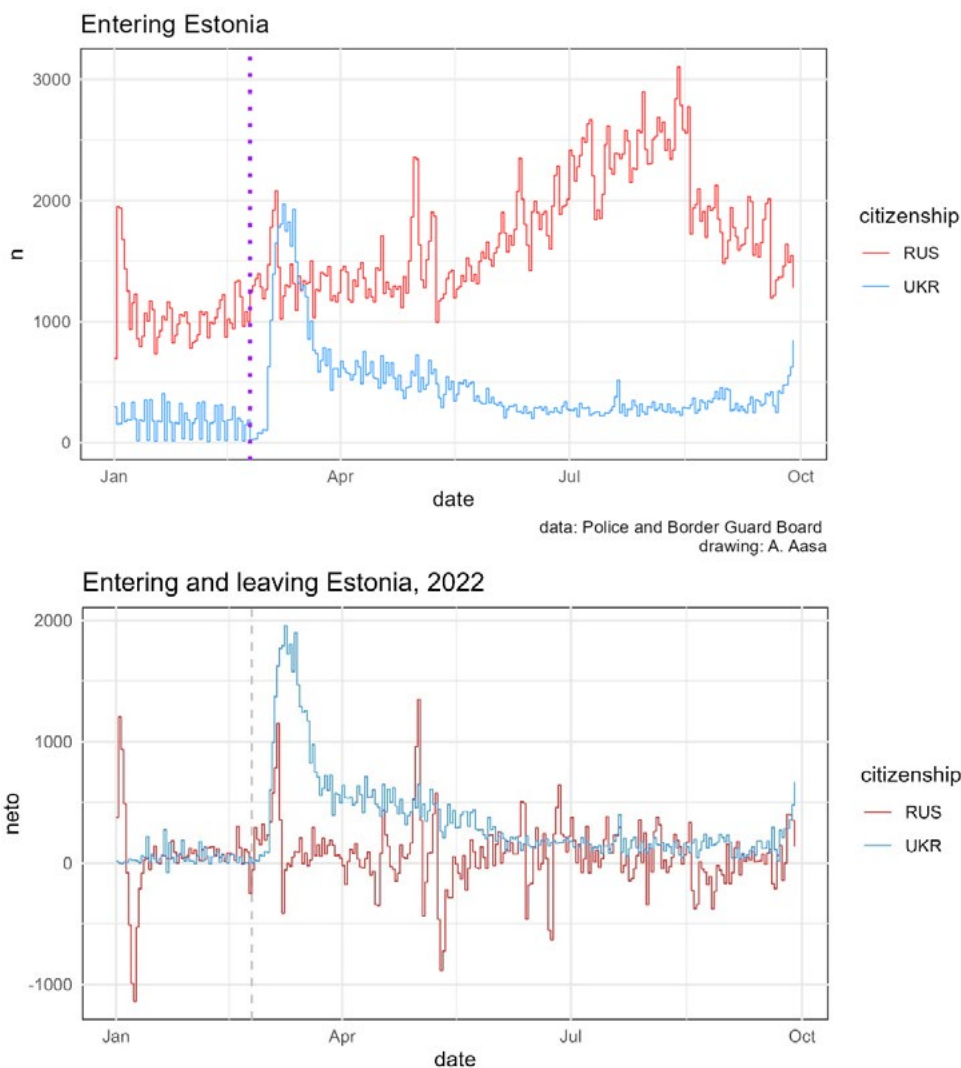
The implementation of the TPD in Estonia meant that Ukrainian citizens and their family members would receive a one-year residence permit. Once the war-fleeing Ukrainians applied for temporary protection, they enjoyed rights similar to those enjoyed by Estonian residents (Estonian Police and Border Guard Board 2022). As mentioned in the TPD, they should be provided with access to accommodation, employment, health services, and means of subsistence in Estonia. In addition, temporary protection entitles Ukrainian children and teenagers to legal guardianship and education (Republic of Estonia Social Insurance Board 2022).



**Figure 3.4.** War-fleeing Ukrainians in Estonia from March 14th to September 25th, 2022. Source: Modified from Politsei ja Piirivalveamet (2022).

As for **accommodation**, the first urgent issue was to provide shelter to every Ukrainian arriving in Estonia. If a Ukrainian who applied for or received temporary protection needed temporary accommodation, the Social Insurance Agency placed them in short-term accommodation. As emergency assistance, the state provided a maximum of 72 hours of accommodation for all war-fleeing Ukrainians who required it. People without shelter and food were referred directly to the Social Insurance Board. Longer-term accommodation was only offered to applicants or recipients of temporary or international protection (Eesti Pagulasabi 2022).

The state guaranteed the accommodation in reception centers for four months. By the summer of 2022, most Ukrainians had to find their own accommodation and employment by other means. Due to their initial arrival during the tourism industry's off season, hotels and hostels were used as temporary accommodation sites, including large passenger ships in the port of Tallinn. However, if Ukrainians wished and were able to, they could also live independently



**Figure 3.5.** Border-crossings by Ukrainian citizens and Russian citizens to Estonia in 2022 (until the end of September, 2022). Source: Modified by Dr. Anto Aasa from Politsei ja Piirivalveamet (2022).

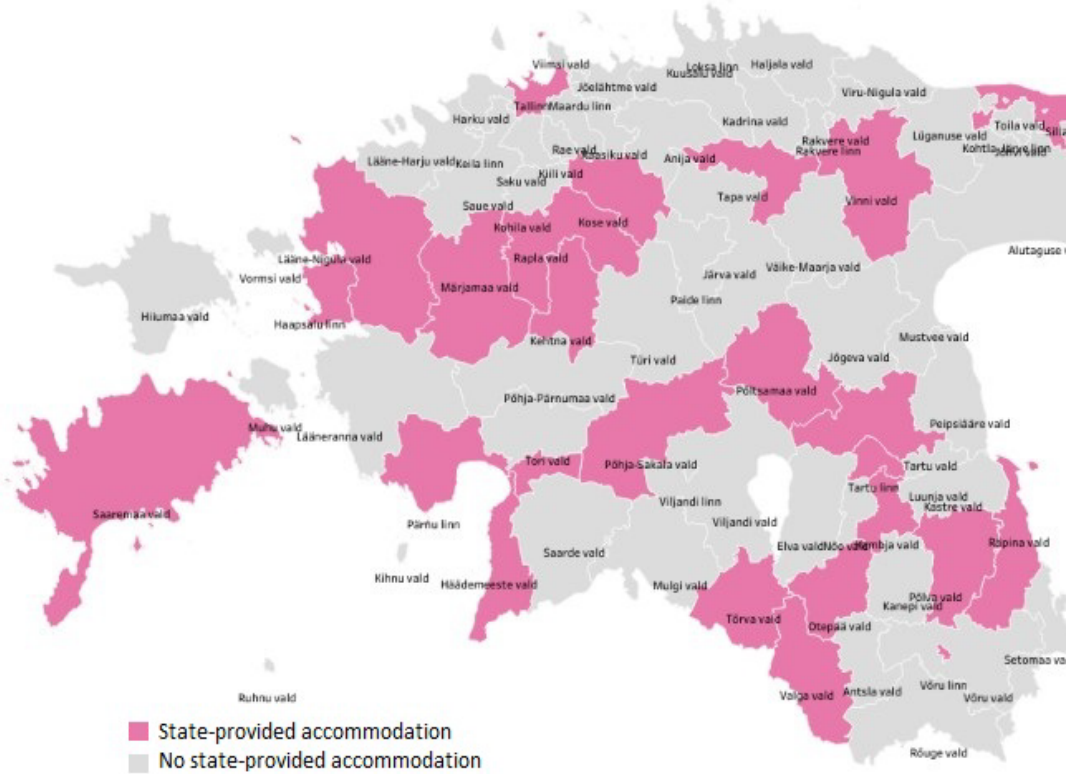
elsewhere, for example with relatives or friends. As of June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2022, temporarily protected Ukrainians were able to apply for a rent allowance. Ukrainians received compensation of 1,200 euros from the state to initiate rental agreements.

The Estonian state had the right to relocate Ukrainians who requested and received temporary or international protection if they needed accommodation provided by the state. The regional distribution of provided accommodation is dispersed among Estonian counties (Figure 3.6). However, a large share (up to 89% of arriving Ukrainians) did not use the accommodation provided by public authorities. Ukrainians not using public accommodation either already had con-



tacts in Estonia (family members, other relatives, friends or friends of friends) or found ordinary Estonian families who agreed to accommodate them for a certain amount of time. Later, many Ukrainians could, and after four months should, find their way in the housing market themselves. As of July 2022, about 20,000 newly arrived Ukrainians had registered their place of residence in Estonia showing wide distribution throughout the country (Figure 3.7., see Cole 2022). In the end of September, 3,518 persons lived in short-term accommodations and 24,000 had registered their place of residence in Estonia (Sotsiaalkindlustusamet 2022).

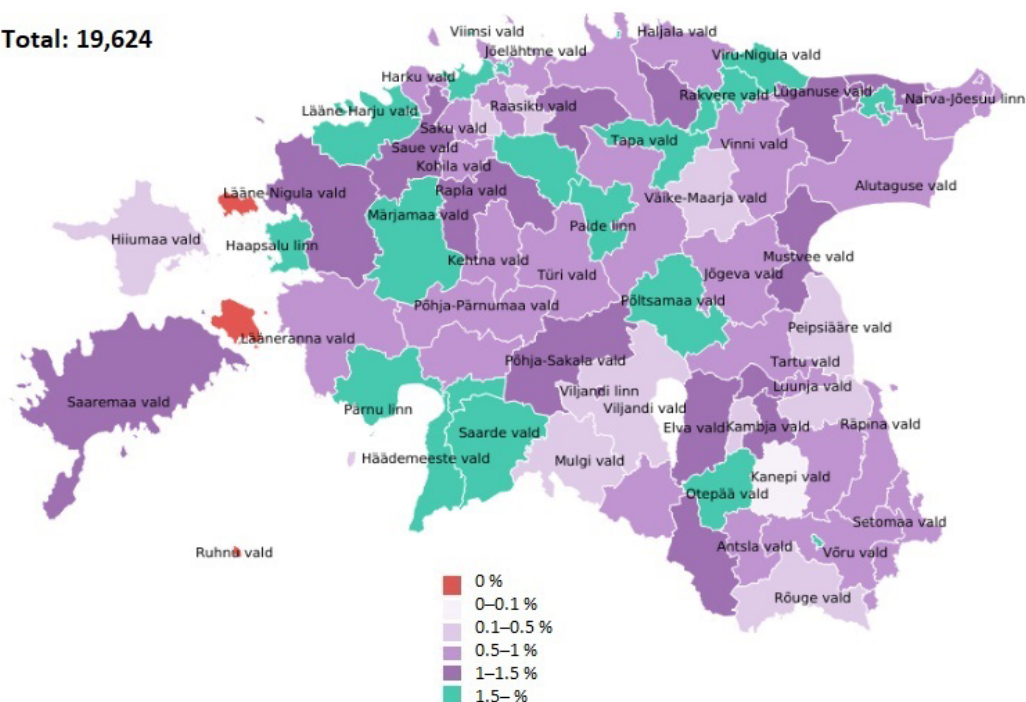
Non-profit organizations such as Pagulasabi (The Estonian Refugee Council) organized adaptation training and support channels for Ukrainians. Private individuals and organizations have actively supported Ukrainians. Private donations for humanitarian aid in Ukraine from Estonia was 17.9 million euros as of July 15, 2022, or nearly 14 euros per person in Estonia (Välisministeerium 2022).



**Figure 3.6.** Regional distribution of housing for temporary protected Ukrainians in Estonia in July 2022. Source: Modified from Sotsiaalamet (2022).



Total: 19,624



**Figure 3.7.** Regional distribution of Ukrainians according to their registered residence in Estonia in July 2022. Source: Modified from Sotsiaalamet (2022).

To support access to **employment**, Ukrainians with temporary protection were given the right to work under the same conditions as all residents in Estonia. Employment protection and rights were the same, and no specific minimum wage was applied to them. Furthermore, an unemployed Ukrainian with temporary protection and registered with the Unemployment Insurance Fund received monthly unemployment benefits of up to 292 euros for up to 9 months.

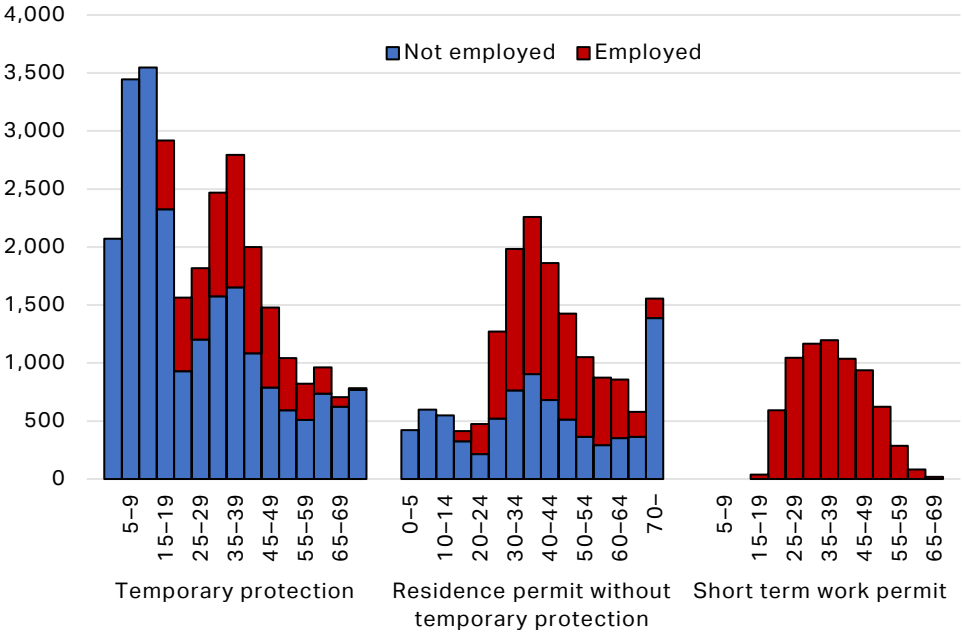
Unlike Ukrainians with temporary protection in Estonia, those who sought international protection did not have the right to work before being granted international protection (Government of Estonia 2022). Without temporary protection, Ukrainians had the right to work in Estonia for up to one year. However, this employment had to be registered with the Police and Border Guard, and the salary needed to be at least 1,548 euros per month. This employment did not entitle the worker to benefits or other social allowances such as family allowances, subsistence allowances, or others (Pagulasabi 2022).

In July 2022, among temporarily protected Ukrainians, the share of unemployed individuals was larger in all age groups compared with those employed (Figure 3.8). In total, about 6,500 temporarily protected Ukrainians were employed (Statistics Estonia 2022). Of these, the largest share (23.9%; 1,556 persons) worked in manufacturing, followed by 16.3% (1,061 persons) in wholesale

and retail trade or repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles, and 15.7% (1,023 persons) in administrative and support service activities (Statistics Estonia 2022).

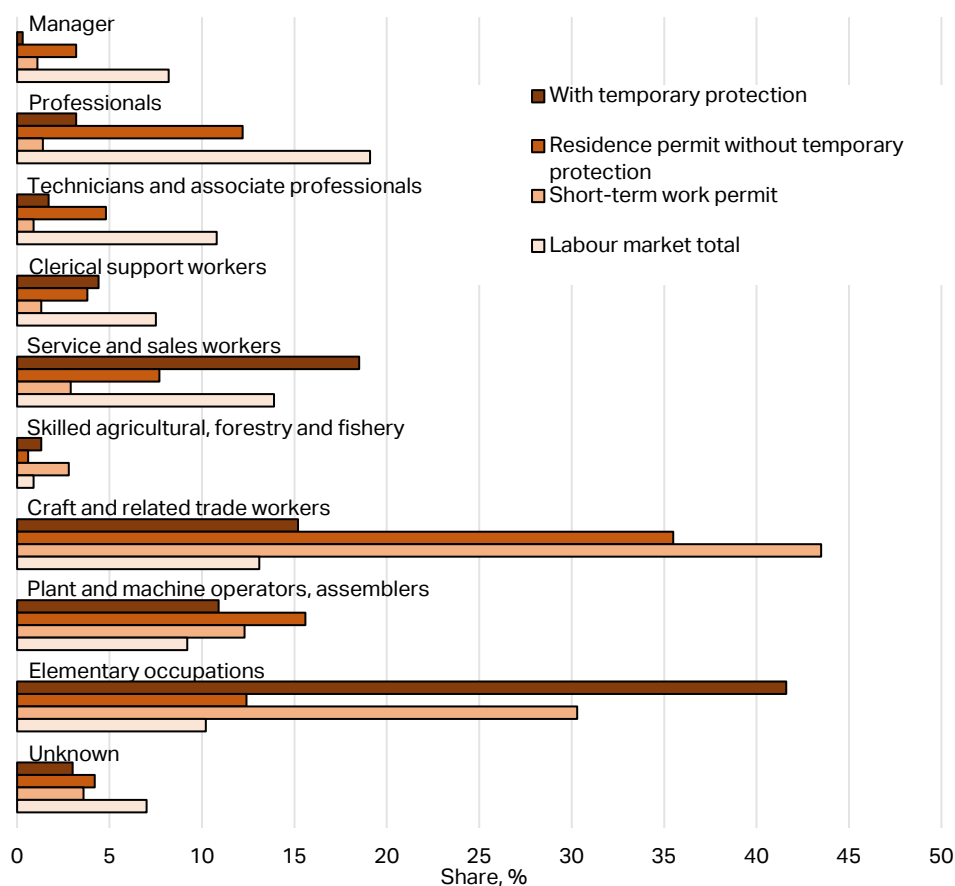
The situation was substantially different among Ukrainians who had residence permits in Estonia without temporary protection. Among those with residence permits, in all age groups from 20 to 64 years old, more were employed compared with those unemployed (Figure 3.8). The number of employed individuals with residence permits was about 7,800 persons, mostly in manufacturing (37.6%; 2,932 persons) (Statistics Estonia 2022). In addition, about 7,000 Ukrainians worked with short-term work permits (Statistics Estonia 2022). Of these, 24.0% (1,682 persons) were employed in administrative and support service activities, 22.1% in manufacturing (1,545 persons) and 17.1% (1,196 persons) in construction (Statistics Estonia 2022).

In the end of September, 2022, of about 45,000 Ukrainians between 15 and 75 years of age in Estonia, 51% were employed (16% short-term work-permit; 17% resident permit without temporary protection; 18% with temporary protection) and 49% were not employed (13% resident permit without temporary protection; 36% with temporary protection). Of those with a residence permit, 57% were employed as were 33% of those with temporary protection (Statistics Estonia 2022).



**Figure 3.8.** Employment of Ukrainians in Estonia in July 2022. Source: Modified from Statistics Estonia (2022).

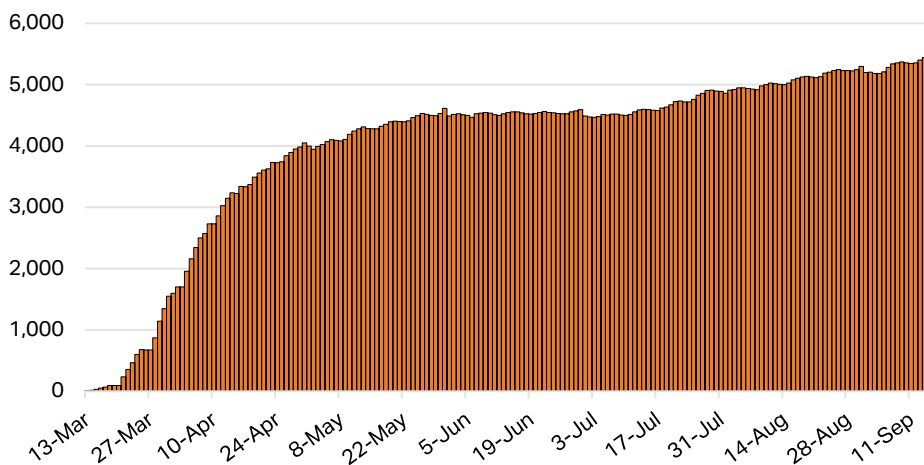
Of the employed Ukrainians with temporary protection, about 42% worked in elementary occupations. This share was manifold when compared with the overall Estonian labor market. On the contrary, the share of temporarily protected Ukrainians in managerial or professional positions was very small compared with the average situation in Estonia. Among Ukrainians in Estonia without the status of temporary protection, the share of those employed in crafts and related trade workers was the highest. It was about three to four-fold compared with the average in the Estonian labor market. Notable was the proportionally large share of professionals among Ukrainians with residence permits without temporary protection (Statistics Estonia 2022; Figure 3.9.).



**Figure 3.9.** Distribution of Ukrainians in Estonia by occupation in July 2022. Source: Statistics Estonia (2022).

It has been possible for temporarily protected Ukrainians to register as unemployed since March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2022 in Estonia. The threshold of 1,000 unemployed individuals was passed on March 29<sup>th</sup>, that of 2,000 on April 5<sup>th</sup>, that of 3,000 on

April 12<sup>th</sup>, that of 4,000 on May 3<sup>rd</sup> and that of 5,000 on August 11<sup>th</sup>. In June–July, this number continued to be about 4,500 until it started to grow (Figure 3.10; Eesti töötukassa 2022). By the end of September 2022, the number of temporarily protected Ukrainians registered as unemployed was about 5,700 people. This made up 12% of all those registered as unemployed in Estonia. Their proportional share was the largest in the Läänemaa (28.1%), Harjumaa (13.8%) and Valgamaa (13.0%) counties and the lowest in the Hiiumaa (0.8%), Raplamaa (5.2%) and Põlvamaa counties (5.5%) (Eesti töötukassa 2022).



**Figure 3.10.** Registered unemployed temporary protected Ukrainians in Estonia from March to mid-September 2022. Source: Modified from Eesti töötukassa (2022).

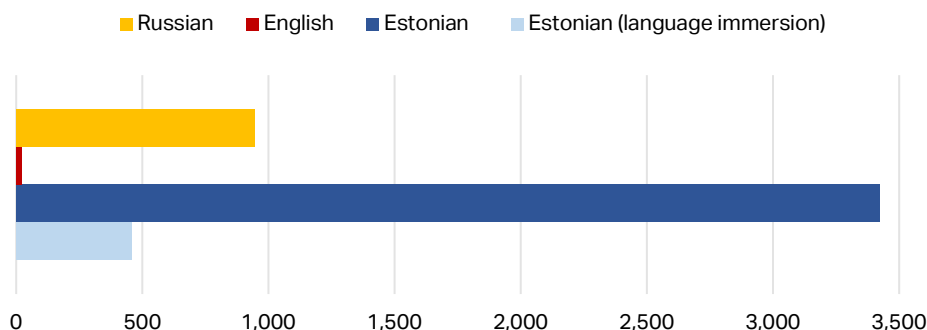
To provide access to **health services**, free general medical examinations were provided in all Estonian regions for all war-fleeing Ukrainians arriving in Estonia. Furthermore, essential medical services were free of charge. Ukrainians had access to emergency dental care, COVID-19 testing and vaccination, and public health services. However, to receive full health insurance, Ukrainians with temporary protection needed to work or register as unemployed with the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund. Minors with a residence permit, pregnant women, pensioners, students and university students were considered equal to insured persons (Republic of Estonia Social Insurance Board 2022).

As many war-fleeing Ukrainians arrived with children, there was a need to provide these children with access to **education**. This related to various age groups starting from the primary to basic, secondary and higher education. Local authorities provided places in kindergarten. As basic education is compulsory in Estonia, local authorities needed to find places in school for children of that age. Since secondary and higher education is not compulsory in Estonia, temporarily protected Ukrainians' possibilities to access secondary and higher

education varied. However, some vocational upper secondary schools and universities provided free access to temporarily protected Ukrainians when they met other needed requirements.

By the beginning of May 2022, about a third (4,095 in total) of 6–18 years old Ukrainian children with temporary protection were enrolled in the education system in kindergartens or schools in Estonia. Almost half (46.8%) of them were in Tallinn and the surrounding Harjumaa county. Of these, 1,045 (25.5%) were enrolled in primary education, 2,748 (67.1%) in basic education, 164 (4.0%) in upper-secondary education and 138 (3.4%) in vocational education (Ministry of Education and Research 2022). About 70% were enrolled in Estonian-language, 20% in Russian-language, almost 10% in language immersion and less than one percent in English-language educational institutions (Wright 2022; Figure 3.11).

By the end of the school year in 2022, 4,850 Ukrainian students were enrolled in Estonia, of whom slightly less than half (47.3%) were enrolled in Harjumaa county. In regard to the language of tuition, 70.6% were enrolled in a school where instruction was in Estonian, 19.5% in Russian, 9.4% in an immersive Estonian language program and 0.5% in English language educational institutions, the latter pertaining to only 23 Ukrainians. In Ida-Viru county, 45.0% of enrolled Ukrainians were studying in Russian, and that share was 28.7% in Harjumaa county (Haridussilm 2022). In addition, during the summer of 2022 so-called language and integration camps for children were organized. It was expected that the joint participation by Ukrainian and Estonian children from 7 to 19 years old would reach more than 10,000 (Ministry of Education and Research July 1, 2022).



**Figure 3.11.** Ukrainians enrolled in the Estonian education system by language of tuition in the end of the school year 2022. Source: Modified from Haridussilm (2022).

The **support for social welfare and means of subsistence** for temporarily protected Ukrainians consisted mostly of counseling and various social allowances. These included social guarantees for people with disabilities, pensioners, fami-

lies with small children, and others. For example, in 2022, the family allowance was 150 euros for the first family member, 120 euros for the second adult member and 180 euros for minor children. In order to receive family benefits, a child of at least one year of age needed to have a residence permit in Estonia. The Estonian Refugee Council paid a one-time school allowance of 50 euros to all school-age children with temporary or international protection (Pagulasabi 2022).

Of Ukrainians in Estonia with temporary protection, a little under one third (9,516 persons or 30.2% between the ages of 20 and 64) were eligible for the previously mentioned unemployment benefits (up to 294 euros for up to nine months) (Statistics Estonia 2022). The provision of clothing, toiletries and food aid packages for war-fleeing Ukrainians was organized locally in the municipalities in which they lived. Many NGOs and individual Estonians were also involved in this process. In addition, various types of counseling were provided for Ukrainians to better adapt to everyday life in Estonia.

## 4. Main results

As discussed in Section 3.3, in principle, as the war continues in Ukraine, all Ukrainian citizens can remain in Estonia and receive protection from the war regardless of their status. However, their access to public resources and services varies. All Ukrainian citizens should register themselves one way or another with the authorities. In circumstances of irregular migration, it is common that not all migrants register their arrivals and departures or residency in a receiving country. Therefore, when considering Ukrainians in Estonia, no one knows in detail how many Ukrainians resided Estonia in July 2022 or later. In addition, their administrative statuses and consequent rights change over time. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3.3), the share of Ukrainians with temporary protection increased during 2022. Ukrainians continued to arrive, and the authorities continued to provide them with temporary protection status. However, there were also respondents who had been in Estonia for several months but still did not have temporary protection status.

This report uses only two categories in the main analysis: 'Temporary protected' and 'No protection'. The former refers to Ukrainians who had applied for and had received temporary protection status in Estonia. The latter regards those who applied for temporary protection status in Estonia but had not yet received the authorities' decision, those mentioning having a visa or unlimited residence permit in Estonia, and those who expressed that they had not asked for protection, visa or residence permit or did not know their status.

In defining where respondents come from in Ukraine, besides using concrete names of oblasts, the report uses the categories 'No occupation or conflict area', 'Limited occupation or conflict area' and 'Major occupation or conflict area'. Since the situation in Ukraine changed from the beginning months of the war to the time of this report, these areas referred to the war situation in Ukraine in July, 2022. No occupation or conflict areas were those in the western Ukraine. In addition, the former major conflict areas like Kyiv, Chernihivska and Zhytomyr-ska regions and others later became much safer, so in the summer of 2022 these were considered as 'No-conflict areas.' The 'major conflict areas' covered the regions of Eastern and Southern Ukraine that were under continuous occupation and fighting. The rest of the regions belonged to 'Limited conflict areas' in which occasional fighting took place.

In total, 527 Ukrainian war-related migrants responded to the survey conducted in June and July 2022 in Estonia (for the conduction of survey, see Section 1.2). The majority (95%, 500 people) of Ukrainians who took part in the survey had received the authorities' decision that granted them temporary protection in Estonia; the other types of respondents (5%, 27 people) were fewer (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1. Administrative status of Ukrainian survey respondents (%).**

	Temporary protection	No temporary protection	n
Man	94	6	50
Woman	95	5	477
18–29 years old	96	5	88
30–39 years old	96	4	206
40–49 years old	97	4	142
50–64 years old	91	9	66
65+ years old	84	16	25
Employed in Estonia	94	6	176
Not employed	95	5	351
March '22	97	4	313
April '22	98	2	124
May '22	84	16	90
No occupation or conflict area	97	4	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	94	6	198
Major occupation and conflict area	94	6	159
Spouse in Estonia	98	3	162
Children (<18) in Estonia	95	5	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	98	2	123
Alone in Estonia	100	0	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>527</b>

Only children under 18 years old included

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 child

## 4.1 Respondents' background

According to the Estonian statistics on Ukrainians in Estonia (see Police and Border Board Guard 2022), as of August, 2022, there were around 50,000 Ukrainians who had arrived and planned to stay in Estonia after February 24<sup>th</sup>. Of them, 32,621 had received temporary protection in the country. Based on the registration of accommodation of temporary protection, this temporary protection had been given to 14% of individuals 0–6 years old, 27% 7–17 years old, and 60% 18 years and older. A substantial part of 18–64-year-olds were women. Such gender imbalance is due to the Ukrainian government regulation that men between 18 and 60 years of age were not allowed to leave the country (recall Section 3.2). Specific exemptions to this rule were made for men who need to support their families (Mustafa 2022; UNHCR 2022).

Of Ukrainian respondents to the survey, 17% were 18–29 years old, 39% 30–39 years old, 27% 40–49 years old, 13% 50–64 years old, and 5% 65 years or older. Of respondents, 91% were women, and 9% were men (Table 4.1). The gender division varied among age groups. The share of men (4%) was lowest among those 65 years or older and the largest among the respondents 18–29 years old (Table 4.1.1). In our sample, of 18–64-year-old respondents, 10% were men and 90% were women.



The gender and age profiles of respondents were comparable with the profiles of all Ukrainians who had been granted temporary protection status in Estonia. In practice, very little differences existed between the respondents having temporary protection and those without (Table 4.1.1). However, as discussed earlier (see Section 3.3), not all Ukrainians who were granted temporary protection status in Estonia were still in Estonia in July since they had the right to leave and return to Estonia and to remain up to 90 days in any of the Schengen agreement countries (European Commission 2022). Furthermore, as our sample and the overall situation illustrates, not all Ukrainians who arrived to Estonia after the beginning of the war had applied for temporary protection status in Estonia. Overall, the sample of respondents is representative of the overall gender and age profiles of the war-fleeing Ukrainians present in Estonia as of July 2022.

**Table 4.1.1. Demographic background of Ukrainian survey respondents (%).**

	All			Temporarily protected		
	Man	Woman	n	Man	Woman	n
18–29 years old	16	84	88	16	85	84
30–39 years old	5	94	206	6	94	198
40–49 years old	11	89	142	10	90	137
50–64 years old	14	86	66	13	87	60
65+ years old	4	96	25	5	95	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>500</b>

Of respondents, 49% were married or cohabited, 23% single, 21% divorced or separated and 6% widowed. There were a few differences among gender; for instance, proportionally more women were divorced than men (Table 4.1.2). Of widowed respondents, 23% were younger than 50 years old, and 36% came from major conflict areas in Ukraine, 26% limited conflict areas and 39% from no-conflict areas.

**Table 4.1.2. Marital status of Ukrainian survey respondents (%).**

	Single	Married or cohabitation	Widowed	Divorced or separated	n
Man	40	50	4	6	50
Woman	21	49	6	23	477
Temporary protection	23	50	6	21	500
No temporary protection	19	41	7	33	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>527</b>

Geographically, the largest share of respondents was from North-Eastern Ukraine. Most respondents came from the following oblasts: Donetsk (18%), Kharkivska (12%), Dnipropetrovska (10%) and the Kyivska region (city and oblast) 16%. Of all respondents, 22% were from either the Donetsk or Luhansk oblasts. Residents from all oblasts of Ukraine fled to Estonia, but very few people (up to

1%) were from Volynska, Zakarpatska and Chernivetska oblasts and none were from the annexed Crimea (Figure 4.1.1).

A large share of the respondents who arrived in March had fled from the city of Kyiv (18%) and the following oblasts: Dnipropetrovska (14%), Kharkivska (10%), Mykolaivska (9%), Kyivska (8%), Zaporizka (7%) and Odeska (7%). In April and May 2022, the largest shares of Ukrainian war-related migrants were from the Donetsk (41% in April and 30% in May) and Kharkivska (13% and 19%, respectively) oblasts.

Based on this, many Ukrainians fled to Estonia from regions that were under attack. When the immediate attack ceased, then substantially fewer people arrived from these oblasts. In addition, initially people also fled Ukraine from areas without major military conflicts, probably fearing that the war would reach these areas as well.

Of temporary protected respondents, 30% came from areas experiencing or having experienced active military conflicts, 37% came from those with limited military conflicts and 33% from areas not having experienced military conflicts.



Figure 4.1.1. Geographical provenience of respondents in Ukraine.

The education levels of respondents varied (Table 4.1.3). 67% had higher educational backgrounds (52% had master's or specialist degree, 10% had bachelor's degree, 5% had incomplete higher education), 22% had vocational education, 9% secondary education and 2% had a basic level of education. In general, those under 40 years old had higher levels of education than older respondents. However, many among the youngest age group (18–29-year-olds) had not (yet) completed a university degree. In addition, of those from rural backgrounds, fewer (45%) had higher education levels compared with respondents from Kyiv (76%) or regional capitals in Ukraine (73%). Overall, the education levels of temporary protected respondents did not substantially differ from other respondents.

**Table 4.1.3.** Education levels of Ukrainian survey respondents (%).

	Basic secondary education	Secondary education	Vocational education	Incomplete higher education	University degree (bachelor)	Advanced degree (master or specialist)	n
Man	6	16	24	8	6	40	50
Woman	2	9	21	5	10	54	477
18–29 years old	3	19	14	9	16	39	88
30–39 years old	2	7	18	4	7	61	206
40–49 years old	3	5	25	5	10	53	142
50–64 years old	2	12	33	3	9	41	66
65+ years old	0	8	28	4	8	52	25
Temporary protection	2	9	22	5	10	52	500
No temporary protection	4	7	22	4	7	56	27
March '22	2	9	20	5	7	56	313
April '22	2	8	23	2	15	50	124
May '22	4	12	23	7	11	42	90
Kyiv	0	7	10	7	10	66	59
Regional capital	2	6	13	7	10	63	133
Other town	2	10	27	5	11	46	286
Rural	6	20	29	0	4	41	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>527</b>

All respondents were Ukrainian citizens. However, linguistic and cultural differences existed among them. The language skills differed along with demographic backgrounds (Table 4.1.4). Of respondents, 42% marked Ukrainian as their only native tongue, 20% marked Russian, and 28% of respondents considered both Ukrainian and Russian as their native tongue. For temporary protected migrants this was 43% Ukrainian, 20% Russian and 27% both languages. Nevertheless, almost all had at least a good command of Ukrainian (94%) and Russian (91%).

As mentioned, 20% of respondents considered Russian as their mother tongue instead of only Ukrainian or simultaneously Ukrainian and Russian. Of these exclusively native Russian speakers, 44% came from regions of Ukraine which had

either been occupied or in conflict with Russia since 2014, namely from Donetsk (35%) or Luhansk (9%). Nevertheless, we used the notion “Ukrainian” to refer to all respondents.

English skills varied among respondents. At least some English was known by 68% of respondents, and 22% had moderate and 6% good English skills (Table 4.1.4). Those less likely to have any English skills were at least 65 years old (84% of them did not know any English), without higher education (49%), having lived in the countryside in Ukraine (47%) and having arrived in May (43%). On the contrary, the highest share of those claiming to have good English skills was among young men (18–29 years old, 17%) and those from regional capitals of Ukraine (11%).

All respondents had recently arrived in Estonia, at most a few months prior to the survey. Of respondents, 88% mentioned that they had no Estonian language skills, and 12% claimed to have some (11% little and 1% moderate) command of Estonian (Table 4.1.4). In general, those who had been in Estonia for more than a month or two had at least some knowledge of Estonian. Of those with higher levels of education, 13% had at least some command of Estonian, and of those employed in Estonia 14% had some command.

Of temporary protected respondents, 70% knew Ukrainian at the level of a native speaker (and almost 100% as at least moderate level), 47% knew Russian at the level of a native speaker (and 98% as at least moderate level), 28% knew at least moderate English and 11% had at least little knowledge of Estonian as of July 2022.

**Table 4.1.4.** Language skills of Ukrainian survey respondents (%).

	Native	Good	Moderate	Low	Nothing	n
Ukrainian	70	24	6	0	0	527
Russian	48	43	8	1	0	527
English	0	6	22	40	32	527
Estonian	0	0	1	11	88	527

At the time of survey in July 2022, almost all (92%) respondents had at least some relatives in Ukraine. Of all respondents, 30% had a member of their nuclear family in Ukraine (21% spouse and 2% underaged children) and 81% had members of their extended family there (Table 4.1.5). The largest share among those not having any family members in Ukraine was among men (22%), those without temporary protection (19%), those being 50–64-year-olds (17%) and those from the major conflict areas (16%). Very few (2%) respondents had underaged children in Ukraine, but the majority (58%) had parents or parents-in-law there.

A large share (94%) of those coming from no-conflict areas in Ukraine had nuclear family or extended family members in Ukraine. Those from major con-

flict areas had comparatively fewer (84%) extended family members in Ukraine (Table 4.1.5).

Of temporary protected respondents, only 8% did not have any relatives in Ukraine whereas that share was 19% among those without temporary protection status in Estonia. Many more (33%) of those without temporary protection status in Estonia had a spouse living in Ukraine compared with those having temporary protection status (21%).

**Table 4.1.5. Ukrainian survey respondents having family in Ukraine (%).**

	Spouse	Children 0–17	Children 18–	Parents or parents- in-law	Siblings	Other relatives	No one	n
Man	0	0	8	38	22	46	22	50
Woman	24	2	10	60	35	43	7	477
Temporary protection	21	1	10	58	34	43	8	500
No temporary protection	33	4	11	52	33	44	19	27
March '22	26	1	9	62	33	46	6	313
April '22	13	1	10	47	34	42	13	124
May '22	19	3	12	60	36	36	11	90
No occupation or conflict area	29	1	10	63	37	40	6	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	23	2	10	65	30	44	5	198
Major occupation and conflict area	11	1	9	43	34	45	16	159
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>527</b>

When it comes to respondents' having family in Estonia, 73% of respondents had someone in their nuclear family in Estonia (spouse or children of any ages; 63% if only underaged children are included), 13% had other than non-nuclear family members in Estonia, and 14% did not have any relatives in Estonia (Table 4.1.6). There was very little gender-based difference in this. The largest share of those not having family (nuclear or extended) in Estonia was among young adults (18–29-year-olds, 25%), middle-aged (50–64-year-olds, 21%), those who had arrived recently (in May 2022, 17%), and those from major conflict areas (15%). As regards having extended family in Estonia, there were very small differences among those coming from areas without conflicts (82%), with limited conflicts (84%) or major conflicts (83%).

There were substantial differences in whether someone had family in Estonia based on the respondents' backgrounds. Of men, 50% had their spouse in Estonia while 29% of women had their spouse in Estonia. This is related to nationally imposed restrictions for men younger than 60 years old to leave Ukraine. Also, 34% of men had parents (their own or their spouse's) in Estonia while 11% of women did. The share of war-fleeing Ukrainians having under-

aged children in Estonia was highest among those who arrived quickly after the beginning of the war: 61% of respondents arriving in March had underaged children with them whereas that share was 51% in April and 43% in May 2022.

The temporary protected respondents differed from those without temporary protection as regard the presence of family in Estonia. All (100%) of those without temporary protection had family in Estonia while 86% of those with temporary protection did. In addition, of those without temporary protection, more (30%) had a brother or sister in Estonia (11% of those with temporary protection) and fewer had a spouse with them in Estonia (15% and 32%, respectively).

**Table 4.1.6. Ukrainian survey respondents having family in Estonia (%).**

	Spouse	Children 0–17	Children 18–	Parents or parents-in-law	Siblings	Other relatives	Alone	n
Man	50	38	10	34	14	8	14	50
Woman	29	57	18	11	11	13	13	477
Temporary protection	32	56	16	13	11	12	14	500
No temporary protection	15	52	33	15	30	22	0	27
March '22	30	61	15	13	14	13	12	313
April '22	32	51	21	15	6	11	15	124
May '22	33	43	19	12	12	13	17	90
No occupation or conflict area	25	55	16	11	12	12	15	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	30	59	14	13	14	16	11	198
Major occupation and conflict area	38	51	22	15	8	9	15	159
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>527</b>

Before coming to Estonia, respondents' main activities in Ukraine varied (Table 4.1.7). In general, 78% had been economically active, i.e. they were employed in Ukraine, either full-time (62%), part-time (4%) or self-employed (11%). The share of employed respondents was highest among 50–59-year-olds (88%) and 40–49-year-olds (87%). Of men, slightly more (82%) had been employed in Ukraine compared with women (77%). Students were few (2% of all) but made up 14% of respondents under the age of 30 years old. Few had also been unemployed (3%) or retired (7%). 11% of female respondents mentioned that housework had been their main activity but none (0%) of the men did.

**Table 4.1.7.** Main activity of Ukrainian survey respondents in Ukraine.

	Employed	Student	Unem- ployed	Retired	House- work	Perma- nently sick or disabled	n
Man	82	12	0	6	0	0	50
Woman	77	1	4	7	11	0	477
18–29 years old	72	14	7	0	8	0	88
30–39 years old	82	0	3	0	15	0	206
40–49 years old	87	0	3	0	9	1	142
50–64 years old	80	0	0	17	2	2	66
65+ years old	8	0	0	92	0	0	25
Higher education	82	0	3	6	10	0	326
No higher education	71	6	4	8	10	1	201
Temporary protection	78	2	3	6	10	0	500
No temporary protection	67	0	11	15	7	0	27
March '22	77	2	5	7	10	0	313
April '22	77	2	2	7	11	1	124
May '22	82	3	1	4	8	1	90
No occupation or conflict area	75	1	4	8	11	1	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	81	3	5	3	9	0	198
Major occupation and conflict area	76	3	1	10	9	1	159
Kyiv	81	2	5	7	0	0	59
Regional capital	77	2	3	11	7	1	133
Other town	78	3	3	5	11	0	286
Rural	78	0	4	4	14	0	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>527</b>

Employed = full-time, part-time or self-employed; Unemployed = unemployed, whether looking for a job or not; Housework = housework or looking after children or other family members. The total share of permanently sick or disabled was 0.4%. There was also alternative "other, specify", but no one chose it.

In terms of the economic activity background of respondents in Ukraine, three groups were identified. The first (19% of all) consisted of people who had been outside the labour market in Ukraine. These were individuals staying at home, those unemployed, and those who were retired or with disabilities. Of them, 12% were employed in Estonia and 30% were seeking a job; 8% thought that they would be in Estonia in 2025 and 9% thought they would remain in Estonia for the rest of their lives.

The second group (5%) were those who had been temporarily outside of the labour market in Ukraine but who had had possibilities and intentions to enter it. These were students (all having at least attended university) and job seekers (41% with university degree, 52% with secondary education and 7% with lower education levels). Of them, 22% were employed in Estonia and 56% were seeking employment; 4% thought that they would be in Estonia in 2025 and 7% thought they would remain in Estonia for the rest of their lives.



The third and the clearly largest group (78%) consisted of those who had been active in the labour market in Ukraine. 70% in this group had higher, 28% secondary and 2% lower levels of education. 39% in this group were employed in Estonia and 54% were seeking employment; 11% thought they would be in Estonia in 2025 and 12% thought they would remain in Estonia for the rest of their lives.

## 4.2 Respondents' journey to Estonia

As mentioned, the war started on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022 and the first Ukrainians fleeing the war arrived in Estonia just a few days after that. The western border of Ukraine is slightly less than 1,000 kilometres from Estonia, and from the Ukrainian border with Russia, it is about 1,200–1,500 kilometres to Estonia depending on the routes taken. Obviously, the time required to reach Estonia from Ukraine depended on the logistics available. The developments along the Polish–Ukrainian border increased the demand for transport, and this demand was soon met with different services, including transport to Estonia.

In the first weeks, millions of Ukrainians had to escape from Ukraine through its western borders to Poland, Romania, Moldova and Hungary. Some of those on the other side of the war front needed to try to escape through Russia. Some Ukrainians were also forcibly moved to the Russian territory (UNHCR 2022). Later, people continued forward as they could; however, not all knew where to go after crossing the border.

Of respondents, 67% crossed the border to Poland, 19% to Russia and 13% to other countries, including Slovakia (3%), Moldova (3%) and Romania (2%). Of those who had left Ukraine via Russia, 36% spoke Russian as their native tongue, 30% spoke both Ukrainian and Russian and 91% originated from oblasts bordering Russia, including Donetska (65%) and Luhanska (9%).

Respondents mentioned that their intention in leaving Ukraine had been to move away from the dangers of war and to be safe abroad. When asked where they had planned to go when leaving Ukraine, some answers included: “Estonia”, “Poland” or “Did not know where to go, just to leave a dangerous place”. Practically all (95%) respondents mentioned that they had left Ukraine due to the war or serious challenges to their security. Typical short responses for the reasons to have left included: “Because of Russia's war against Ukraine”, “Mariupol, where we lived, was destroyed. Our apartment burned down. It was impossible to live without a risk to life there. There were no conditions for life: water, food, medicines”, “Because rockets were exploding outside the windows”, “Occupation, a place of living is under occupation”, and “To save the lives of my son and daughter”. Only a few (2%) respondents mentioned other, not directly war-related reasons for leaving Ukraine. These included: “There were no jobs and prospects in my profession, there was a military threat and a risk that the child will be left without a decent school”, “Came to work”, “My husband is Estonian, many of his relatives are here”,



“Visiting relatives/friends”, and “Married in Estonia”. Also, those leaving Ukraine from areas without or with very few military conflicts mentioned the war as their most important reason to leave and among them responses such as “War”, “Active fighting” and “To protect children, have been afraid for them” were common.

All respondents came to Estonia despite the fact that it is geographically much further away from Ukraine than several other countries. To understand their reason for selecting Estonia, respondents chose their main reason for choosing Estonia from a multiple-choice question. In practice, many reasons were connected, but we focus on the main reason based on respondents’ reflection of their choice during their journey (Table 4.2.1). Of all respondents, 54% responded that they chose Estonia primarily because of family or friends in Estonia, 24% had a positive view about Estonia, 6% did so because they had been to Estonia before, 5% responded that there had been quick and easy transport to Estonia, 3% that it would be easier to adapt in Estonia, 2% for employment possibilities in Estonia and 7% mentioned other reasons (Table 4.2.1). Before the war, there were already more than 25,000 Ukrainians in Estonia. Ukrainians had been among the largest immigration groups to Estonia in recent years and thousands of seasonal labour workers regularly came to Estonia as well (Statistics Estonia 2022). In addition, selecting Estonia was administratively easy for Ukrainians due to visa-free access to the Schengen countries, including Estonia (European Commission 2022b). Transportation logistics were necessary to reach the destination.

As mentioned, having family or friends in Estonia was the most common reason for coming to Estonia. However, for some it meant that they came with their family or friends to Estonia. This was particularly true for elderly people (64% of those 65 years or older mentioned this as the main reason for coming to Estonia). Of Ukrainians from Kyiv, comparatively more (14%) mentioned earlier visits to Estonia as the reason to select Estonia as their destination. Having a generally positive impression of Estonia was proportionally large among respondents who came to Estonia later than other respondents (34% of those who arrived in May 2022). In March and April volunteers coordinated by The Estonian Refugee Council (Eesti Pagulasabi) organised special transportation for Ukrainian refugees from Poland to Estonia. Respondents most often mentioning “other reasons” were more frequently those without temporary protection in Estonia (19%).

There were differences among respondents regarding the reasons to select Estonia (Table 4.2.1). More men (10%) than women (5%) mentioned having been in Estonia before as their reason for coming to Estonia. More women (55%) than men (42%) mentioned having had family or friends in Estonia as their main reason. Slightly more (7%) of younger respondents mentioned quick and easy transportation as the main reason compared with older respondents (4–5%).

The reasons differed depending on when the respondents arrived in Estonia. For those, who came to Estonia in March 2022, i.e. within a few weeks after the

start of the war, a particularly high share (60%) mentioned family or friends in Estonia as the most important reason to come to Estonia. Among respondents who arrived in April, a comparatively high share (11%) responded that they chose Estonia for transportation reasons, and 34% of those who arrived in May answered that it was the positive view about Estonia that helped them make the decision to come to Estonia (Table 4.2.1).

There were also differences depending on respondents' place of residence in Ukraine directly before they left the country. For those who had lived in major conflict areas, a comparatively large amount (33%) said that their main reason to come to Estonia was the positive view about Estonia or that they have family or friends in Estonia (37%).

Of temporary protected respondents, the reasons for coming to Estonia were the following: for 54% it was having family or friends in Estonia, for 25% it was having a positive view about Estonia, for 6% it was having been in Estonia before, for 5% it was quick and easy transport to Estonia, for 3% easier adaption, for 2% employment possibilities and for 6% other reasons (Table 4.2.1).

**Table 4.2.1. Ukrainian survey respondents' main reasons to select Estonia as their destination (%).**

	Family or friends in Estonia	Quick and easy trans- porta- tion	Had been in Estonia before	Positive view about Estonia	Easier adapta- tion	Employ- ment possibil- ities	Other	n
Man	42	8	10	32	0	2	4	50
Woman	55	5	5	23	3	2	7	477
18–29 years old	61	7	2	22	5	2	1	88
30–39 years old	53	5	6	25	2	2	7	206
40–49 years old	50	4	5	26	4	3	9	142
50–64 years old	50	5	11	21	2	3	0	66
65– years old	64	4	4	16	4	0	2	25
Temporary protection	54	5	6	25	3	2	6	500
No temporary protection	56	4	7	7	0	7	19	27
March '22	60	4	7	20	4	3	3	313
April '22	43	11	5	27	2	2	11	124
May '22	47	2	1	34	0	1	14	90
No occupation or conflict area	61	4	7	22	1	1	5	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	62	6	5	18	4	3	4	198
Major occupation and conflict area	37	5	6	33	5	3	12	159
Kyiv	56	2	14	24	2	0	3	59
Regional capital	62	5	3	17	5	6	3	133
Other urban	50	6	6	26	3	1	9	286
Rural	49	4	4	31	2	0	10	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>527</b>

Of all respondents, 59% agreed that they had selected Estonia as their destination before leaving Ukraine, 10% were not sure and 31% disagreed (Table 4.2.2). Those most conscious of having chosen Estonia before leaving Ukraine were those from Kyiv (71% of respondents from Kyiv). The smallest share was among men (38%) and those from the major conflict areas (48%). Educational background did not make much difference in selecting Estonia prior to leaving Ukraine. Overall, the share of decisive migrants toward Estonia decreased as the war continued (Table 4.2.2). Of those who had arrived in March, 63% had been certain in their selection of Estonia. This share was 55% among those who had arrived in April and 50% among those who had arrived in May.

**Table 4.2.2.** Ukrainian survey respondents' decision of journey to Estonia (%).

	Chose to travel to Estonia before leaving Ukraine			Social media helped the decision to come to Estonia			n
	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	
Man	38	12	50	30	14	56	50
Woman	61	10	29	35	19	46	477
18–29 years old	61	14	25	30	21	50	88
30–39 years old	58	10	32	36	17	47	206
40–49 years old	63	8	29	35	18	47	142
50–64 years old	49	12	39	36	21	42	66
65+ years old	60	8	32	28	20	52	25
Higher education	58	9	33	33	16	51	326
No higher education	60	12	28	36	22	42	201
Temporary protection	59	10	31	34	19	47	500
No temporary protection	56	7	37	37	11	52	27
March '22	63	10	27	32	20	48	313
April '22	55	10	36	32	19	48	124
May '22	50	11	39	47	11	42	90
No occupation or conflict area	66	13	21	32	21	48	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	61	7	32	32	20	48	198
Major occupation and conflict area	48	11	40	40	15	46	159
Kyiv	71	17	12	44	15	41	59
Regional capital	65	7	29	34	20	46	133
Other urban	54	11	35	32	19	49	286
Rural	57	6	37	37	16	47	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>527</b>

The survey also considered the role that social media played in respondents' decision to come to Estonia. Of respondents who had used social media in Ukraine, 34% agreed that social media helped their decision to come to Estonia, 18% did not know how to answer this and 47% disagreed (Table 4.2.2). The largest share of those responding that social media helped in their decision to come to Estonia

was among those who came later in the spring (47% among those who arrived in May), those from Kyiv (44%) and those from major occupation or conflict areas (40%). On the contrary, the smallest share agreeing that social media influenced their decision was among older respondents: 28% of respondents 65 years or older.

Of temporary protected respondents, 59% agreed that they had selected Estonia as their destination before leaving Ukraine, 10% were not sure and 33% disagreed that they had selected Estonia before leaving Ukraine. Of them, 34% agreed that social media had helped their decision to come to Estonia, 19% did not know how to answer this and 47% disagreed.

Respondents left Ukraine from various locations and had diverse experiences with military actions in their city of residence or journey prior to leaving Ukraine (see Chapter 3.1). Of respondents, 55% left from oblasts during or after major war conflicts (namely fighting or bombardment), 25% left oblasts which had experienced limited war conflicts, and the remaining 20% of respondents left Ukraine before war-related conflicts entered their region or city in Ukraine. Of all respondents, 33% had left oblasts which had not experienced significant war conflicts as of July 2022 and about 61% of respondents originated from areas in Ukraine that were or had been occupied or attacked by the Russian military for at least for some time.

Merely crossing the border is not enough to be safe, but one needs to find shelter, food and other everyday amenities. As discussed in Chapter 3, many kinds of transport were organized from the Ukrainian–Polish border to Tallinn and other parts of Estonia. Therefore, on many occasions, those who had crossed the border could select from available transport opportunities and destinations. These included private car transport, minivans, complimentary buses and regular commercial bus connections. However, not all options were available. Some people just took the first available opportunity regardless what it was and where it would go.

By car or bus from the Ukrainian–Polish border to the Estonian border usually took 14–16 hours, depending on traffic and border controls, and from there to Tallinn 3–4 hours. During the early stages of the war, border controls were exercised at the borders between Poland and Lithuania, Lithuania and Latvia and Latvia and Estonia. While many of the organized bus or car transport were free, a regular bus ticket from close to the Ukrainian–Polish border to Tallinn cost 80–120 euros per adult.

One could also have taken a train to reach Estonia, but this trip would have required several changes, and it took much more time and was much more expensive. In principle, there were also flights from Warsaw to Tallinn. These were substantially more expensive and to our knowledge, these were not used by Ukrainians fleeing the war to reach Estonia and seek temporary protection.

The length of respondents' journeys to Estonia varied (Table 4.2.3). Of all respondents, a small part (19%) arrived in Estonia within a couple of days of leaving Ukraine. They came to Estonia directly from the border. However, in different stages, it took hours if not days to be able to cross the Ukrainian–Polish border despite the rather light bureaucracy at the border (UNHCR 2022). The share of those arriving more or less directly to Estonia was largest among those without temporary protection (33%), from the city of Kyiv (27% of respondents from Kyiv) and those who left from no-conflict areas (26%). The share was smallest among those without higher education (12%) and those from major conflict areas (13%). Of those having left Ukraine in March, 21% came to Estonia in two days; that share was 18% in April and 17% in May. People with higher education were twice as likely to reach Estonia within two days (24%) compared to those without higher education (12%).

Of all respondents, 56% arrived within 3–6 days and 75% arrived in less than one week. A smaller group (13%) took more than two weeks, and even fewer (6%) took more than a month (Table 4.2.3). Of those taking more than two weeks to come to Estonia, 66% came through Russia and this was 41% of those who took

**Table 4.2.3.** Length of Ukrainian survey respondents' journey to Estonia (in days, %).

	–2	3–6	7–14	15–31	32–	n
Man	14	43	31	6	6	49
Woman	20	58	10	7	6	473
18–29 years old	21	63	8	6	3	88
30–39 years old	19	57	12	4	7	203
40–49 years old	19	56	11	8	6	140
50–64 years old	23	47	15	11	5	66
65+ years old	12	52	16	16	4	25
Higher education	24	54	11	6	6	322
No higher education	12	60	14	9	6	200
Temporary protection	19	57	12	7	5	495
No temporary protection	33	44	0	0	22	27
March '22	21	67	11	2	0	310
April '22	18	44	16	17	5	122
May '22	17	38	10	9	27	90
No occupation or conflict area	26	62	8	2	2	168
Limited occupation and conflict area	18	62	9	3	7	196
Major occupation and conflict area	13	43	19	17	8	158
Kyiv	27	64	9	0	0	59
Regional capital	21	59	11	2	8	131
Other urban	17	53	14	11	5	283
Rural	18	59	6	8	8	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>522</b>

more than a month to get to Estonia. Typical for those who took more than one month to get to Estonia but did not come through Russia, were those who arrived in May, those without temporary protection, those from some regional capital in Ukraine and those from limited conflict areas.

Of temporary protected respondents, 19% arrived within 1–2 days of leaving Ukraine, 57% within 3–6 days (i.e. 76% arrived in less than one week). Those taking more than two weeks (7%) or more than a month (5%) were few.

Ukrainians' journeys to Estonia were not without challenges (Table 4.2.4). In general, the most common challenges were the "difficult way and transportation" that many (41%) respondents mentioned regardless of their backgrounds. Fewer mentioned other aspects such as "long queues on the border or waiting for transportation" (9%). However, 9% of respondents mentioned that they "did not meet any difficulties" or "did find more difficulties than the situation in Ukraine". The second and third most common challenges were the "way through Russia, block-posts, filtration" for 24% of men, 22% of respondents who left the major conflict areas, 17% of those who arrived in April and 25% of those who spent over two weeks to get to Estonia. "Long queues on the border, waiting for transportation" was a major obstacle for 12% of oldest respondents.

Men and women experienced these challenges slightly differently (Table 4.2.4). 42% of women and 30% of men mentioned the "difficult way and transportation". Meanwhile, substantially more men (24%) than women (6%) mentioned the "way through Russia, block-posts, filtration". Those who arrived in Estonia within two days most often experienced the "difficult way and transportation" (41%), "long queues on the border, waiting for transportation" (11%), "uncertainty, how to live in a new place" (8%) and the "way with kids" (8%) as challenges, but 13% also mentioned that all went well during the journey and that they had been supported by other people. For those who took more than a month to come to Estonia, the most common challenges were the "difficult way and transportation" (33%), "bombing, shelling, to leave the active fighting zone" (17%) and "uncertainty, how to live in a new place" (13%).

For temporary protected respondents (89% of whom answered this question), the three most common answers regarding the journey to Estonia were the "difficult way and transportation" (41%), "long queues on the border, waiting for transportation" (9%) and "all was fine" (8%).

Getting information, being able to communicate, and being in contact with loved ones or friends while fleeing, even for a short journey, are important. Staying connected is important not only to the migrant, but also to those left behind in Ukraine, fellow migrants, and those potentially waiting to migrate to Estonia to find and share information about different situations along the journey. While direct calling might be difficult and costly in different circumstances and

**Table 4.2.4.** Most challenging aspects during Ukrainian survey respondents' journey to Estonia (%).

	<b>Most common challenge</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> most common challenge</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> most common challenge</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>
Man	Difficult way	30	Way through Russia	24	Long queues	10	50
Woman	Difficult way	42	All was fine	9	Long queues	9	477
18–29 years old	Difficult way	46	Long queues	9	Way through Russia	8	88
30–39 years old	Difficult way	41	All was fine	10	Long queues	8	206
40–49 years old	Difficult way	42	Long queues	10	Uncertainty	9	142
50–64 years old	Difficult way	30	All was fine	12	Way through Russia	9	66
65+ years old	Difficult way	40	All was fine	20	Long queues	12	25
Higher education	Difficult way	41	Long queues	10	All was fine	8	326
No higher education	Difficult way	40	Way through Russia	10	All was fine	9	201
Temporary protection	Difficult way	41	Long queues	9	All was fine	8	500
No temporary protection	Difficult way	30	All was fine	11	Bombings and active fighting	11	27
March '22	Difficult way	46	Long queues	11	All was fine	8	313
April '22	Difficult way	36	Way through Russia	17	All was fine	7	124
May '22	Difficult way	30	Way through Russia	13	All was fine	12	90
No occupation or conflict area	Difficult way	41	All was fine	14	Long queues	8	170
Limited occupation or conflict area	Difficult way	51	Long queues	9	All was fine	7	198
Major occupation or conflict area	Difficult way	28	Way through Russia	22	Long queues	9	159
Kyiv	Difficult way	42	Uncertainty	10	Leaving home	10	59
Regional capital	Difficult way	50	Long queues	13	All was fine	8	133
Other urban	Difficult way	39	Way through Russia	11	All was fine	8	286
Rural	Difficult way	29	Way through Russia	18	All was fine	14	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>Difficult way</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>Long queues</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>All was fine</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>527</b>

countries along the journey, and it takes time to inform many people at once, one may find a possibility to use the Internet and social media to send, receive and search information, and communicate directly and indirectly with one's social networks.

Of respondents, 95% used the Internet during their journey to Estonia and 71% considered that the use of social media was important during their journey. Of the younger respondents, all (100%) used the Internet during the journey to Estonia compared with 88% of the oldest (those 65 years and older) respondents. Likewise, of the younger respondents, more (74% of 18–39-year-olds and 78% of 40–49-year-olds) considered that the use of social media was important during the journey. Similar differences were found between respondents originating

from Kyiv and other regional capitals compared with those from rural areas and those having or not having higher levels of education. The use of the Internet along the asylum-related journey is more common among migrants with higher levels of education (Merisalo and Jauhiainen 2020; Merisalo and Jauhiainen 2021). In principle, there were no major differences in the share of the Internet users regarding the length of the journey, especially if the gender, age and educational differences were considered.

The journey to Estonia could have also influenced the Internet usage of migrants along their journey and added value to their transit. While leaving the immediate risks, every fleeing Ukrainian was in contact with other Ukrainians who were also fleeing, and these networks helped each other. In some cases, these networks also included Estonians who helped Ukrainians travel to Estonia. In general, 33% respondents mentioned that they had made friends during their journey to Estonia (Table 4.2.5). This share was quite consistent among respondents with different backgrounds. Those under 50 years of age were more likely to have made friends along their journey (32%) compared with older respondents (25%).

Of temporary protected respondents, 96% used the Internet during their journey to Estonia and 71% considered that the use of social media was important during the journey. In addition, 34% agreed that they had made friends during the journey to Estonia, 11% did not know if they had and 56% disagreed that they had.

All respondents of the survey arrived in Estonia during the spring of 2022; the first arrived in February and the last in the end of June. The mean arrival was on the April 2<sup>nd</sup>. By March 1<sup>st</sup> (less than one week after the start of the war), 2% of respondents had arrived, and by March 9<sup>th</sup> (two weeks), 19% of respondents had arrived in Estonia. 35% more of the respondents arrived by March 23<sup>rd</sup> (a month after the start of the war). Thus, within one month of the beginning of the war, 54% of respondents had arrived in Estonia. For 26%, it took more than one month and for 21% at least two months (Table 4.2.6) to come to Estonia.

Women arrived rather regularly in the spring of 2022 but substantially more men arrived starting from the second month of the war and a majority of them were from the occupied territories. Of men under 65 years of age (49 individuals; 9% of the sample), 41% arrived in March, 41% in April and 18% in May or later. The arrivals from Kyiv had a different pattern. None (0%) of the respondents arrived in Estonia within the first week of the war; rather, the largest share (71%) arrived within one and four weeks, and after that much fewer arrived (Table 4.2.6). As indicated earlier, Kyiv was attacked in the early part of the war and later there were fewer conflicts in the capital city. Kyiv was also much more distant from Estonia than other areas in Western Ukraine (since migrants had to first



**Table 4.2.5.** Ukrainian survey respondents' journey to Estonia (%).

	Social media was important during the journey to Estonia			Making friends during the journey to Estonia			n
	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	
Man	66	12	22	16	12	22	50
Woman	72	13	15	72	13	15	477
18–29 years old	74	13	14	30	10	60	88
30–39 years old	74	16	10	36	9	54	206
40–49 years old	78	9	13	35	13	53	142
50–64 years old	53	14	33	29	15	56	66
65+ years old	52	16	32	16	4	80	25
Higher education	74	12	14	33	12	55	326
No higher education	68	15	17	33	9	58	201
Temporary protection	71	13	16	34	11	56	500
No temporary protection	74	15	11	15	15	70	27
March '22	71	14	14	36	11	53	313
April '22	69	14	18	31	10	60	124
May '22	76	8	17	23	12	64	90
No occupation or conflict area	70	9	21	31	9	59	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	76	14	10	33	9	58	198
Major occupation and conflict area	67	16	17	34	15	52	159
Kyiv	75	10	15	32	14	54	59
Regional capital	78	11	13	32	12	56	133
Other urban	71	14	16	35	10	55	286
Rural	57	20	22	27	8	65	49
Arrival in 1–2 days	75	11	14	38	9	54	101
3–6 days	70	14	16	32	11	57	294
7–14 days	67	18	15	25	12	64	61
15–31 days	69	8	22	47	6	47	36
32 days or more	77	10	13	23	20	57	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>527</b>

travel through Ukraine to Poland or Russia and then north to Estonia), so the journey took longer (see Chapter 3.1).

Of temporary protected respondents, 2% arrived within a week of the beginning of the war, 17% between one and two weeks, 36% between two and four weeks, 27% in 1–2 months and 19% more than two months after the start of the war.

**Table 4.2.6. Ukrainian survey respondents' arrival in Estonia after the beginning of the war (in days, %).**

	1–6 days by 1 March	7–14 days 2–9 March	15–30 days 10–24 March	31–60 days 25 March – 23 April	61– days 24 April or later	n
Man	2	10	23	35	29	48
Woman	2	17	36	25	20	474
18–29 years old	3	16	27	31	23	88
30–39 years old	3	17	39	22	20	204
40–49 years old	1	17	34	29	19	141
50–64 years old	0	19	31	23	28	65
65+ years old	4	13	42	21	21	24
Higher education	2	18	35	28	19	321
No higher education	3	15	35	22	25	201
Temporary protection	2	17	36	27	19	499
No temporary protection	4	4	22	4	65	23
March '22	3	28	59	9	0	308
April '22	0	0	0	84	16	124
May '22	0	0	0	0	100	90
Kyiv	0	32	39	19	10	59
Regional capital	1	26	39	18	17	130
Other urban	3	11	32	33	22	285
Rural	0	8	40	13	40	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>522</b>

### 4.3 Respondents' accommodation and local environment in Estonia

Respondents lived in different parts of Estonia. Some lived in the capital city of Tallinn while others lived in suburban areas, smaller towns, or rural areas. Ukrainians could freely select their municipality and place of residence in Estonia; in order to freely choose, however, there needed to be suitable housing available, and the individual must be able to pay for it. As a requirement in the TPD implementation, EU countries are required to provide accommodation for temporary protected Ukrainians. In Estonia, this means that emergency shelter in the early days of arrival was provided if needed. Later, different types of housing options were organized depending on availability. Often this was a room or apartment shared with other people. After four months, individuals should find a place to stay on their own and cover the related costs using partial subsidization with specific state-supported allowances when needed (see Chapter 3.3).

The most important reason for selecting their current place of residence in Estonia was family and relatives in Estonia for 22% of respondents. Almost the same share (20%) came to their current place because a state worker, police or volunteer guided them there. Slightly fewer (16%) mentioned friends or acquaintances in their current place as the reason to select it. Of those who lived alone in Estonia, the largest share (32%) selected their current place due to having friends there (Table 4.3.1).

**Table 4.3.1.** Most important reasons of Ukrainian survey respondents for selecting their current living place in Estonia (%).

	<b>Most common reason</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> most common reason</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> most common reason</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>
Man	Forwarded by police or volunteers	24	Family or relatives	16	Friends or acquaintances	14	50
Woman	Family or relatives	22	Forwarded by police or volunteers	19	Friends or acquaintances	16	477
18–29 years old	Family or relatives	24	Friends or acquaintances	23	Forwarded by police or volunteers	18	88
30–39 years old	Family or relatives	21	Forwarded by police or volunteers	18	Accommodation	15	206
40–49 years old	Friends or acquaintances	19	Family or relatives	19	Forwarded by police or volunteers	19	142
50–64 years old	Family or relatives	24	Forwarded by police or volunteers	29	No answer or don't know	15	66
65+ years old	Forwarded by police or volunteers	36	Family or relatives	28	Accommodation	12	25
Higher education	Family or relatives	20	Friends or acquaintances	19	Forwarded by police or volunteers	17	326
No higher education	Family or relatives	24	Forwarded by police or volunteers	11	Accommodation	11	201
Spouse in Estonia	Family or relatives	25	Accommodation	18	Forwarded by the police or volunteers	18	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	Forwarded by police or volunteers	21	Family or relatives	20	Friends or acquaintances	15	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	Family or relatives	28	Accommodation	20	Forwarded by police or volunteers	17	123
Alone in Estonia	Friends or acquaintances	32	Forwarded by police or volunteers	20	Accommodation	14	71
Temporary protection	Family or relatives	21	Forwarded by police or volunteers	20	Friends or acquaintances	16	500
No temporary protection	Family or relatives	37	Forwarded by police or volunteers	19	Job	15	27
March '22	Family or relatives	25	Accommodation	16	Friends or acquaintances	16	313
April '22	Forwarded by police or volunteers	31	Accommodation	17	Friends or acquaintances	14	124
May '22	Forwarded by police or volunteers	24	Family or relatives	21	Friends or acquaintances	19	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>Family or relatives</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>Forwarded by police or volunteers</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>Friends or acquaintances</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

Those, who came to Estonia in March 2022, had had 2–3 months more to decide where to live in Estonia compared with those who came to Estonia in May and had lived in Estonia only a few weeks by the time of survey. Despite this distinction, the most important reasons for selecting their place of residence within Estonia differed only slightly among the two groups. For the oldest respondents (at least 65 years old) a significant reason was having been directed by the volunteers or police and border guard (Table 4.3.1). Among those who had stayed the longest time in Estonia, the most important reasons for selecting the current place of residence were

based on family and relatives (25%) and among those who had stayed in Estonia the shortest time, family and relatives were slightly less important in this decision (13% of those who had arrived in April and 21% of those who had arrived in May).

Every respondent who participated in the survey had accommodation in Estonia. Of respondents, almost half (45%) lived on their own in a separate house or separate apartment, 11% in shared apartments, 3% in a shared house, 29% in a hostel or hotel and 11% in other living arrangements (such as the large passenger ships in the Tallinn harbour). Whereas 58% of Ukrainians from Kyiv lived separately and 20% lived in shared accommodation, only 18% and 14% Ukrainians from rural areas did so. Meanwhile, only 14% of Ukrainians from Kyiv lived in a hotel or hostel while a much larger percentage of Ukrainians from rural areas (49%) did so.

Ukrainian respondents who had received temporary protection are guaranteed the right to accommodation. Clearly more Ukrainians who had received temporary protection lived in a separate house or apartment (45%) than those who had not received temporary protection (37%) and clearly fewer lived in a shared house or apartment (14%) or hotel (29%) than those without temporary protection (23% and 33% respectively). The share of respondents in provisional accommodation declined and the share of respondents living separately increased the longer the individual had been in Estonia (Table 4.3.2).

Of Ukrainian respondents with underaged children (with or without spouse) in Estonia, 49% lived in a separate accommodation, 7% in shared accommoda-

**Table 4.3.2. Accommodation type of Ukrainian survey respondents' current place of living in Estonia (%).**

	Separate house or apartment	Shared apartment	Shared house	Hotel or hostel	Other	n
Man	32	12	2	30	24	50
Woman	46	11	3	29	10	477
18–29 years old	43	15	2	31	9	88
30–39 years old	49	9	3	31	9	206
40–49 years old	51	11	6	24	9	142
50–64 years old	29	17	0	33	21	66
65+ years old	32	12	0	32	24	25
Higher education	48	12	3	26	11	326
No higher education	40	10	3	36	12	201
Temporary protection	45	11	3	29	11	500
No temporary protection	37	19	4	33	7	27
March '22	52	12	4	25	7	313
April '22	39	11	2	36	13	124
May '22	28	10	1	38	23	90
Spouse in Estonia	51	5	3	28	14	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	49	7	3	29	11	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	50	4	3	29	14	123
Alone in Estonia	34	16	1	37	13	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

tion, 3% in shared house, 29% in a hostel or hotel and 11% in other accommodation (Table 4.3.2).

In terms of ease of finding accommodation in Estonia, when respondents subjectively evaluated their experiences, 22% claimed that it was very easy, 38% that it was rather easy, 26% that it was rather difficult and 14% that it was very difficult (Table 4.3.3). Those who found it easier to find accommodation were the oldest respondents (65 years old or older) of whom 32% mentioned it was very easy and 44% that it was easy and 50–64 years old (29% and 35%), and those without temporary protection (44% and 44%). The largest share of those claiming that it was difficult to find accommodation was among 40–49-year-olds of whom 16% said it was very difficult and 32% that it was rather difficult. In general, younger respondents found it more difficult than older respondents to find accommodation.

Of temporary protected respondents, 21% mentioned that finding accommodation in Estonia was very easy, 38% that it was rather easy, 27% that it was rather difficult and 14% that it was very difficult. For women it was easier to find accommodation than for men as 61% of women found that it was very or rather easy to find accommodation and only 48% of men did. Of respondents with children in Estonia, 22% said it was very easy, 38% that it was easy, 27% that it was rather difficult and 14% that it was difficult. When it comes to time of arrival to Estonia, there did appear to be some fluctuations in the perceived ease of finding accommodation. Whereas 40% of Ukrainians who arrived in Estonia in March found it rather or very difficult to find accommodation, this percentage increased to 46%

**Table 4.3.3. Easiness to find one's accommodation in Estonia (%).**

	Very easy	Rather easy	Rather difficult	Very difficult	n
Man	20	28	32	20	50
Woman	22	39	25	13	477
18–29 years old	23	39	22	17	88
30–39 years old	22	40	25	13	206
40–49 years old	17	35	32	16	142
50–64 years old	29	35	23	14	66
65+ years old	32	44	16	8	25
Higher education	22	37	26	16	326
No higher education	23	40	26	10	201
Temporary protection	21	38	27	14	500
No temporary protection	44	44	4	7	27
March '22	23	38	24	16	313
April '22	23	32	35	11	124
May '22	20	48	20	12	90
Spouse in Estonia	22	36	29	14	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	22	38	27	14	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	20	37	31	12	123
Alone in Estonia	20	38	28	14	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

for those who arrived in April. Of those who arrived in May, 32% found it rather or very difficult to find accommodation (Table 4.3.3).

Respondents had various options to pay for the costs of accommodation, however, not all options were possible for everyone. Of the respondents, 29% mentioned that the accommodation costs were fully paid by the state; for 14% costs were partly paid by the state; for 24% by oneself with family or friends; for 28% by oneself alone; and for 6% by other means (Table 4.3.4). The oldest respondents were more likely to have received full compensation for accommodation from the state (48% of those 65 and older) than slightly younger respondents (42% of 50–64 years old). Older respondents also had more time for and experiences with visiting the social insurance and pension funds in Estonia where they received more information about subsistence. The younger respondents, meanwhile, were busy either working or searching for work, and had fewer opportunities to be informed.

In July 2022, of those who had arrived in May or later, more (54%) had their accommodations fully paid by the state (33% of those who had arrived in April) compared with those who had arrived earlier (19% of those who had arrived in March). Since the supplemental payment for accommodation by the state was only meant to work for a temporary, transitional period (for 3–4 months), many of those who had arrived earlier were already renting their own accommodation and were eligible to receive only partial compensation for rent or utilities.

The largest share paying for their accommodation alone or with family and friends were those who had been in Estonia already 3–4 months (60%) or those who

**Table 4.3.4. Accommodation payment for Ukrainian survey respondents in Estonia (%).**

	Oneself alone	Oneself with family or friends	Fully by Estonian state	Partly by Estonian state	Other	n
Man	24	20	44	10	2	50
Woman	28	25	27	14	7	477
18–29 years old	18	38	25	10	9	88
30–39 years old	30	24	25	16	5	206
40–49 years old	36	18	25	16	6	142
50–64 years old	20	23	42	9	6	66
65+ years old	16	20	48	8	8	25
Higher education	30	23	23	16	7	326
No higher education	23	26	37	10	4	201
Temporary protection	28	24	28	14	6	500
No temporary protection	26	22	37	7	7	27
March '22	32	28	19	16	5	313
April '22	26	19	33	14	8	124
May '22	14	19	54	3	9	90
Spouse in Estonia	36	21	28	10	6	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	32	21	27	14	5	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	42	21	25	8	3	123
Alone in Estonia	27	18	37	10	9	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

had a spouse in Estonia (57%). It is possible that not all respondents knew exactly who was contributing to the reimbursement of the costs for their accommodation.

When it comes to temporary protected respondents, accommodation was paid fully by the state for 28%, partly by the state for 14%, by oneself with family or friends by 24%, by oneself alone by 28%, and by other means for 6%. In terms of respondents with children of all ages, 27% had accommodation fully paid by the state, 14% partly by the state, 21% by oneself with family or friends, 32% by oneself alone, and 5% by other means. As the time passed, the share of those fully and partly paid by the state has decreased and those paying for the accommodation themselves has increased (Table 4.3.4).

The number of people in respondents' accommodation varied. Of the respondents, 8% lived alone and 92% lived with at least one another person; of the latter, 99% lived with a spouse and 96% with a child of any age. Of all respondents, 30% lived with only one person, 45% with 2–3 other people, 14% with 4–5 other people and 4% in an accommodation with at least seven people. The share of those living alone was largest among 50–64-year-olds (17%) and the lowest among those with spouse or nuclear family in Estonia (1%). The share of those living in an accommodation with at least four other people was highest among those without temporary protection (26%) and Ukrainians 40–49 years old (23%) and lowest was among those being alone in Estonia (10%), those who had recently (in May) arrived (14%) (Table 4.3.5).

**Table 4.3.5.** Number of people in Ukrainian survey respondents' accommodation in current place of living in Estonia (%).

	1 person	2 people	3–4 people	5–6 people	7– people	n
Man	8	30	44	18	0	50
Woman	8	30	45	14	4	477
18–29 years old	10	35	38	11	6	88
30–39 years old	5	22	57	11	5	206
40–49 years old	6	29	42	21	2	142
50–64 years old	17	42	24	14	3	66
65– years old	8	44	32	16	0	25
Higher education	9	29	45	12	4	326
No higher education	5	30	43	18	3	201
Temporary protection	8	30	44	14	4	500
No temporary protection	4	19	52	22	4	27
March '22	8	30	42	17	4	313
April '22	7	31	48	11	4	124
May '22	7	29	50	10	4	90
Spouse in Estonia	1	19	65	10	5	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	4	24	52	16	3	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	1	7	76	12	4	123
Alone in Estonia	25	41	24	7	3	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

Of temporary protected respondents, 8% lived alone and 92% lived with someone else, but only 18% lived with at least four other people. For those without temporary protection, these shares were 4%, 96% and 26%, respectively (Table 4.3.5).

The number of bedrooms in respondents' accommodation varied. Of all respondents, 62% lived in an accommodation with one bedroom, 27% with two bedrooms, 8% with three bedrooms, 1% with four bedrooms, and 2% with five of more bedrooms. Among those with children of all ages, 62% had an accommodation with only one bedroom, 29% lived in an accommodation with two bedrooms, 8% with three bedrooms and very few (1%) in larger accommodations (Table 4.3.6).

Of temporary protected respondents, 62% lived in an accommodation with one bedroom, 27% with two bedrooms, 8% with three bedrooms, 1% with four bedrooms, and 2% with five of more bedrooms. The respondents without temporary protection tended to live in smaller apartments (Table 4.3.6).

**Table 4.3.6. Number of bedrooms in Ukrainian survey respondents' current place of living in Estonia (%).**

	1 bedroom	2 bedrooms	3 bedrooms	4 bedrooms	5 bedrooms	n
Man	76	24	0	0	0	50
Woman	61	28	9	1	2	477
18–29 years old	59	28	6	1	6	88
30–39 years old	59	27	11	1	2	206
40–49 years old	61	28	10	1	1	142
50–64 years old	76	23	0	0	2	66
65+ years old	68	28	4	0	0	25
Higher education	62	28	7	1	2	326
No higher education	62	26	10	0	2	201
Temporary protection	62	27	8	1	2	500
No temporary protection	59	33	7	0	0	27
March '22	56	33	10	1	2	313
April '22	71	19	6	0	4	124
May '22	72	20	6	1	1	90
Spouse in Estonia	59	29	11	0	1	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	62	29	8	0	1	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	58	30	12	0	0	123
Alone in Estonia	73	17	3	3	4	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>527</b>

The density of accommodation can be judged from the number of people per bedroom. A decent standard for a person escaping war could be one person per bedroom. When there are more people, the accommodation is considered crowded, and when there are fewer, the accommodation is spacious. Of house-



holds (or people sharing the accommodation) with two persons, 80% of did not meet the standard of density, and this share is even larger for those living together with 3–4 or 5–6 people (Table 4.3.7). Among temporary protected respondents, the share of crowded accommodation was similar to the that of total respondents.

**Table 4.3.7. Number of bedrooms and people in Ukrainian survey respondents' current place of living in Estonia (%).**

	1 bedroom	2 bedrooms	3 bedrooms	4 bedrooms	5– bedrooms	n
1 person	90	8	3	0	0	40
2 people	80	17	1	0	2	157
3–4 people	58	32	8	1	1	235
5–6 people	31	45	21	1	1	75
7+ people	25	25	25	0	25	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>527</b>

Another set of measurements regarding the housing quality are whether accommodations have a private bathroom, enough toilets and showers for one's use, a separate living room, a separate kitchen (i.e. not a shared kitchen), and access to the Internet.

Of all respondents, 82% responded that they had a private bathroom, 39% a separate living room, 40% a separate kitchen, 81% access to the Internet (98% had Internet access via their mobile phone) and 93% agreed that the accommodation had enough toilets and showers for one's use (3% did not know; 4% disagreed) (Table 4.3.8). These shares were the same for temporary protected respondents.

Generally, the best amenities were in the current accommodations of 30–39-year-olds, those with a spouse, and among those who had arrived in March. The most need for improvement was seen in the amenities in the accommodations of older respondents (those 50–64-years-old and older than 65) (Table 4.3.8). Of respondents with children of all ages in Estonia, 83% answered that they have a private bathroom, 38% a separate living room, 41% a separate kitchen, 81% access to the Internet (98% said they have Internet access via their mobile phone) and 92% agreed that there were enough toilets and showers for one's use (3% did not know; 4% disagreed). The basic amenities in respondents' accommodations did slightly improve the longer a respondent had stayed in Estonia. This is evident by comparing the living conditions of those who had arrived earlier (in March) with those who had arrived more recently (in May) (Table 4.3.8).

**Table 4.3.8. Facilities in Ukrainian survey respondents' current accommodation in Estonia (%).**

	Bathroom (private)	Living space (separate)	Kitchen (separate)	Internet connection	n
Man	82	36	28	80	50
Woman	82	39	41	81	477
18–29 years old	77	38	34	82	88
30–39 years old	85	41	46	81	206
40–49 years old	83	39	47	82	142
50–64 years old	77	32	23	79	66
65+ years old	76	44	16	68	25
Higher education	81	41	43	80	326
No higher education	82	35	35	81	201
Temporary protection	82	38	40	80	500
No temporary protection	78	63	37	89	27
March '22	81	41	45	79	313
April '22	77	34	33	83	124
May '22	91	38	31	83	90
Spouse in Estonia	83	40	43	82	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	83	38	41	81	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	85	35	44	82	123
Alone in Estonia	80	37	31	82	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>527</b>

Respondents also expressed general satisfaction with their current accommodation and the municipality in which they lived in Estonia. Of all respondents, 51% were fully satisfied with accommodation, 40% were partly satisfied and 9% were not satisfied with it. The largest share of those fully satisfied with their accommodation were among the oldest respondents (65 years or older, 72%), those without temporary protection (67%) and those living in large towns in Estonia other than Tallinn (65%). The share of dissatisfied were largest among respondents of at least 50 years old (12%) (Table 4.3.9).

Of temporary protected respondents, 50% were fully, 41% partly and 9% not satisfied with their current accommodation. Those without temporary protection were clearly more satisfied with their accommodation as were respondents living alone in Estonia (Table 4.3.9).

Overall, respondents were slightly more satisfied with their current municipality compared with their current accommodation. Of all respondents, 81% were fully satisfied with the municipality, 17% partly satisfied and 1% not satisfied. The largest share of those fully satisfied with the municipality in which they lived was among those who lived alone (88%) and those who had arrived in May (89%). Very few were unsatisfied with their current municipality. Not all respondents may have known about their municipality and the services it could provide (Table 4.3.9).

Of temporary protected respondents, 81% were fully, 17% partly and 1% not satisfied with the municipality in which they lived. In general, the shares of satisfaction and dissatisfaction were rather similar among the rest of respondents regardless of their status, including respondents with children (Table 4.3.9).

Of those fully satisfied with their accommodation, 88% were fully satisfied with their municipality. Of those fully satisfied with their municipality, 56% were fully satisfied with their accommodation. On the contrary, of those not satisfied with their accommodation, 6% were not satisfied with their municipality and of those not satisfied with their municipality, 43% were not satisfied with their accommodation.

**Table 4.3.9.** Ukrainian survey respondents' satisfaction on current accommodation or municipality in Estonia (%).

	Accommodation			Municipality			n
	Fully	Partly	No	Fully	Partly	No	
Man	46	48	6	78	20	2	50
Woman	51	40	9	82	17	1	477
18–29 years old	49	47	5	82	16	2	88
30–39 years old	52	37	10	77	23	1	206
40–49 years old	46	46	9	87	12	1	142
50–64 years old	49	39	12	83	15	2	66
65+ years old	72	16	12	84	16	0	25
Higher education	50	40	10	80	19	1	326
No higher education	52	41	8	84	14	2	201
Temporary protection	50	41	9	81	17	1	500
No temporary protection	67	30	4	82	19	0	27
March '22	52	38	10	81	18	2	313
April '22	44	46	10	77	22	1	124
May '22	54	40	6	89	10	1	90
Living with spouse	47	43	9	81	19	1	165
Living with children (all ages)	52	39	10	80	18	1	375
Living with nuclear family	46	47	7	80	20	1	143
Living alone	63	38	0	88	8	4	24
Tallinn	45	43	11	86	14	0	256
Large town	65	29	6	85	15	0	65
Small town, rural areas	52	40	7	75	22	3	206
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>527</b>

Living with children/nuclear family = in this case, also children over 18 years old included since there are no data about the ages of the children the respondent lived with.

## 4.4 Respondents' social environment, health care and school children's education in Estonia

The local social environment of Ukrainians in Estonia consisted of their family, relatives, friends and other Ukrainians, and people from other nations, including Estonians. Part of that social environment also includes their feelings about living in Estonia and more specifically the feelings about one's living place and social relations in this space. In addition, the survey considered the social environment via respondents' perceived material and health conditions, access

to health care, and connection to the education system for respondents with children in Estonia. Access to health (medical) care, education for their children and subsistence for temporary protected individuals are mentioned in the TPD as provisions the receiving countries and their authorities should take care of (European Commission 2022).

#### 4.4.1 Respondents' social environment in Estonia

Respondents lived together in Estonia in various combinations. Of all of them, 5% lived alone (4% of women, 6% of men; 7% of those less than 30 years old and 8% of those 65 years or older), 8% with people other than family or friends, 11% with friends, 8% with relatives who are not close family, 9% with siblings, 12% with parents, 31% with a spouse and 71% with a child or children. The largest share of those living with people other than extended family or friends were among those alone in Estonia (32%) and those 50–64 (14%) and 65 years or older (12%). 74% of women and 48% of men lived with a child or children.

The share of those living with a spouse increased over time and the reverse was true for those living with children (Table 4.4.1). The main flow on refugees starting from April was from the occupied parts of Ukraine (Donetska, Luhanska, Kharkivska, Khersonska and Zaporizka oblasts). From these areas, women

**Table 4.4.1.** Ukrainian survey respondents living together with family and other people in Estonia (%).

	Spouse	Children	Parents or parents-in-law	Siblings	Other relatives	Friends	Other non-relatives	Alone	n
Man	52	48	32	12	2	8	4	6	50
Woman	29	74	10	9	9	11	8	4	477
18–29 years old	15	27	30	23	14	22	9	7	88
30–39 years old	41	85	11	9	5	8	7	2	206
40–49 years old	35	85	9	6	8	10	4	4	142
50–64 years old	24	59	8	2	11	8	14	12	66
65+ years old	8	64	0	4	8	8	12	8	25
Higher education	31	73	11	7	9	10	8	5	326
No higher education	32	68	14	12	8	11	7	4	201
Temporary protection	32	71	12	8	8	11	8	5	500
No temporary protection	19	78	11	22	11	7	4	4	27
March '22	29	73	13	11	8	10	7	5	313
April '22	34	72	15	6	10	12	7	5	124
May '22	37	63	9	8	8	10	9	4	90
Spouse in Estonia	94	85	6	2	3	3	2	1	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	41	99	8	7	7	8	2	0	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	94	100	5	2	2	2	1	0	123
Alone in Estonia	7	20	1	3	1	30	32	20	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

and men alike could leave only through the Russian Federation, where there were no limitations to cross the border for men (as was the case in the Ukrainian-controlled territory).

To summarize the accommodation-based social environment of individuals represented in this survey, of temporary protected respondents, 71% lived with a child or children in Estonia, 32% with a spouse and 5% lived alone, 8% with people other than friends or family, 12% with parents, 11% with friends, 8% with a sister or brother, 8% with relatives other than of close family and 5% alone.

Of the respondents, 90% said that Ukrainians lived in their accommodation and 13% reported having residents of other nationalities: Estonians (8%), Russians (3%) and other nationalities (2%). These shares were practically the same among the respondents with temporary protection. The share of Ukrainian respondents living in an accommodation with Estonians was largest among respondents who had some skills in Estonian (12%). Russians were present in very few accommodations, including among those being 30–39-year-olds (4%) (Table 4.4.2).

Language skills are a prerequisite for communicating with other people and being exposed to people from other nations can improve one's language skills. Of those having Estonians in their accommodation, 12% had some command of Estonian. In contrast only 2% of those living alone had some command of Estonian. However, of those living in accommodations shared with individuals of na-

**Table 4.4.2. Presence of nationalities in Ukrainian survey respondents' accommodation in Estonia (%).**

	Estonians	Ukrainians	Russians	Other	Living alone	n
Man	8	92	2	0	2	50
Woman	8	89	3	2	6	477
18–29 years old	10	84	3	1	9	88
30–39 years old	7	93	4	3	2	206
40–49 years old	9	89	0	2	6	142
50–64 years old	9	86	3	0	9	66
65+ years old	0	96	0	4	4	25
Higher education	8	88	3	2	6	326
No higher education	8	92	3	3	4	201
Temporary protection	8	89	3	2	5	500
No temporary protection	4	93	0	0	4	27
March '22	9	88	3	2	6	313
April '22	7	92	2	2	4	124
May '22	6	91	2	2	4	90
Spouse in Estonia	9	94	2	3	1	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	8	95	2	2	1	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	8	96	1	2	0	123
Alone in Estonia	10	72	4	3	20	71
Russian skills	8	89	3	2	5	478
Estonian skills	12	90	5	5	2	61
English skills	10	83	5	3	8	148
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>527</b>

nationalities other than Ukrainian, Estonian or Russian, very few (3%) had at least intermediate skills in English.

The longer respondents had been in Estonia, the more likely they shared accommodation with individuals from other nationalities, specifically Estonians. However, the change in percentage was small: 9% of those who arrived in March to 6% of those who arrived in May. Ukrainians thus lived in rather homogenous communities. In the first few weeks and months of the war, Estonians hosted Ukrainian refugees in their homes. As time went on, and the number of arrivals increased, Estonian hosts did not keep up with the increase in demand and private resources (Table 4.4.2).

Of the respondents, 75% expressed that they had friends in Estonia. The largest share reporting to have friends in Estonia were those who had arrived in March or April (78%) and those 30–39 years old (79%). The share of those without friends in Estonia was highest among the oldest respondents (44% of those 65 and older) and among the recent arrivals (39% of those who had arrived in May). In addition, the share of those with no friends was larger among men (38%) than women (24%) (Table 4.4.3). Not having friends at all can cause a substantial decrease in one's welfare in Estonia.

Of respondents, 65% specified that they had Ukrainian friends in Estonia. In general, it is easier to make friends from one's own nationality than with those from other nations. The largest share of respondents with Ukrainian friends was highest among 30–39-year-olds (71%) and those who had nuclear family Estonia (70%). On the contrary, of those who responded as not having Ukrainian friends in Estonia (35% of respondents), the largest share was among the oldest respondents (65 years or older, 52%). Fewer Ukrainians who speak Russian as their mother tongue had Ukrainian friends in Estonia (83%) compared to native Ukrainian speakers (90%).

When it comes to Estonian friends, 33% of all Ukrainian respondents reported that they have Estonian friends in Estonia (Table 4.4.3). The largest shares of those with Estonian friends were among those with higher education (41%) and those who were alone in Estonia (39%). In general, the longer individuals had been in Estonia, the more likely they had Estonian friends. The smallest share of those having Estonian friends was among those who arrived in May 2022 or later (14%), those without higher education (20%) and men (22%). 47% of those who speak Russian as their mother tongue had Estonian friends, 30% of those who speak Ukrainian as their mother tongue did and 28% of those who consider both languages as mother tongues did. Of those having Estonian friends, 23% had at least some command of Estonian; in comparison, only 6% of those not having any Estonian friends had some command of Estonian.

Only 4% of respondents reported having Russian friends in Estonia. The share of those with Russian friends was larger among older respondents (12% of respondents 65 years or older and 11% of those 50–64 years old) and those without

**Table 4.4.3. Ukrainian survey respondents having friends in Estonia (%).**

	Estonians	Ukrainians	Russians	Other	None	n
Man	22	52	6	2	38	50
Woman	34	67	4	1	24	477
18–29 years old	33	67	5	1	23	88
30–39 years old	33	71	2	1	21	206
40–49 years old	33	61	4	1	28	142
50–64 years old	36	62	11	0	27	66
65+ years old	24	48	12	0	44	25
Higher education	41	65	6	1	23	326
No higher education	20	65	2	1	29	201
Temporary protection	33	66	4	1	25	500
No temporary protection	33	56	11	0	33	27
March '22	39	68	6	1	22	313
April '22	31	66	4	2	22	124
May '22	14	56	0	0	39	90
Spouse in Estonia	30	66	4	1	23	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	34	68	3	1	22	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	27	70	0	0	20	123
Alone in Estonia	39	62	1	0	27	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

temporary protection (11%) (Table 4.4.3). Of native Russian-speaking respondents 9% and 4% of native Ukrainian-speaking respondents claimed that they had Russian friends. On the contrary, the largest share of those not having Russian friends was among those who had arrived in May (100%) and those alone in Estonia (99%). The share of respondents having Russian friends in Estonia remained low regardless of their length of time in Estonia and only 1% of respondents responded that they have friends from other nations in Estonia (Table 4.4.3).

Of temporary protected respondents, 75% expressed that they had friends in Estonia: 66% had Ukrainian, 33% Estonian, 4% Russian and 1% had friends from other nations.

Of the respondents, 43% shared that they have family or friends in another European country outside of Estonia and Ukraine. The largest share of these was among those with English skills (56% of those with English skills had friends outside of Estonia or Ukraine), and among younger respondents (50% of 18–29-year-olds and 48% of 30–39-year-olds). Those with lower English skills also had fewer friends in a country other than Ukraine or Estonia. Of respondents, 57% did not have family or friends outside of Estonia and Ukraine. This share was largest among the oldest respondents: 92% of individuals 65 years or older. The countries mentioned most often as places where Ukrainian respondents had friends or family were Poland (22%), Germany (18%) and the Czech Republic (6%) (Table 4.4.4).

**Table 4.4.4. Ukrainian survey respondents having family or friends in Europe outside Estonia and Ukraine (%).**

	Yes (%)	Most common country	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common country	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common country	%	n
Men	30	Germany	16	Poland	14	Croatia / France / Italy / Russia	4	50
Women	45	Poland	23	Germany	18	Czech Republic	7	477
18–29 years old	50	Poland	26	Germany	25	Austria / Czech Republic / France / Italy / No answer - don't know	5	88
30–39 years old	48	Poland	26	Germany	19	Czech Republic	8	206
40–49 years old	42	Poland	20	Germany	16	Czech Republic	7	142
50–64 years old	36	Poland	18	Germany	14	Russia	9	66
65+ years old	8	Poland	8	Denmark / Italy / United Kingdom	4	-		25
Higher education	45	Poland	23	Germany	17	Czech Republic / Italy	6	326
No higher education	40	Poland	20	Germany	18	Czech Republic	7	201
March '22	46	Poland	25	Germany	17	Czech Republic	8	313
April '22	44	Poland	21	Germany	21	Czech Republic / Latvia	5	124
May '22	34	Germany	17	Poland	14	Russia	4	90
Spouse in Estonia	46	Poland	22	Germany	18	Czech Republic / Italy	6	69
Children (–18) in Estonia	46	Poland	23	Germany	19	Czech Republic	7	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	46	Poland	26	Germany	18	Italy	9	123
Alone in Estonia	44	Poland	24	Germany	23	Austria / Czech Republic / Lithuania	6	71
Temporary protection	43	Poland	21	Germany	18	Czech Republic	6	500
No temporary protection	52	Poland	41	Germany	19	Russia	11	27
Russian skills	43	Poland	21	Germany	18	Czech Republic	6	478
English skills	56	Poland	26	Germany	20	Czech Republic	9	148
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>Poland</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>Czech Republic</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>527</b>

Russian/English skills = level of knowledge at least moderate on the scale of nothing - little - moderate - good - native. Only max 3 mentioned countries per respondent counted. The 2nd most mentioned country is not the country that most respondents mentioned on the second place but the country that got most mentions among the 0–3 countries counted for each respondent. Percentages refer to the share of all the respondents who mentioned having family or friends in this country. Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child.

Of those having temporary protection, fewer (43%) had friends outside of Ukraine and Estonia compared with those without temporary protection (52%). Being younger and having better English language skills were more telling of whether a person had family and friends in a foreign country.



Another aspect of social environment pertains to the practices to be in contact with people in Ukraine. The social environment goes beyond respondents' immediate physical environment in the way individuals keep in contact with the people and places that are physically distant. In the case of Ukrainians in Estonia, these contacts are often family members, relatives and friends. Almost all (98%) respondents were in contact with people in Ukraine. Of all respondents, 73% were in contact with people in Ukraine at least daily, 21% weekly, 4% less often and only 2% never.

The highest share of those who were in contact 'at least weekly' with someone in Ukraine was seen in respondents who had under-aged children in Ukraine (100%) or parents in Ukraine (97%). All (100%) respondents used telephone calls to be in contact with people in Ukraine and many also used social media. The largest share of those who were *not* in contact with people in Ukraine was among 50–64-year-olds (5%), men (4%) and those without temporary protection (4%); however, these numbers were also low (Table 4.4.5).

Of temporary protected respondents, 74% were in contact with people in Ukraine at least daily, 21% weekly, 4% less often and only 1% never. Of those not having a spouse, children, parents or a brother or sister in Ukraine, 72% had dai-

**Table 4.4.5.** Ukrainian survey respondents in Estonia being in contact with people in Ukraine (%).

	Many times a day	Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never	n
Man	14	44	30	8	4	50
Woman	15	60	20	4	1	477
18–29 years old	22	53	15	9	1	88
30–39 years old	16	64	17	2	2	206
40–49 years old	15	53	29	3	1	142
50–64 years old	11	56	24	5	5	66
65+ years old	4	60	24	12	0	25
Higher education	16	61	18	4	1	326
No higher education	14	53	26	5	2	201
Temporary protection	15	59	21	4	1	500
No temporary protection	26	48	15	7	4	27
March '22	17	58	20	3	2	313
April '22	14	56	23	7	1	124
May '22	12	61	20	4	2	90
Spouse in Estonia	10	55	28	5	2	162
Children (<18) in Estonia	16	61	19	3	1	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	9	59	26	5	2	123
Alone in Estonia	20	52	24	1	3	71
Spouse in Ukraine	18	70	8	4	0	113
Children (<18) in Ukraine	13	75	13	0	0	8
Parents in Ukraine	16	62	19	2	1	305
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

ly contacts with people in Ukraine; 25% had such contacts weekly, 14% less often and 9% never.

When it comes to how Ukrainian respondents felt they were treated in Estonia, almost all (92%) of respondents agreed that they were treated well while 7% did not know and only 1% disagreed. All (100%) of the oldest group of respondents (65 years old or older) felt they were treated well in Estonia and among many groups the share was close to all. 89% of 30–39-year-olds and 90% of respondents with higher education felt they were treated well in Estonia (Table 4.4.6).

Of temporary protected respondents, 92% agreed that they were treated well (7% did not know; 1% disagreed). The share of those feeling treated well was higher among those who had arrived later and had spent less time in Estonia: 91% of

**Table 4.4.6. Aspects of Ukrainian survey respondents' everyday lives in Estonia (%).**

	Not feeling comfortable with Russian-speakers in Estonia			Feeling treated well in current place in Estonia			Estonians being friendly			n
	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	
Man	16	6	78	96	4	0	90	8	2	50
Woman	17	29	54	92	7	1	93	7	1	477
18–29 years old	22	28	50	96	5	0	92	7	1	88
30–39 years old	18	23	58	89	9	2	92	7	2	206
40–49 years old	16	30	54	94	6	0	94	6	0	142
50–64 years old	9	32	59	92	6	2	91	8	2	66
65+ years old	12	20	68	100	0	0	92	8	0	25
Higher education	18	29	53	90	9	1	90	9	1	326
No higher education	14	24	62	96	4	1	96	4	1	201
Temporary protection	17	27	56	92	7	1	92	7	1	500
No temporary protection	15	26	59	93	7	0	89	7	4	27
March '22	19	32	50	91	8	1	93	6	0	313
April '22	14	22	65	94	6	1	89	10	2	124
May '22	14	18	68	96	3	1	93	4	2	90
Spouse in Estonia	15	24	61	91	8	1	91	7	1	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	19	27	55	90	9	1	93	6	1	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	16	26	58	89	10	2	92	7	2	123
Alone in Estonia	20	25	55	92	9	0	92	7	1	71
Native language only Ukrainian	21	36	43	92	7	1	92	7	1	221
Native language only Russian	9	15	76	94	6	0	93	7	1	107
Native language both Ukrainian and Russian	15	22	63	93	6	1	93	6	1	146
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

those who had arrived in March, 94% of those who had arrived in April and 96% of those who had arrived in May 2022. Of respondents with underaged children in Estonia, 90% agreed that they were treated well (9% did not know; 1% disagreed) (Table 4.4.6).

When asked whether they agreed that Estonians are friendly, 92% of respondents agreed while 7% did not know and 1% disagreed. Of people without temporary protection 89% agreed that Estonians were friendly (Table 4.4.6).

Of temporary protected respondents, 92% also agreed that Estonians were friendly (7% did not know; 1% disagreed). The share of those who considered that Estonians were friendly slightly fluctuated depending on when the individual arrived in Estonia. A larger share of those who arrived in March and May considered Estonians friendly (93%) than those who arrived in April (89%). Of respondents with children in Estonia, 93% agreed that Estonians were friendly (6% did not know; 1% disagreed) (Table 4.4.6).

On the other hand, 17% of respondents felt uncomfortable with Russian speakers in Estonia. The largest share feeling uncomfortable was among the youngest respondents (18–29-year-olds, 22%), native Ukrainian-speakers (21%) and those alone in Estonia (20%). Overall, a rather large share (27%) did not know how to answer to this. Of Russian native-speakers and respondents with 50–64 years of age, 9% felt uncomfortable in the presence of Russian-speakers in Estonia.

Of temporary protected respondents, 17% agreed that they did not feel comfortable with Russian-speakers in Estonia. (27% did not know; 56% disagreed). Of respondents with children, 19% agreed that they did not feel comfortable with Russian-speakers in Estonia (27% did not know; 55% disagreed) (Table 4.4.6).

Financial burden is a common challenge among people fleeing their country of origin. In the case of this survey, 78% of respondents agreed that they need much more money to improve their situation in Estonia (17% did not know; 5% disagreed). The largest share of those who felt they needed much more money was among respondents who were 40–49 years old (83%) and those who arrived in April (82%) as well as among those not working, those who were 30–39 years old, and those without a higher education (all 80%). Of employed respondents, slightly fewer (74%) agreed that they need much more money. Of respondents with underaged children in Estonia, 79% agreed that they needed much more money to improving their situation. The lowest share of those needing much more money was among the respondents 65 years or older, male respondents and those without temporary protection (64%, 70% and 70%, respectively) (Table 4.4.7).

Receiving subsidies is one aspect of the implementation of the TPD which also pertains to Estonia. Of respondents, 51% responded that they received ben-

efits or financial help regularly, 27% sometimes, and 22% said that they did not receive financial help or benefits (Table 4.4.7). The support mechanisms and organizations mentioned most often in providing help were the Estonian state and government, such as social service and the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund. The respondents may not necessarily have always known who was providing the help for them. The most common modes of help which were mentioned were benefits for children, unemployment benefits and support for the cost of living.

Receiving benefits or financial help regularly was proportionally largest among those who had nuclear family (90%), underaged children (88%) and/or a spouse in Estonia (85%). The share of those claiming not to receive such benefits or help was largest among those without temporary protection (70%), the youngest respondents (18–29 years old, 38%) and those who had arrived most recently (in May 2022, 38%) (Table 4.4.7). Of those needing much more money,

**Table 4.4.7. Ukrainian survey respondents needing and receiving help in Estonia %).**

	Receiving benefits			Most commonly received help		Needing much more money			n
	Regu- larly	Some- thing	No			Agree	Don't know	Dis- agree	
Man	38	28	34	For unemployment	22	70	22	8	50
Woman	52	27	21	For children	39	79	16	5	477
18–29 years old	31	32	38	For children	22	74	17	9	88
30–39 years old	61	23	16	For children	54	80	15	5	206
40–49 years old	54	28	18	For children	42	83	13	4	142
50–64 years old	32	33	35	For unemployment	21	76	23	2	66
65+ years old	72	16	12	Pension	72	64	28	8	25
Higher education	56	24	21	For children	39	77	18	5	326
No higher education	43	31	25	For children	33	80	14	6	201
Temporary protection	52	28	20	For children	37	79	17	5	500
No temporary protection	30	0	70	For children	22	70	15	15	27
Spouse in Estonia	60	25	15	For children	51	77	18	6	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	64	24	12	For children	61	79	16	5	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	64	26	10	For children	64	77	17	6	123
Alone in Estonia	31	34	35	For unemployment	23	75	17	9	71
March '22	56	24	20	For children	44	77	18	5	313
April '22	52	32	16	For children	31	82	14	5	124
May '22	33	29	38	For children	18	79	14	7	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>For children</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least one under 18-year-old child

50% received some benefits or financial help regularly, 29% sometimes and 22% did not receive them.

Of temporary protected respondents, 52% mentioned that they receive benefits or financial help regularly, 28% sometimes and 20% did not receive them. The respondents who had spent more time in Estonia tended to receive benefits or financial help more regularly. Of those who had arrived in March, 56% said they receive benefits or financial help regularly. The number of those receiving regular benefits or financial help decreased among respondents who had arrived in April (52%) or in May (33%). Of respondents with underaged children in Estonia, 64% responded that they receive benefits or financial help regularly, 24% from time to time and 12% responded that they did not receive them (Table 4.4.7).

Many respondents felt challenges in Estonia for many reasons. When asked what the greatest challenge in everyday life in Estonia was, 64% of respondents gave open-ended replies. This question was most frequently answered by those who had a spouse in Ukraine (71%), or those with a higher education (69%) (Table 4.4.8). Not answering the question, however, does not mean that one would not have any challenges in one's life. The most commonly mentioned challenge among all who responded to the survey was related to loneliness and homesickness (15%) followed closely by language barrier and adaption problems (14%). Other mentioned challenges to everyday life in Estonia were related to the place of residence and living conditions, work in Estonia, financial issues, and climate.

Among temporary protected respondents, 64% also answered this question and expressed the same issues: loneliness and homesickness (15%) followed by language barrier and adaption problems (14%), and place of residence and its conditions (9%). Of respondents with underaged children in Estonia, 64% answered this question. The most common challenge for respondents with children in Estonia were related to the language barrier and adaption problems (14%), followed by loneliness and homesickness (13%). Of respondents with underaged children in Ukraine, only 38% answered this question. The most commonly mentioned challenge for them was indifference of some social workers.

Being in a foreign country outside one's everyday environment as it was for Ukrainians in Estonia meant being exposed to many new people and things. Adapting to that environment requires learning and combining the old habits with the new contexts. This provides an opportunity to learn something useful and learning is then a part of an innovative process.

When asked if they had learned something useful during their time in Estonia, 39% of respondents expressed that they in fact had (Table 4.4.9). The largest share of those who answered that they had learned something useful in Estonia

**Table 4.4.8. Ukrainian survey respondents' worst aspect of life in Estonia (%).**

	Answered (%)	Most common worst aspect	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common worst aspect	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common worst aspect	%	n
Man	50	Climate	18	Place of residence and conditions	10	Job / Nostalgia and loneliness	6	50
Woman	65	Nostalgia and loneliness	16	Language barrier and adaptation	15	Place of residence and conditions	9	477
18–29 years old	59	Nostalgia and loneliness	24	Language barrier and adaptation	11	Place of residence and conditions / Climate	8	88
30–39 years old	67	Language barrier and adaptation	15	Nostalgia and loneliness	13	Place of residence and conditions	11	206
40–49 years old	62	Language barrier and adaptation	16	Nostalgia and loneliness	13	Job / Place of residence and conditions	9	142
50–64 years old	64	Language barrier and adaptation	12	Climate	11	Job / Financial issue	9	66
65– years old	68	Nostalgia and loneliness	40	Place of residence and conditions	16	Language barrier and adaptation / Financial issue	8	25
Higher education	69	Nostalgia and loneliness	17	Language barrier and adaptation	13	Climate	10	326
No higher education	44	Language barrier and adaptation	15	Nostalgia and loneliness	12	Place of residence and conditions	8	201
Spouse in Estonia	62	Language barrier and adaptation	14	Nostalgia and loneliness	11	Place of residence and conditions	11	162
Children (–18) in Estonia	64	Language barrier and adaptation	14	Nostalgia and loneliness	13	Place of residence and conditions	10	292
Nuclear family in Estonia	59	Language barrier and adaptation / Place of residence and conditions / Nostalgia and loneliness	11	-	-	-	-	123
Alone in Estonia	66	Nostalgia and loneliness	17	Climate	14	Language barrier and adaptation	11	71
Spouse in Ukraine	71	Nostalgia and loneliness	27	Language barrier and adaptation	16	Place of residence and conditions	8	113
Children (–18) in Ukraine	38	Indifference of some social workers	100	Place of residence and conditions	25	War and forced migration	13	8
Temporary protection	64	Nostalgia and loneliness	15	Language barrier and adaptation	14	Place of residence and conditions / Climate	9	500
No temporary protection	67	Russian aggression, invasion and propaganda / Nostalgia and loneliness	15	-	-	Language barrier and adaptation / Financial issue / Place of residence and conditions / Climate	7	27
Employed	65	Nostalgia and loneliness	21	Language barrier and adaptation	11	Climate	10	176
Not employed	63	Language barrier and adaptation	15	Nostalgia and loneliness	13	Place of residence and conditions	10	351
March '22	65	Nostalgia and loneliness	18	Language barrier and adaptation	14	Climate	9	313
April '22	64	Language barrier and adaptation	15	Nostalgia and loneliness	11	Place of residence and conditions / Climate	10	124
May '22	60	Place of residence and conditions / Nostalgia and loneliness	13	-	-	Language barrier and adaptation	11	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>Nostalgia and loneliness</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>Language barrier and adaptation</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Place of residence and conditions</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

was among respondents having at least some Estonian language skills (57%). The fewest to answer to this question were those without temporary protection (15%) and those 65 years or older (16%).

The most commonly mentioned aspects learned were related to language skills (17%), by following education (14%). A further 28% of respondents were not able to specify what they learned. Among those who had been in Estonia for a longer time, more people had learned something useful (31% of those who arrived in May, 32% of those who arrived in April and 44% of those who had arrived in March 2022). In addition, of those with a higher education, more (41%) had learned something useful compared with those without a higher education (35%). The share of those who considered they had learned something useful was the lowest among those few people who were 65 years or older (16%) and those without temporary protection (15%) (Table 4.4.9).

Of temporary protected respondents, 40% answered that they had learned something useful while 60% had not. The most common aspects they had learned were related to language skills (17%) and educational opportunities (15%). (Table 4.4.9).

Of the respondents, 81% answered the question asking about the best aspects of their lives in Estonia. However, several respondents wrote only critical comments showing that there is work to be done in supporting the well-being and satisfaction for these individuals in Estonia. Nevertheless, the most active to comment on this question were those alone in Estonia (89%), those without temporary protection (89%) and elderly people (65 years or older) (88%).

The first (positive) aspect mentioned was the overwhelming safety and peaceful environment for the respondent and children (56%) in Estonia (Table 4.4.10). This response was the most common among all sub-groups. It was followed by kindness and the attitude of locals (21%) and Estonia as a modern and attractive country (9%). Other positive aspects mentioned included having stability and work, and being together with family in Estonia (Table 4.4.10).

Of temporary protected respondents, in practice the same share (80%) answered this question, the most commonly mentioned positive features of Estonia were much the same: safety (56%), kindness (22%), and modern attractive country (10%).

**Table 4.4.9. Ukrainian survey respondents learning something useful in Estonia (%).**

	All n	Answered (%)	Most common aspect	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common aspect	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common aspect	%	n
Man	50	34	Language skills and new experience	18	Living standards and conditions	12	Modern, beautiful country, culture / Educational opportunities for me and children / Work opportunities and medical insurance / At home is the best	6	17
Woman	477	39	Language skills and new experience	17	Educational opportunities for me and children	15	Work opportunities and medical insurance	10	187
18-29 years old	88	39	Educational opportunities for me and children	21	Language skills and new experience / Work opportunities and medical insurance	12			34
30-39 years old	206	41	Language skills and new experience	18	Educational opportunities for me and children	16	Living standards and conditions / Work opportunities and medical insurance	12	84
40-49 years old	142	43	Language skills and new experience	23	Educational opportunities for me and children	13	More opportunities to start a new life in Estonia	12	43
50-64 years old	66	32	Modern, beautiful country, culture	19	Living standards and conditions	14	Language skills and new experience / Security, protection, law / Work opportunities and medical insurance	10	21
65+ years old	25	16	Modern, beautiful country, culture	25	At home is the best	25	-	-	4
Higher education	326	41	Language skills and new experience	19	Educational opportunities for me and children	16	Work opportunities and medical insurance	13	134
No higher education	201	35	Language skills and new experience	13	Living standards and conditions / More opportunities to start a new life in Estonia	11			70
Temporary protection	500	40	Language skills and new experience	17	Educational opportunities for me and children	15	Living standards and conditions	11	200
No temporary protection	27	15	Good attitude people / More opportunities to start a new life in Estonia / Language skills and new experience	25	-	-	-	-	4
March '22	313	44	Language skills and new experience	17	Educational opportunities for me and children	15	Living standards and conditions	9	136



Answered							
All n	(%)	Most common aspect	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common aspect	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common aspect	%
April '22	124	32	Language skills and new experience	18	Living standards and conditions / Educational opportunities for me and children / Work opportunities and medical insurance	13	-
May '22	90	31	Language skills and new experience	18	Work opportunities and medical insurance	18	Living standards and conditions / Modern, beautiful country, culture
Spouse in Estonia	162	40	Language skills and new experience	27	Modern, beautiful country, culture / Educational opportunities for me and children / Security, protection, law	9	-
Children (-18) in Estonia	292	43	Language skills and new experience	17	Educational opportunities for me and children	16	Living standards and conditions / Modern, beautiful country, culture
Nuclear family in Estonia	123	40	Language skills and new experience	25	Educational opportunities for me and children	12	Modern, beautiful country, culture
Alone in Estonia	71	37	Work opportunities and medical insurance	27	Living standards and conditions / More opportunities to start a new life in Estonia / Modern, beautiful country, culture	15	-
Employed	176	41	Language skills and new experience	21	Educational opportunities for me and children	14	Living standards and conditions
Not employed	351	38	Language skills and new experience	15	Educational opportunities for me and children	14	Work opportunities and medical insurance
Good or native Russian skills	478	40	Language skills and new experience	17	Educational opportunities for me and children	15	Living standards and conditions
At least moderate English skills	148	43	Educational opportunities for me and children	19	Work opportunities and medical insurance	17	Language skills and new experience
At least basic Estonian skills	61	57	Educational opportunities for me and children	23	Language skills and new experience / Work opportunities and medical insurance	17	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>Language skills and new experience</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>Educational opportunities for me and children</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Living standards and conditions</b>

Including all who replied "yes" to learning something useful (n = 204) but only counting to the table the mentions of something else than the No answer/Don't know class (NA/DK = 28% of the 204). Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child.

**Table 4.4.10. Ukrainian survey respondents' best aspect of life in Estonia (%).**

	All n	Answered (%)	Best aspect	%	2nd best aspect	%	3rd best aspect	%	n
Man	50	74	Safety and peace for me and the children	49	Kindness, good attitude	19	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	16	37
Woman	477	82	Safety and peace for me and the children	57	Kindness, good attitude	21	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	9	389
18–29 years old	88	78	Safety and peace for me and the children	46	Kindness, good attitude	23	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	13	69
30–39 years old	206	80	Safety and peace for me and the children	57	Kindness, good attitude	18	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	10	164
40–49 years old	142	82	Safety and peace for me and the children	58	Kindness, good attitude	21	Climate, beautiful nature	9	117
50–64 years old	66	82	Safety and peace for me and the children	50	Kindness, good attitude	28	Climate, beautiful nature	11	54
65+ years old	25	88	Safety and peace for me and the children	77	Kindness, good attitude / My family with me	14	-	-	22
Higher education	326	83	Safety and peace for me and the children	55	Kindness, good attitude	22	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	8	272
No higher education	201	77	Safety and peace for me and the children	57	Kindness, good attitude	20	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	11	154
Temporary protection	500	80	Safety and peace for me and the children	56	Kindness, good attitude	22	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	10	402
No temporary protection	27	89	Safety and peace for me and the children	54	Stability, work / My family with me	13	-	-	24
March '22	313	79	Safety and peace for me and the children	55	Kindness, good attitude	23	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	9	248
April '22	124	84	Safety and peace for me and the children	58	Kindness, good attitude	18	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	11	104
May '22	90	82	Safety and peace for me and the children	57	Kindness, good attitude	19	Climate, beautiful nature	15	74
Spouse in Estonia	162	82	Safety and peace for me and the children	61	Kindness, good attitude	17	Modern, beautiful country, culture, transport	8	132
Children (–18) in Estonia	292	81	Safety and peace for me and the children	61	Kindness, good attitude	20	Social protection and assistance from the state	8	236



#### 4.4.2 Respondents perception of health and access to health care in Estonia

Health is not only a key concern among populations fleeing war, but it is also a key aspect protected by countries such as Estonia in implementing TDP for these populations. When asked how satisfied they were with their own health, 29% of respondents replied that they were fully, 57% partly, and 14% not satisfied with their own personal health (Table 4.4.11). The largest share of those who were dissatisfied with their health was among the oldest respondents (65 years and older, 36%) and those 50–64 years old (26%). Of the oldest respondents, only 4% were fully satisfied with their health. The largest share of those who were fully satisfied with their health was among those without temporary protection (52%), those alone in Estonia (44%) and the youngest (18–29-year-old) respondents (40%) (Table 4.4.11).

Of temporary protected respondents, 14% were dissatisfied with their health while 58% were partly and 28% fully satisfied with it. Among respondents with children of all ages, 16% were dissatisfied with their own health while 58% were partly and 27% fully satisfied with it. (Table 4.4.11).

In Estonia, certain health services are complimentary for temporary protected Ukrainians while for others, individuals either need to be employed or officially registered with the Unemployment Insurance Fund as unemployed (see Chapter 3.3). Of respondents, 34% had used free health care and 65% had not used it. The respondents with highest prevalence of health care use were those in older age groups: 56% of those 65 years and older. The fewest to have used health services were those who had arrived most recently to Estonia (21%) and those alone in Estonia (23%).

Of those who had used the free health care services, 82% were satisfied with the service and 18% were unsatisfied. The largest share of respondents who were satisfied were men (92%) and those having a spouse in Estonia (91%). Those unsatisfied were more often among those in the older age groups: 29% of those at least 65 years old.

Of those not satisfied with their own health, 64% had used free health care in Estonia. Of these 61% were satisfied and 39% unsatisfied with the service they had received. Of all, 66% had not used healthcare services and among them 14% had not known it was free for temporary protected Ukrainians. Of those who were partly satisfied with their health (57%), 33% had used free health care in Estonia, and 80% were satisfied and 20% unsatisfied with their experience. Of those who were fully satisfied with their health, 23% had used health care in Estonia, and all (100%) of them were satisfied with it.

The share of those who had not known that the health care is free was highest among those without temporary protection (19%) and those who had arrived in May (17%) (Table 4.4.11). This shows that Ukrainians who had arrived more recently and those outside of temporary protection are at greater risk for not receiving the health care services that are available to them.

**Table 4.4.11.** Ukrainian survey respondents' health issues in Estonia (%).

	Satisfied with one's health			Usage of free health care in Estonia			No, didn't know it was free	n
	Fully	Partly	No	Yes, satisfied	Yes, unsatisfied	No		
Man	38	44	18	24	2	66	8	50
Woman	28	59	13	29	7	55	9	477
18–29 years old	40	55	6	22	3	63	13	88
30–39 years old	35	57	8	31	4	55	10	206
40–49 years old	23	61	17	32	6	56	6	142
50–64 years old	23	52	26	18	14	61	8	66
65+ years old	4	60	36	40	16	36	8	25
Higher education	29	58	13	30	6	57	7	326
No higher education	29	55	15	26	7	55	12	201
Temporary protection	28	58	14	28	7	57	9	500
No temporary protection	52	44	4	33	0	48	19	27
March '22	27	61	13	33	7	53	6	313
April '22	27	53	19	24	6	60	11	124
May '22	40	50	10	18	3	62	17	90
Spouse in Estonia	29	59	12	31	3	58	8	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	27	58	16	31	6	54	9	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	28	62	11	30	3	57	10	123
Alone in Estonia	44	47	10	16	7	69	9	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

Among temporary protected respondents slightly more (35%) had used and 65% had not used free health care in Estonia. Of the users, 81% were satisfied and 19% were unsatisfied with the service. Of those with temporary protection who were unsatisfied or only partly satisfied with one's health, 39% had used free health care while 61% had not. The share of those who did not know whether the health care was free was 9% among temporary protected respondents, i.e. fewer than among those without temporary protection (19%). Of respondents with children in Estonia, 37% had used and 63% had not used free health care in Estonia. At the same time 84% of respondents with children who had used free health care were satisfied with the health services they had received and 16% were unsatisfied with them.

#### 4.4.3 Respondents' children in the education system in Estonia

The TPD indicates that temporary protected individual's children who are under the age of 18 should have access to education in the countries and places in which they reside. However, as the school in Estonia is compulsory only until 16 years of age, 17-year-olds were in a different situation.

As of the end of August 2022, there were about 50,000 Ukrainians who had fled from Ukraine since February 24<sup>th</sup> in Estonia. Based on the registration of accommodation in Estonia, an estimated 14% of those were 0–6-year-olds and 27% were 7–17-year-olds (Police and Border Guard Board 2022). Based on this, about 13,000 Ukrainians were between the ages of compulsory education.

Of respondents to this survey, 23% have children under the age of seven years old. Of them, 47% stated that these small children were at home with the respondent during the day, 12% left their children with another family member, and 42% used an Estonian kindergarten (Table 4.4.12).

The share of those having children at home with them during the day was largest among young parents (18–29-year-olds, 65%), those without a higher education (59%) and those having a spouse in Estonia (56%). On the other hand, those using Estonian kindergartens were more common among respondents without temporary protection (57%) and those having family members other than a spouse in Estonia (52%). No children were taken care of by a separate babysitter outside the family (Table 4.4.12).

Of temporary protected respondents with children under the age of seven in Estonia, 47% had the children at home with themselves, 12% left the child with another family member during the day and 41% used an Estonian kindergarten. Of respondents, 49% had school-aged children (7–17 years old). Among those with school-aged children, 29% of their children attended Estonian school, 23% attended Estonian school and on-line Ukrainian school at the same time, 31%

**Table 4.4.12.** Ukrainian survey respondents with under seven years old children in Estonia (%).

	Children at home	Children in kindergarten	Children with another family member	n
Man	40	10	50	10
Woman	47	45	8	112
18–29 years old	65	29	6	17
30–39 years old	43	52	5	75
40–49 years old	50	15	35	26
50–64 years old	33	67	0	3
65+ years old	0	100	0	1
Higher education	41	48	11	83
No higher education	59	28	13	39
Temporary protection	47	41	12	115
No temporary protection	42	57	0	7
Spouse in Estonia	56	29	15	52
No spouse in Estonia	40	51	9	70
Other family in Estonia	34	54	11	35
Tallinn	49	37	14	49
Other Harjumaa	40	52	8	25
Other Estonia	48	42	10	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>122</b>

attended on-line Ukrainian school, 2% attended another form of schooling and 15% did not attend school (Table 4.4.13).

The largest share of respondents with children attending Estonian school was among the youngest (18–29-year-old) parents (44%). Those with children attending Estonian and on-line Ukrainian school were more often older responders (33% of 50–64-year-old respondents with school-aged children) or respondents with a higher education (29%) and those living in Tallinn (27%). Children only attending Ukrainian on-line school was highest among those without temporary protection (46%). The very few respondents who were over 65 years old and had children in Estonia also all had them in Ukrainian schools (Table 4.4.13). Since schooling in Estonia is compulsory until either the age of 17 or middle school graduation, is not evident if attending school is obligatory for all children belonging to this age group as some respondents could have children who had already graduated from middle school and thus fulfilled their educational requirements.

Of temporary protected respondents, 49% had 7–17-year-old children. Of these respondents, 30% answered that their children attended Estonian school, 24% Estonian school and online Ukrainian school, 30% on Ukrainian on-line school, 1% attended some other form of schooling and 15% did not attend school.

**Table 4.4.13.** Ukrainian survey respondents' children attending school in Estonia (%).

	Estonian school	Ukrainian school (online)	Both Estonian and Ukrainian school	None	Other	n
Man	31	23	8	39	0	13
Woman	29	31	24	14	2	244
18–29 years old	44	22	0	22	11	9
30–39 years old	32	32	24	11	2	133
40–49 years old	26	30	24	18	2	104
50–64 years old	11	22	33	33	0	9
65– years old	0	100	0	0	0	2
Higher education	28	31	29	11	1	166
No higher education	32	30	13	22	3	91
Temporary protection	30	30	24	15	1	246
No temporary protection	9	46	9	18	18	11
Spouse in Estonia	28	27	24	19	3	101
No spouse in Estonia	30	33	23	12	1	156
Other family in Estonia	29	31	23	15	2	60
Employed in Estonia	31	35	25	7	2	95
Not employed in Estonia	28	28	22	19	2	162
Tallinn	25	27	27	20	2	109
Other Harjumaa	25	41	14	14	5	56
Other Estonia	37	29	25	9	0	92
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>257</b>

Respondents were also asked to comment about their experience of finding kindergartens and schools for their children. Of respondents with children under the age of seven and using kindergarten, 73% had found it easy to find a place in a kindergarten for their child and 27% said it was difficult. The rates were the same for respondents with temporary protection (Table 4.4.14). Respondents aged 40–49 had found it the easiest to find a space for their child in an Estonian kindergarten. Many (85%) respondents living outside Tallinn and the rest of Harjumaa found a place in the kindergarten easily. Respectively, the oldest and youngest respondents and those living in Tallinn found it proportionally more difficult. More individuals (44%) living in Tallinn found it difficult to find a place in a kindergarten (Table 4.4.14).

Of respondents with school-aged children, 84% responded that it was easy to find a place for them in a school in Estonia but 16% said it was difficult (Table 4.4.14). Finding a place in school was found to be more difficult by respondents living in Tallinn (29% of respondents said so) compared with those living in the rest of Estonia. Of employed respondents, more (21%) found it difficult to find a place in school for children compared with those not employed (12%; Table 4.4.14).

Of temporary protected respondents with school-aged children, 84% found it easy to find a place for them in a school in Estonia and 16% said it was difficult.

**Table 4.4.14.** Ukrainian survey respondents' perception about easiness to find place in kindergarten and school for their children (%).

	Kindergarten			School		
	Easy	Not easy	n	Easy	Not easy	n
Man	100	0	1	80	20	5
Woman	73	28	51	85	15	130
18–29 years old	60	40	5	100	0	4
30–39 years old	77	23	39	84	16	76
40–49 years old	100	0	5	84	16	51
50–64 years old	0	100	2	75	25	4
65+ years old	0	100	1	-	-	0
Higher education	71	29	41	83	17	93
No higher education	82	18	11	88	12	42
Temporary protection	73	27	48	84	16	133
No temporary protection	75	25	4	100	0	2
Spouse in Estonia	73	27	15	87	14	52
No spouse in Estonia	73	27	37	83	17	83
Other family in Estonia	74	26	19	77	23	35
Employed in Estonia	80	20	20	79	21	53
Not employed in Estonia	69	31	32	88	12	82
Tallinn	56	44	18	71	29	109
Other Harjumaa	85	15	13	91	9	56
Other Estonia	81	19	21	95	5	92
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>135</b>



By July 2022, it seemed unlikely that the war would stop before September. In the event that it would be safe for individuals to return to Ukraine, the damaged infrastructure in Ukraine would still severely impact the possibilities for children to attend school in Ukraine in the autumn of 2022. Of respondents with school-aged children in Estonia who were planning to remain in Estonia at least until the end of 2022, 57% mentioned that the children would attend school in Estonia from September 2022 onward, 35% responded that they did not know and 8% mentioned that their children would not attend Estonian schools. Of those living in Tallinn, 60% mentioned that the children would attend school in Estonia from September 2022 onward, 32% did not know and 9% mentioned that the children would not attend Estonian schools. These shares were 52%, 38% and 11% for those living elsewhere in Harjumaa and 57%, 36% and 6% elsewhere in Estonia.

Of temporary protected respondents with school-aged children and planning to remain in Estonia at least until the end of 2022, 58% mentioned that their children would attend school in Estonia from September 2022 onward, 34% did not know and 8% mentioned that their children will not attend an Estonian school.

Of all respondents with school-aged children, the respondents mentioned that of their children, 39% would attend Estonian school, 4% Ukrainian on-line school, 18% both Estonian school and Ukrainian on-line school and 3% other schools from September 2022. However, the Estonian authorities planned that from September 2022 the children should select either Estonian or Ukrainian school if they were to continue with school education in Estonia.

Of those, whose children had attended Estonian school in the spring of 2022, 71% planned to continue in it from September onward, while 3% planned to start in a Ukrainian on-line school and 4% planned to have their children enrolled in both Estonian and Ukrainian on-line schools. Of those, whose children had attended both Estonian school and Ukrainian on-line school, 50% planned to have their children continue in this way in September, while 28% planned to have their children continue only in the Estonian school and none planned to continue only in Ukrainian on-line schooling. Of those whose children had attended Ukrainian on-line school, 11% planned to continue, 13% planned to start in both Estonian school and Ukrainian on-line school and 24% planned to have their children attend only Estonian school from September.

## **4.5 Respondents' employment in Estonia**

Providing access to employment for temporary protected persons is one aspect of the TPD, which is also relevant in Estonia. Of respondents, 34% were employed, 48% were unemployed, and the remaining 19% were inactive, i.e. neither employed nor searching for a job. The largest share of those employed was among respondents who had arrived in March 2022 (44%) and the youngest re-

spondents (18–29 years old, 42%). The smallest share of employed respondents was among those who arrived more recently, in May 2022 (14%) (Table 4.5.1).

Of employed respondents, 78% were employed full-time, 17% part-time and 5% were self-employed. The share of those who were employed full-time was largest among men (36% of all respondents), 18–29-year-olds (34%) and those who had arrived in March (34%). Among those employed part-time, the largest share was among those who had arrived in March (8%) and those with higher education (7%) (Table 4.5.1).

Wide differences appeared in regard to the gender and age differences of those employed full-time. Proportionally more working-age (in Estonia 18–64-year-olds) men (37%) were employed compared with women (26%). There was no difference in those employed full-time among younger (aged 18–39) and older (aged 40–64) workers. Of working-age men who were unemployed, 8% were not searching for job and that share was 12% among women.

Of temporary protected respondents, 34% were employed, and 27% were employed full-time, 6% part-time and 2% were self-employed (Table 4.5.1). Of working-age men with temporary protection, 33% worked full-time and none were part-time or self-employed workers. The same numbers for women were 26%, 7% and 2% respectively. Of working-age individuals with temporary protection, 9% of men and 8% of women were inactive (not employed or looking for a job).

Those who had spent more time in Estonia tended to be more actively involved in the labor market. Of those who had arrived in March 2022, 34% were employed full-time compared with 17% of those who had arrived in April and 12% of those who had arrived in May. Of men who arrived in Estonia in March, 38% were employed full-time. These numbers were 40% for those who had arrived in April and 22% for those who had arrived in May. All employed men were employed full-time but of employed women, 19% were employed part-time and 6% were self-employed. The share of women who had arrived in March and were employed full-time was 33%; while 13% of those who arrived in April and 11% of those in May were employed full time.

The survey did not specify the character of the current employment for respondents. Among all Ukrainians (see also Chapter 3.3), the most common fields of employment for those receiving temporary protection in Estonia were manufacturing (laborers) and service (cleaners and helpers).

In Estonia, there is a shortage in the labor force. Therefore, even prior to 2022, Ukrainians had played a significant part in the Estonian labor force and contributed to certain economic activities in the country. New arrivals will undoubtedly continue to do so. Of respondents to this survey who had found a job in Estonia, 38% had found it through friends and acquaintances, 32% using social media, 28% through other people they had met in Estonia, 27% through the state Unemployment Insurance Fund and 7% through other means (Table 4.5.2).

**Table 4.5.1. Employment of Ukrainian survey respondents in Estonia (%).**

	Full-time employed	Part-time employed	Self- employed	Inactive	Searching for em- ployment	n
Man	36	0	0	16	48	50
Woman	25	6	2	19	48	477
18–29 years old	34	6	2	18	40	88
30–39 years old	21	7	2	17	53	206
40–49 years old	33	6	1	7	53	142
50–64 years old	24	2	3	21	50	66
65+ years old	0	0	0	96	1	25
Higher education	23	7	3	18	49	326
No higher education	31	3	1	19	46	201
Temporary protection	26	6	2	18	49	500
No temporary protection	30	4	4	37	26	27
March '22	34	8	2	18	38	313
April '22	17	2	2	22	58	124
May '22	12	2	0	16	70	90
Employed in Ukraine	31	6	2	8	53	410
Not employed in Ukraine	9	5	0	56	29	117
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>527</b>

Inactive = Student, unemployed but not looking for a job, retired, pensioner, permanently sick or disabled, and doing housework/looking after children or members of household or something else

Finding employment through social media was the largest among men (44% of them found their current employment this way) and those who earned at least 1,000 EUR per month (41%). Finding employment through friends and acquaintances was most common among those who did not have temporary protection (70%), 50–64-year-olds (53%) and 18–29-year-olds (51%). Finding employment through new people they met in Estonia was most common among those without temporary protection (40%) and those who arrived in May (39% of them found it this way). The use of the state Unemployment Insurance Fund led to employment for 53% of the highest salary earners (Table 4.5.2). There was not much difference between those who had been in Estonia for a longer time (since March) compared with those who had arrived more recently (in May).

For temporary protected respondents, it was most common to find employment through friends and acquaintances (36%), followed by social media (33%), new people met in Estonia (28%), the state Unemployment Fund (28%) and by other means (7%).

Almost half of respondents (48%) were not employed in Estonia but actively looking for an employment. To find a job in Estonia, 84% used the state Unemployment Insurance Fund, 75% shared that they were using social media, 46% were seeking help from friends and acquaintances, 35% were asking new people they met in Estonia, and 2% through other means. These options might change over time as these job seekers experience the best means to search for and find employment in Estonia. These numbers were the same for temporary protected respondents.

**Table 4.5.2. Finding of current employment by employed Ukrainian survey respondents in Estonia (%).**

	Social media	Friends and acquaintances	The Fund (State)	New people	Other	n
Man	44	44	39	11	0	18
Woman	31	38	25	30	8	158
18–29 years old	22	51	27	24	5	37
30–39 years old	40	29	30	32	8	63
40–49 years old	33	35	26	32	9	57
50–64 years old	26	53	16	16	5	19
Higher education	37	36	29	26	9	106
No higher education	26	41	23	33	4	70
Temporary protection	33	36	28	28	7	166
No temporary protection	20	70	0	40	20	10
March '22	31	40	27	29	8	138
April '22	36	32	32	20	4	25
May '22	39	31	15	39	8	13
–599 EUR	39	33	44	33	6	18
600–999 EUR	32	33	28	33	9	57
1000– EUR	41	41	53	18	12	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>176</b>

Employment is not only about working but also about being immersed in a social environment. As a worker meets other people, they also learn more than just work-related information that can be useful for their everyday lives. Of respondents who had co-workers, 84% had Estonian, 64% Ukrainian, 22% Russian and 4% co-workers of other nationalities (Table 4.5.3). Here the concepts of “Estonian” and “Russian” can be somewhat blurred as Russian speakers from Estonia can belong to both categories of Estonian and Russian. This is similar to “Ukrainian” and “Russian” since the respondents themselves can be considered as Russian speakers from Ukraine and as belong to either category of Ukrainians or Russians.

Those with a higher education had almost the same shares of Estonian co-workers (84%) as those without a higher education (83%). The latter had fewer Russian co-workers (16%) than those with a higher education (26%) (Table 4.5.3). The respondents’ native tongue (Ukrainian or Russian) alone did not play a crucial role in what nationalities they had as co-workers. Of employed respondents who spoke Russian as their native tongue, 22% had Russian co-workers and 81% had Estonian co-workers while of those who spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue, 24% had Russian and 84% had Estonian co-workers.

In some jobs, it is essential to communicate while in others, communication is not such a crucial part of the job. Either way, instructions need to be given in a language that the employed individual understands. Besides this, the worker

**Table 4.5.3. Employed Ukrainian survey respondents' co-workers in Estonia (%).**

	Estonian	Ukrainian	Russian	Other	Don't know	n
Man	83	72	39	11	6	18
Woman	84	63	20	3	4	158
18–29 years old	89	70	27	5	3	37
30–39 years old	78	59	22	2	6	63
40–49 years old	88	61	16	5	2	57
50–64 years old	79	74	26	5	11	19
Higher education	84	61	26	4	3	106
No higher education	83	67	16	4	7	70
Temporary protection	84	65	21	3	4	166
No temporary protection	70	50	40	20	10	10
March '22	83	64	23	5	4	138
April '22	88	72	12	0	4	25
May '22	85	46	31	0	8	13
–599 EUR	72	67	17	0	11	18
600–999 EUR	88	72	25	5	2	57
1000– EUR	88	65	41	6	6	17
Good or native Russian skills	84	63	23	4	4	160
Good English skills	95	57	29	5	0	21
At least basic Estonian skills	92	48	28	8	4	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>176</b>

Basic Estonian skills = at least little on the scale of nothing - little - moderate - good. No one over the age 64 was employed. 12 of the respondents earned 1000 € / month, without them the highest-earning group would be only 5 respondents.

can communicate with fellow workers or clients using other languages he or she has knowledge of. The use of language is a mode to share social spaces with people using that language.

Of employed respondents, 91% used Russian, 38% English, 31% Ukrainian, 23% Estonian and 2% other languages at work (Table 4.5.4). English was used more among high salary earners (65% of high salary earners used English) and younger employees (18–29-year-olds, 60%). Estonian was used more among older employees (those 50 years and older, 37%).

Of temporary protected respondents who were employed, 92% used Russian, 39% English, 29% Ukrainian, 22% Estonian and 2% other languages at work. The largest share of employed respondents with temporary protection using Russian at work was among those earning 600–999 euros per month (98%), those 18–29-years-old (97%) and those without a higher education (96%). The proportionally fewest to use Russian at work (82%) were those who earned the most (at least 1,000 euros per month): of them many (65%) used English at work. Other frequent English-users among the temporarily protected were the youngest 18–29-year-old respondents (62%). The largest relative shares of those temporarily protected employed who used Estonian was among employees with a salary under 600 EUR per month (41%) and 50–64-year-olds (33%).

**Table 4.5.4. Ukrainian survey respondents' use of languages at work in Estonia.**

	Estonian	Ukrainian	Russian	English	Other	n
Man	17	33	89	39	11	18
Woman	24	30	91	38	1	158
18–29 years old	32	35	95	60	3	37
30–39 years old	16	24	92	32	2	63
40–49 years old	21	35	86	40	2	57
50–64 years old	37	32	95	11	5	19
Higher education	26	31	89	46	1	106
No higher education	20	30	94	26	4	70
Temporary protection	22	29	92	39	2	166
No temporary protection	50	60	80	30	10	10
March '22	24	33	91	40	1	138
April '22	20	24	92	28	4	25
May '22	23	23	92	39	8	13
–599 EUR	39	50	89	44	0	18
600–999 EUR	19	25	98	39	2	57
1000– EUR	18	24	82	65	6	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>176</b>

As of July 2022, there were many kinds of Ukrainians in Estonia. Some had been working for a longer time or were students. Others arrived more recently and had accessed the work force only a few weeks prior to the time of the survey. In principle, the rules for being employed in Estonia were the same for Ukrainians with temporary protection as they were for Estonians. In the first quarter, the median monthly net salary in Estonia was 1,289 euros. This was the highest in Harju county (where the capital city Tallinn is located) (1,470 euros) and lowest was in Valga county (in southern Estonia) (1,005 euros). The minimum monthly salary for full-time job was 654 euros.

Of employed respondents, 52% shared details about their salary in the survey (Table 4.5.5). Of those having full-time jobs, the average monthly salary was 808 euros (the median salary was 800 euros): 1,100 euros for men and 752 euros for women. For those with part-time employment, the average monthly salary was 653 euros (only women worked part-time) and the median salary was 600 euros. Those who earned more than 1,000 EUR per month included more often people with higher education (53%) and 30–39-year-olds (41%). Of low salary earners (less than 600 EUR per month), all (100%) were women and more often 40–49-years-olds (44%). The average salary for those with higher levels of education was 801 euros per month. Comparatively, on the average, those without higher levels of education earned slightly less (763 euros per month). Those with basic Estonian skills earned an average of 868 euros per month and those without any Estonian language skills earned slightly less (772 euros per month).

**Table 4.5.5. Ukrainian survey respondents' salaries per month in Estonia (%).**

	-599 EUR	600-999 EUR	1000- EUR	n
Man	0	56	44	9
Woman	22	63	16	83
18-29 years old	25	50	25	16
30-39 years old	15	65	21	34
40-49 years old	25	63	13	32
50-64 years old	10	70	20	20
Higher education	21	63	16	56
No higher education	17	61	22	36
Temporary protection	19	62	19	89
No temporary protection	33	67	0	3
March '22	24	56	20	71
April '22	0	81	19	16
May '22	20	80	0	5
Good or native Russian skills	18	62	20	87
Good English skills	11	56	33	9
At least basic Estonian skills	23	38	38	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>92</b>

Basic Estonian skills = at least little on the scale of nothing - little - moderate - good. No one over the age 64 was employed.

For temporary protected respondents who were employed, the average salary was 789 euros per month (for men 1,119 euros and for women 756 euros), and the median salary was 800 euros per month. In general, the salary level of respondents living in Estonia without temporary protection was lower among all groups. Of temporary protected respondents who were employed full-time, the lowest quartile earned on average 600 euros per month, the mean salary was 517 euros per month, and the highest quartile earned 900 euros per month on average.

Generally, access to a new labor market happens by converting one's existing skills to the contexts of the local market. In the case of Ukrainians in Estonia, this means that individuals would have similar jobs in Estonia as they had previously in Ukraine. Depending on the local situation, new individuals (such as newly arrived Ukrainians in Estonia) can fare better or worse off and have more or fewer opportunities to improve this situation. In response to the current study, 33% of employed respondents mentioned that their current job in Estonia was similar to their previous work in Ukraine (Table 4.5.6). This was most common among the youngest respondents (18-29-year-olds, 46%). Of those with a similar job, 54% were fully satisfied, 41% partially satisfied, and few (5%) were unsatisfied with their current job. On the contrary, of those whose job in Estonia was not similar to their previous job in Ukraine, fewer (30%) were fully satisfied, 58% were partly satisfied and more (12%) were unsatisfied with their current job in Estonia.

Those with temporary protection more often had similar work in Estonia as they had had in Ukraine (34%) compared with those without temporary protection (22%). There were, however, small differences in satisfaction with work based on whether a person had temporary protection. Of those with temporary protection and having similar work, more (54%) were fully satisfied, while 41% were partly satisfied and 5% unsatisfied with their current employment. There was no difference in satisfaction between individuals with or without temporary protection and a job in Estonia that differs from their previous work in Ukraine.

Overall, of all employed respondents, 41% mentioned that they were fully and 51% that they were partly satisfied with their current employment (Table 4.5.6). The largest share of those who were fully satisfied were among respondents without high levels of education (50%) and high salary earners (47%). The largest share of those who were at least partly satisfied with their jobs were among men (100%) and those without temporary protection (100%). Of respondents, only 8% shared that they were not satisfied with their employment. This was most commonly mentioned by low salary earners (17%). The job satisfaction did not depend on whether one was able to save money from their salary or not: Of those respondents who were able to save money from their salary, 53% were fully satisfied 44% partly satisfied and 4% unsatisfied with their current job in Estonia.

**Table 4.5.6. Satisfaction by employed Ukrainian survey respondents in their employment in Estonia (%).**

	Satisfied with work			Similar job than in Ukraine		Saving money from salary		n
	Fully	Partly	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Man	39	61	0	11	89	39	61	18
Woman	42	50	8	36	64	32	68	156
18–29 years old	41	57	3	46	54	51	49	37
30–39 years old	41	48	11	33	67	32	68	63
40–49 years old	47	46	7	31	69	20	80	55
50–64 years old	26	68	5	16	84	37	63	19
Higher education	36	56	9	36	64	33	67	104
No higher education	50	44	6	30	70	33	67	70
Temporary protection	41	51	8	34	66	32	68	165
No temporary protection	44	56	0	22	78	44	56	9
March '22	43	49	8	35	65	31	69	137
April '22	36	60	4	24	76	32	68	25
May '22	33	58	8	33	67	50	50	12
–599 EUR	44	39	17	17	83	28	72	18
600–999 EUR	30	61	9	23	77	21	79	57
1000– EUR	47	47	6	25	75	53	47	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>174</b>



The satisfaction of one's employment varied among temporary protected respondents. Of temporary protected respondents who were employed, regardless of whether their work was similar to their previous work in Ukraine, 41% were fully satisfied, 51% partly satisfied and 8% unsatisfied. Satisfaction with the current job was higher among those who had been in Estonia for a longer time.

Employment was a necessity for many respondents to earn money and be able to live a decent life in Estonia. Of employed respondents, 33% mentioned that they were able to save money from their salary while 67% were not able to (Table 4.5.6). In general, and as to be expected, a larger share of respondents earning the highest salary was able to save money compared with the share of those earning a low salary. This also depended on how many people one needed to sustain with that salary and what other financial and material support the respondent could enjoy while earning the salary.

Of employed temporary protected respondents, 32% were able to save money from their salary. This share was 39% for employed men and 32% for employed women. Of employed respondents, 11% of those with child/ren and a spouse in Estonia were able to save money from their salary; this was 26% of those having children but not spouse in Estonia and 60% of those having a spouse but not children in Estonia. The latter suggests that both were earning in the household and that they were rather well off.

The respondents also shared the best and worst aspects in their employment in Estonia. Of all employed respondents, 87% responded to the questions regarding the best aspects in their employment in Estonia (Table 4.5.7). For all, the most commonly mentioned best aspect was the working environment, attitude, and colleagues (for 36% of those who were employed). The second-best aspect mentioned (14%) was working in an occupation similar to the one the respondent had had in Ukraine and enjoying or loving the job. The schedule and possibility to work remotely were also mentioned by 14%.

The responses among employed temporary protected respondents were rather similar to that of all respondents. Among temporary protected individuals there was a 86% response rate. 36% of the temporarily protected, employed respondents mentioned also the working environment and attitude, and colleagues as the best aspect. This was followed by those who mentioned the working schedule or the possibility to work remotely (15%).

When it came to the worst aspects in employment, the overall response rate was 70% of all employed respondents (Table 4.5.8). Of employed respondents, 30% did not actually point out any negative aspects of their current place of work and 17% mentioned that nothing was bad. For those 50 years or older (20%) and more highly educated employees (16%), the worst aspect of their employment in Estonia was that the work was hard or they had

**Table 4.5.7. Best thing in Ukrainian survey respondents' job in Estonia (%).**

	n	Answered (%)	Most often mentioned	2 <sup>nd</sup> most often mentioned	3 <sup>rd</sup> most often mentioned
Man	18	78	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Existence of job, all	Schedule, possibility to work remotely
Woman	158	88	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do	Schedule, possibility to work remotely
18–29 years old	37	95	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Salary	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do
30–39 years old	63	84	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Existence of job, all	No answer or don't know
40–49 years old	57	84	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do / Schedule, possibility to work remotely	14
50+ years old	19	94	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Communication, possibility to be in community	Existence of job, all
Higher education	106	87	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do	Schedule, possibility to work remotely
No higher education	70	87	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Existence of job, all	No answer or don't know
Temporary protection	166	86	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Schedule, possibility to work remotely	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do / No answer or don't know
No temporary protection	10	100	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Existence of job, all	Salary / Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do / Help to Ukraine / Place or conditions
March '22	138	86	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Schedule, possibility to work remotely	No answer or don't know
April '22	25	92	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do	Schedule, possibility to work remotely
May '22	13	83	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Salary	No answer or don't know
–599 EUR	18	77	No answer or don't know	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Schedule, possibility to work remotely
600–999 EUR	57	93	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Existence of job, all	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do / Schedule, possibility to work remotely
1000+ EUR	17	100	Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues	Schedule, possibility to work remotely	Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do
<b>Total</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>Work atmosphere, attitude, colleagues</b>	<b>Match to my occupation, enjoy what I do</b>	<b>Schedule, possibility to work remotely</b>

Including only those who were working (n = 176). Respondents had specified 0–2 best aspects, this ranks the most mentioned. Most mentioned just one aspect/one class of aspects, only 20 told more.

**Table 4.5.8. Worst thing in Ukrainian survey respondents' job in Estonia (%).**

	n	Answered (%)	Most often mentioned	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most often mentioned	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most often mentioned	%
Man	18	72	Salary, delay with payment	22	Schedule, long working hours	17	Hard work, too much work	11
Woman	158	70	Nothing bad	18	Hard work, too much work	15	Schedule, long working hours	7
18–29 years old	37	73	Nothing bad		Schedule, long working hours	14	Hard work, too much work	8
30–39 years old	63	70	Nothing bad	18	Language issue / Russians, clients	8	-	
40–49 years old	57	70	Nothing bad	18	Hard work, too much work	16	Schedule, long working hours / Not my occupation or don't like what I do	7
50+ years old	19	63	Hard work, too much work	20	Salary, delay with payment	16	Schedule, long working hours / Language issue / Nothing bad / Russians, clients	5
Higher education	106	71	Hard work, too much work	16	Nothing bad	13	Schedule, long working hours	9
No higher education	70	69	Nothing bad	23	Hard work, too much work	13	Salary, delay with payment	7
Temporary protection	166	71	Nothing bad	17	Hard work, too much work	15	Schedule, long working hours	8
No temporary protection	10	60	Nothing bad	20	Hard work, too much work	10	Salary, delay with payment / Russians, clients	10
March '22	138	69	Nothing bad	15	Hard work, too much work	15	Schedule, long working hours	8
April '22	25	76	Nothing bad	28	Hard work, too much work / Salary, delay with payment	16	-	
May '22	13	69	Hard work, too much work / Nothing bad	15	Schedule, long working hours / Distance to home / Working conditions / Salary, delay with payment / Limited self-realisation	8	-	
-599 EUR	18	72	Nothing bad	39	Not my occupation, don't like what I do	11	Hard work, too much work / Schedule, long working hours / Distance to home / Language issue	6
600–999 EUR	57	83	Hard work, too much work	21	Schedule, long working hours	11	Nothing bad	11
1000+ EUR	17	77	Schedule, long working hours	30	Language issue	12	Nothing bad	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>Nothing bad</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>Hard work, too much work</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>Schedule long working hours</b>	<b>8</b>

Including only those who were working (n = 176), but counting only mentions of other aspects than "don't know" (70% of those employed gave them). Respondents had specified 0–2 worst aspects, this ranks the most mentioned. Most mentioned just one aspect/one class of aspects, only 2 told more.

too much work. High salaried employees also mentioned the worst part being the schedule and long working shifts. Overall, the most common complaint about the current place of work (second to those who could not point out anything negative) was that the work was too hard or too much (mentioned by 15% of all employed respondents and 21% of those who named at least one aspect). Other complaints were related to the work schedule, long working shifts, salary or delays with payments, distance to home, language issues, Russian people and clients.

Among employed temporary protected respondents, there was a 71% response rate to the question related to dissatisfaction with work. For 17% of all employed, there was actually nothing bad with their job. The next worse aspects were also related to the work being hard and too much (15%) and working long shifts (8%).

To enter the labor market, a newly arrived Ukrainian in Estonia may have needed to start with the first job opportunity that became possible after their arrival. For some, this could have been a good job in which one wishes to continue while others may continue searching for better jobs for various reasons.

Of employed respondents, 39% mentioned that they did not want to change their current employment. The share of those was the highest among those 18–29-year-olds (60%) and those earning a high salary (53%). On the other hand, the share was lowest among low salary earners (11%).

Of all employed respondents, 58% mentioned that they would like to change their job in Estonia. Of the multiple-choice selection, the largest share selected that they needed a higher salary (37%), a job that better matched their skills (12%), a different profession (7%), a better work environment (2%) and 2% mentioned other reasons (Table 4.5.9). The largest share among those who were hoping to change their job due to salary were those who earned less than 600 EUR per month (72%) and those who had arrived in Estonia in May (50%). The largest share among those who were hoping to change their job for a better work environment was among employees who did not have temporary protection (11%). Among those seeking a different profession through a job change, the highest share was among 50–64-year-olds (21%). Finally, among those seeking a job that better matches their skills, the largest share was among 50–64-year-olds (21%) and those earning 600–999 EUR per month (19%).

Of temporary protected respondents, 62% mentioned that they would like to change their job in Estonia. The largest share mentioned that they would like to earn a higher salary (38%), have a job that better matched their skills (13%), that they were aiming for a different profession (7%), to have a better work environment (2%) or other reasons 2%.

**Table 4.5.9.** Ukrainian survey respondents' aim to change job in Estonia.

	No, satisfied with current job	Yes, for higher salary	Yes, for different profession	Yes, for job matching skills better	Yes, for a better working environment	Other	n
Man	44	39	6	6	6	0	18
Woman	39	37	7	13	2	3	156
18–29 years old	60	19	5	5	5	5	37
30–39 years old	40	41	10	8	2	0	63
40–49 years old	29	49	0	18	0	4	55
50–64 years old	26	26	21	21	5	0	19
Higher education	36	38	7	16	2	2	104
No higher education	44	37	7	6	3	3	70
Temporary protection	39	38	7	13	2	2	165
No temporary protection	44	33	0	0	11	11	9
March '22	39	37	7	15	2	1	137
April '22	40	36	8	4	4	8	25
May '22	33	50	8	0	0	8	12
–599 EUR	11	72	0	11	0	6	18
600–999 EUR	25	47	7	19	0	2	57
1000– EUR	53	24	12	12	0	0	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>174</b>

## 4.6 Respondents' migration aspirations and digital mobility in Estonia

Estonia suddenly became the destination for Ukrainians after the war broke out in the end of February 2022 and it remained the temporary residency as of the time this report was published for many today. Whether Estonia is to become more than a temporary residency for those who fled will only be seen with time and will depend on several factors. This survey attempted to understand the current aspirations of Ukrainians who fled to Estonia after February 24<sup>th</sup>. Their choices depend on an individual's contextual and subjective decision-making processes which guide their perceptions and choices regarding destination and trajectories (Mallett and Hagen-Zanker 2018). Both individual migrants' aspirations and migration capabilities have an impact on their lives and path of migration.

Migration trajectories and destinations are both imagined and exercised. Forced migration rarely takes on a linear format where a person moves from the origin to the destination, and then potentially back to the origin. Instead, forced migration is often fragmented and consists of periods with lower and higher mobility. In addition, when it is possible, some migrants can perform circular migration in-between their country of origin and destination. In the current case, this means circular migration between Ukraine and Estonia. The geographical destination of respondents also depends on where they ultimately want to live.

Of respondents, 73% responded to the question about which country they would most prefer to live in. Of those who responded, the majority (70%) mentioned Ukraine as the most preferred country to live in (51% of the survey sample). Many did not want to leave Ukraine and still hope to be able to return, or at least they strongly expressed that it is their preferred country of residency. All respondents had been in Estonia for only a short time and besides Ukraine, Estonia was the second most popular preferred country among respondents (10%).

Of temporary protected respondents, 70% would prefer to live in Ukraine and 10% in Estonia (Table 4.6.1).

All respondents had left Ukraine after the war started and had a temporary right to remain in Estonia. Of all respondents, 67% were sure to return to Ukraine, 23% were uncertain whether they would return, and 10% indicated that they would not return.

The share of those indicating that they did not plan to return was largest among men (16%), those without temporary protection (15%), those who had arrived in April (15%), those with a spouse in Estonia (15%) and those with children in Ukraine (15%). The share of those indicating they would not return or that they were not sure was 33%. Of them, the largest share was among men (46%), followed by those who had arrived in April (44%) and those with a spouse in Es-

**Table 4.6.1. Ukrainian survey respondents' most preferred country to live (%).**

	All n	Answered (%)	Most common country	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common country	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common country	%	n
Man	50	70	Ukraine	51	United States	11	Canada / Liechtenstein / Spain	6	35
Woman	477	73	Ukraine	72	Estonia	10	United States	3	349
18–29 years old	88	78	Ukraine	68	Canada / United States	4	Estonia / France / Italy	3	69
30–39 years old	206	72	Ukraine	73	Estonia	13	Canada	4	149
40–49 years old	142	73	Ukraine	66	Estonia	11	United States	4	103
50–64 years old	66	62	Ukraine	61	Estonia / Italy	7	-		41
65+ years old	25	88	Ukraine	96	Estonia	5	-		22
Higher education	326	72	Ukraine	68	Estonia	9	Canada	3	234
No higher education	201	75	Ukraine	73	Estonia	11	United States	4	150
Temporary protection	500	72	Ukraine	70	Estonia	10	United States	4	362
No temporary protection	27	82	Ukraine	73	Estonia	9	Canada / Paraguay / Spain / Switzerland	5	22
March '22	313	72	Ukraine	72	Estonia	10	Canada	3	226
April '22	124	75	Ukraine	67	Estonia	7	Canada	5	93
May '22	90	72	Ukraine	69	Estonia	14	United States	5	65
Having friends or family abroad	228	72	Ukraine	68	Estonia	13	Canada	2	165
<b>Total</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>Estonia</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>384</b>

Having friends or family abroad = friends or family in Europe somewhere else than in Estonia or Ukraine

tonia (41%). This is a difficult question to respond to because the possibilities for individuals to return to Ukraine, to remain in Estonia, or to migrate further do not depend on the respondent alone. Respondents did not know (as no one could know) when and how the war will end. Not all knew European policies (such as temporary protection) and if temporary protection would be extended in case the war continues for much longer than anticipated (Table 4.6.2).

Of those who planned to return to Ukraine, 95% were in contact with people in Ukraine at least once a week and 94% missed the landscape of their home region. Very few (3%) of respondents indicated that they would return very soon, in the next month (July–August 2022). The share of those planning to return soon was largest among those without temporary protection (15%). On the other hand, none (0%) of the respondents aged 65 and up nor of those with a spouse in Estonia planned to return to Ukraine in the next month.

Some respondents considered that they would return upon certain conditions. 32% said they would return to Ukraine when the situation is safe. This could mean that they could return to Ukraine even if the war continued but did not create security challenges for them. However, they would not return before the end of autumn 2022. The share of respondents indicating they would return with these conditions was the largest among the oldest age group (64% of people 65 years or older), followed by those whose spouse was left behind in Ukraine (47%). It was lowest among those who were alone in Estonia (25%).

The third group of those who aimed to return to Ukraine was those who mentioned that they would go back when the war is over. These were 32% of all respondents and a larger part of them (39%) were those who had arrived in Estonia more recently (in May 2022). At the same time, this is a complex answer because it depends on what is meant by the war. This understanding is influenced by where a person is from or what their views are. As discussed in Section 3.2, since 2014 there had been an ongoing, geographically concentrated war in the eastern part of Ukraine. However, until February 2022 this was limited to only that area. While it is most likely that respondents here considered the end of the war to mean when the active military confrontation in Ukraine ceases, it is not possible to know for sure.

Temporary protected respondents received a one-year residence permit to stay in Estonia. In case the war continues into spring of 2023, this right to remain in Estonia will most likely be extended. Some could also find other ways to legitimize their right to remain in Estonia and in the EU. Of temporary protected respondents, 10% said that they did not intend to return to Ukraine, 24% thought they might return to Ukraine and 66% had clear hopes to return to Ukraine: 2% by July–August 2022, 32% when the situation is safe, and a further 32% when the war is over.

In addition to wishing to return to Ukraine or remain in Estonia, respondents could also share whether they hoped to migrate on to another country from Estonia. Just as with the previous hopes (to return to Ukraine), the hope to migrate on de-



**Table 4.6.2. Ukrainian survey respondents' plans to return to Ukraine (%).**

	Yes, next month	Yes, when safe	Yes, after the war	Maybe	No	n
Man	2	28	24	30	16	50
Woman	3	32	33	23	9	477
18–29 years old	6	27	33	27	7	88
30–39 years old	2	31	32	25	11	206
40–49 years old	4	30	35	21	11	142
50–64 years old	2	33	27	26	12	66
65+ years old	0	64	32	4	0	25
Higher education	2	30	31	26	10	326
No higher education	4	34	33	18	10	201
Temporary protection	2	32	32	24	10	500
No temporary protection	15	30	30	11	15	27
March '22	3	34	31	21	8	313
April '22	1	26	29	29	15	124
May '22	3	26	39	22	10	90
Spouse in Estonia	0	27	33	26	15	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	3	30	34	23	11	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	0	25	34	29	12	123
Alone in Estonia	3	25	35	31	6	71
Spouse in Ukraine	4	47	32	14	4	113
Children (all ages) in Ukraine	2	32	33	18	15	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child

depends on factors outside of the respondent's control or wishes to do so. Of respondents, only 2% had clear aspirations for such on-migration. The highest percentage of those aspiring for onward migration was among men (4%), those without temporary protection (4%), and those alone in Estonia (4%). Another 17% of all respondents considered the possibility that they might migrate on to a third country from Estonia. This possibility was more often expressed by men (26%) and the youngest respondents (25% of 18–29-year-olds).

The most commonly mentioned countries Ukrainian respondents considered as possible destinations for onward migrate (both definite and possible) were Germany or Canada (by 9% of all who considered onward migration likely or possible). Canada was the country most sought after for onward migration among those aspiring for onward migration whose spouses had been left in Ukraine (33%), 40–49-year-olds (17%), and those alone in Estonia (17%). In general, however, respondents from many different backgrounds indicated that they were not interested at all in on-migration, or very few of them indicated such aspirations (Table 4.6.3).

Of temporary protected respondents, only 2% were sure that they wished to migrate on to another country from Estonia, 17% answered that onward migration was a possibility, and 82% were not interested in on-migration. The share of those wishing to migrate on was slightly smaller among those who were not employed in Estonia (1% definitive; 15% maybe; 84% no) and those who had children in Estonia (1% definite; 15% maybe; 84% no). The numbers were similar for those who agreed



**Table 4.6.3. Ukrainian survey respondents' plans to on-migrate from Estonia to other country than Ukraine (%).**

	May-				Most common country				2 <sup>nd</sup> most common country				3 <sup>rd</sup> most common country				%				n			
	No	be	Yes	n																				
Man	70	26	4	50	Germany				13 EU, South Europe / France / Ireland / Italy / Poland / Portugal / Spain / United States				7				15							
Woman	83	16	2	477	Canada				11 Germany				9 Poland / Spain				6				82			
18–29 years old	73	25	2	88	Canada / France				13				Italy / Poland / United States				8				24			
30–39 years old	83	14	3	206	Germany				17 Spain				11 Canada				6				35			
40–49 years old	83	17	0	142	Canada				17 EU, South Europe / Germany / Italy / Poland / United States				8				24							
50–64 years old	80	18	2	66	Ireland / Israel				15				South Asia / Denmark / Germany				8				13			
65+ years old	96	4	0	25	Poland				100				1											
Higher education	79	19	2	326	Canada				12 Germany				9 Italy / Poland / Spain				6				68			
No higher education	86	12	2	201	Germany				10 France / Poland / Spain / United States				7				29							
Temporary protection	82	17	2	500	Canada / Germany				10				Spain				7				92			
No temporary protection	82	15	4	27	EU, South Europe / Ireland / Poland				20				5											
March '22	82	17	2	313	Canada				12 Germany				7 EU, South Europe / Poland / Spain / United States				5				57			
April '22	79	20	1	124	Germany / Spain				12				Italy				8				26			
May '22	84	12	3	90	Germany / Poland				14				Canada / Finland / United States				7				14			
Spouse in Estonia	81	19	1	162	Italy				10 Israel / Spain / United States				7				31							
Children (–18) in Estonia	83	15	1	292	Germany				10 Canada / Poland / Spain / United States				6				49							
Nuclear family in Estonia	82	17	1	123	Italy / Spain / United States				9				-				22							
Alone in Estonia	75	21	4	71	Canada / Germany				17				Spain				11				18			
Spouse in Ukraine	92	8	0	113	Canada				33				22 South Asia / Germany / Ireland / Sweden / Turkey / United States				11				9			
Children (–18) in Ukraine	100	0	0	8	-				-				-				0							
Having friends or family abroad	77	21	3	228	Canada				13 Germany				11 Spain / United States				8				53			
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>Canada / Germany</b>				<b>9</b>				<b>Poland / Spain</b>				<b>6</b>				<b>97</b>			

Having friends or family abroad = friends or family in Europe somewhere else than in Estonia or Ukraine

that Estonians are friendly towards them (2% definite; 16% maybe; 83% no) and those who agreed that they are treated well in their current place of residence (2% definite; 17% maybe; 82% no). Among temporary protected respondents, the most frequently mentioned countries to which they hoped (or considered as possible) to migrate onward to were also Canada (10%), Germany (10%) and Spain (7%).

Whether or not one aspired to remain in Estonia, return to Ukraine or migrate on to a third country, respondents were invited to estimate where they would like to be in 2025, three years from the time of completing the survey (summer 2022). Of respondents, 72% answered this question. A lower response rate was among men (36% of whom did not respond) and those with (underaged) children in Ukraine (50% did not answer). While some respondents mentioned specific countries they hoped to be in by 2025 (Ukraine, 71% of people responding to this question; Estonia, 14%), others did not indicate a specific country or location but just mentioned that they would like to be in a safe place, without war or Russians (4%) or by a warm seaside (3%). Many respondents considered the large out-migration from Ukraine to be only temporary, and many aimed to return to Ukraine. However, this depends on the particular situation in Ukraine. Those rather few who planned to remain in Estonia were more common among respondents in their 30s or 40s and those who had their spouse in Estonia.

Of all those, who had stated that they aspired to return to Ukraine, 56% answered that by 2025 they would like to be in Ukraine and 5% answered that they would be in Estonia. Those who initially aspired to return to Ukraine were more certain that they would return to Ukraine by 2025 than respondents in general. Of those who considered migrating on to a third country (thus, neither returning to Ukraine or remaining in Estonia), only 32% mentioned that by 2025 they would like to be in Ukraine and 2% in Estonia. This indicates that for many, the current aspiration to migrate on to a third country is not only an immediate wish but a longer-term plan.

Of temporary protected respondents who mentioned a country where they would be in 2025, 71% aspired that they would be Ukraine and 14% Estonia. This suggests that a rather small part of the current temporary protected Ukrainians in Estonia foresee staying in Estonia for a longer time. However, taking into consideration that there were 50,000 Ukrainians fleeing war in Ukraine in Estonia in the summer of 2022, these numbers would suggest that 7,000 of these individuals thought they would still be in Estonia in 2025. Despite the predictions of respondents, it is important to recall that the return to Ukraine depends on the situation there.

Among all those who came to Estonia in March 2022, the share of those currently envisioning themselves to be in Ukraine in three years was 73%, and in Estonia 13%. For those who arrived in April, the shares were 64% (Ukraine) and 15% (Estonia), and for those who arrived in May they were 71% (Ukraine) and 15%

**Table 4.6.4. Ukrainian survey respondents' preferred country of residence in 2025 (%).**

	Answered		Most common country	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> most common country	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> most common country	%	n
	All n	(%)							
Man	50	64	Ukraine	53	Estonia	19	Poland / Portugal / Spain / United States	3	32
Woman	477	73	Ukraine	72	Estonia	14	Canada	1	348
18–29 years old	88	76	Ukraine	70	Estonia	10	Canada / France / Italy / Latvia / Portugal	2	67
30–39 years old	206	74	Ukraine	66	Estonia	18	Canada / Maldives / Spain / United States	1	152
40–49 years old	142	69	Ukraine	76	Estonia	13	Finland / Lithuania / Switzerland / United States	1	98
50–64 years old	66	75	Ukraine	67	Estonia	9	Norway / Poland / Spain / United States	2	43
65+ years old	25	80	Ukraine	90	Estonia	5	-	-	20
Higher education	326	72	Ukraine	70	Estonia	13	Canada	1	229
No higher education	201	73	Ukraine	71	Estonia	15	Spain	1	147
Temporary protection	500	72	Ukraine	71	Estonia	14	Canada	1	358
No temporary protection	27	82	Ukraine	68	Estonia	9	Switzerland / United States	5	22
March '22	313	71	Ukraine	73	Estonia	13	Canada	1	223
April '22	124	74	Ukraine	64	Estonia	15	Spain / United States	2	92
May '22	90	72	Ukraine	71	Estonia	15	Canada / Switzerland	2	65
Spouse in Estonia	162	68	Ukraine	68	Estonia	21	Latvia / Norway / United States	1	110
Children (–18) in Estonia	292	72	Ukraine	71	Estonia	16	United States	1	210
Nuclear family in Estonia	123	67	Ukraine	72	Estonia	18	Norway / United States	1	82
Alone in Estonia	71	79	Ukraine	66	Estonia	13	Canada	4	56
Spouse in Ukraine	113	80	Ukraine	81	Estonia	10	United States	1	90
Children (–18) in Ukraine	8	50	Ukraine	75	Estonia	25	-	-	4
Having friends or family abroad	228	75	Ukraine	66	Estonia	17	Canada / Spain	1	170
<b>Total</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>Estonia</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Canada / United States</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>380</b>

Answered = a reply other than no answer or I don't know. Max 2 first mentioned countries included. Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child. Having friends or family abroad = friends or family in European countries elsewhere than in Estonia or Ukraine. A few respondents also replied things like "in a safe place" or "somewhere near sea". These respondents are included in the answered share, but only mentioned countries are in the table. Many of the 3rd most often mentioned countries got just one mention

(Estonia). This suggests that remaining in Estonia for a few months more or less did not change respondents' estimation of whether they will remain in Estonia for a longer time or return to Ukraine (Table 4.6.4).

Respondents did not know how long they would remain in Estonia. Uncertainty about how long the war would continue in Ukraine and lack of clarity about how their right to remain in Estonia would continue (after the temporary protection or other measures ended) meant that their residency in Estonia felt temporary for respondents. All of the respondents had arrived in Estonia from Ukraine only a few months or weeks prior to participating in the survey. At this time, they did not know how long they would be in their current accommodation in Estonia, and many had changed their place of residence or accommodation in Estonia because of temporary character of earlier accommodations.

In fact, when respondents were asked if they thought they would remain in Estonia for the rest of their lives, a small minority (11%) thought they would. This share was higher among those living outside of the capital city (Tallinn). Whereas 8% of those living in Tallinn said they would live in Estonia the rest of their lives, 14% of those living in large towns and 15% of those in the countryside or small towns said so. However, almost half of respondents (47%) did not know how to answer to this. Considering that many had just arrived in Estonia and were only starting their adaptation, not to mention dealing with the emotional stress of fleeing their home country, it is understandable that there was such a large amount of uncertainty as it is very difficult to foresee such a long perspective under these circumstances. Nevertheless, 41% of respondents mentioned that they would definitely not live in Estonia for the rest of their lives (Table 4.6.5).

Of temporary protected respondents, 12% thought that they might live in Estonia for the rest of their lives, 48% did not know and 41% did not agree with this statement. Those who had no relatives in Ukraine, had children in an Estonian school, or lived outside Tallinn more often thought that they would spend the rest of their lives in Estonia. These numbers suggest that around 5,000–6,000 of the current war-fleeing Ukrainians thought they would remain in Estonia for the rest of their lives. This obviously depends on the individuals' circumstances in Estonia as well as what will happen in Ukraine.

Another broader aspect of the everyday lives of Ukrainians in Estonia was their nostalgia toward Ukraine, specifically in relation to an individual's family, relatives, friends, and former life in Ukraine. Describing an individual's home region and 'landscape' is multifaceted and can have many layers and meanings for Ukrainians in Estonia. On the one hand, a landscape can be something physical such as a natural or urban realm that one is used to having around them. For Ukrainians in Estonia, their new realm in Estonia

was rarely similar to that of their home region. On the other hand, landscapes can also include individual memories related to a place. For Ukrainians in Estonia, the memories of their home region contain many social and symbolic aspects which influence one's physical, temporal and mental environments.

Of the respondents who participated in this survey, 90% agreed that they missed the landscape of their home region. The younger respondents (93% of 30–39-year-olds and 92% of 18–29-year-olds) were among those who responded more often that they did so as well as those without higher education (92%) and those not employed in Estonia (92%). Less likely to respond that they missed the landscape of their home region were those without temporary protection (74% of them did so) and men (84%). The share of those not knowing how to answer this (7% of all respondents) was highest among those without temporary protection (15% did not know), and men (12%). Despite the fact that the question related to missing one's home landscape is rather abstract, the shares of those who agreed that they missed this aspect of Ukraine were very high among all subgroups.

In addition to depending on feelings of attachment and level of current security and safety, the tough decision about whether to migrate or to stay also depended on one's view toward the future. Of those who participated in this survey in the summer of 2022, 78% saw their future positively, 21% did not know how to answer to this, and only 2% did not see their future positively (Table 4.6.5). The share of those who saw their future positively was highest among those who had arrived more recently, in May 2022 (86%). The share of people uncertain about one's future was largest among older respondents (32% of those 65 years or older) and respondents from major conflict areas (28%).

Those who had arrived earlier, and thus spent more time in Estonia, were less likely to see their futures positively than those who had arrived more recently. Of those who had arrived in Estonia in March, 75% saw their future positively (23% were uncertain). For those who arrived in April, 77% saw their future positively and 20% were uncertain, and for those who arrived in May 86% saw their future positively, 14% were uncertain and none (0%) disagreed that they could see their future positively. It is difficult to know the reason for those having arrived more recently expressing more positivity; this is one trend, however, that could be followed up on in future studies of temporary protected Ukrainians in Estonia and other EU countries.

Of temporary protected respondents, 77% saw their future positively, 21% did not know and 2% disagreed that they could see their future positively. Comparatively, of those without temporary protection, 82% saw their future positively and none of the 27 respondents disagreed that they could see their future positively. These differences between Ukrainian with and without temporary pro-

**Table 4.6.5. Migration-related aspects of Ukrainian survey respondents' everyday lives in Estonia (%).**

	Probably to live in Estonia forever			Missing the landscape of home region			Seeing own future positively			n
	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	
Man	10	46	44	84	12	4	72	24	4	50
Woman	12	48	41	90	6	4	78	21	1	477
18–29 years old	8	42	50	92	8	0	73	24	3	88
30–39 years old	14	51	35	93	5	2	80	18	2	206
40–49 years old	10	47	44	87	6	7	82	18	1	142
50–64 years old	12	53	35	85	9	6	73	27	0	66
65+ years old	8	32	60	88	8	4	68	32	0	25
Higher education	11	49	40	89	6	5	77	21	2	326
No higher education	12	44	44	92	7	2	78	21	1	201
Temporary protection	12	48	41	91	6	3	77	21	2	500
No temporary protection	7	41	52	74	15	11	82	19	0	27
Spouse in Estonia	12	56	32	91	7	2	78	21	1	162
Children (all ages) in Estonia	12	49	40	90	6	4	79	20	1	361
Nuclear family in Estonia	11	58	32	93	6	2	79	20	1	123
Alone in Estonia	14	38	48	89	7	4	79	20	1	71
Employed in Estonia	13	52	35	86	10	4	78	21	1	176
Not employed in Estonia	11	45	44	92	5	4	77	21	2	351
March '22	10	49	41	89	7	4	75	23	2	313
April '22	15	41	44	94	2	3	77	20	2	124
May '22	12	50	38	87	9	4	86	14	0	90
No occupation or conflict area	10	51	39	88	7	5	82	17	1	170
Limited occupation and conflict area	11	46	44	91	7	2	80	19	1	198
Major occupation and conflict area	14	47	40	90	5	5	68	28	3	159
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>527</b>

Nuclear family in Estonia = spouse and at least 1 under 18-year-old child.

tection status could be investigated further in future studies on Ukrainians receiving Temporary Protection in Estonia and the EU.

Besides physical mobility, the war-fleeing Ukrainians also exercised digital mobilities. The Internet and social media are very common tools for various purposes among people who have had to leave their country of origin due to war or other security-related reasons. Often these migrants become even more frequent users of the Internet and social media than the hosting population (Jauhiainen and Vorobeva 2020).

Of respondents to this survey, practically all (98%) had used the Internet in Ukraine at least weekly or more often. All (100%) men and 99% of women who

participated in the survey had used the Internet in Ukraine. Practically all (99%) respondents reported that they had used social media at least once in a while when responding to the frequency of their usage.

Among temporary protected respondents, 91% had been daily Internet users, 5% had used it weekly or many times week, 1% less often, and 1% never. Of temporary protected respondents, 91% used social media daily in Ukraine.

In general, the Internet use of respondents remained practically the same in Estonia compared with their earlier uses in Ukraine (decreased by one percentage point). The first-level digital divide (access to the Internet) and the second-level digital divide (use of the Internet) did not get wider despite their fleeing from the everyday environment in Ukraine to the temporary protection in Estonia. Earlier studies on asylum-related migration have showed the narrowing of the digital divides (Merisalo and Jauhiainen 2020). However, this does not mean that the impact of the Internet and social media uses would be the same for everyone fleeing from Ukraine. The daily Internet use did increase by 3 percentage points among all respondents in Estonia compared with their use in Ukraine. However, those claiming to use the Internet many times a day decreased by 4 percentage points in Estonia compared with in Ukraine. Besides the very common use of the Internet, in practice all respondents (99%) used social media. The frequency of social media uses in Estonia varied among respondents. Of temporary protected respondents, in practice all (99%) used social media in Estonia, and the share was equal to their social media use in Ukraine.

Respondents used the Internet in Estonia for various purposes related to Estonia, Ukraine and third countries. These were functional uses that had an impact on respondents, and thus these belonged to the elements of the third-level digital divide (Merisalo and Jauhiainen 2020). Of temporary protected respondents, 40% used the Internet to learn more about the places to live in Estonia. Of those unsatisfied with their current municipality, substantially more (71%) used the Internet for this purpose. In addition, 86% of the respondents used the Internet to learn about work opportunities in Estonia. This share was 83% among employed, 97% among job-seekers and 61% among the rest of respondents. Of those unsatisfied with their current job, 92% used the Internet for work-related issues. Furthermore, of temporary protected respondents, 89% used it to learn about their rights in Estonia. This share was 85% among those not satisfied with their accommodation and 92% not satisfied with their job. Of temporary protected respondents, 16% used it to search for information about places to live in Europe. This share was 19% among those unsatisfied with their current accommodation, 14% among those unsatisfied with their municipality and 0% among those unsatisfied with their work. In addition, of these respondents, 98% used it to follow the situations in Ukraine. This share was 100% among those having a spouse in Ukraine and 99% among those with definite plans to return to Ukraine (Table 4.6.6).

**Table 4.6.6.** Ukrainian survey respondents and Internet-using survey respondents searching information from the Internet in Estonia (%).

	Place to live in Estonia		One's rights in Estonia		Work opportunities		Places to live elsewhere in Europe		Situation in Ukraine		n	
	all	net users	all	net users	all	net users	all	net users	all	net users	all	net users
Man	48	44	84	84	84	82	26	27	94	93	50	45
Woman	38	39	87	88	86	86	15	16	99	99	477	448
18–29 years old	38	38	83	83	81	81	24	24	96	96	88	88
30–39 years old	49	49	91	91	94	94	16	16	99	99	206	197
40–49 years old	32	33	89	90	89	89	13	14	100	100	142	132
50–64 years old	33	30	82	83	83	85	18	20	94	94	66	54
65+ years old	20	23	72	73	16	18	4	5	100	100	25	22
Higher education	40	41	90	90	87	87	18	19	98	98	326	313
No higher education	37	38	83	83	84	84	12	13	98	98	201	180
Temporary protection	40	40	88	89	86	87	16	16	98	98	500	469
No temporary protection	22	25	63	63	67	67	22	25	100	100	27	24
March '22	34	34	86	87	84	85	15	15	98	99	313	299
April '22	41	44	91	92	87	88	19	21	96	96	124	112
May '22	53	54	86	84	89	89	17	16	100	100	90	82
Employed	36	36	88	89	83	83	18	18	98	98	176	167
Not employed	41	41	87	87	87	87	15	16	98	98	351	326
Spouse in Estonia	45	37	89	89	93	92	15	16	99	99	162	153
Children (all ages) in Estonia	39	40	88	88	86	87	14	15	99	99	361	337
Spouse in Ukraine	33	34	89	91	79	80	12	12	100	100	113	108
Children (all ages) in Ukraine	33	33	91	92	78	79	16	17	98	98	55	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>493</b>

Net user = used the Internet at least sometimes in Ukraine, during the journey, and in Estonia



## 5. Conclusions

The research project *Temporary Protected Ukrainians and Other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022*, focused on Ukrainians who resided in Estonia after the beginning of the war in Ukraine initiated by Russia on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022. The aim of the study was to understand the situation of Ukrainians with temporary protection or other legal statuses in Estonia half a year after the 2022 Russian invasion.

We conducted research on the number and the types of Ukrainians who arrived and resided in Estonia a few months after the beginning of the war. We paid special attention to how Ukrainians with and without temporary protection felt about the practical implementation of the EU's "Temporary Protection Directive" (TPD) (Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001); namely, access to accommodation, employment, health (medical) care, education for their children, and general subsistence in Estonia.

We conducted a semi-structured survey in June and July of 2022. It was answered by 527 Ukrainians who had arrived in Estonia after the beginning of the war. Among the respondents, there were 500 temporary protected Ukrainians and 27 Ukrainians with other means for residing in Estonia.

On March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2022, the European Commission proposed the implementation of the TPD, and on March 3<sup>rd</sup> the European Council accepted the proposal. The directive allowed temporary protection for Ukrainians fleeing to EU member states and guaranteed member states would provide these individuals with provisions to maintain their livelihoods during their period of protection. The government of Estonia implemented the TPD on March 9<sup>th</sup>. Ukrainians who had left Ukraine on or after February 24<sup>th</sup> and arrived in Estonia could apply for and receive temporary protection in Estonia for one year, including their family members. In addition, all Ukrainians who were in Estonia at the beginning of the war or had moved to Estonia later from somewhere else other than Ukraine were allowed to remain in Estonia as the war continued. These individuals could also ask for international protection if they wished.

As of late September, over 100,000 Ukrainians fleeing war in Ukraine had arrived in Estonia. Of them, about 57,000 had expressed their intention to remain in Estonia (Police and Border Guard Board 2022). Although the share of war-fleeing Ukrainians who had arrived in Estonia was small compared to the total number in the EU (about 1.9% of all applications in the EU), it was the highest in relation to the national population (4.3%) among EU member states (UNHCR 2022).

The TPD is an instrument of solidarity that first guarantees that the Ukrainians fleeing war will be protected in the EU from the on-going war. Second, EU member states receiving Ukrainians will provide access to accommodation, employment, health care, education for children, and subsistence. These provisions help individuals in their everyday lives while being away from Ukraine.

The temporary character of the TPD suggests that after a certain period, perhaps one year, Ukrainians would no longer need protection and could return to their country of origin. If the war and conflict in Ukraine were to continue, the TPD includes the possibility to extend the temporary protection. The need for an extension will only be seen in the spring of 2023. Meanwhile, it is important that the everyday lives of Ukrainians are maintained, and that the hosting population remains supportive.

In what follows, we show the key observations regarding the implementation of TPD for Ukrainians in Estonia. As of July 2022, diverse groups of Ukrainians resided in Estonia. In addition to variations in the Ukrainians' demographic, educational, and occupational backgrounds, their administrative statuses in Estonia also differed. A large portion of Ukrainians had already received temporary protection status in March and others later. In addition, there were those whose protection applications were under consideration but who had not yet received approval. Some Ukrainians had other types of Estonian residence permits, such as a visa or labor-related documents, or short-term permission to live in Estonia which were valid regardless of the war. In some cases, Ukrainians did not intend to apply for protection status and were without a visa or similar legal permission to enter and stay in Estonia. However, according to the Estonian government's decision, these individuals could also stay in Estonia as the war continued.

As of September 2022, an estimated 75,000–80,000 Ukrainians resided in Estonia, and around 50,000–60,000 of them were those who had arrived from February to September fleeing the war in Ukraine. About 36,000 Ukrainians had applied for temporary protection in Estonia. In September, around 500 new applications were being submitted weekly. By that time, about 2,000 individuals had given up their temporary protection in Estonia. About 1,500 persons had applied for international protection in Estonia and of them 83% were Ukrainian citizens.

The fact that the Ukrainians receiving temporary protection could move freely within the Schengen countries made it impossible to know how many Ukrainians physically resided in Estonia in 2022. The demographic backgrounds of Ukrainians who had received temporary protection varied. Based on registrations of place of residence in Estonia, about 1,900 persons (9% of all temporarily protected individuals and 14% of those with registered residency) were 0–6 years old, more than 3,500 persons (17% and 27% respectively) were 7–17 years old. Thus, in total more than 5,400 of the temporary protected persons were underaged. Furthermore, a large majority of the 18–64-year-olds were women.

Of the 527 Ukrainians who participated in our survey in June–July 2022, 95% had received temporary protection, 2% were seeking protection, 2% had other types of residence permits, and 1% were not in the process of receiving protection or residence permits or they did not know about their status. Regardless of status, these individuals are all considered as Ukrainians fleeing war because

they could each face life-threatening situations if they returned to Ukraine. Depending on their administrative status in Estonia however, their rights to subsidized accommodation, access to the labor market, health care, education and many kinds of subsistence offered by the Estonian state differed. In some cases, state support was fundamental for individuals to maintain their stay in Estonia. In other cases, individuals did not depend at all on state support. Regardless of whether they used support services, individuals with formal temporary protection status were in principle entitled to the various kinds of support required under the TPD.

Our research indicated that elements of all TPD requirements were addressed for Ukrainians with temporary protection in Estonia. Other Ukrainians could also enjoy some of the support in certain cases. For example, the state, NGOs and the local population provided accommodation for many Ukrainians regardless of their administrative statuses. However, in the state-organized system, certain accommodations and related services were only for Ukrainians with temporary protection status. In terms of access to employment, although all Ukrainians had the option to enter the labor market, the ease of recruitment depended on an individual's administrative status. The extension of health care also depended on the employment status of Ukrainians in Estonia. Access to formal kindergartens and the education system was possible for many Ukrainians, but this access was more organized for individuals with temporary protection. To receive state subsidies, such as unemployment benefits, it was necessary to be formally registered in the system, and only unemployed Ukrainians who were registered as either residents or individuals with temporary protection were eligible for these benefits. At the same time, the local population and NGOs provided food, clothing and essential goods to many Ukrainians.

First, concerning accommodation, 50% of the Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection were fully satisfied and 41% were partly satisfied with their current accommodation. The rather few (9%) who were unsatisfied with their current accommodation were typically those who had been in Estonia for a longer period of time (10% for those who arrived in March or April compared with 6% who arrived in May), older respondents (12% of those aged 50–64 and those 65 and older were not satisfied compared with 5–10% of other age groups), and those who lived specifically in Tallinn (11% compared with 6% of those living in other large towns and 7% in smaller places in Estonia). The satisfaction with accommodation was good or rather good even though 70% lived in somewhat crowded accommodations (40% with two or more persons per bedroom). 4% claimed not to have enough bathrooms, 40% had a kitchen for one's own use, and 80% had the Internet in their accommodations. Overall, of the Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 45% lived in a separate house or apartment, 14% lived in a shared house or apartment, and 29% lived in a ho-

tel or hostel (usually collective temporary accommodations). For those without temporary protection, these numbers were 37% (separate accommodation), 23% (shared accommodation), and 33% (hotel or hostel which was usually temporary accommodation).

Second, in terms of employment, 26% of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection were employed full time and 8% part time or self-employed. 41% of them were fully and 51% were partly satisfied with their current employment, 81% earned less than 1,000 euros per month and 32% were able to save money from their salary. All employed men were employed full time. Of respondents with temporary protection, 50% were unemployed and looking for a job and 15% were inactive meaning that they were not employed or looking for a job in Estonia. According to Statistics Estonia (2022), employed Ukrainians made up 5% of the active labor force in Estonia. When it comes to benefits received from the state, 51% of all respondents claimed to receive “regular” benefits, 27% “some benefits” and 22% “no” benefits. The largest share of those specifying that they received unemployment benefits were among men (32% of those who received benefits in this group), those aged 50–64 years old (33%) and those alone in Estonia (54%). For all other groups, aside from those aged at least 60–65 years old who received pension as their main benefit, the main benefit they received was for children. Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 79% agreed that they need more money to live sustainably in Estonia. The most frequent to claim so were 40–49-year-olds (83%).

Third, when it comes to health care, emergency public health care was free for every Ukrainian. Broader public health care was provided to employed Ukrainians just as it is with Estonian citizens and residents. Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 28% felt fully and 58% partly healthy (52% and 44% of other respondents, respectively). Those not feeling healthy (14% of respondents with temporary protection) were typically older or belonged to the group of individuals who arrived in Estonia in April 2022 (20% were not satisfied with their health). Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection, 35% had used public health care in Estonia, and of them 18% were fully and 56% partially satisfied with their health. Older respondents who had used health services were more likely to have been dissatisfied with these, 41% of those 50–64 years old and 29% of those at least 65 years old; however, the sample size was rather small. Overall, 82% of the health care users were satisfied with the services received.

Fourth, Ukrainian children’s access to education was complex. Ukrainian children continued to arrive during the spring semester of 2022. As of May 22<sup>nd</sup>, it was estimated that more than 13,000 Ukrainian minors had arrived in Estonia. Of these, 4,716 (36%) were enrolled in the Estonian Education Information System (Estonian Ministry of Education 2022b). Of those enrolled,

around 40% were in Tallinn, and about 70% were in Estonian-language schools, 10% in language immersion courses, 20% in Russian language schools, and a small fraction (0.5%) in English-language schools (Estonian Ministry of Education 2022). Of respondents to this survey with school-aged children (aged 7–17 years), 29% had children enrolled in Estonian schools, 31% in Ukrainian schools, and 23% had children following both Estonian and Ukrainian curriculum. Of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection having school-aged children in Estonia, 84% mentioned that it was easy and 16% said it was not easy to find a place in a school for their children. Of respondents with children under seven years of age, 42% used kindergarten service in Estonia and 73% had found it easy to find a place for their child. Proportionally more Ukrainian children were foreseen to attend classes taught primarily in Estonian. Of respondents who had children enrolled in Estonian-language schools in the spring of 2022 and who aimed to continue their education in the autumn of 2022, 71% planned to continue in an Estonian-language school (26% of other respondents) in September 2022. A large portion of respondents (35%) were still unsure about where they would enroll their children, 4% planned for their children to continue only with Ukrainian education, and 18% planned for them to continue with both Estonian and Ukrainian education, and 39% planned to have their children enrolled in school in Estonia. However, the possibilities to follow Ukrainian school education have become more limited in Estonia since the autumn of 2022.

Fifth, regarding accommodation subsidies, 42% of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection mentioned that the state fully or partly paid for their accommodation costs, 24% shared costs, and 6% received some other kind of assistance to finance their accommodation. Overall, as previously noted, 78% of respondents mentioned that they needed much more money to improve their situation in Estonia.

When it comes to a more general, day to day sense of well-being in Estonia, 92% of Ukrainian survey respondents with temporary protection felt they were treated well in their current place of residence, 92% said that Estonians were friendly toward them and 75% had friends in Estonia, including 33% having Estonians friend(s). Of temporarily protected individuals, 66% aspired to return to Ukraine, 24% said they might return, and 10% said they would not return to Ukraine. Only very few (2%) wanted to migrate from Estonia to a third country. Of the respondents with temporary protection, 12% thought they would probably live in Estonia for the rest of their lives. Practically all (98%) respondents used the Internet in Estonia: many times a day (34%), daily (57%), many times a week (4%), or weekly (2%). Some had become more active Internet and social media users in Estonia. They used phone calls and digital means to stay in frequent contact with people remaining in Ukraine.

The main conclusion of our research is that as of September 2022, Ukrainians in Estonia had been offered protection from the war regardless their status. This was crucial for the survival of Ukrainians because they were able to escape from Ukraine to avoid the risks of being killed or wounded due to Russia's military aggression. The TPD facilitated the access to accommodation, employment, medical care, education and social service for those Ukrainians, particularly those who had asked for and been granted temporary protection status in Estonia. However, not all services were equally accessible for every Ukrainian in Estonia and not all Ukrainians had enough knowledge of the services or the possibility to access them.

During 2022, offering Ukrainians many forms of help has been very important because their lives have been put in peril. The rapidly invoked TPD became a general framework for protection in the EU. In addition to this public-sector-led initiative, local populations and locally oriented organizations, including some with regional, national and international reaches, contributed positively and substantially to welcoming Ukrainians and providing them shelter and access to the local community in Estonia and elsewhere in the EU.

The implementation of the TPD was rather hierarchic, starting from the top-level of EU politics and moving to the EU member states' central governments and administrations and from there to local governments. The TPD was used to govern Ukrainians and the hosting population. In Estonia as is the case elsewhere in the EU, more attention needs to be paid to ways that local inhabitants, the private sector and especially Ukrainians can be more actively engaged in the design and implementation of TPD (see Jauhiainen and Erbsen 2022). Ukrainians need to be able to express that the member states' support has reached them, as well as to express their needs and participate in the design of the TPD to ensure it is implemented in a way that supports the everyday lives of Ukrainians wherever they are in the EU.

Furthermore, Ukrainians of many backgrounds with different skill sets and aspirations exist in various contexts in the EU. Therefore, a one-size-fits-all model for the implementation of TPD in the EU or Estonia cannot properly address the various needs of a variety of Ukrainians, nor can it bring the best results for the EU, the hosting state, its local population or Ukrainians there.

The invocation of the TPD was completed very quickly. The initiative saved the lives of a high number of Ukrainians and prevented some of the unfortunate situations that resulted from the long administrative processes in 2015, when more than one million people fled quickly to the EU territory. The TPD is connected to EU asylum and migration policies. Among key issues are the compliance between various political, administrative and territorial actors in the EU, from the European Commission to the member states (including between the member states) and the regional-local actors. In addition, the overall role of the

private sector, NGOs and, more directly, the local inhabitants and the aid recipients needs to be scrutinized. The war-fleeing Ukrainians in the EU should not be seen as passive aid receivers but as people contributing to the broader ideals, goals and related practices in the EU.

The TPD is an instrument to facilitate the protection of Ukrainians fleeing to the EU from war in Ukraine. It was also implemented rather hierarchically to govern Ukrainians and consequently also the hosting population. In conclusion, Estonia offered protection from the war for all Ukrainians regardless their statuses. However, not all services were equally accessible for every Ukrainian in Estonia. In Estonia, as elsewhere in the EU, more attention needs to be paid to the ways local inhabitants, the private sector and especially Ukrainians can engage more actively in the design and implementation of the TPD.

As of September 2022, when this report was finished, the top-level political administration in the EU and its member states had had time to think about ways to move forward with the TPD. The next steps towards the end of 2022 and later to the spring of 2023, when the initial temporary protection for many Ukrainians will expire, remain up for consideration. In the end, Ukrainians will have to decide whether and when to return to Ukraine, to remain in the EU or to migrate elsewhere. Many Ukrainians expect to return to Ukraine, depending on how and when the war there will end. However, a million or more Ukrainians might remain in the EU, meaning tens of thousands or more will need to survive in each EU country where they currently reside.

The TPD has affected the everyday lives Ukrainians and, at the same time, blurred the borders and practices between hosting, adapting and integrating Ukrainians in the EU. One result of the TPD implementation was that the people in the EU and Ukraine have become closer and have learned more about each other. This outcome is good for the future as well because strong ties between people mean that Ukraine will remain in the heart of Europe.



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## 7. Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022

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The research project *Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022*, focused on Ukrainians who resided in Estonia after the beginning of the war Russia initiated on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2022. The task was to find out how Ukrainians in Estonia coped under temporary protection or other legal statuses half a year after the 2022 Russian invasion.

We conducted research on the number and the types of Ukrainians who arrived and resided in Estonia. We paid special attention to the way Ukrainians receiving temporary protection, as well as other Ukrainians, felt about the practical implementation of the EU's Temporary Protection Directive (TPD); namely, the access to accommodation, employment, health (medical) care, education for children, and subsistence in Estonia.

We conducted in June–July of 2022 a semi-structured survey that 527 Ukrainians, who had arrived in Estonia after the beginning of the war, answered. Among respondents there were 500 temporary protected Ukrainians and 27 others including those seeking protection, those with a residence permit in Estonia and other Ukrainians in Estonia.

Following the decisions in the European Commission and the European Council, the government of Estonia invoked the implementation of the TPD on March 9<sup>th</sup>. Ukrainians, who had left Ukraine on or after February 24<sup>th</sup> and arrived in Estonia, could apply for and receive temporary protection in Estonia for one year, and they and their families were eligible for related support for their everyday lives. All Ukrainians were allowed to stay in Estonia as the war in Ukraine continued. In September, there were about 75,000–80,000 Ukrainians in Estonia.

As of September, about 57,000 of the 100,000 war-fleeing Ukrainians who had arrived planned to remain in Estonia during the war in Ukraine. Of them, 36,000 had received temporary protection in the country. In addition, around 43,000 refugees transited through Estonia. They were but a few (about 1.9%) of all temporary protected Ukrainians in the EU. The share of Ukrainians having received or seeking protection in Estonia was the highest in relation to the national population (4.3%) among EU member states.

According to the Police and Border Guard Board (2022), based on the registration of accommodation in Estonia, of those individuals receiving temporary protection, 14% were 0–6 years old, 27% 7–17 years old, and 60% 18 years or older. A large majority among the 18–64-year-olds were women. Since Ukrainians receiving temporary protection could move freely within the Schengen countries, it was impossible to know how many actually resided in Estonia in 2022.

The main research conclusion is that as of September 2022, Ukrainians in Estonia had been offered protection from the war regardless their status. All TPD elements were provided but not all Ukrainians knew about all services or could access them. More attention needs to be paid to the ways that local inhabitants, the private sector and es-

pecially Ukrainians can be more actively engaged in the design and implementation of TPD.

According to the survey, 92% of temporarily protected Ukrainians felt they were treated well and 92% said that Estonians were friendly toward them. Of temporarily protected individuals, 66% aspired for sure to return to Ukraine, 2% wanted to migrate from Estonia to a third country, and 12% thought they would probably live in Estonia for the rest of their lives. Practically all (98%) respondents used the Internet. Many became even more active Internet and social media users in Estonia. They used phone calls and digital means to stay in frequent contact with people in Ukraine.

Concerning accommodation, 50% of the temporarily protected Ukrainians who responded to the survey were fully satisfied and 41% were partly satisfied with their current accommodation. Most temporary protected individuals (45%) lived in a separate house or apartment, yet a large number of all respondents still lived in somewhat crowded accommodation and some (4%) expressed that they did not have access to enough bathrooms, a separate kitchen (60%), or the Internet (20%) in their accommodation.

In terms of employment, 27% of temporarily protected individuals aged 18–64 years were employed full-time and 8% were employed part-time or self-employed. Of them, 41% were fully and 51% were partly satisfied with their current employment; 81% earned less than 1,000 euros per month and 32% were able to save money from their salary. Of temporarily protected individuals aged 18–64 years, 65% were not employed, and of those who were not, 78% were searching for a job (51% of all temporarily protected). Overall, employed Ukrainians made up 5% of the active labor force in Estonia and 12% of all individuals registered as unemployed in Estonia.

Emergency public health care was free for every Ukrainian. Broader public health care was provided to employed Ukrainians and those officially unemployed. Of temporarily protected individuals, 28% felt fully and 58% partly healthy. Of those 35% who had used health care services, 81% were satisfied with the service they received.

Ukrainian children's access to education was complex as they arrived in the middle of the spring semester of 2022. Of temporarily protected parents with children aged 7–17 years 84% mentioned that it was easy to find a place in a school, and 73% of parents with children aged 0–6 years, and using kindergarten services in Estonia, found it easy to find a place for their children. Of the 13,000 minors registered in Estonia, 36% were enrolled in the Estonian Education Information System. The language of instruction was Estonian for 79.5% of pupils, Russian for 19.5% and English for 0.5%. 39% of all respondents with school-aged children said that their children would continue their education in Estonia in schools with Estonian as the language of instruction in the autumn of 2022.

Regarding supporting subsidies, 51% of respondents mentioned that they received 'regular' support, 27% 'sometimes', and 22% 'no' benefits. The largest type of benefits was for children (received by 37%), unemployment, and pension. 79% mentioned needing much more money to improve their situation.

## 8. Ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlased ja teised Ukraina sõjapõgenikud Eestis 2022.aastal

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Uuring *Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022* (Ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlased ja teised Ukraina sõjapõgenikud Eestis 2022. aastal) keskendus ukrainlastele, kes tulid Eestisse pärast seda, kui Venemaa alustas 24. veebruaril 2022. aastal laiaulatuslikku sõjategevust Ukraina vastu. Uuringu eesmärk oli välja selgitada, kuidas said ukrainlased Eestis ajutise kaitse all ja muudes staatustes hakkama pool aastat pärast Venemaa kallaletungi algust.

Me uurisime, kui paljud ja millised Ukraina kodanikud tulid Eestisse elama. Seejuures pöörasime erilist tähelepanu sellele, kuidas ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlased ja ka teistes staatustes ukrainlased hindasid Euroopa Liidu (EL) ajutise kaitse direktiivi rakendamist Eestis, eelkõige ligipääsu tagamist majutusele, töövõimalustele, tervishoiuteenustele, laste kooliharidusele ning üldistele elatusvahenditele.

Me viisime läbi 2022.aasta juulis-juulis poolstruktureeritud küsitluse, millele vastas 527 sõja algusest alates Eestisse saabunud ukrainlast. Vastajate seas oli 500 ajutise kaitse saanud ja 27 kaitset taotlevaid, elamisloa alusel Eestis viibivaid ukrainlasi ning ka muudel alustel 2022.aastal Eestis viibivad ukrainlasi.

Lähtudes Euroopa Komisjoni ja Euroopa Ülemkogu otsusest alustas Eesti valitsus ajutise kaitse direktiivi rakendamist 9. märtsil. Need Ukraina kodanikud, kes lahkusid Ukrainast 24. veebruaril või pärast seda, said taotleda ajutise kaitse saamist Eestis üheks aastaks ning neil ja nende pereliikmetel oli õigus saada vastavaid toetusmeetmeid oma igapäevалу jätkamiseks. Samuti võisid kõik ukrainlased Eestis viibida kuni sõjategevus kestab. 2022. aasta septembris viibis Eestis umbes 75 000–80 000 Ukraina kodanikku.

Umbes 57 000 Ukraina sõjapõgenikku 100 000-st, kes olid Eestisse saabunud 2022. aasta septembriks, plaanisid jääda Eestisse nii kauaks kuni sõjategevus kestab. Neist 36 000 olid saanud ajutise kaitse Eestis. Lisaks umbes 43 000 sõjapõgenikku läbisid Eesti, et liikuda mõnda teise riiki. Kõikidest EL-is olevatest ajutise kaitsega ukrainlastest oli neid väike osa (1,9%) Samas oli nende ukrainlaste, kes said või taotlesid ajutist kaitset Eestis, osakaal Eesti rahvastikust EL-i liikmesriikide seas suuruselt esimene (4,3%).

Politsei- ja Piirivalveameti (2022) andmetel lähtuvalt elukoha registreerimisest oli ajutine kaitse saanutest 14% vanuses 0–6 aastat, 27% vanuses 7–17 aastat, ning 60% kes olid 18-aastased või vanemad. Vanuserühmas 18–64 aastat oli suur osa sõjapõgenikest naised. Kuna ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlased võivad Schengeni alas vabalt liikuda, ei ole täpselt teada, kui paljud neist olid jäänud 2022.aastal Eestisse.

Uuringu üheks oluliseks tulemuseks oli, et 2022.aasta septembri seisuga oli Eestis pakutud kaitset sõja eest põgenenud ukrainlastele sõltumata nende staatusest. Pakuti kõiki peamisi ajutise kaitse direktiivis mainitud teenuseid, aga kõik ukrainlased ei teadnud kõikidest teenustest või ei saanud neile ligipääsu. Rohkem tuleb pöörata tähelepanu



sellele, kuidas kohalikud elanikud, erasektor ja eriti just ukrainlased ise saaksid aktiivsemalt kaasa lüüa ajutise kaitse direktiivi alusel pakutavate teenuste arendamises ja rakendamises.

Küsitluse tulemustest selgus, et 92% ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlastest tundsid, et neid koheldakse Eestis hästi ning 92% ütlesid, et eestlased suhtuvad neisse sõbralikult. Ajutise kaitse saanutest 66% plaanisid naasta kindlasti Ukrainasse, 2% liikuda Eestist edasi kolmandasse riiki ning 12% arvasid, et nad tõenäoliselt jäävad Eestisse kogu ülejäänud eluks. Peaaegu kõik (98%) vastajatest kasutasid interneti. Paljud muutusid Eestis varasemaga võrreldes veel aktiivsemateks interneti ja sotsiaalmeedia kasutajateks. Ukrainasse jäänutega suheldi tihti telefonitsi ja digitaalseid kanaleid kasutades.

Majutuse osas selgus, et uuringus osalenud ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlastest 50% oli oma majutuskohaga täiesti rahul ning 41% osaliselt rahul. Enamus ajutise kaitsega inimestest (45%) elas eraldi majas või korteris. Siiski elas suur osa vastanutest kitsamates tingimustes ja mõned tõid välja, et neil polnud oma elamiskohas piisavat ligipääsu vanitoale (4%), eraldi köögile (60%) või internetile (20%).

Tööturule ligipääsu osas näitasid andmed, et 27% ajutise kaitse saanud ukrainlastest vanuses 18–64 aastat töötasid täiskoormusega ja 8% osakoormusega või eraettevõtjana. Praeguse töökohaga olid neist 41% täiesti rahul ja 51% osaliselt rahul, 81% teenisid alla 1000 euro kuus ja 32% suutsid ka oma palgaga säästusid koguda. Ajutise kaitse saanud 18–64-aastastest vastajatest 65% ei käinud tööil ning neist omakorda 78% otsisid tööd (51% ajutiselt kaitstud vastajatest). Üldiselt moodustasid ukrainlased 5% Eesti tööjõust ja 12% ametlikult töötaks registreerunudest Eestis.

Ligipääs erakorralisele arstiabile oli kõigile Eestis viibivatele ukrainlastele tasuta ja täiendavad tervishoiuteenused olid tagatud töötavatele või ametlikult töötuna arvele võetud ukrainlastele. Ajutise kaitse saanud isikutest 28% tundis ennast täiesti tervena ja 58% osaliselt tervena ning 81% tervishoiuteenuste kasutajatest (35% vastajatest) olid saanud teenustega rahul.

Ukraina laste ligipääs haridusele oli keeruline, kuna saabuti keset 2022.aasta kevadist õppeveerandit. Ajutise kaitse saanud vastajatest, kellel olid 7–17-aastased lapsed, ütles 84%, et koolikohta oli lihtne saada. Lasteaia teenust kasutas Eestis kuni kuueaastaste lastega ajutise kaitse saanutest 42%, neist 73% leidsid, et kohta oli kerge leida. Eestis registreeritud 13 000st alaealisest ukrainlasest olid 36% registreeritud Eesti Hariduse Infosüsteemis. Õppekeel oli eesti keel 79,5% õpilastel, vene keel 19,5% õpilastel ja inglise keel 0,5% õpilastel. Kõigist kooliealiste lastega vastanutest 39% ütlesid, et nende lapsed jätkavad 2022.aasta sügisel haridusteed Eestis eesti keeles.

Toetuste kohta mainis 51% ajutise kaitsega inimestest, et nad saavad regulaarset toetust, 27% saab mõningat toetust ja 22% ei saa üldse toetust. Enim saadi hüvitist lapsed (37% juhtudest), töötu abiraha ja pensionit ja 79% mainis, et nad vajavad oma olukorra parandamiseks palju rohkem rahalist abi.

## 9. Українці зі статусом тимчасово захисту та інші українці в Естонії, 2022

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Дослідницький проект «Українці зі статусом тимчасово захисту та інші українці в Естонії, 2022» був зосереджений на українцях, які проживають в Естонії з початку війни, розпочатої Росією 24 лютого 2022 року. Завдання полягало у тому, щоб дізнатися, як влаштувалися в Естонії українці з тимчасовим захистом чи іншими правовими статусами впродовж півроку після російського вторгнення у 2022 році.

Ми провели дослідження для визначення кількості та типів українців, які прибули та проживають в Естонії. Ми звернули особливу увагу на те, як українці, які отримують тимчасовий захист, та інші українці відчували практичне впровадження Директиви ЄС про тимчасовий захист (ДТЗ); а саме доступ до житла, працевлаштування, медичної допомоги, освіти для дітей та мінімальних прожиткових гарантій в Естонії.

Ми провели напівструктуроване опитування, в якому взяли участь 527 українців, які приїхали до Естонії після початку війни. Серед респондентів були українці з тимчасовим захистом (500), шукачі захисту, ті, хто має посвідку на проживання в Естонії та інші українці, які перебували в Естонії в червні 2022 року.

З 9 березня, після рішень Європейської комісії та Європейської ради уряд Естонії розпочав виконання ДТЗ. Українці, які виїхали з України 24 лютого або після цієї дати та прибули до Естонії, могли подати заяву та отримати тимчасовий захист в Естонії на один рік, а також мали право на відповідну підтримку у повсякденному житті. Усім українцям дозволили залишитися в Естонії, оскільки війна в Україні триває. На початок серпня в Естонії нараховувалося біля 75 000–80 000 українців.

Станом на початок серпня до Естонії прибуло 57 000 / 100 000 українців, які втікали від війни. З них 36 000 отримали тимчасовий захист у країні, а 43 000 повідомили, що були транзитом. Вони складають лише маленьку частину (близько 1.9%) з усіх тимчасово захищених українців у ЄС. Окрім того, частка українців, які отримали або шукали захисту в Естонії, була другою за величиною по відношенню до населення приймаючої країни (4.3%) серед усіх країн-членів ЄС.

За даними Департаменту поліції та прикордонної охорони (2022), тимчасовий захист в Естонії отримали 14% українців віком від 0 до 6 років, 27% віком від 7 до 17 років і 60% віком від 18 років. Переважну більшість споміж 18–64річних становлять жінки. Через те, що українці з тимчасовим захистом можуть вільно пересуватися країнами Шенгенської угоди, неможливо визначити, скільки їх насправді проживає на території Естонії у серпні 2022 року.

Основний висновок дослідження полягає в тому, що станом на серпень 2022 року українцям в Естонії було запропоновано захист від війни незалежно від їхнього статусу. Усі елементи ДТЗ були надані, але не всі українці знали про усі послуги або мали до них доступ. Необхідно приділяти більше уваги способам більш активного залучення місцевих жителів, приватного сектору та особливо українців до розробки та реалізації ДТЗ.



Згідно з опитуванням, 92% тимчасово захищених українців відчували, що до них ставляться добре, і 92% сказали, що естонці ставляться до них доброзичливо. З осіб, які перебувають під тимчасовим захистом, 66% прагнули повернутися в Україну, 2% хотіли мігрувати з Естонії до третьої країни, а 12% не проти прожити в Естонії решту життя. Практично всі (98%) респонденти користувалися Інтернетом. Багато стали активними користувачами Інтернету та соціальних мереж в Естонії. Вони використовували телефонні дзвінки та цифрові засоби, щоб постійно підтримувати контакт з людьми в Україні.

Щодо житла, 50% тимчасово захищених українців, які прийняли участь в опитуванні, були повністю задоволені та 41% були частково задоволені своїм поточним житлом. Більшість респондентів зі статусом тимчасового захисту (45%) проживали в окремих квартирах чи будинках, достатньо велика кількість респондентів проживали в дещо перенаселених помешканнях, і багато хто висловив думку, що не мали у своїх помешканнях окремої ванної кімнати (4%), житлового приміщення (60%), окрема власна кухні (60%) або Інтернету (20%).

Стосовно зайнятості, 27% тимчасово захищених осіб у віці 18–64 років були працевлаштованими на повний робочий день, а 8% були працевлаштованими на неповний робочий день або самозайнятими. 41% були повністю та 51% частково задоволені своєю поточною роботою; 81% заробляли менше 1 000 євро на місяць і 28% змогли відкласти гроші зі своєї зарплатні. Серед тимчасово захищених осіб віком 18–64 років 65% не були працевлаштовані, з них 78% шукали роботу. Загалом зайняті українці становлять 5% усієї активної робочої сили Естонії та 12% зареєстрованих безробітних в Естонії - українці.

Невідкладна державна медична допомога є безкоштовною для кожного українця. Працюючим українцям та офіційно безробітним було забезпечено ширшу державну медичну допомогу. Серед осіб, які перебувають під тимчасовим захистом, 28% відчували себе повністю здоровими і 58% частково. Серед тих, хто користувався медичними послугами (35% тимчасово захищених та 51% тих, що не мали тимчасово захисту), 81% задоволені їх наданням.

Доступ українських дітей до освіти був складним, оскільки вони прибули в середині весняного семестру 2022 року. Серед батьків зі статусом тимчасового захисту 84% тих, що мають дітей віком 7–17 років, зазначили, що було легко знайти місце в естонській школі для їхніх дітей; 42% тих, що мають дітей дошкільного віку (0–6 років) користуються послугами дитячих садків в Естонії, з них 73% досить легко знайшли для дитини місце у садочку. Зпоміж 13 000 неповнолітніх, зареєстрованих в Естонії, 36% були зараховані до Естонської освітньо-інформаційної системи. Мовою навчання для 79,5% українських учнів була естонська, для 19,5% - російська і англійська для 0,5%. 39% респондентів, що мають дітей шкільного віку, бажали б, щоб восени 2022 року вони продовжили навчання в Естонії естонською мовою.

Що стосується соціальної допомоги та субсидій, 51% осіб, які перебувають під тимчасовим захистом, зазначили, що вони отримували допомогу 'регулярно', 27% 'час від часу' та 22% 'не мали' допомоги. Найбільш поширеними видами допомоги були: допомога на неповнолітніх дітей (37% отримали її), допомога по безробіттю та пенсії, а 79% зазначили, що потребують набагато більше грошей для їхньої ситуації.

## 10. Украинцы со статусом временной защиты и другие украинцы в Эстонии, 2022 год

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Исследовательский проект "*Украинцы со статусом временной защиты и другие украинцы в Эстонии, 2022 год*" сфокусирован на украинцах, которые проживают в Эстонии с начала войны, развязанной Россией 24 февраля 2022 года. Задача проекта состоит в том, чтобы узнать, как устраивалась в Эстонии жизнь украинцев со статусом временной защиты или другим правовым статусом в течении полугода после российского вторжения.

Мы провели исследование и определили количество и типы украинцев, которые прибыли и проживают в Эстонии. Особое внимание было уделено тому, как украинцы, получившие статус временной защиты, а также украинцы с другими статусами, почувствовали на себе реализацию Директивы ЕС о временной защите (ДВЗ), а именно доступ к жилью, трудоустройству, медицинскому обслуживанию, образованию для детей и минимальным прожиточным гарантиям в Эстонии.

Мы провели полуструктурированный опрос среди 527 украинцев, прибывших в Эстонию после начала войны. Среди респондентов были украинцы, получившие статус временной защиты, те, кто ожидают получение статуса (500), те, у кого есть вид на жительство в Эстонии, и другие украинцы, которые находились в Эстонии в июне 2022 года.

В соответствии с решением Европейской комиссии и Европейского Совета, 9 марта 2022 года правительство Эстонии объявило о начале реализации ДВЗ. Украинцы, которые покинули Украину 24 февраля или позднее и прибыли в Эстонию, могли подать заявление и получить статус временной защиты в Эстонии на один год, а также имели право на соответствующую поддержку в повседневной жизни. Всем украинцам было разрешено проживать в Эстонии, поскольку война на Украине продолжается. В начале августа в Эстонии насчитывалось около 75 000–80 000 украинцев.

По состоянию на начало августа в Эстонию прибыло 57 000 / 100 000 украинцев, бежавших от войны. Из них, 36 000 получили временную защиту в стране, 43 000 сообщили, что находились в Эстонии транзитом. Они составляют лишь небольшую долю (около 1,9%) всех украинцев в ЕС. Тем не менее, доля украинцев, получивших или ожидающих статуса временной защиты в Эстонии, есть второй по величине по отношению к размеру населения страны (4,3%) среди всех государств-членов ЕС.

По данным Департамента полиции и погранохраны (2022), временная защита была предоставлена в Эстонии 14% лиц в возрасте от 0 до 6 лет, 27% лицам в возрасте от 7 до 17 лет и 60% украинцам в возрасте 18 лет и старше. Среди 18-64-летних большинство составляют женщины. Так как украинцы, получившие статус временной защиты, могут свободно передвигаться по странам Шенгенского соглашения, представляется невозможным определить, сколько из них фактически проживает на территории Эстонии в августе 2022 году.

Основной вывод исследования заключается в том, что по состоянию на август 2022 года украинцам в Эстонии была предложена временная защита независимо от их статуса. Все виды помощи, упомянутые в ДВЗ, были предоставлены, но не все украинцы знали об этих услугах или могли получить к ним доступ. Необходимо уделять большее внимания

тому, как местные жители, частный сектор и особенно украинцы могут принимать более активное участие в разработке и внедрении ДВЗ.

Согласно опросу, 92% украинцев со статусом временной защиты считают, что к ним хорошо относятся, а 92% заявили, что эстонцы относятся к ним дружелюбно. Среди всех респондентов со статусом временной защиты, 66% хотели вернуться в Украину, 2% хотели мигрировать из Эстонии в другую страну, а 12% думали, что они, вероятно, прожили бы в Эстонии остаток жизни. Практически все (98%) респонденты пользовались Интернетом. Многие из них стали активными пользователями Интернета и социальных сетей в Эстонии. Они использовали телефонные звонки и цифровые средства связи, чтобы поддерживать частые контакты с людьми в Украине.

Что касается жилья, то 50% украинцев со статусом временной защиты были полностью удовлетворены своими жилищными условиями, и 41% были частично удовлетворены. Большинство респондентов со статусом временной защиты (45%) проживали в отдельных квартирах или домах, достаточно большое количество респондентов проживали в относительно перенаселенных помещениях, и много кто выразил мнение, что у их жилье не было отдельной ванной комнаты (4%), отдельная собственная кухни (60%) или Интернета (20%).

Касательно трудовой занятости, то 27% украинцев со статусом временной защиты в возрасте от 18 до 64 лет работали полный рабочий день, а 8% - неполный рабочий день или являлись самозанятыми. 41% были полностью и 51% частично удовлетворены своей текущей работой; 81% зарабатывали менее 1 000 евро в месяц, а 32% смогли делать сбережения со своей зарплатой. Среди украинцев со статусом временной защиты в возрасте от 18 до 64 лет 65% не были трудоустроены, и из них 78% искали работу. В целом, занятые украинцы составляют 5% всей активной рабочей силы Эстонии и 12% всех зарегистрированных безработных в Эстонии - украинцы.

Экстренная государственная медицинская помощь бесплатно предоставляется всем украинцам. Другие виды государственной медицинской помощи оказываются работающим и официально безработным украинцам. Среди лиц со статусом временной защиты 28% чувствовали себя полностью здоровыми и 58% частично. Из тех, кто пользовался медицинскими услугами (35% со статусом временной защиты и 51% респондентов без временной защиты), 81% частично удовлетворены их качеством.

Доступ украинских детей к образованию был затрудненным, поскольку они прибыли в середине весеннего семестра 2022 года. Среди родителей со статусом временной защиты 84% тех, у кого есть детьми 7-17 лет, отметили, что в Эстонии легко нашли место в школе для своих детей, а также 42% тех, у кого есть дети дошкольного возраста (0-6 лет) использовались услугами детских садов в Эстонии. Из них 73% достаточно легко нашли место в саду. среди 13 000 зарегистрированных в Эстонии несовершеннолетних, 36% были зачислены в Эстонскую информационно-образовательную систему. Языком обучения для 79,5% учащихся было эстонский, для 19,5% - русский и английский для 0,5%. 39% респондентов с детьми школьного возраста, желали бы, чтоб с осени 2022 года они продолжили обучение в Эстонии на эстонском языке.

Что касается социальной помощи и субсидий, 51% лиц со временной защитой, указали, что они получали помощь 'регулярно', 27% 'время от времени' и 22% 'не имели' помощи. Самыми распространёнными видами помощи были: помощь на несовершеннолетних детей (37% получили ее), помощь по безработице и пенсия, а 78% отметили, что им необходимо намного больше средств к существованию.

## 11. Tilapäistä suojelua saaneet ukrainalaiset ja muut ukrainalaiset Virossa vuonna 2022

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Tutkimusprojekti *Temporary protected Ukrainians and other Ukrainians in Estonia, 2022* (Tilapäistä suojelua saaneet ukrainalaiset ja muut ukrainalaiset Virossa vuonna 2022) kohdistui ukrainalaisiin, jotka asuivat Virossa Venäjän 24. helmikuuta 2022 aloittaman sodan jälkeen. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää, miten tilapäistä suojelua saaneet ukrainalaiset ja muut ukrainalaiset pärjäsivät Virossa puoli vuotta Venäjän hyökkäyksen jälkeen.

Tutkimme Viroon saapuneiden ja sinne asumaan jääneiden ukrainalaisten määrää ja tyyppejä. Kiinnitimme erityistä huomiota siihen, miten tilapäistä suojelua saavat ukrainalaiset ja muut ukrainalaiset kokivat EU:n tilapäisen suojelun direktiivin toteuttamisen käytännössä: mahdollisuuden saada majoitus, töitä, terveydenhuoltoa, lasten koulutusta ja tukea Virossa.

Toteutimme Virossa puolistrukturoidun kyselyn, johon vastasi 527 ukrainalaista, jotka olivat saapuneet maahan sodan alkamisen jälkeen. Vastaaajien joukossa oli niitä, jotka olivat tilapäisen suojelun piirissä (500) sekä niitä, jotka hakivat tilapäistä suojelua, joilla oli muutoin oleskelulupa Viroon ja jotka olivat muulla perusteella Virossa kesällä 2022.

Euroopan komission ja Euroopan neuvoston päätösten mukaisesti Viron hallitus päätti tilapäisen suojelun direktiivin soveltamisesta Viroon 9. maaliskuuta 2022 lähtien. Ukrainalaisilla, jotka olivat lähteneet Ukrainasta 24. helmikuuta tai sen jälkeen ja saapuneet Viroon, oli mahdollisuus perheineen hakea sieltä vuodeksi tilapäistä suojelua ja siihen liittyviä tukia. Syyskuussa Virossa oli noin 75 000–80 000 Ukrainan kansalaista. Kaikki ukrainalaiset saivat jäädä Viroon sodan takia.

Syyskuuhun 2022 mennessä Viroon oli saapunut noin 100 000 sotaa paennutta ukrainalaista, joista 57 000 aikoi jäädä maahan. Heistä 36 000 oli otettu tilapäiseen suojeluun. Lisäksi 43 000 ilmoitti olevansa läpikulkumatalla. Virossa tilapäisesti suojeltujen ukrainalaisen osuus oli tuolloin pieni (1,9%) kaikista heistä EU:ssa. Toisaalta suojelun piirissä olevien ukrainalaisten suhteellinen osuus Viron väestöstä (4,3%) oli EU:n jäsenvaltioista korkein.

Poliisi- ja rajaviranomaisten ja rekisteröintitietojen mukaan ukrainalaisista Virossa 14% oli 0–6-vuotiaita, 27% oli 7–17-vuotiaita ja 60% vähintään 18-vuotiaita; 18–64-vuotiaista useimmat olivat naisia. Tilapäistä suojelua saaneet voivat liikkua vapaasti Schengen-alueella, minkä vuoksi on mahdotonta tietää tarkkaan, kuinka monta heistä asui Virossa vuonna 2022.

Tutkimuksen päätulos on, että syyskuuhun 2022 mennessä ukrainalaisille oli Virossa tarjottu suojaa sodalta riippumatta heidän hallinnollisesta asemastaan. Kaikkia tilapäisen suojelun direktiivin palveluita tarjottiin, mutta kaikki ukrainalaiset eivät tietäneet niistä tai eivät päässeet niiden piiriin. Enemmän huomiota tulee kiinnittää siihen, miten paikalliset asukkaat, yksityinen sektori ja erityisesti ukrainalaiset itse voivat olla aktiivisemmin mukana tilapäisen suojelun suunnittelussa ja toteuttamisessa.

Kyselyvastausten mukaan 92% tilapäistä suojaa Virossa saaneista ukrainalaisista koki tulewansa kohdelluksi hyvin, ja 92%:n mukaan virolaiset olivat ystävällisiä heitä kohtaan. Tilapäisesti suojelluista henkilöistä 66% halusi varmasti palata Ukrainaan, 2% muuttaa Virosta muualle ja 12% ajatteli jäävänsä loppuelämäkseen Viroon. Käytännössä kaikki (98%) vastanneet käyttivät Internetiä. Monista tuli myös aiempaa aktiivisempia Internetin ja sosiaalisen median käyttäjiä Virossa. He soittivat puheluita Ukrainaan ja olivat yhteydessä ukrainalaisiin siellä monien digitaalisten välineiden avulla.

Tilapäisesti suojelluista vastanneista 50% oli majoitukseensa täysin ja 41% osittain tyytyväisiä. Useat (45%) asuivat erikseen talossa tai kerrostaloasunnossa, mutta useiden asuminen oli jossain määrin ahdasta: osa (4%) ilmoitti, että heillä ei ole riittävästi suihku- ja wc-tiloja, omaa erillistä keittiötä (60%) tai Internet-yhteyttä (20%) asunnossaan.

Tilapäisesti suojelluista 18–64-vuotiaista vastanneista oli 27% kokopäiväisesti ja 8% osapäiväisesti töissä tai yrittäjänä. Heistä 41% oli täysin ja 51% osittain tyytyväisiä työtehtäviinsä; 81% ansaitti alle 1000 euroa kuussa ja 32% pystyi säästämään palkastaan. Tilapäisesti suojelluista työikäisistä 65% ei ollut töissä, ja heistä 78% etsi aktiivisesti töitä (51% tilapäisesti suojelluista työikäisistä). Kaikki ukrainalaiset muodostivat 5% Viron työvoimasta ja 12% työttömiksi rekisteröityneistä.

Julkinen ensiapu oli ilmaista kaikille ukrainalaisille Virossa. Laajempaa julkista terveydenhuoltoa tarjottiin työssäkäyville ja työttömiksi rekisteröityneille ukrainalaisille. Tilapäistä suojelua saavista vastanneista 28% tunsi itsensä täysin ja 58% osittain terveeksi. Julkista terveydenhuoltoa käyttäneistä (35% tilapäisesti suojelluista ja 52% muista vastanneista) 81% oli tyytyväinen saamaansa hoitoon.

Ukrainalaisten lasten koulunkäynti oli monimutkaista, sillä he saapuivat Viroon kesellä kevätlukukautta. Tilapäisesti suojelluista vanhemmista, joilla oli kouluikäisiä (7–17 vuotta) lapsia Virossa, 84% mainitsi, että oli helppoa löytää lapselle koulupaikka Virossa, ja 73% alle kouluikäisten, päiväkotia käyvien lasten vanhemmista (42% vastaajista) mainitsi, että oli helppoa löytää lapsille paikka hoidossa. Viron 13 000 kouluikäisestä ukrainalaisesta 36% oli rekisteröitynyt koulujärjestelmään Virossa. Pääopetuskielinä olivat viro (79,5% oppilaista), venäjä (19,5%) ja englanti (0,5%). Kouluikäisten vanhemmista 39% vastasi, että heidän lapsensa jatkavat koulussa Virossa syksyllä 2022 viro kielellä.

Vastaajista 51% kertoi saavansa jonkinlaista tukea säännöllisesti, 27% joskus ja 22% että ei saa tukea lainkaan. Tavallisimmin tuet liittyivät asumiseen (42% sai tätä tukea), työttömyyteen ja eläkkeisiin. Vastaajista 79% sanoi tarvitsewansa paljon enemmän rahaa tilanteensa parantamiseksi Virossa.



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