

MAGnituDe

MIGRATION · AFFECTIVE GEOPOLITICS · EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

Country Report Latvia

Deliverable 2.1

Lead Author(s): Dr. Oksana Žabko | Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Latvia, PhD candidate Dmytro Mamaiev | Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences (Institute for Sociology)

Corresponding info: Dr Kristina Šliavaitė | Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences (kristina@ces.lt), Dr Vilana Pilinkaitė Sotirovič | Lithuanian Center for Social Sciences (vilana@ces.lt)

Date: 31.12.2025



Funded by the European Union

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon Europe research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101178269. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Commission. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

HORIZON EUROPE

Executive Summary

The report provides an overview and analysis of the migration trends of forcibly displaced persons from Ukraine to Latvia, as well as governance and multilevel responsibilities in the implementation of the Temporary Protection Directive in Latvia, with a particular focus on the situation in housing, education, and labour policies. The report covers the period from the onset of full-scale war in 2022 up to the end of 2025. The report is based on desk research (statistical data, laws, policy reports, previous research) and analysis of semi-structured interviews with experts in education, housing, and the labour market who, in their professional sphere, are in everyday contact with FDPs from Ukraine.

Since the full-scale invasion, Latvia has implemented a special policy to support Ukrainian forcibly displaced persons (FDPs). This policy is outlined in the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums). As of January 1, 2025, the Ministry of the Interior reported that there were 48,093 Ukrainian FDPs registered in Latvia.

In the labour sector, the Latvian state introduced several exceptions for Ukrainian FDPs, such as unrestricted employment rights, waiving language requirements in non-essential roles, and offering start-up allowances. Additionally, the government established favorable conditions for recognizing professional qualifications for Ukrainian FDPs in regulated professions such as healthcare, education, and pharmaceutical care, allowing these professionals to continue working in their fields. These measures enabled rapid, yet to a large extent, low-skilled labour market entry, while language courses, recognition pathways, and coordination mechanisms gradually support upward mobility, although structural barriers (such as housing and transport) continue to constrain full integration.

In the housing sector, the State Fire and Rescue Service coordinated the allocation of temporary housing in hotels and guesthouses for those without a pre-existing shelter in Latvia (Ministry of Interior, 2022a, 2022b). The coordination of various stakeholders by the state and municipalities, who have been involved in housing provision for Ukrainian FDPs since 2022, appears to be a highly effective measure that has ensured broad access to housing nationwide. This housing was provided on a free-of-charge basis, and the accommodation's owner was compensated by the government.

MAGnituDe

Until 31 December 2025, Latvia maintains a regulation that housing for displaced Ukrainians is reimbursed for up to either 60 or 120 days, depending on the municipality's capability, or more than 120 days for specific target groups (Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, Article 12).

In the education sector, Latvia relies on the public provision of education for Ukrainian FDPs at all levels, with some participation by private service providers. In Latvia, Ukrainian children have been allowed to choose whether to enter the local educational system. As of 13 February 2025, 4,203 Ukrainian children were attending Latvian schools or kindergartens, 178 were attending vocational schools, and 382 were studying in higher education institutions (Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, 2025). Some estimations indicate that approximately one-third of Ukrainian children were outside the Latvian education system in 2024. Special attention is given to facilitating language training for both Ukrainian children and adults. However, interviews with experts reveal that the key issue is that the language courses lack certain consistency and continuity.

Table of Contents

- Executive Summary 2
- Abbreviations 6
 - Project abbreviations 6
 - Other 6
- Background 7
 - Migration from Ukraine to Latvia before 2022 7
 - Migration from Ukraine to Latvia after 2022 and types of permits 8
 - Actors of reception 10
 - Attitudes towards FDPs from Ukraine 11
- Governance and multilevel responsibilities in implementation of TPD in respecti... 12
- Methods and materials 14
 - Sources of the statistical data: 14
 - The analysis includes following laws of the Republic of Latvia: 14
 - Policy reports: 14
 - Previous research has allowed us to describe: 15
- Policies and outcomes of the labour market integration 16
 - Access to labour market 16
 - Actors in labour market 17
 - Statistics on employment 18
 - Financial assistance 21
 - Main barriers 22
- Policies and outcomes on housing and settlement 22
 - Access to housing and main actors 22
 - Support for housing 23
 - Opportunities and barriers 24

Policies and outcomes on the education of adults and children 25

Access to education 25

Support measures 26

Language courses for adults 27

Barriers 28

Conclusions 29

References 33

Abbreviations

Project abbreviations

HUG	Help Ukraine Gothenburg - Sweden
UPF	Universidad Pompeu Fabra - Spain
LSMC	Lietuvos Socialiniu Mokslu Centras - Lithuania
KKNU	V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University - Ukraine
UEF	Ita-Suomen Yliopisto - Finland
UG	Uniwersytet Gdanski - Poland
UGR	Universitaet Greifswald - Germany
ZAVOD APIS	Zavod Za Avtorsko Produkcijo Izobrazevanje Inovativnost In Sodelovanje - Slovenia
UGOT	University Of Gothenburg - Sweden

Other

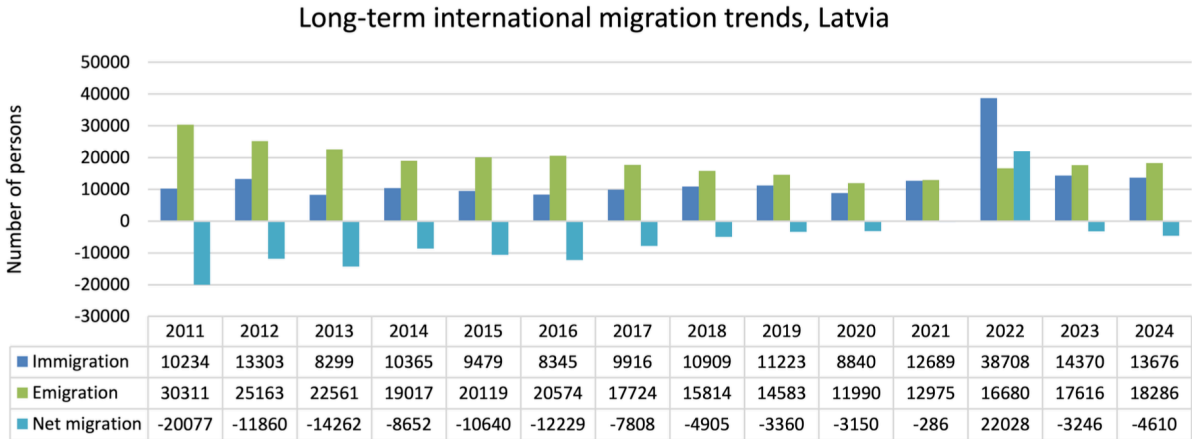
TPD	Temporary Protection Directive (Council Directive 2001/55/EC)
SEA	State Employment Agency
SLA	State Language Agency
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commissioner on Refugees
RCS	Riga Centre for Support of Ukrainians
FDP	Forcibly Displaced Person. The term "Ukrainian FDPs" refers to people who have fled to Europe because of Russia's full-scale invasion in 2022.
TCN	Third Country National
IO	International Organization

Background

Migration from Ukraine to Latvia before 2022

Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine led to significant changes in migration patterns in Latvia. Prior to 2022, the number of immigrants was relatively low, and net migration was on a downward trend. However, this situation changed dramatically in 2022, when a positive net migration was recorded due to the influx of forcibly displaced persons from Ukraine (see Figure 1). In 2023 and 2024, net migration trends returned to negative due to a significant decrease in the influx of Ukrainian FDPs (European Migration Network Latvian contact point, 2025).

Figure 1. Long-term international migration trends in Latvia, 2011-2024



Source: Official Statistical database. Population, Migration, Emigration, and immigration. Table. IBE081. Long-term international migration in regions, State cities, and municipalities 2011 – 2024.

Prior to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Ukrainian citizens, regarded as third-country nationals, faced a highly restrictive immigration policy in Latvia (Basak & Gorgerino, 2025; BISS, 2017; Žabko, 2024a). Entry was permitted under specific, defined circumstances, such as investment in real estate, an invitation from a single employer, or enrollment in tertiary education institutions. Each reason required proof of eligibility based on several criteria, including a certain level of personal income, evidence of labor shortages, the obligation to pay migrants' wages significantly higher than local wages, and limited social protections for migrants, among others.

The data on the arrival of third-country nationals in Latvia indicates that Ukrainians were a significant source of migrant labour (Žabko, 2024a). Approximately two-thirds of their legal arrivals (around 70%) were for employment reasons. The other most common motivations were family reunification (for the spouse of a Latvian resident, including both citizens and non-citizens) and investment in real estate. Pre-war arrivals from Ukraine were dominated by men, aged 25-54 and working in medium-skilled jobs in manufacturing, construction, and transportation industries (BISS, 2017).

Before 2022, very few third-country nationals sought international protection (asylum) in Latvia. Several factors contributed to this trend. Latvia has maintained a generally restrictive immigration policy, particularly towards asylum seekers (Basak & Gorgerino, 2025; Raubiško & Pelse, 2022).

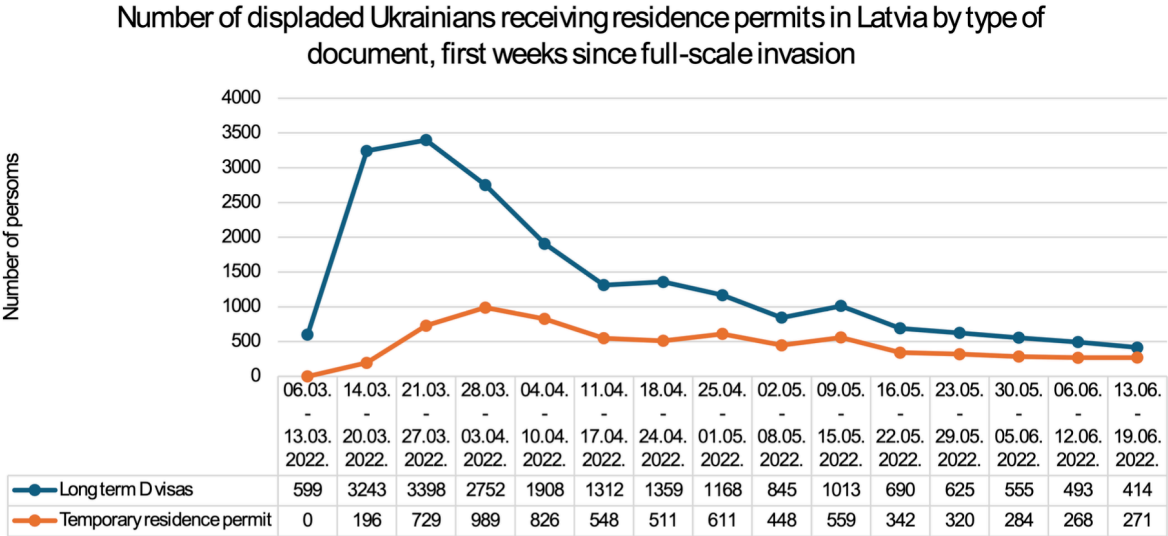
Additionally, the country has a relatively low level of economic development compared to the EU average and offers limited social support to migrants. Following Russia's full-scale invasion in 2022, Latvia took a proactive approach and expressed its willingness to host Ukrainians seeking refuge from the conflict. However, the government deemed the existing asylum application procedure, outlined in the Asylum Law (Patvēruma likums), inadequate for accepting Ukrainians. As a result, a specific exemption, the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums), was adopted by the Parliament at the beginning of March 2022. The regulation for the reception of Ukrainians remains in force in 2025 and will continue until the armed conflict caused by the Russian Federation ends. This law specifically governs the status and conditions of stay for Ukrainians in Latvia. It allows for a more favorable approach regarding employment requirements and provides broader rights in housing and healthcare compared to the treatment of refugees in Latvia (Žabko, 2023) and EU level TPD (Eglīte, 2023).

Migration from Ukraine to Latvia after 2022 and types of permits

According to the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, Ukrainians who arrived in Latvia in 2022 could obtain legal residence status either through a long-term D visa for humanitarian reasons or via a temporary residence permit (TRP).

Visas were issued to Ukrainians holding a foreign passport (as specified in the law, “a document valid for travel”), while Temporary Residence Permits (TRPs) were granted to those who traveled with a Ukrainian ID card or internal passport (according to the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, Article 3, dated 5 March 2022). The eligibility for children to stay in a country depended on the documents held by their parents. If the parents possessed a foreign passport, the child would receive a visa. If not, the child would be issued a Temporary Residence Permit (TRP). Both the visa and the TRP provided the same rights and a personal identification number. Visas were initially presented as the easiest application option, featuring quicker processing times, a shorter application form, and less detailed information required. However, the visa requirements made it challenging for individuals to access e-government services. Therefore, starting from January 1, 2023, all displaced Ukrainians in Latvia were issued temporary residence permits (TRPs).

Figure 2. Number of displaced Ukrainians received legal ground to stay in Latvia, 06.03.-19.06.2022.



Source: Ministry of Interior, Government Reports “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2022. gada 12. Aprīlī” and “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2022. gada 21. Jūnijā”.

Figure 2 illustrates the dynamics of arrivals in the first month following the start of the full-scale invasion, broken down by the type of documents issued to individuals upon arrival. To obtain the total number of arrivals, one can sum the two figures presented. However, there is a lack of publicly available data on the number of arrivals in the subsequent periods, which hampers the ability to evaluate continuous trends for the latter half of 2022, as well as for 2023 and 2024.

The validity periods of documents issued to Ukrainians have been extended automatically several times, and the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians has been amended accordingly. As of March 4, 2025, the current validity period for Temporary Residence Permits (TRP) issued to displaced Ukrainians is three years, an increase from the previous two-year period. Consequently, there is limited data available to track whether displaced Ukrainians have settled permanently in Latvia. It is also quite rare for Ukrainians to officially declare an interruption in their residency in Latvia. As of January 1, 2025, the Ministry of the Interior reported that 48,093 Ukrainian civilians were registered in Latvia. This includes 28,954 women, accounting for 60%, and 19,139 men, making up 40%, who are currently receiving temporary protection in Latvia. 31,977 individuals, or 66%, were aged between 18 and 65 years, representing the working-age population (see Ministry of Welfare, 2025).

Actors of reception

The organization of support for Ukrainian FDPs involved national and local authorities. Non-governmental organizations, along with individuals and private companies that were not previously recognized as resources for supporting migrants, have provided assistance to Ukrainians. This support has primarily focused on housing and social services, including food and clothing. Ukrainians arrived in Latvia from two main routes: through the eastern border with Russia and the southern border via neighboring Ukrainian countries and Lithuania. Non-governmental organizations and volunteers provided assistance at both the border with Russia and the Riga Central Coach Terminal.

Most Ukrainians arrived in the Latvian capital, Riga. Following this, the Single Support Centre for Ukrainians was established in the city center on March 7, 2022. This center operates on a one-stop shop principle, providing all essential services in one location (Žabko, 2024b). Since the arrival of Ukrainian FDPs was significantly lower, the support centre was moved to smaller premises located outside the city centre. At the end of June 2025, the center in its current form closed, and the provision of basic support services was transferred to two branches of the Riga Neighbourhood Population Centre Customer Service Points. In other municipalities, essential information for displaced Ukrainians and applications for crucial services such as housing and social assistance are available through Single State and Local Government Customer Service Centres, which are general services and not specific to refugees. Additionally, the Integration and Inclusion Agency of Latvia provides support for displaced Ukrainians alongside other third-country nationals. This government agency offers general informational support, legal assistance, and psychological consultations, while also organizing integration courses and language training.

Attitudes towards FDPs from Ukraine

Volunteers assisting Ukrainians come from various nationalities, and in Latvia, most of them are not part of the Ukrainian diaspora. While there is strong support from civil society, there is limited capacity to assess the overall attitudes of Latvian society towards the influx of refugees, mainly due to a lack of quantitative data on the subject. Following Russia's full-scale invasion, regular surveys are conducted to assess public security concerns, along with occasional questions about attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees. The results indicate a decline in support for Ukrainian forcibly displaced persons (FDPs) within Latvian society. In 2023, a public opinion poll reveals that 23% of respondents agree with the statement that Latvia should accommodate as many displaced Ukrainians as possible, while an additional 27% remain neutral, neither agreeing nor disagreeing. In 2024, 19% of respondents agreed with the statement that Latvia should accommodate as many displaced Ukrainians as possible, while another 26% expressed a neutral stance. Support for this position was slightly higher among the Latvian-speaking population compared to the Russian-speaking population in the country (Berg Research, 2023, 2024). Additionally, the 2024 survey results indicate that about 20% of the Latvian population is concerned that Ukrainian forcibly displaced persons (FDPs) may permanently settle in Latvia (Berg Research, 2024).

Third-country nationals entering Latvia have very limited legal rights and social protections. In contrast, refugees and individuals granted asylum enjoy a broader range of rights (BISS, 2017). Among these groups, displaced Ukrainians in Latvia have the most extensive rights (Žabko, 2023). In many areas, displaced Ukrainians have comparable social protection rights to those of Latvian citizens. However, in terms of employment, they benefit from specific exemptions that are not available to Latvian citizens. These special employment privileges for Ukrainians include an employment start-up allowance and the removal of the requirement to speak Latvian for hiring purposes.

Governance and multilevel responsibilities in implementation of TPD in respective countries

Since the full-scale invasion, Latvia has implemented a special policy to support Ukrainian forcibly displaced persons (FDPs). This policy is outlined in the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums). The TPD has already been integrated into the Asylum Law (Patvēruma likums), which governs the admission of asylum seekers in Latvia. The creation of the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians was necessitated by the need for more flexible regulations than those outlined in the Asylum Law. During their stay in Latvia, individuals have the option to apply for a residence permit that is not temporary protection. This includes a temporary residence permit (TRP) or a long-term visa that grants the right to work, similar to the situation prior to the full-scale invasion. Although these options are still available, they are rarely used, accounting for only 0.2% of cases in the first half of 2025, according to the Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs. As of January 1, 2023, only TRPs are being issued. The Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians also includes a special provision for cases where a travel document (passport or ID) issued in Ukraine has expired. In such instances, Latvian government authorities consider the expired document to be valid until February 28, 2026.

In Latvia, the temporary protection is granted rarely when persons are not able to provide the necessary documents for TRP (passport, ID, as mentioned earlier). In 2022, a significant challenge faced by the authorities was the influx of Ukrainian FDPs without a valid identity entering through

the Latvia-Russia border, for example, coming to the EU through Russia from the Donetsk region (such as the city of Mariupol, etc.). To address this challenge, individuals entering Latvia without valid identification documents are required to apply to the Embassy of Ukraine in Latvia, where their identity will be verified (European Migration Network Latvian contact point, n.d.). Another challenge for the authorities, especially, during first half of 2022, was granting temporary protection status to persons who had been residing outside the territory of Ukraine for a long period of time before the full-scale invasion or who entered for economic purposes from regions of Ukraine perceived as comparatively safe (e.g., Transcarpathian region) (European Migration Network Latvian contact point, n.d.).

The provision of support to displaced Ukrainians is regulated by the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, adopted on March 3, 2022. Since its adoption, the law has been amended 17 times as of 1 June 2023 (Žabko, 2023), and a total of 26 times. The amendments were made in response to the actual needs and problems faced by the authorities involved in receiving Ukrainian citizens, as well as in response to NGO criticism of the short-term nature of the support provided in the spring of 2022 (Žabko, 2023). Since the general framework of support provision was established between spring and summer of 2022, no substantial changes to the rights or conditions of support provision have been made since then. A summary of information on the division of responsibilities among government and municipal authorities is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Division of responsibilities across different governance levels in relation to the support of displaced Ukrainians

Area of regulations/ support	Responsible institutions
Registration, issue of legal status to stay in Latvia	Civil Protection Commission for the Municipal Cooperation Area (Sadarbības teritorijas civilās aizsardzības komisija) State Fire and Rescue Service
Housing	Civil Protection Commission for the Municipal Cooperation Area (Sadarbības teritorijas civilās aizsardzības komisija) State Fire and Rescue Service
Employment	Municipality level through the Civil Protection Commission for the Municipal Cooperation Area Educational institutions (schools, kindergartens, etc.)

Source: Composed by Žabko, based on the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians with amendments taken over time.

Methods and materials

The desk research report is based on (1) analysis of statistical data, (2) review of various documents, policy reports and previous research, and (3) semi-structured interviews.

Sources of the statistical data:

1. Official Statistical database: population statistics, long-term immigration trends, average wage;
2. Government reports on the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians (TPDs) collected from various government authorities: Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and Sciences, Ministry of Welfare, State Revenue Service etc.;
3. Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs on temporary residence permits.

The analysis includes following laws of the Republic of Latvia:

1. Asylum Law (Patvēruma likums);
2. Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums).

Policy reports:

1. Government reports on the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians (TPDs): description of policies applied;
2. Ministry of Welfare, Report on employment of Ukrainian civilians in 2022-2024;
3. European Migration Network Latvian contact point;
4. European Commission: Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2024).
The Inclusion of Displaced Children from Ukraine in EU Education Systems – 2023-2024.

Previous research has allowed us to describe:

1. General immigration and asylum policy in Latvia (see following references: Basak & Gorgerino, 2025; BISS, 2017; Raubiško & Pelse, 2022);
2. Surveys allowing for the description of attitudes of Latvian population (Berg Research 2023, 2024);
3. Studies analysing reception of displaced Ukrainians (Dupate et al., 2024; Eglīte, 2023; Providus, 2024; Žabko, 2023, 2024a, 2024b, 2024c).

The main source of the **statistical data** provided is regular government reports produced for the meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers (i.e., Latvia’s supreme executive authority). The reports contain the data collected by the respective government body according to the area of their responsibility (arrivals of Ukrainian citizens, provision of housing, social services, employment, access to education, etc.). The reports have been produced under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior and are considered the most reliable source of data.

The **documents and policy reports** include primary sources, such as legal texts and action plans produced by government authorities, as well as secondary sources like previous research and the corresponding authorities' websites.

One more source of empirical material is qualitative semi-structured interviews among representatives of street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) and civil society organizations (CSOs), who have daily contact and experience working with FDPs from Ukraine in the education, labour, or housing sectors. The expert interviews took place from 26 to 30 May 2025 in Riga. The composition of the sample is shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Composition of the interview sample.

SECTOR	SLB	CSO
Education	SLB 1 [Face-to-face interview with a methodologist of Latvian language learning].	CSO 1 [Online interview with two project managers at CSO that provides Latvian language learning courses.]

Table 2 Continued

	SLB 2 [A face-to-face interview with a headmaster of one of Riga's schools].	CSO 2 [A face-to-face interview with an international organization officer in Riga.]
Labour	SLB 1 [A face-to-face interview with a consultant responsible for assistance to Ukrainian FDPs.]	CSO 1 [A face-to-face interview with the representative of the CSO who had a program on labor market integration for Ukrainians.]
Housing	SLB 1 [A face-to-face interview with the municipality officer responsible for housing assistance.]	CSO 1 [A face-to-face interview with an NGO representative who was running a housing program for Ukrainian FDPs]

Policies and outcomes of the labour market integration

Access to labour market

To facilitate the employment of displaced Ukrainians, since the adoption of the first draft of the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, the government introduced several exceptions not applied to refugees. While third-country nationals typically face restrictions linked to a single employer, both asylum seekers and displaced Ukrainians are granted unrestricted employment rights. Uniquely for Ukrainians, employers (including state and municipal enterprises) can hire individuals without Latvian language skills if this does not hinder job performance (Žabko, 2023, 2024a, 2024b).

Furthermore, the government established favorable conditions for recognizing professional qualifications for Ukrainian FDPs in regulated professions such as healthcare, education, sports, and pharmaceutical care, allowing these professionals to continue working in their fields. In this case, professionals in the relevant fields had to obtain permits for temporary professional activity; however, the Latvian Medical Association provided additional support for recognizing doctors' qualifications (Žabko, 2024b). The interviewed SLB 1 and CSO 1 in labour expressed the opinion that professionals in healthcare and education are in high demand in Latvia, and those professionals receive more attention and support in language facilitation and qualification recognition compared to other professions. SLB 1 in education expressed the opinion that numerous Ukrainian doctors are

already included as professionals in Latvian hospitals, and some of them are even able to communicate in Latvian. As for regulated professions, however, these exemptions correspond only to the TPD minimum requirements (Dupate et al., 2024). In addition to legal requirements, the government introduced a single employment start-up allowance equivalent to the minimum wage of the respective year to facilitate the rapid entry of displaced Ukrainians into employment.

Actors in labour market

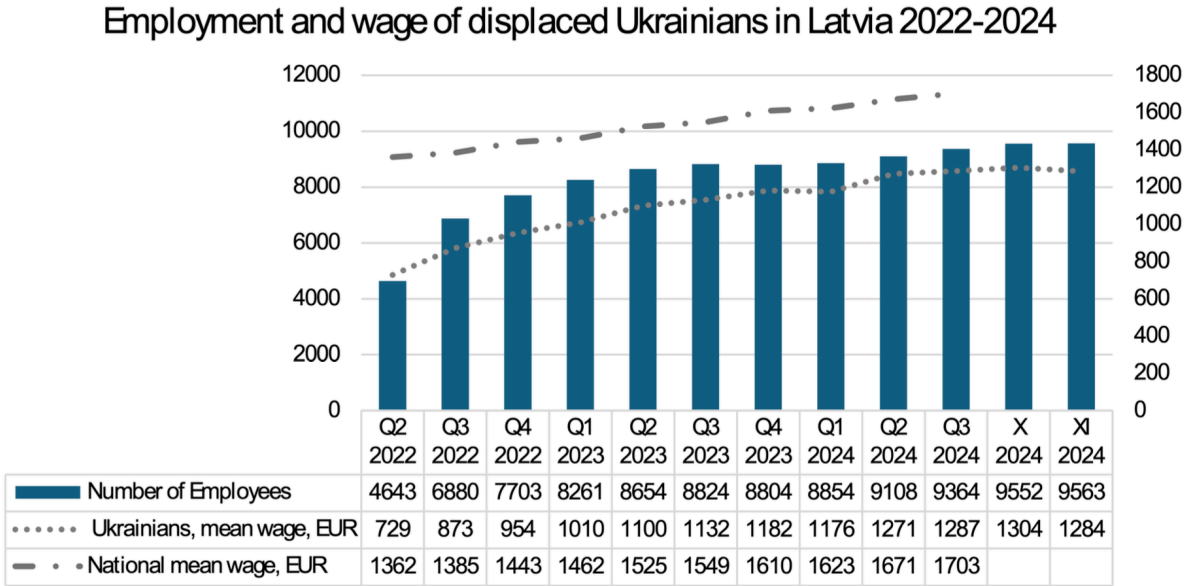
The government body responsible for implementing and integrating labour market policy is the State Employment Agency (SEA). After the first Ukrainian FDPs arrived, SEA encouraged employers to inform them about available job opportunities. Although the initial response was high, by the end of 2023, the number of companies indicating that the job was suitable for Ukrainians had dropped significantly (Žabko, 2024a; Ministry of Welfare, 2025). The main reason was a skills mismatch among Ukrainians and, later, labour market saturation (Žabko, 2024a). There is still a special section on the SEA website, which is named 'For Ukrainians', where one may find a job if the individual is a Ukrainian FDP in Latvia (SLB 1 in labour). Civil society plays a crucial role in helping Ukrainians integrate into the labor market by offering consultation and information support services. CSO 1 in labour suggested that it is essential for NGOs to equip them with knowledge about their working rights and labor legislation.

To make employers' offers more accessible to Ukrainians, from 2022 to 2024, the SEA, together with the Support Centre for Ukrainians, organised job fairs where various employers offered available positions to Ukrainians in person. Everyone could meet several employers, ask questions about working conditions, and, if interested, agree on starting to work. Participation in job fairs provided Ukrainians with an opportunity to reduce the time spent searching for a job and gave them confidence that these employers were reliable and trustworthy. By July 2024, 24 job fairs have been organized, offering around 4,500 jobs to Ukrainian FDPs. Around 100 companies and around 5,000 Ukrainians have participated in the job fairs (Žabko, 2024b). Interviewed CSO 1 in labour suggested that these job fairs should be seen as a "good example of coordination between the municipality and entrepreneurs".

Statistics on employment

Figure 3 provides general statistics on the number of displaced Ukrainians employed in Latvia. These data are collected by the State Revenue Service, so they show the declared employment – official number of regularly employed according to information provided by employers (sector, occupation, wage). Regarding wages, Figure 3 presents data on the national mean wage collected by the Statistical Office, which enables characterization of the wage gap between displaced Ukrainians employed in Latvia and Latvian nationals.

Figure 3. Number of displaced Ukrainians employed in Latvia and their gross mean wage in comparison with the national mean wage, 2022-2024



Source: State Revenue Service, Government Report: “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem, 2025. gada februāris”; National mean wage: Oficial Statistical database. Labour market. DSV010c. Average monthly and median wages and salaries 1994Q1 - 2025Q1; Note: in January 2023 and 2024, statutory minimum wage increased

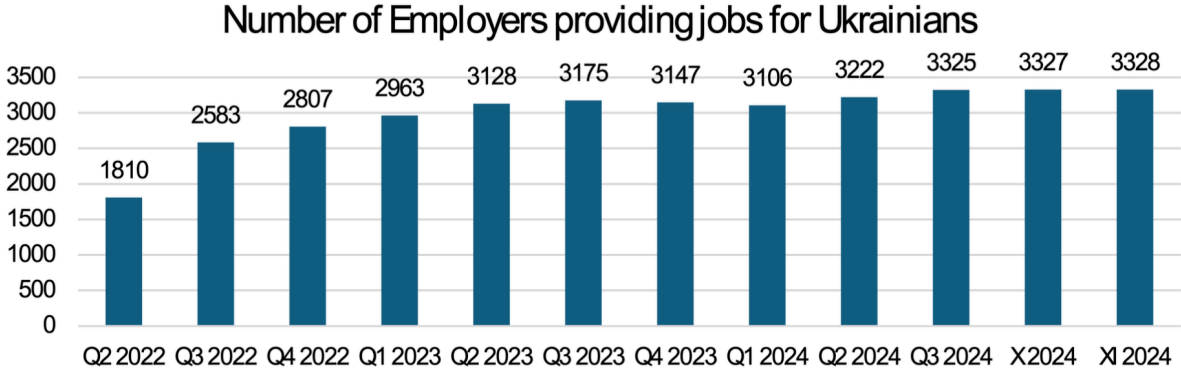
The data collected on the employment of displaced Ukrainians does not contain information on the actual qualifications of employees or the number of displaced Ukrainians working remotely in other countries, either within Ukraine or in other EU states. According to available data, displaced Ukraini-

ans have entered the Latvian labour market early after arriving in the country, as the number of employees increased rapidly in the first quarters after the full-scale invasion. The wage gap between Ukrainians and Latvian nationals is explained by the large share of low-qualified jobs held by Ukrainians. However, over time, the wage distribution has changed, with an increasing share of Ukrainians earning above the statutory minimum wage (State Revenue Service, 2025). According to estimates based on data from the State Revenue Service, approximately 40% of displaced Ukrainians employed in Latvia work in low-skilled positions, such as cleaners, kitchen staff, and auxiliary workers. Only about 1% of all employees hold managerial positions (Providus, 2024). As of January 2025, around 1% (or 241 individuals) of working-age Ukrainians were employed in professions that required the recognition of qualifications obtained in Ukraine. This includes 198 in the medical field, 5 in pharmaceuticals, and 38 in education (Ministry of Interior, 2025).

According to SLB 1 in labour, Ukrainian FDPs are mainly employed in low-qualified positions due to a lack of necessary knowledge of the Latvian language, English, or any other foreign language, as well as a lack of working experience in the specific job position. According to SLB 1 in labour, Ukrainian males of working age are much more likely to have a job, although low-qualified, in comparison with elderly people or single mothers with children who are also from Ukraine. SLB 1 in labour described that the working conditions of Ukrainian FDPs are monitored by the special Labor Inspection Agency, which is entitled to handle all cases of individual employment. Implementing labor market integration measures also helps to alleviate mental health issues and improve the psychosocial well-being of Ukrainian FDPs, who arrive in Latvia with diverse backgrounds and life circumstances, according to SLB 1 in labour.

Figure 4 shows the number of employers who have actually declared that they employ displaced Ukrainians in Latvia. An increase in numbers indicates the expansion of employers hiring Ukrainians in 2022. Saturation was reached as early as the beginning of 2023 (Q2). A relatively stable figure in later quarters means that no new employers have offered jobs for displaced Ukrainians. If anyone finds a job, they are likely to be hired by the same employers who already have a Ukrainian workforce.

Figure 4. Number of enterprises employing displaced Ukrainians, 2022-2024



Source: State Revenue Service, Government Report: “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem, 2025. gada februāris”

According to the State Revenue Service data in October 2024, employers providing jobs to displaced Ukrainians operates in following sectors: manufacturing (17%), wholesales and retail trade (16%), accommodation and food service activities (12%), construction (12%), transport and storage (9%) and human health and social work activities (6%). According to estimations, about 40% of displaced Ukrainians of working age are not officially employed in Latvia or registered with the SEA. There is no data available on the number of individuals in other employment relationships, such as entrepreneurs, those employed outside Latvia, or those engaged in undeclared work in Latvia, nor on the number of individuals who lack employment (Providus, 2024).

We can compare the previous number of Ukrainians working to the estimate by VATT (Seppä, Alasalmi & Korpela, 2025) at the end of 2024 when around 10 000 Ukrainian FDPs residing in Finland received monetary compensation in form of a salary.

The summary of initiatives to facilitate the entrance of displaced Ukrainians into the labour market is listed in Table 3. They refer to both target groups – displaced Ukrainians (employed and unemployed) and Latvian employers about special exemptions for the employment of Ukrainians.

Table 3. Summary of initiatives to facilitate the entrance of displaced Ukrainians into the labour market

Target group	Initiative	Responsible public authority
Displaced Ukrainians – employees and self-employed	Single Employment Start-Up Allowance / Single Self-Employed Start-Up Allowance.	State Employment Agency (SEA)
Latvian employers/ displaced Ukrainian employees	Tax exemptions for wages received by displaced Ukrainians include: (1) a non-taxable minimum and (2) tax relief for dependent children.	State Revenue Service
Displaced Ukrainians holding a degree and work experience in medicine, psychology, and education	Recognition of prior education for regulated professions can be achieved through two procedures: (1) obtaining the European Professional Card, or (2) following the process for temporary service providers.	Academic Information Centre Latvian Medical Association (medical doctors)
Unemployed displaced Ukrainians	Active labour market policy measures such as career counseling, formal and informal training: up-skilling, re-skilling	State Employment Agency (SEA)
Displaced Ukrainians, Latvian employers	Information seminars on tax issues	State Revenue Service, NGOs

Source: Composed by Žabko based on Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians; Ministry of Welfare, 2025; Ministry of Interior, 2025; Academic Information Centre, n.d.

Financial assistance

The single employment and self-employment start-up allowances are measures specifically designed for displaced Ukrainians. Their purpose is to reduce participation in undeclared work and to facilitate the transition into formal employment. According to the State Employment Agency (SEA), from February 2022 until January 6, 2025, a total of 16,397 individuals received the single employment start-up allowance, while 541 individuals received the single self-employment start-up

start-up allowance (Ministry of Welfare, 2025).

For reducing the tax burden for displaced Ukrainians, the Latvian government has introduced tax reliefs. They are described in Article 8.3 of the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians. The amount of tax deductions for working displaced Ukrainians has changed over time. At the first stage, since 27 May 2022, they were applied in the following manner: a non-taxable minimum of 250 EUR per month for wages and a tax relief of another 250 EUR for each dependent child living in Latvia with the income recipient. At the second stage, since 1 May 2025, the amount of tax deduction was increased and made equal to Latvian nationals as follows: the non-taxable minimum (510 EUR per month) and tax relief for a dependent child (250 EUR per month).

Main barriers

Despite various initiatives aimed at helping displaced Ukrainians find employment, several significant challenges continue to hinder their effective integration into the labor market. These challenges include: a) shortage of affordable rental apartments in Riga and economic development centers; b) Limited job vacancies in municipalities and rural areas outside the Riga region; c) Insufficient public transport options connecting rural areas to urban centers. d) A lack of Latvian language skills among highly skilled Ukrainian professionals, such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers. Additionally, the scarcity of part-time job opportunities, which is particularly relevant for women with preschool or primary school-aged children, has been noted as a concern (Ministry of Welfare, 2025).

Policies and outcomes on housing and settlement

Access to housing and main actors

No special rules were indicated for where Ukrainian FDPs should stay upon arrival in Latvia. This was different from the general rule, which states that all asylum seekers must stay in a dedicated accommodation centre, called “Mucenieki”, during their application process and then find their own

accommodation on the open market without any financial support (Asylum law, 2016). As to Ukrainian FDPs, they could choose whether to stay with relatives or other people they know in Latvia or apply for support provided by the government and local authorities. At the initial stage, for those without a pre-existing shelter in Latvia, the State Fire and Rescue Service coordinated the allocation of temporary housing in hotels and guesthouses (Ministry of Interior, 2022a, 2022b). This housing was provided on a free-of-charge basis, and the accommodation's owner was compensated by the government. Since May 2022, anyone who provided housing to Ukrainians has been eligible to receive this compensation, including their relatives (Žabko, 2024b). SLB 1 in housing indicated that private business was more involved at the beginning, but with time the numbers of involved declined: "there were many private businesses and hotels that were ready to welcome everyone with open arms. Well, since it's business, so over time, private businesses practically refused to provide their hotels, and we were left with only few facilities, with those who completely gave up their small hotels or hostels for Ukrainians".

Support for housing

Until 31 December 2025, Latvia maintains a regulation that housing for displaced Ukrainians is reimbursed for up to either 60 or 120 days, depending on the municipality's capability, or more than 120 days for specific target groups (Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, Article 12). The amount of reimbursement is stated as follows: 100 EUR per month for the first person and 50 EUR for each additional person in the family, but not exceeding EUR 300 for an entire family from Ukraine. The support is continued monthly for more than 120 days on the same terms if displaced Ukrainians have disabilities, are minors, are retirees, or are families with children under two years of age (Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, Article 7.1). The interviewee indicated that state support is essential for covering housing expenses for those who cannot join the labour market due to age or other issues: "The only thing is that it is probably most difficult for pensioners because it is harder for them to work. They cannot earn as much as young people do, so they stay in hotels. The state provides them with the opportunity to live in hotels free of charge, so pensioners continue to live there" (SLB 1 in housing).

The statistics on housing support provided by public authorities to displaced Ukrainians are scarce. According to a media publication, as of 29 November 2022, 11,535 Ukrainian FDPs had received

housing provided through public sources in various Latvian municipalities (Žabko, 2024b). Moreover, municipalities were encouraged to find and arrange vacant buildings (such as dormitories) to accommodate Ukrainian FDPs. In the long term, in early 2024, 3,090 Ukrainians continued to be accommodated through Civil Protection Commissions in municipal-owned accommodation buildings. No statistics are available on the quality of housing and living conditions provided by displaced Ukrainians (Providus, 2024).

Opportunities and barriers

Latvia's policies regarding housing issues for Ukrainian FDPs appear to be effective and prioritized by national and local level authorities, as confirmed by both SLBs and CSOs in this area. The coordination of various stakeholders by the state and municipalities, who have been involved in housing provision for Ukrainian FDPs since 2022, appears to be a highly effective measure that has ensured broad access to housing nationwide. Both informants are Ukrainians themselves, who arrived in Riga within a few months after February 2022, and did not have any special training on how to deal with the crisis situation. Yet, when it comes to housing, it appears that the measures in place are implemented to a high extent, and the informants' wish is that these measures be extended indefinitely.

CSO and SLB interviewees in housing indicate that there are differences in housing accessibility, which are determined by location. Riga is perceived as appealing to FDPs due to its job market, but this raises challenges in finding suitable housing. A CSO 1 in housing indicated that rejections on housing access may occur on a nationality basis when a landlord hears that the person seeking to rent is a Ukrainian national, although such cases are rare. CSO 1 in housing noted that some Ukrainians have also already purchased housing in Riga or its surroundings while living in the country since 2022. According to SLB 1 in housing, Ukrainians typically stay in the dormitory initially and then move to rented accommodation on their own. However, SLB 1 in housing noted that Ukrainians who start renting housing on their own immediately after arriving in Latvia lose access to information and social circles. Those who stay in the dormitory also turn out to have better psycho-social health conditions

Policies and outcomes on the education of adults and children

Access to education

Latvia relies on public provision of education at all levels, with little participation of private service providers. According to Article 13.1 of the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, displaced Ukrainians have the same rights to access public general secondary education as refugees under the Asylum Law. In Latvia, Ukrainian children have been allowed to choose whether to enter the local educational system. As CSO 2 described it, “Education is the right but not the obligation for Ukrainian children in Latvia.”

According to the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, as of 13 February 2025, 4,203 Ukrainian children were attending Latvian schools or kindergartens, 178 were attending vocational schools, and 382 were studying in higher education institutions (Ministry of Interior, 2025). Estimates based on the results of the previous school year (2024) indicate that approximately one-third of Ukrainian children were outside the Latvian education system. There is no clear evidence whether they participate in the Ukrainian education system instead (Žabko, 2024c). CSO 2 in education mentioned that the Latvian Ministry of Education submitted a draft law on the obligation for Ukrainian children to attend school, but it was not yet adopted at the time of the interview (CSO 2). CSO 2 in education mentioned that the number of 10th- to 12th-grade Ukrainian students in schools is very low.

The education for Ukrainian FDPs is mainly provided in the Latvian language. Exemptions to examinations were introduced for displaced Ukrainian children in the school years of 2021/2022 and 2022/2023. Displaced Ukrainians have the right to enroll in a vocational school or university, and, if relevant, according to the laws and regulations on recognition of prior learning. For universities, exceptions were made for the assessment of Ukrainian secondary education results, which entailed the absence of examinations in certain subjects during the study years 2021/2022 and 2022/2023. Other enrollment conditions have been similar to those for Latvian residents. This means that Ukrainian and Latvian residents can compete for subsidized places at universities or

educational institutions; however, the government and universities may offer grants and subsidies to displaced Ukrainians.

Support measures

The Latvian government regularly allocates specific state budget funds to support the measures necessary for integrating Ukrainian children into Latvian schools. At the EU level, Latvia has been reported as a country providing a wide range of support measures for displaced Ukrainian children in the national education system. This includes support in language, teaching and training materials, financial support, recognition of prior learning, psycho-social support, and other forms of assistance (European Commission, 2024). However, in practice, the actual provision of these support measures, especially in terms of language, everyday learning, and psychological support, varies among Latvian schools (Žabko, 2024c).

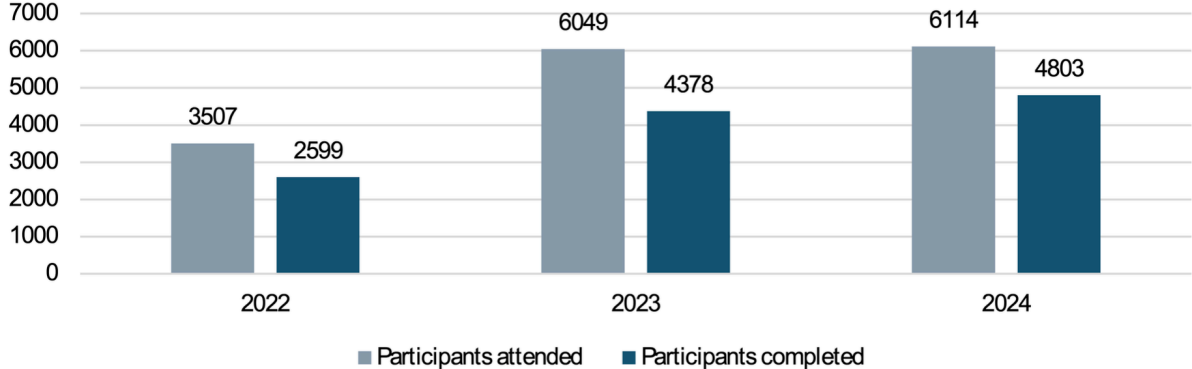
Special attention is given to facilitating language training for both Ukrainian children and adults. On the national level, language courses for adults are provided by the following government bodies: the Society Integration Fund (or through its body, the Integration and Inclusion Agency of Latvia) for all third-country nationals, the Latvian Language Agency, and the State Employment Agency if the person has registered as unemployed. These bodies organize and form a demand for training, which is supplied by various NGOs selected through public calls. The crucial role is also taken by the Riga municipality. Normally, all language trainings are funded by special government funds and is free of charge for learners.

CSO 1 in education confirmed that language and cultural integration courses are the government's priorities, and therefore, most funding is channeled in this direction. According to CSO 1 in education, the Latvian Language Agency actively cooperates with the Ukrainian Support Centre to coordinate the provision of language training. According to SLB 1 in education, free language courses are available in Latvia for Ukrainians, unemployed foreigners, and TCNs (SLB 1). SLB 2 in education noted that the school hired Ukrainians as assistant teachers to help children integrate into the educational system. According to CSO 2 in education, the initiative of educational assistants showed very low results due to the challenge of learning the Latvian language for Ukrainian educators (CSO 2).

Language courses for adults

Figure 6 illustrates the annual number of displaced Ukrainians participating in language training. However, participants could withdraw from training and return later, so the number can include the same persons who have attended training repeatedly.

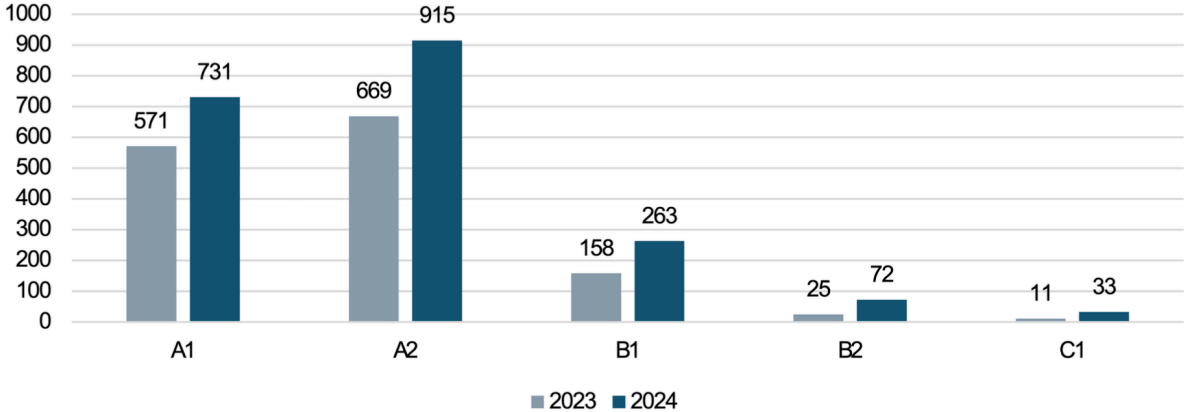
Figure 6. Number of participants in language trainings organized by the Society Integration Fund per year, 2022-2024
Latvian language trainings for displaced Ukrainians



Source: Ministry of Culture, Government Report: “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem, 2025. gada februāris”

As Figure 7 shows, most of the displaced Ukrainians have applied to take a test of the Latvian language at the basic level (A1 or A2). According to the Ministry of Education and Sciences (Government Report, 2025), 49% of applicants successfully passed the respective language test (averaging across all levels). These results confirm the shortages of Latvian language proficiency among Ukrainians, which hinder their entry into occupations more suitable for their qualifications.

Figure 7. Number of applications for the Latvian language test according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages



Source: Ministry of Education and Science, Government Report: “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem, 2025. gada februāris”

State Employment Agency provides services that overcome obstacles to entering the local labour market. The general term that describes this set of measures is active labour market measures. They include career guidance and various formal and non-formal training courses that enable individuals to enhance or update their qualifications to meet labour market needs. Between 7 March 2022 and the end of 2024, a total of 4,462 Ukrainians participated in active labour policy measures offered by the SEA: 1,188 persons participated in 2022, 1,552 in 2023, and 1,722 in 2024. The most frequently used activities include career counselling, e-career self-assessment, non-formal education (primarily the Latvian language), information days of the SEA, summer employment for schoolchildren, and others. Participation in formal training is very low due to a lack of proficiency in the Latvian language, as all training is provided in the national language (Ministry of Welfare, 2025).

Barriers

Among the challenges and obstacles to educational system integration, the SLB 2 in education outlined excessive usage of digital gadgets and a lack of knowledge of the Latvian language among

some children. The lack of Latvian language knowledge and the structured, legislatively regulated system of its learning were also highlighted by CSO 2 in education as posing challenges for FDPs from Ukraine. The emotional well-being of children from war-torn regions and the lack of experience of Latvian teachers to work with such vulnerable children were indicated as a challenge by CSO 2 in education. CSO 2 in education shared cases of bullying of Ukrainian children in Latvian schools due to language. CSO 2 in education has shared an opinion that formalized education programs for newcomers in schools are still lacking in Latvia, schools require more funding and resources, and teachers need to be trained on how to work with children from war-torn areas. CSO 2 in education expressed the opinion that there is a lack of coordination between the Ministry of Education, municipalities, and schools, resulting in a situation where some Ukrainian children do not attend schools in Latvia.

One significant issue is the inconsistency of language courses, as individuals may complete them and then wait for over six months before the next opportunity to enroll in a higher level (CSO 1 in education). Those gaps are often caused by the funding stream in Latvia, where spring is usually very empty for integration and language activities, and autumn is overloaded with various opportunities. This often demotivates people, causing them to lose the skills they have acquired (CSO 1 in education). Another challenge outlined by the CSO representatives is the project-based approach to language training and the limited funding available for stakeholders to implement projects beyond the project frame (CSO 1 in education). SLB 1 in education noted that a strong monitoring system for language training attendance could improve the overall system of language provision and also maintain accountability for FDPs from Ukraine who enroll in these courses.

Conclusions

Latvia introduced a separate legislation to handle the reception of Ukrainian FDPs. Instead of the direct application of TPD, it is the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums) that expands and adjusts the TPD provision to the national context by setting regulations and conditions for the reception and support of Ukrainian FDPs. Based on the Law, Ukrainians receive a temporary residence permit (TRP) with the right to work. Currently, since March 2025, the validity period of the TRP issued to displaced Ukrainians is three years. This means that displaced Ukrainians have a legal right to stay in Latvia until March 2028.

Essential for reception is the fact that Ukrainians are provided with the same rights as Latvian residents in many essential services (such as social assistance and services, health services, tax incentives etc.).

The employment incentives adopted by the government allow Ukrainians to be employed in public and municipal institutions, which are generally not accessible to refugees and third-country nationals. This policy incentive has been confirmed through the interviews conducted. Nevertheless, although various initiatives have been introduced to support the employment of displaced Ukrainians, several key challenges have been identified: 1) the shortage of affordable housing in Riga and other major economic centres; 2) the limited availability of jobs in municipalities and rural areas outside the Riga region; 3) inadequate Latvian language skills required for many highly qualified professionals. Additionally, knowledge of labor legislation and recognition of various qualifications, not only those prioritized by the Latvian Government (healthcare, education, and pharmaceuticals), could be addressed at the legislative level, considering the long-term perspective of Ukrainian FDPs' stay. Ukrainian FDPs also receive a one-time start-up allowance upon employment in Latvia. Yet, a vast number of FDPs still occupy low-qualified job positions due to the lack of Latvian language knowledge and unmatched prior working experiences FDPs carried with them from Ukraine.

The Latvian accommodation system for Ukrainian FDPs has demonstrated a solid adaptability and strong inter-agency coordination. Although the housing support is granted until the end of 2025, one can assume that, if necessary, this term will be extended by the respective amendments in the Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians, as has been done before. FDPs can select between residing with their acquaintances or utilizing government-funded lodging in hotels or dormitories at no cost. Successful coordination among national agencies, local authorities, and NGOs, supplemented by consistent monitoring, has sustained satisfactory living conditions without significant instances of exploitation or inadequate housing quality. The identified gap within the housing dimension is a lack of suitable statistical data on the housing support provided by public authorities. The precise numbers are crucial for addressing the housing situation at the legislative level and facilitating the smooth coordination of various stakeholders involved. Additionally, heightened housing demand and escalating rental costs in Riga, along with sporadic discrimination within the private rental sector, could be considered as challenges that have to be addressed on the

policy level.

Considering the aspect of access to education, there are no obstacles or challenges for Ukrainian youth to enroll in the Latvian educational system. Schools have shown flexibility by translating exams, hiring Ukrainian assistant teachers, and adapting to students' diverse educational backgrounds, while cooperation between ministries, municipalities, and NGOs has expanded access to Latvian language training for both children and adults. Nevertheless, the voluntary nature of enrollment in the secondary education system entails that a certain part (up to one-third) of Ukrainian children are not enrolled in the Latvian schools. Additionally, the complexities of learning the Latvian language, which is necessary for the education process, do not incentivize parents to choose Latvian schools over Ukrainian online education.

Language trainings are widely provided for Ukrainian FDPs by private stakeholders and CSOs. The language needs of the Ukrainian population change over time, and any design of the respective programs should take this aspect into consideration. Inconsistency in language learning, i.e., waiting a long time to start learning the next level of the Latvian language, sometimes leads to dropouts and a loss of the already acquired skills. CSOs emphasize the importance of making language training more inclusive – ensuring outreach to a broader range of people, not just those who are already active and engaged. Additionally, teachers working with Ukrainian groups should be equipped with cultural awareness and trauma-sensitive approaches.

When it comes to the interviewed expert's personal role in receiving FDPs from Ukraine, various tendencies can be outlined. Initially, some of the experts are Ukrainian FDPs who have arrived in Latvia after 2022 and subsequently started working in the public or NGO sector, while also assisting other Ukrainian FDPs. Secondly, Latvian experts take it emotionally very close to the fact of the massive arrivals of Ukrainians. All of the Latvian experts mentioned they were not prepared for such a large influx of FDPs. Yet, most of the experts had previous experience working with third-country nationals in Latvia. Education sphere experts have shared a common opinion that Ukrainian FDPs are very creative and have found different ways to learn the Latvian language on their own. Both SLBs and CSOs agree that it's easier for Ukrainian FDPs to settle their everyday lives in Latvia, particularly due to the presence of an intermediary language, which is not the case for other third-country nationals. CSOs experts have insisted on the importance of sustainable funding that would enable them to continue their work related to assistance to Ukrainian FDPs. Lastly, all the experts

outlined that the mental health conditions of Ukrainians become better once FDPs obtain a service, whether it's related to education, labor market, or housing, or a simple conversation with one of the experts that would allow a person to relieve the emotions and thoughts related to the displacement experience.

Authors' statement: the English language grammar and style of the document were revised with the AI Grammarly programme.

References

- Academic Information Centre (n.d.) Professional recognition of foreign qualifications. Available: <https://aic.lv/en/arvalstu-diplomu-atzisana/professional-recognition-of-foreign-qualifications-in-latvia>
- Basak, Y., M. Gorgerino (2025). MIPEX 2025 – A Roadmap for Inclusive Policy in the EU. Migration Policy Group. Available: <https://providus.lv/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/MIPEX-Participation-index-DEF-1.pdf>
- Berg Research (2023). Kvantitatīva Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja par Latvijas sabiedrības noturību Krievijas kara Ukrainā kontekstā, 2023 / Quantitative survey of Latvian residents on the resilience of Latvian society in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine, 2023. Available: <https://ppdb.mk.gov.lv/database/kvantitativa-latvijas-iedzivotaju-aptauja-par-latvijas-sabiedrības-noturību-krievijas-kara-ukraina-konteksta/>
- Berg Research (2024). Kvantitatīva Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja par Latvijas sabiedrības noturību Krievijas kara Ukrainā kontekstā, 2024 / Quantitative survey of Latvian residents on the resilience of Latvian society in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine, 2024. Available: https://ppdb.mk.gov.lv/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Resilience_LV_24.pdf
- BISS – Baltic Institute of Social Sciences (2017). Trešo valstu pilsoņu situācijas izpēte Latvijā 2017/ Study on the situation of third-country nationals in Latvia 2017. Rīga: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences. Available: <https://ppdb.mk.gov.lv/database/treso-valstu-pilsonu-situācijas-izpete-latvija-2017-2/>
- Dupate, K., Mantrovs, V., & Kiršteina, B. (2024). Employment opportunities of Ukrainian civilians in Latvia according to the legal framework for the assistance to Ukrainian civilians. Akadēmiskā Dzīve, 60, 38-46 <https://ppdb.mk.gov.lv/database/treso-valstu-pilsonu-situācijas-izpete-latvija-2017-2/>
- Eglīte, D. (2023). Pagaidu aizsardzības direktīvas ieviešana Latvijā/ Implementation of the Temporary Protection Directive in Latvia. Bachelor thesis. Rīga: University of Latvia. Available: <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/63668> (restricted access)

-
- European Commission: Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (2024). The inclusion of displaced children from Ukraine in EU education systems – 2023-2024. Publications Office of the European Union. Available: <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2766/881892>
 - European Migration Network Latvian contact point (n.d.). Pagaidu aizsardzības direktīvas piemērošana: izaicinājumi un labā prakse 2023. Gadā/ Implementation of the Temporary Protection Directive: challenges and best practices in 2023.
 - European Migration Network Latvian contact point (2025). Ziņojums par migrācijas un patvēruma situāciju Latvijā 2024. gadā. Available: https://www.emn.lv/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/EMN_zinojums_210x297mm_lv.pdf
 - Ministry of Interior (2022a). Government Report “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2022. gada 12. aprīlī”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians on April 12, 2022
 - Ministry of Interior (2022b). Government Report “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2022. gada 21. jūnijā”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians on June 21, 2022
 - Ministry of Interior (2023). Government Report “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2023. gada 5. septembrī”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians on September 5, 2023.
 - Ministry of Interior (2024a). Government Report “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2024. gada maijā”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians in May, 2024.
 - Ministry of Interior (2024b). Government Report “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem 2024. gada oktobrī”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians in October, 2024.
 - Ministry of Interior (2025). Government Report: “Par aktuālo situāciju atbalsta sniegšanā Ukrainas civiliedzīvotājiem, 2025. gada februārī”/ On the current situation regarding the provision of support to Ukrainian civilians in February, 2025.

-
- Ministry of Welfare/ Labklājības ministrija (2025). Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju nodarbinātība 2022.-2024.gadā. [Employment of Ukrainian civilians in 2022-2024].
 - Office of Citizenship and Migration Affairs/ Pilsonības un migrācijas lietu pārvalde (29.07.2025). Statistika: Uzturēšanās atļaujas 2025. Pirmreizējās TUA, izsniegtās 2025. gada 1. pusgadā/ Statistics: Residence permits in 2025. Initial temporary residence permits issued in the first half of 2025. Available: <https://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika-uzturesanas-atlaujas-2025>
 - Official Statistical database. Population, Migration, Emigration and immigration. Table. IBE081. Long-term international migration in regions, State cities and municipalities 2011 – 2024.
 - Official Statistical database. Labour market. Table DSV010c. Average monthly and median wages and salaries 1994Q1 - 2025Q1.
 - Official Statistical database. Population. Population and its characteristics Ethnicity RIG040. Population in regions, cities, municipalities, towns, rural territories (based on the boundaries in force at the beginning of 2024), neighbourhoods and densely populated areas by ethnicity (experimental statistics) 2000 – 2024.
 - Patvēruma likums/ Asylum Law (2016). Available: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/278986-patveruma-likums>
 - Official Statistical database. Population. Population and its characteristics Ethnicity RIG040. Population in regions, cities, municipalities, towns, rural territories (based on the boundaries in force at the beginning of 2024), neighbourhoods and densely populated areas by ethnicity (experimental statistics) 2000 – 2024.
 - Raubiško, I. & D. Pelse (2022). NIEM 2. izvērtējums. Latvijas integrācijas sistēma no 2019. līdz 2021. gadam: stagnācija pirms pozitīvām pārmaiņām?/ NIEM 2nd evaluation. Latvia's integration system from 2019 to 2021: stagnation before positive change? Riga: Providus. Available: https://providus.lv/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/NIEM-Evaluation-2_Latvia_LV.pdf
 - Ukrainas civiliedzīvotāju atbalsta likums/ Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians (2022). Available: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/330546-ukrainas-civiliedzivotaju-atbalsta-likums>
 - Žabko, O. (2023). Izņēmuma elastība: Kādas atkāpes no Latvijas līdžšinējās patvēruma meklētāju uzņemšanas prakses pieļāva Ukrainas bēgļu atbalsta tiesiskais regulējums

-
- [Exceptional flexibility: What kind of deviation from Latvia's previous refugee reception practice was allowed by the legal framework for Ukrainian refugee support]. *Akadēmiskā Dzīve*, 59, 42–52. <https://doi.org/10.22364/adz.59.05>
 - Žabko, O. (2024a). Contribution of displaced Ukrainians to addressing labour shortages in Latvia. *Proceedings of the 2024 International Conference "ECONOMIC SCIENCE FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT"*, 58, 331-341. <https://doi.org/10.22616/ESRD.2024.58.033>
 - Žabko, O. (2024b). Latvia's welcoming strategy for Ukrainians fleeing war. HROMADA. Nordic-Baltic knowledge-based input network to the rebuilding of Ukraine. Date: 18.07.2024. Available: <https://hromada.network/latvias-welcoming-strategy-for-ukrainians-fleeing-war/>
 - Žabko, O. (2024c). The lived experiences of Ukrainian pupils in Latvian schools. HROMADA. Nordic-Baltic knowledge-based input network to the rebuilding of Ukraine. Date: 22.11.2024. Available: <https://hromada.network/experiences-of-ukrainian-pupils-in-latvian-schools/>