

Andreas Ette, Karelis Olivo Rumpf, C. Katharina Spieß (eds.)

BiB.BEVÖLKERUNGSSTUDIEN

Ukrainian Refugees in Germany

*Developments and Changes in Socio-Demographic
Structures, Families, Participation, and Return*



Ukrainian Refugees in Germany

Developments and Changes in Socio-Demographic Structures, Families, Participation, and Return

Abstract

With around 1.2 million Ukrainian refugees in Germany by summer 2025, the country has become the primary destination for those seeking protection abroad since the Russian invasion of Ukraine began in February 2022. This influx has had far-reaching effects on Germany's social structure, labour market, and demographic development. Against this background, the panel study of Ukrainian refugees in Germany (BiB/FReDA-Survey) was launched in 2022. The longitudinal survey design allows researchers to study Ukrainian refugees within a stable panel – representing a significant advancement in research on flight and migration.

The aim of this publication is to examine developments in the living conditions of Ukrainian refugees and their children and adolescents during the first three years following their arrival in Germany. The analysis is based on over 40,000 interviews conducted across six waves since the summer of 2022.

More than three years after the arrival of many refugees, this study provides extensive quantitative information on living conditions and prospects, as well as detailed insights into temporal developments and changes over the course of their stay. The analysis focuses on developments and changes in social structure, family life, participation of children and adolescents, labour market participation, social participation, and further migration behaviour of adults.

The findings highlight successful integration, remaining challenges, and measures that can be taken to secure long-term prospects for both refugees and the host society. The results provide robust evidence for societal debates and policy decisions at national, European, and international levels.

Table of Contents

1	Developments in the Living Situation of Ukrainian Refugees in Germany <i>Andreas Ette, Karelis Olivo Rumpf & C. Katharina Spieß</i>	7
2	Study Design and Database of the BiB/FReDA-Survey <i>Andreas Ette, Jean Philippe Décieux & Karelis Olivo Rumpf</i>	11
3	Changes in the Socio-Demographic Structure of Ukrainian Refugees <i>Andreas Ette</i>	19
4	Developments in the Partnerships and Families of Ukrainian Refugee Women <i>Kerstin Ruckdeschel, Nadja Milewski & Martin Bujard</i>	31
5	Participation and Life Satisfaction of Ukrainian Refugee Children and Adolescents <i>Anna Daelen, Ludovica Gambaro & C. Katharina Spieß</i> <i>(Collaboration: Emeli Beck)</i>	41

6	Development of Labor Market Participation Among Ukrainian Refugees <i>Andreas Ette & Nils Witte</i>	51
7	Social Integration of Ukrainian Refugees <i>Johanna Gereke & Karelis Olivo Rumpf</i>	61
8	Return, Onward, and Internal Migration of Ukrainian Refugees <i>Lenore Sauer</i>	71
	Literature	79
	Figures and Tables	87
	Imprint	91

1

Developments in the Living Situation of Ukrainian Refugees in Germany

Andreas Ette, Karelis Olivo Rumpf & C. Katharina Spieß

Since February 2022, Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has resulted in a significant number of civilian and military casualties, as well as severe damage to civilian infrastructure. The consequence has been one of the largest refugee movements in Europe since the Second World War: Since the beginning of the war, millions of Ukrainians have crossed the borders into neighbouring countries, while millions more have been forced to flee within Ukraine itself in search of protection, support, and safety. By the summer of 2025, approximately 4.4 million Ukrainian refugees were living in one of the member states of the European Union, and another 3.3 million were internally displaced (Eurostat 2025; UNHCR 2025). While Poland was the primary receiving country until the end of 2022, larger groups of Ukrainian refugees now reside in nearly all EU states. With around 1.2 million Ukrainian refugees recorded in the summer of 2025, Germany has become, in absolute terms, the principal destination country for people seeking refuge abroad from the war in Ukraine.

Over the past three years, Ukrainians have become both the largest group of refugees and the second-largest group of foreign nationals in Germany (Figure 1.1). While in December 2021, 155,000 people with Ukrainian citizenship were registered in Germany, by the end of 2024, this number had risen substantially to 1,334,000 (Destatis 2025a). As a result, their influence on many areas – such as on social structure, on the labour market, and

on demographic development in Germany – is increasing steadily. Overall, Ukrainian refugees form a comparatively young population: 43 per cent of Ukrainians currently living in Germany are younger than 30, and only 10 per cent are aged 65 or above. In contrast, 25 per cent of Germany's resident population is 65 or older, while the share of young people under 30 has fallen to a historic low of 29 per cent (Destatis 2025b).

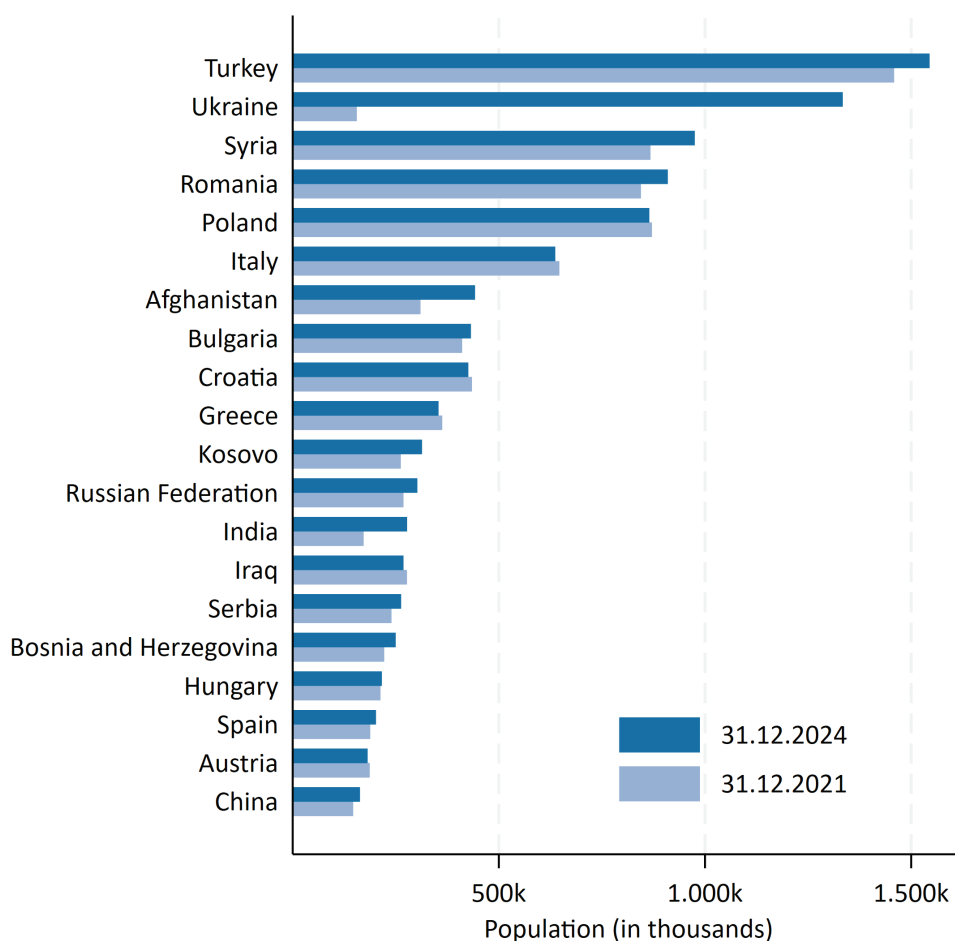
Forced migration from Ukraine differs in many respects from earlier refugee movements to Germany: Ukrainian refugees are predominantly European and female and are often separated from their families (Brücker et al. 2023a). The legal framework – particularly the immediate access to residence rights, the labour market, education, and social benefits provided by the EU's Temporary Protection Directive – has created unique conditions for arrival, participation, and integration. Compared to other refugee groups, Ukrainian refugees thus face relatively favourable structural conditions. Nevertheless, many encounter significant challenges similar to those experienced by refugees from other countries of origin. Experiences of war and displacement often lead to psychological strain and make it difficult to build social networks. Furthermore, few arrive with sufficient German-language proficiency or established social and professional networks that could provide guidance. Beyond these challenges faced by refugees themselves, the arrival of a large number of Ukrainians has had a profound impact on the receiving countries, including Germany. Host societies have had to provide housing, integrate children and adolescents into childcare and education systems, make healthcare

and support services available, and foster social and labour market participation through language courses and other integration measures.

In light of this, the panel study of Ukrainian Refugees in Germany (BiB/FReDA-Survey) was launched in 2022. From the outset, the aim has been to provide policymakers and the public with timely, reliable data and sound analyses. The study was established in cooperation with the Institute for Employment Research (IAB), the Research Centre of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). Since the summer of 2023, part of the survey has been continued by the Federal Institute for Popu-

lation Research (BiB) within “FReDA – The German Family Demography Panel Study”, in collaboration with the Institute for Applied Social Sciences GmbH (infas; see Chapter 2). The longitudinal design of the study is particularly valuable for scientific research: The possibility of following refugees over a period of now three years is novel and an important contribution to migration and refugee research. It allows for the detailed observation of changes in living conditions, attitudes, and migration behaviour, providing deeper insights into integration and mobility processes. In a research field that has so far largely relied on cross-sectional data, this study provides a robust empirical foundation for new scientific findings and evidence-based policy advice.

Figure 1.1: The 20 Largest Groups of Foreign Nationals in Germany on 31 December 2024 and 31 December 2021



Note: k = thousand (1 k = 1.000).

Source: Destatis 2025a, own illustration.

This publication aims to analyse developments in the living situations of Ukrainian refugees in Germany – both adults and their children. It draws on more than 40,000 interviews with Ukrainian refugees, conducted within the framework of the BiB/FReDA-Survey across six waves since the summer of 2022. The sixth and most recent wave took place in early summer 2025. More than three years after most Ukrainian refugees arrived, the study provides extensive quantitative information on their living conditions and prospects. It also offers detailed insights into temporal developments and changes given their increasing length of stay in Germany. Covering this period empirically is crucial: It enables not only the documentation of early integration trajectories but also the identification of medium-term trends, stabilisation or destabilisation processes, and reorientations. Accordingly, well-founded statements can be made about participation opportunities, living conditions, and future prospects – with respect to both life in Germany and potential return migration. Scientific studies based on these survey data complement analyses using official statistics, such as the Microcensus, the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR), or data from the Federal Employment Agency. As a panel study, it repeatedly surveys the same individuals over time, enabling the analysis of individual-level change and development. Furthermore, as an academic survey, it collects information that is not available in administrative data. In addition to objective indicators of current living conditions, the survey includes subjective measures, retrospective information, and intentions regarding future behaviour.

At the time of the most recent wave in early summer 2025, 59 per cent of Ukrainian refugees indicated that they wanted to stay in Germany for several years or even permanently – almost two-thirds of them had not returned to Ukraine at all since their arrival more than three years earlier. The EU Temporary Protection Directive currently provides most Ukrainian refugees in Germany with secure residence status until March 2027. While the activation of the Directive by the EU in March 2022 – just days after the invasion – granted immediate legal certainty, its annual renewal does not allow for long-term planning. In light of this, the focus of this publication lies on changes in social structure, family development, the participation of children and adolescents, the labour market and social par-

ticipation of adults, and future migration decisions following refugees' initial arrival in Germany. The analyses are structured around seven key topics, each of which is addressed in a dedicated chapter:

- **Study design and database**

Chapter 2 outlines the methodological foundations of the BiB/FReDA-Survey multi-cohort, multi-actor survey, focusing on the first two survey cohorts. These include Ukrainians who arrived in Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024. Survey cohort 1 comprises almost 5,300 respondents, while survey cohort 2 includes over 4,600 respondents who were willing to participate in the subsequent waves, for a total of up to six times until now. The chapter describes the sampling design, data collection methods, weighting procedures, and key content areas.

- **Development of the social structure of refugees**

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive overview of the demographic composition of the Ukrainian population in Germany, including age structure, educational attainment, employment status, health, and well-being. Comparing earlier and later arrivals (February 2022 to summer 2024) offers insights into developments between different points of arrival and lengths of stay.

- **Development of partnerships and families of refugee women**

Chapter 4 analyses how family structures among Ukrainian refugees have evolved over time, based on longitudinal data from the first six survey waves. It examines family reunification processes and major life events—such as marriages, births, and household formation—highlighting changes in family roles and structures triggered or accelerated by displacement.

- **Participation and well-being of refugee children and adolescents**

Chapter 5 focuses on children and adolescents aged 11–17. Drawing on the first dedicated child and youth survey (conducted during the fourth wave), it explores language acquisition, socio-emotional difficulties, sense of school belonging, settlement intentions, and overall life satisfaction, with particular attention to age- and gender-specific differences.

- **Development of labour market participation of refugees**

Chapter 6 centres on developments in employment among Ukrainian refugees in Germany. Employment can provide a pathway to long-term stability and greater legal security. The analyses compare the labour market trajectories of early arrivals (in the first weeks and months of the war) with those of later arrivals.

- **Social integration of refugees**

Chapter 7 examines social integration as of early summer 2025, including experiences of welcome and discrimination, the formation of social networks and everyday embeddedness, as well as the evolution of cultural identities over time.

- **Return, onward, and internal migration of refugees**

Chapter 8 investigates the migration patterns of Ukrainian refugees after their arrival in Germany, analysing long-term settlement and return intentions, motives for return and onward migration, and the frequency and causes of residential moves within Germany.

Overall, the publication offers multidimensional, empirical insights into the living conditions of Ukrainian refugees in Germany. It highlights where participation is succeeding, where challenges persist, and what measures could help create long-term prospects for both refugees and the host society. The aim is to provide timely, evidence-based analyses based on current and representative data. Its findings can inform societal debates and policymaking in Germany, Ukraine, and at the European and international levels.

2

Study Design and Database of the BiB/FReDA-Survey

Andreas Ette, Jean Philippe Décieux & Karelis Olivo Rumpf

The panel study “Ukrainian Refugees in Germany (BiB/FReDA-Survey)” was launched in 2022 to investigate the living conditions of Ukrainian refugees in Germany (Brücker et al. 2023a). More than 6,000 Ukrainians participated in the most recent survey, which was conducted between May and August 2025. In total, over 40,000 fully completed questionnaires have been collected from the six survey waves conducted over the past three years. This unique database forms the basis for the following analyses. This chapter provides an overview of the sampling, research design, data quality, content, and implementation of the surveys.

2.1 Sampling and Target Population

For the implementation of social science surveys, random samples are usually drawn, as only such a data set allows reliable and generalisable statements to be made about the population under study (Lohr 2021). For the sampling procedures in this study, population registers from German municipalities were used. These registers enable the drawing of high-quality samples of both the residential population in general and specific population groups (Diehl et al. 2016; Ette et al. 2021).

The starting point of this panel study was an initial sampling carried out in June 2022. The target population of this first survey cohort comprised Ukrainians who had sought protection in Germany since

the beginning of the Russian invasion. According to migration statistics, about 820,000 Ukrainians moved to Germany within the first four months of the war – between February and June 2022 (Destatis 2025c). In line with other register-based sampling procedures in Germany, a two-stage sampling design was employed.

In the first stage, a comprehensive sample of cities and municipalities in the regional districts of the 16 federal states was drawn (referred to as sampling units). The sample was selected with a probability proportional to the number of Ukrainian refugees registered in these sampling units since February 2022. Up-to-date information on the regional distribution of Ukrainian refugees was used. This information was made available monthly from March 2022 onward based on the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR), was utilised.

In the second stage, individuals were randomly selected from the population registers of the 100 cities and municipalities drawn in the first step. Thus, the population of this first survey cohort consists of all individuals with Ukrainian citizenship, aged 18 to 70, who moved to one of the 100 selected cities or municipalities within regional districts between 24 February 2022 and 8 June 2022, the sampling reference date. Based on the addresses provided by the residents' registration offices for all individuals in this population, a gross sample of 24,102 individuals was drawn (for detailed information, see also Steinhauer et al. 2024).

The majority of Ukrainians currently living in Germany arrived during the first weeks and months

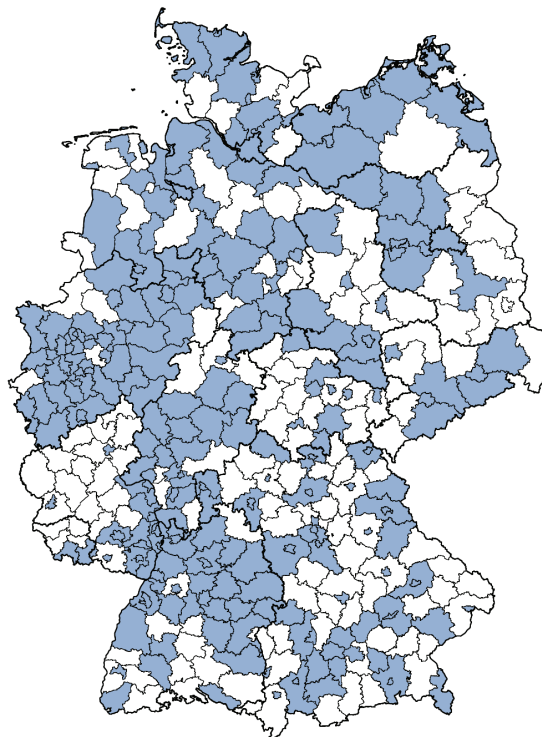
of the Russian invasion. In addition to the approximately 820,000 Ukrainians who arrived between February and June 2022, a further 660,000 people from Ukraine sought protection in Germany during the following two years – between July 2022 and June 2024 (see also Chapter 3). To generate robust findings for this second group as well, an additional sample was drawn for a second survey cohort in summer 2024.

As with the first survey cohort, the population registers were also used to sample this cohort. In the first sampling stage, a sample of 258 cities and municipalities in regional districts was drawn. Following the same logic as for the first cohort, these sampling units were selected in proportion to their population size. Based on information from the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR) on Ukrainians living in these areas, the sample size was determined accordingly.

As population registers only record the date of an individual's move into a municipality – not necessarily the date of their first entry into Germany – the target population was defined as all individuals with Ukrainian citizenship residing in one of the 258 selected sampling units. Due to the large proportion of younger Ukrainian refugees, the population was restricted to individuals aged 18 to 50 (according to the Central Register of Foreigners, 79 per cent of Ukrainians who moved to Germany in 2022-24 are under 50 years of age, see Destatis 2025d).

Figure 2.1 provides an overview of the spatial distribution of the selected sampling units across cities and rural districts in Germany for both survey cohorts. Given the large number of sampling units and their spread across urban and rural regions, the two register-based samples offer representative data for the Ukrainian population that had moved to Germany by summer 2024.

Figure 2.1: Spatial Distribution of the Selected Sampling Units across Regional Districts in Germany



Note: The regional districts with at least one sampling unit are marked in blue.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, wave 1, unweighted; BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 5, unweighted.

The results based on the first cohort can be generalised to Ukrainians who sought protection in Germany during the first four months after the start of the war. The data from the second cohort, however, provide insights into the living conditions of the Ukrainian population in Germany as a whole today. In the future, these data will also enable comparisons between Ukrainians who were already living in Germany before February 2022 and those who have sought protection since the Russian invasion.

2.2 Research Design

Within the framework of the BiB/FReDA-Survey “Ukrainian refugees in Germany”, six survey waves were conducted among adult Ukrainians in Germany between late summer 2022 and early summer 2025, at roughly six-month intervals (Figure 2.2). The first survey of the first survey cohort took place between August and October 2022, while individuals in the second survey cohort were surveyed for the first time between October 2024 and March 2025 – parallel to the fifth survey of the first survey cohort. This type of research design is called a multi-cohort design (Lynn 2009), which, in this case, enables a comparison of different cohorts of Ukrainians who have moved to Germany.

In the first wave of the first survey cohort, a total of 5,292 respondents who agreed to participate in follow-up surveys completed the questionnaire in full, compared to 4,640 in the second cohort. The high frequency of data collection at roughly six-month intervals, is another characteristic of this research design. Thus, the survey produces up-to-date data on the living situation of Ukrainians in Germany at regular intervals. Additionally, the design allows for flexible responses to changing conditions in the lives of Ukrainians or developments in the war, ensuring that current data can be gathered in subsequent waves.

The first and second waves of the study were conducted in cooperation with the Institute for Employment Research (IAB), the Research Centre of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). Since summer 2023, part of the study has been continued by the Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB) within the framework of the “FReDA – The German

Family Demography Panel Study”, while another group of participants has been followed up through the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Survey. The findings from the first two waves have already been published under the title IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey (Brücker et al. 2023a; Brücker et al. 2023b). The data resulting from this cooperation – from the first wave (N = 5,103) and the second wave (N = 3,291) – are based on identical questionnaires and are also used for the analyses in this report. Additionally, there are 2,130 fully completed questionnaires available from the first wave of the first cohort and the fifth wave of the second cohort from individuals who declined further participation in the longitudinal study.

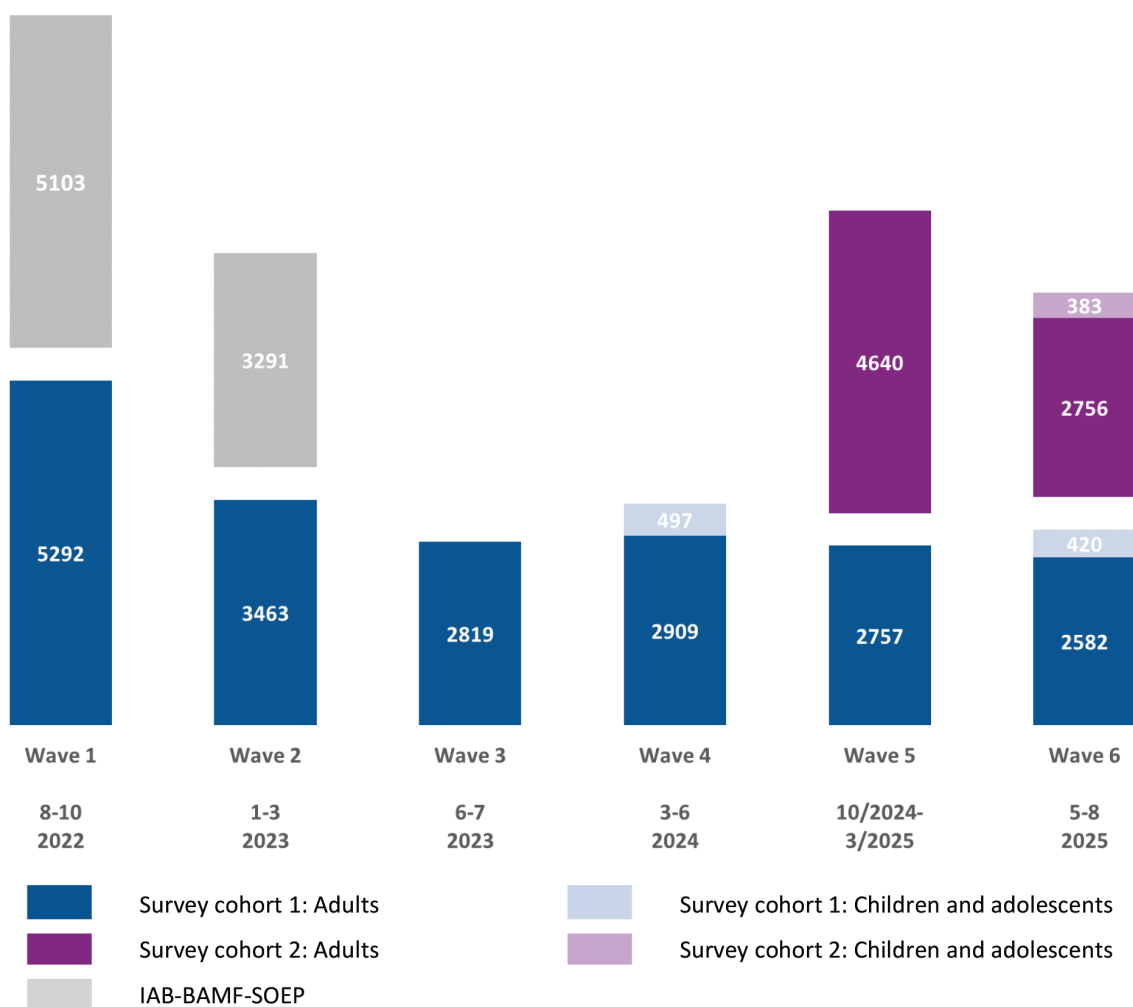
Given the large number of children and adolescents among Ukrainian refugees, a multi-actor design (Hank et al. 2025) has been implemented since the fourth wave, in analogy to the approach taken in the “FReDA – The German Family Demography Panel Study”. Due to the far-reaching consequences of the war on families and children, the questionnaires have included many items regarding individual family constellations, e.g., partners and children, and their respective living situations, since the first wave. In addition to the information collected from adults, the multi-actor design also invites children and adolescents between the ages of 11 and 17 living in the household to participate in a special survey for children and adolescents. To date, this sub-study comprises 1,300 fully completed questionnaires filled out directly by Ukrainian children and adolescents themselves (see also Chapter 5).

2.3 Data Quality, Response Rate, and Panel Stability

The BiB/FReDA-Survey is characterised by exceptionally high data quality. It is one of the few register-based studies of refugees, even by international standards. Most existing surveys of Ukrainian refugees rely on non-probability sampling methods, such as recruitment via social media (Duszczuk et al. 2023; Savatic et al. 2025). However, even register-based random sampling among refugees from other countries of origin remains very rare (Brücker et al. 2025).

Based on register data, the BiB/FReDA-Survey was implemented as an online panel. Postal invitation letters were sent to the selected individuals using

Figure 2.2: Number of Completed Questionnaires from Respondents Willing to Participate in Follow-Up Surveys of the Multi-Cohort and Multi-Actor Design of the BiB/FReDA-Survey, by Wave



Note: A shorter survey focusing on mental health and the use of existing medical support services was conducted in November/December 2023 – between waves 3 and 4 – with 2,818 participants. The numbers shown in the bars represent the number of complete and valid questionnaires for the respective wave and survey cohort. In addition to the wave, the categorical axis also shows the fieldwork period during which the respective wave was conducted..

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey; BiB/FReDA-Survey, own representation.

address data from the population registers, asking them to participate in the online questionnaire. As this push-to-web method is still relatively new in research, individuals in the first survey cohort who did not respond to the initial invitation received a second letter that included a paper questionnaire (mixed-mode approach). However, only 16 per cent of the respondents in the first wave and 12 per cent in the second wave used the paper version. From the third wave onward – and also for the second survey cohort – the paper mode was therefore discontinued.

The response rate in the first wave of the first survey cohort was 24.5 per cent, and 21.7 per cent in the second survey cohort. Compared to studies of similar design – and particularly given the specific population of refugees – these rates are considered high (Kocar, Kaczmirek 2024). Comparing the known distribution of key demographic characteristics of the target population from the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR) with the gross sample (i.e., all individuals invited to participate) reveals only minor selectivity. Likewise, the composition of

Table 2.1: Distribution of the Population, Gross Sample, Net Sample and Key Demographic Characteristics by Survey Cohort (Per Cent)

	Survey cohort 1				Survey cohort 2			
	Popula- tion	Gross sample	Net sample weighted	un- weighted	Popula- tion	Gross sample	Net sample weighted	un- weighted
Gender								
Men	20,2	20,9	18,1	19,9	38	37	33,1	36,6
Women	79,8	79,1	81,9	80,1	62	63	66,9	63,4
Age								
18-29	22,4	21,4	21,3	21,2	32,5	31,9	32,3	31,7
30-39	29,3	28,9	28,3	28,6	33,5	34,3	32,9	34,7
40-49	23,1	23	23,7	23,8	34	33,8	34,8	33,6
50-59	12	13,2	13,1	13	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
60-70	13,1	13,5	13,7	13,4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Federal State								
Brandenburg	3,3	1,3	1,1	2,7	2,5	1,1	1	2,7
Berlin	5,4	15,4	13	3	6,4	12,4	11	6,5
Baden- Württemberg	12,5	7,2	7,7	12	13,2	11,2	13,5	13,3
Bavaria	16,9	17,9	19,2	16,4	14,7	12,9	14	14,4
Bremen	0,9	0,7	0,8	0,7	1,1	1,8	1,7	1,1
Hesse	8,1	7	6,7	8,1	7,8	6,8	7	7,8
Hamburg	2,6	7,2	6,1	2,8	3	6,4	5,8	3,1
Meckl.- Western Pomerania	2,5	1,6	1,7	2,5	2,1	1	1	2,2
Lower Saxony	9,6	5,4	5,2	9,6	8,9	9,8	9,3	9,2
North Rhine-West- phalia	19,5	20,2	21,7	22,4	20,9	28,1	27,3	20,6
Rhineland-Palati- nate	4,8	4,2	4,4	4,5	4,2	1,4	1,7	4,2
Schleswig-Holstein	2,7	2,1	1,9	2,5	3,3	1,5	1,4	3,2
Saarland	0,9	0,6	0,9	1	1,3	0,7	0,8	1,3
Saxony	5,3	3,9	3,8	6	5	2,9	2,7	5,1
Saxony-Anhalt	2,9	3	3,3	3,4	2,7	1,1	1	2,7
Thuringia	2	2,5	2,6	2,3	2,7	0,8	0,9	2,7
N	448.679	24.102	5.979	5.979	658.710	24.551	5.411	5.411

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, wave 1, unweighted; BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 5, unweighted.

the net sample (i.e., all individuals who participated in the first wave of survey cohort 1 and in the fifth wave of survey cohort 2) largely matches the known distribution of the population. Minor geographic differences result from the first cohort's sampling design, which, due to the urgency of the study at that time, did not include stratification by federal state (Table 2.1).

The success of any longitudinal study hinges not only on initial response rates, but also on long-term willingness to participate (Lynn 2009). In both cohorts, consent to take part in follow-up surveys was remarkably high: 88.4 per cent in the first survey cohort and 87.2 per cent in the second survey cohort – higher than in general population surveys, and especially higher than in surveys of migrants and refugees (Steinhauer et al. 2022).

The subsequent survey waves also achieved a high level of participation. Between waves two and six, 65.4 to 48.8 per cent of respondents who initially agreed to participate again completed the questionnaire. This high level of continuity – even compared to other studies – was achieved through various measures to increase panel stability (e.g., different forms of incentives, address tracing, and sending preliminary study results to participants; Décieux, Zinn, Ette 2025).

Of the 5,292 individuals in the first cohort who consented to participate in the study, 28 per cent took part in all six waves, 54 per cent in three to five waves, and 19 per cent in one or two waves. From the second wave onward, contact with participants was primarily maintained via email invitations, with postal reminders sent only after the second notice to those who had not yet participated. Email contact helped to reduce non-response among participants who had moved since the previous wave. This design also made it possible to continue surveying individuals who, during the three-year study period, had returned to Ukraine or migrated onward to another country (see also Chapter 8).

2.4 Survey Mode and Questionnaire Content

The questionnaire used in all survey waves was deliberately kept concise. The median completion time among respondents ranged from 15.7 minutes in wave 2 to 21.0 minutes in wave 5. All survey materials and questionnaires were consistently made available in Ukrainian and Russian (and, from the fifth wave onward, also in German). In the sixth wave, 59 per cent of all interviews were completed in Ukrainian, 35 per cent in Russian, and 6 per cent in German.

The thematic structure of the questionnaire was based on the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Survey of refugees (Brücker et al. 2025) and on “FReDA – The Family Demographic Panel” (Hank et al. 2025). Table 2.2 provides an overview of the various topics covered in the questionnaire from the first to the sixth wave of the survey. Many of the questions are asked in every wave of the survey or at regular intervals, so that changes in living situations can be tracked as the duration of stay in Germany increases.

2.5 Database of the Report and Data Access

The analyses presented in this report are based on more than 40,000 fully completed questionnaires from the first six survey waves. Analyses based on the second survey cohort include only Ukrainians who moved to Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024. Questionnaires from individuals living in Germany for an extended period and who moved there prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 (N = 1,853) are excluded from this report on Ukrainian refugees and will be the focus of future publications (see also chapters 3 and 6). In contrast, the analyses do include 9,105 questionnaires from individuals who continued to participate in the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Survey after the completion of the second wave (Brücker et al. 2025). Also included are 1,300 questionnaires from children and adolescents aged between 11 and 17, who were surveyed as part of the fourth and sixth waves of the survey (see also Chapter 5).

The data provide a high-quality basis for studying Ukrainians living in Germany, who have sought protection from the Russian war of aggression since February 2022. The weighting of the data takes into account the sampling procedures of the two survey cohorts, the participation behaviour of those invited to participate in the survey, and known information about Ukrainians living in Germany from the Central Register of Foreigners. All analyses in this report apply these design and non-response weights, ensuring that the reported results are representative of this population group in Germany.

Since summer 2024, the data from the first and second waves of the first survey cohort have been available to national and international researchers as a scientific use file (Brücker et al. 2024). The data will be provided to interested researchers by the research data centres (FDZ) of the IAB, the BiB, the BAMF, and the SOEP, while taking data protection into account. The data from the third to sixth waves of both survey cohorts will be made available to external data users via the BiB research data centre from autumn 2025 onward.

Table 2.2: Contents of the BiB/FReDA-Survey Questionnaires

Journey to Germany, motives for leaving Ukraine and choosing Germany as a destination country
Migration biography and intentions to stay in Germany
School, university, and vocational education in Ukraine and Germany
Employment in Ukraine and Germany
Employment intentions and reasons for not taking up employment
Financial situation in Ukraine and Germany
Transnational relationships
Existing contacts in Germany prior to fleeing
Family situation
Education and employment of partner
Social contacts in Germany
Housing situation
Intentions of family members to join them
Awareness, need and use of support and counselling services
Self-assessed language skills and attendance at language courses
Belonging in Germany and Ukraine
Personality
Physical and mental health
Use of mental health support services
Care situation and school attendance of children and adolescents
Health status of children and adolescents

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, waves 3-6.

The first two survey waves were carried out jointly by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB), the Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB), the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP). The corresponding datasets and technical reports can be accessed via the SOEP Research Data Centre:

➔ https://www.doi.org/10.5684/soep.iab-bib_freda-bamf-soep.2022-2023.

The data and technical documentation of waves 3 to 6 are available on request and will be published in the coming months by the BiB Research Data Centre:

➔ <https://www.bib.bund.de/DE/FDZ/FDZ.html>.

Further information, publications, and news on the project can be found on the project website:

➔ <https://www.bib.bund.de/DE/Forschung/Migration/Projekte/Gefluechtete-aus-der-Ukraine-in-Deutschland.html>

3

Changes in the Socio-Demographic Structure of Ukrainian Refugees

Andreas Ette

People who leave their home country do not constitute a group randomly drawn from the total population of their country of origin. Rather, migrants differ from non-migrants in several socio-demographic characteristics, such as family situation, level of qualification, or health status (Borjas, Kauppinen, Poutvaara 2019). This general finding on self-selection applies to voluntary migration, as well as to people who leave their country due to conflict or persecution (Aksoy, Poutvaara 2021; Spörlein et al. 2020). The same holds true for those fleeing the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Data from the first wave of the survey showed that Ukrainians seeking protection in Germany are, on average, younger and better educated than Ukraine's overall population (Brücker et al. 2023a). Similar findings have meanwhile been reported for other host countries receiving Ukrainian refugees (Kohlenberger et al. 2023; van Tubergen et al. 2024).

As displacement processes continue, it can be assumed that this selectivity among refugees will decrease. According to network theory, the larger the number of refugees already residing in a host country, the lower the financial and social costs for others to follow and seek refuge there (Massey et al. 1993). Similarly, the "pioneer migrant" hypothesis assumes that people who decide to migrate or flee at an earlier stage – when they can rely less on established contacts and networks in the host country – are typically more risk-tolerant, have greater financial resources, and tend to be more highly qualified (Bakewell, Haas, Kubal 2012).

Against this theoretical background, a change in the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainians seeking protection in Germany can be expected as the war continues. This development may also pose increasing challenges for integration policy. After an initial period of strong public support and solidarity with Ukrainians (Moise, Dennison, Kriesi 2024), later debates increasingly focused on the growing demand for public assistance – such as access to housing, citizens' benefits (Bürgergeld), language courses, and job placement services. Changes in the socio-demographic structure of refugees might be accompanied by changes in integration processes and support needs. Accordingly, this chapter analyses the socio-demographic self-selection of Ukrainians who moved to Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024. Do people who fled Ukraine in the first weeks and months of the war differ from those who fled later with regard to socio-demographic characteristics and migration motives? How does the self-selection of Ukrainians in Germany change depending on the time of their arrival?

The majority of Ukrainian refugees living in Germany today arrived in the first weeks and months following the start of Russia's war of aggression. According to migration statistics from the Federal Statistical Office, a total of 820,000 Ukrainians moved to Germany between February and June 2022 (Destatis 2025c). Although the influx has decreased significantly since May 2022, another group of almost the same size, 660,000 people, came to Germany in the following two years, from July 2022 to June 2024 (see also Chapter 2). These refugees who arrived later have not been included in previous studies, due to the timing of the surveys

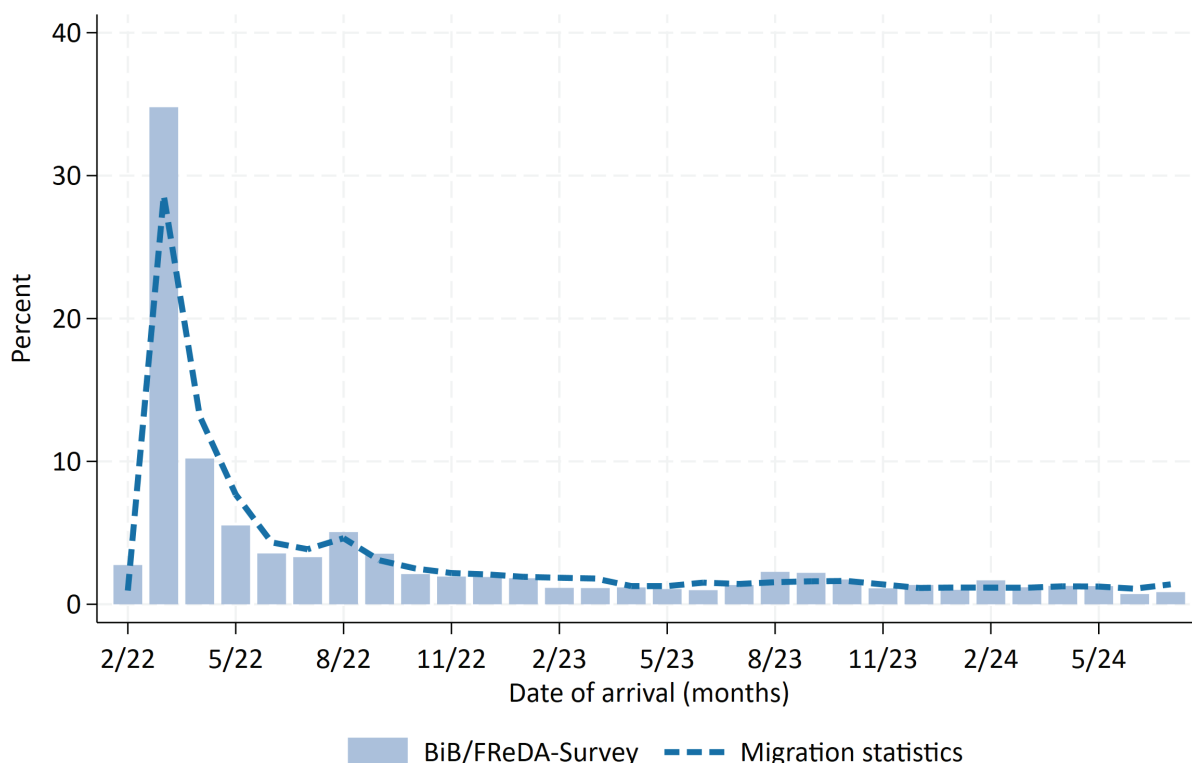
or their sampling processes. These studies generally focus on people who fled Ukraine in the initial weeks and months. For example, data collection for the study conducted by Kohlenberger et al. (2023) in Austria and Poland took place between April and June 2022; the OneUA data were collected between July and August 2022 (van Tubergen et al. 2024), and the supplementary sampling for the IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Survey (Kosyakova, Rother, Zinn 2025) covers only arrivals up to the end of August 2022 (the only exception is the data collection by the European Union Agency for Asylum, which has allowed continuous participation in its online survey since 2022; EUAA 2024).

3.1 Database and Methodology

The analyses in this chapter are based on information from 3,985 individuals who arrived in Germany from Ukraine in February 2022 or later and were part of the second survey cohort of the BiB/FReDA-Survey. The sample for this cohort was drawn in summer 2024, and the first survey wave took place between October 2024 and March 2025 (see also Chapter 2).

Data from the second survey cohort of the BiB/FReDA-Survey confirm previous findings based on the available register data in Germany: According to migration statistics from the Federal Statistical

Figure 3.1: Arrivals from Ukraine Migration Statistics and Date of Arrival of Ukrainians in Germany (BiB/FReDA-Survey), by Month of Arrival (Per Cent)



Note: Of the 5,319 participants in the second survey cohort with complete and valid data (4,640 were willing to participate in further surveys as part of the longitudinal study, while 679 participants were unwilling to be surveyed again), individuals who moved to Germany before February 2022, who emigrated from Ukraine to another country before 2022 and then moved to Germany between February 2022 and July 2024, who were born in Germany, or who arrived in Germany after the sample was drawn in July 2024 are excluded.

Source: Destatis 2025c; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Office based on Germany's population registers, 30 per cent of Ukrainian refugees registered by summer 2024 arrived in the first weeks of the war, in February and March 2022. Our survey shows a similar pattern: Thirty-eight per cent of Ukrainians living in Germany arrived during this period (Figure 3.1). Conversely, according to official statistics, 27 per cent of all refugees arrived in Germany after the beginning of 2023 (25 per cent according to survey participants). The strong correspondence between the two data sources provide additional evidence for the high quality and representativeness of the survey data used to analyse the Ukrainian refugee population in Germany (see also Chapter 2).

The following analyses focus on changes in the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees. Respondents are compared by month of arrival in Germany across various socio-demographic dimensions, including region of origin, gender composition, family situation, educational and qualification structure, economic situation, and health status. To visualise developments, trend lines and their corresponding confidence intervals were estimated for all figures.

3.2 *Regions of Origin and Motives for Migration*

One characteristic of the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainians concerns their regions of origin within Ukraine. A total of 66 per cent of all Ukrainian refugees in Germany come from the twelve regions that were (partially) occupied by Russia in the first weeks of the war (specifically: Crimea, Kharkiv, Kherson, Donetsk, Kyiv, Kyiv oblast, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia, Sevastopol, Sumy, Chernihiv). The per centage of refugees from these regions who arrived in Germany in February and March 2022 was 65 per cent, rose to 71 per cent for those who fled between April and December 2022, and then fell to 60 per cent for those who arrived between January 2023 and July 2024 (Figure 3.2). At the beginning of the war, there was a great deal of uncertainty about how the war would unfold. Consequently, many people from regions not (partially) occupied by Russia also sought refuge abroad. Geographical proximity to the military conflicts is therefore directly linked to the decision to flee. Additionally, a total of 13 per cent of all refugees had fled at least once before.

They had already lost their original homes as a result of Russia's annexation of Crimea and areas in Donbas and Luhansk in March 2014.

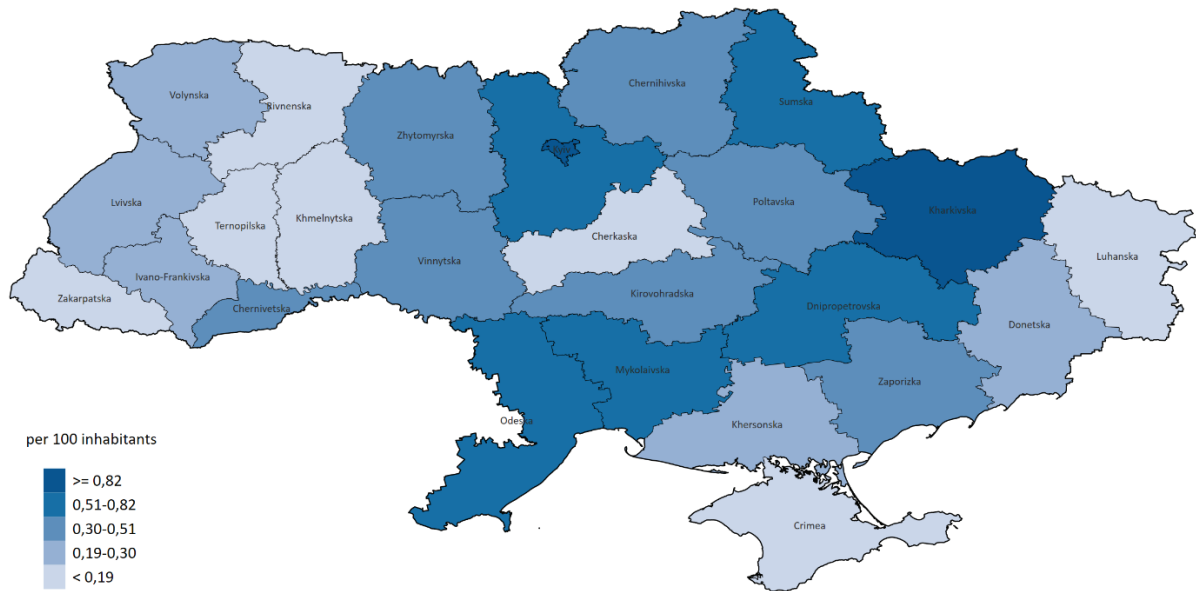
We already know from the first wave of this panel survey conducted between August and October 2022 that most people fled directly from Ukraine to Germany. Half of the Ukrainian refugees left Ukraine and arrived in Germany within three days, and 75 per cent arrived within six days (Brücker et al. 2023a). As the war progressed, refugees moved further within Germany or abroad (secondary migration). Some sought alternative accommodations or different places of residence in Germany (EMN 2022). Others returned to Ukraine or migrated to other countries (see also Chapter 8).

Some Ukrainians living in Germany today had already found protection in other countries before arriving in Germany. They account for just over 1 per cent of all Ukrainian refugees, although very short stays in other countries, lasting only a few days or weeks, are probably underrepresented in the survey data. There was virtually no secondary migration of Ukrainians from other host countries to Germany in the first year of the war. However, this proportion has risen as the war has progressed, accounting for 3 to 4 per cent of refugees who arrived in Germany from January 2023 onward. The results align with the findings of an online survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Asylum. In their latest report – based on interviews conducted between February 2023 and November 2024 – they estimated secondary migration at 7 per cent (EUAA 2024). Extrapolated to the total number of Ukrainian refugees living in Germany at the end of 2024, this affects around 13,000 people. By far the largest group of them, 42 per cent, had previously lived in Poland for some time.

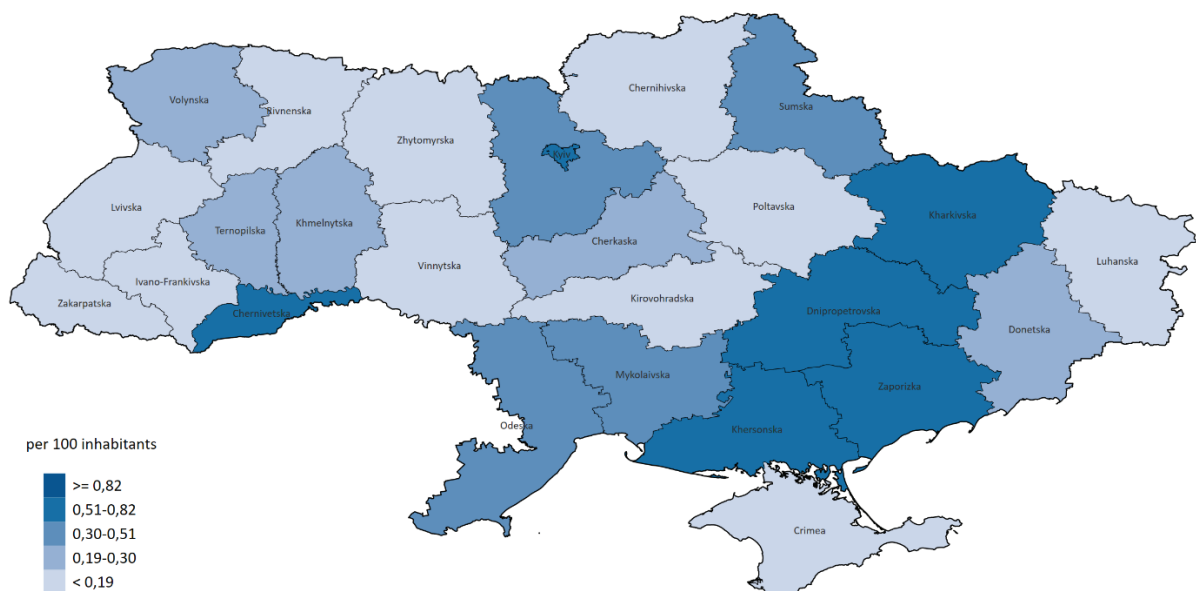
The regional distribution of regions of origin within Ukraine among those seeking protection suggests that individual exposure to the Russian war of aggression has remained a key motive for leaving Ukraine throughout the entire period from February 2022 to summer 2024. As part of the survey, we also asked participants directly about their reasons why they left Ukraine. For about one-third of respondents, several factors played a role in their decision. However, for 94 per cent, humanitarian motives (protection from the war) were relevant, and for 67 per cent, they were the sole reason.

Figure 3.2: Regions of Origin of Ukrainians, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)

Immigration to Germany in February and March 2022



Immigration to Germany between January 2023 and July 2024



Note: The maps show the proportion of Ukrainians who moved to Germany in the two time periods as a percentage of the population living in the region of origin. The period February/March 2022 corresponds to the first quartile of all participants in the second survey cohort of the BiB/FReDA-Survey who moved between February 2022 and July 2024. The period January 2023 to July 2024 corresponds to the fourth quartile.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Throughout the entire study period – from February 2022 to summer 2024 – there were only minor changes in the importance of humanitarian motives for leaving Ukraine (Figure 3.3). The proportion of respondents who cited humanitarian migration motives was never below 78 per cent in any month of arrival. In-depth statistical analyses also show that, although immigration for humanitarian reasons has decreased statistically significantly during the war, the overall decline was only slight. While 97 per cent of Ukrainians who moved to Germany in February/ March 2022 cited humanitarian motives as their reason for leaving Ukraine, the corresponding figure for Ukrainians who arrived in Germany from January 2023 onward is 89 per cent.

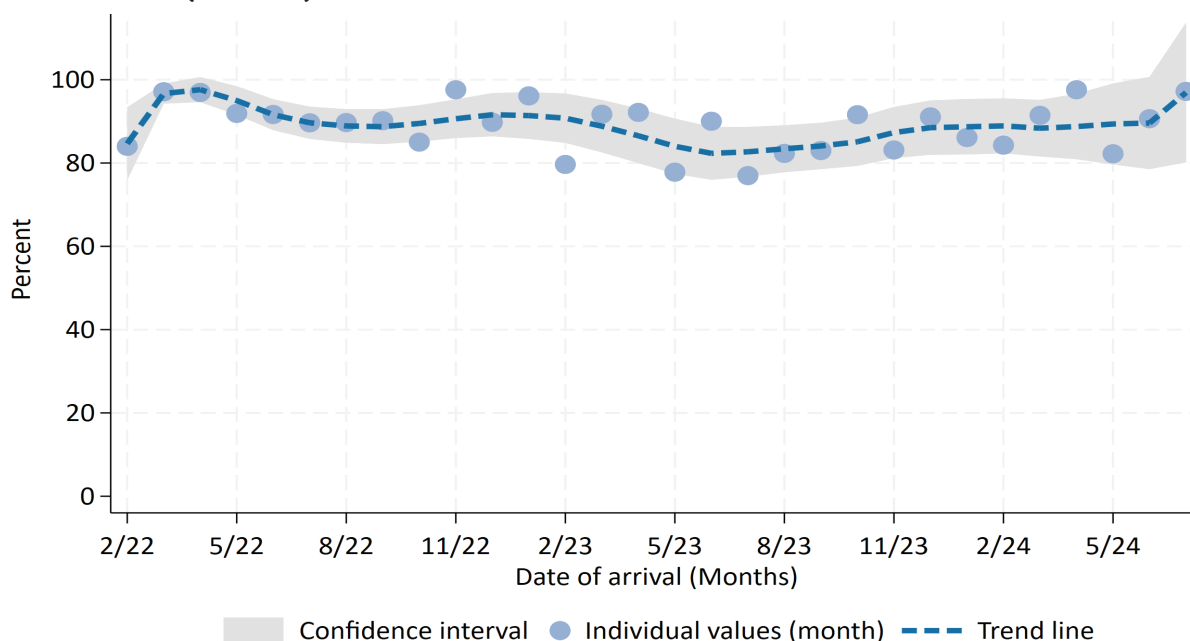
3.3 Gender and Family Situation

The majority of the 1.2 million Ukrainian refugees currently living in Germany are women. Only 36 per cent of those aged 18 to 49 are men. Especially during the first weeks of the war – in February/ March 2022 – men accounted for only 21 per cent of

Ukrainian refugees. The proportion of women has fallen over time (Figure 3.4). By the second half of 2022, the gender ratio of newly arriving refugees was largely balanced. Due in part to family reunification, the proportion of women among Ukrainians who moved to Germany between January 2023 and summer 2024 was even slightly lower than that of men, at 45 per cent (see also Chapter 4).

In violent conflicts in particular, it is often young, single people who are the first to be able to leave a crisis area. Younger people, in particular, have also sought refuge abroad from Ukraine. As already described in Chapter 2, almost 80 per cent of Ukrainian refugees are under 50 years old. However, in contrast to other crisis regions with a large number of refugees, it was primarily young families with minor children and people in partnerships who sought protection in Germany. Of the Ukrainian refugees aged 18 to 49 living in Germany today, 55 per cent were in a relationship at the time of their flight from Ukraine. This proportion has increased over the course of two and a half years (Figure 3.5). In February and March 2022, the proportion of

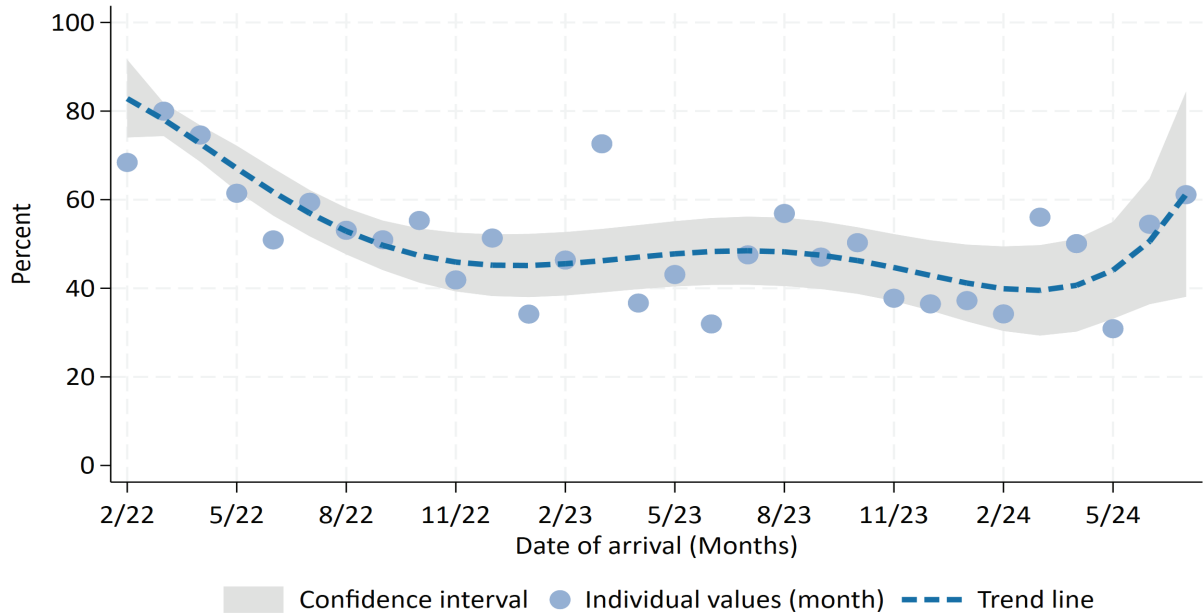
Figure 3.3: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany who Left Ukraine for Humanitarian Reasons, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Note: The trend lines are based on local weighted regressions (local polynomial smoothing), which are a method regularly used in demography to estimate development trends more accurately on the basis of many individual measurements (Billari 2022; Dyrting, Taylor 2021).

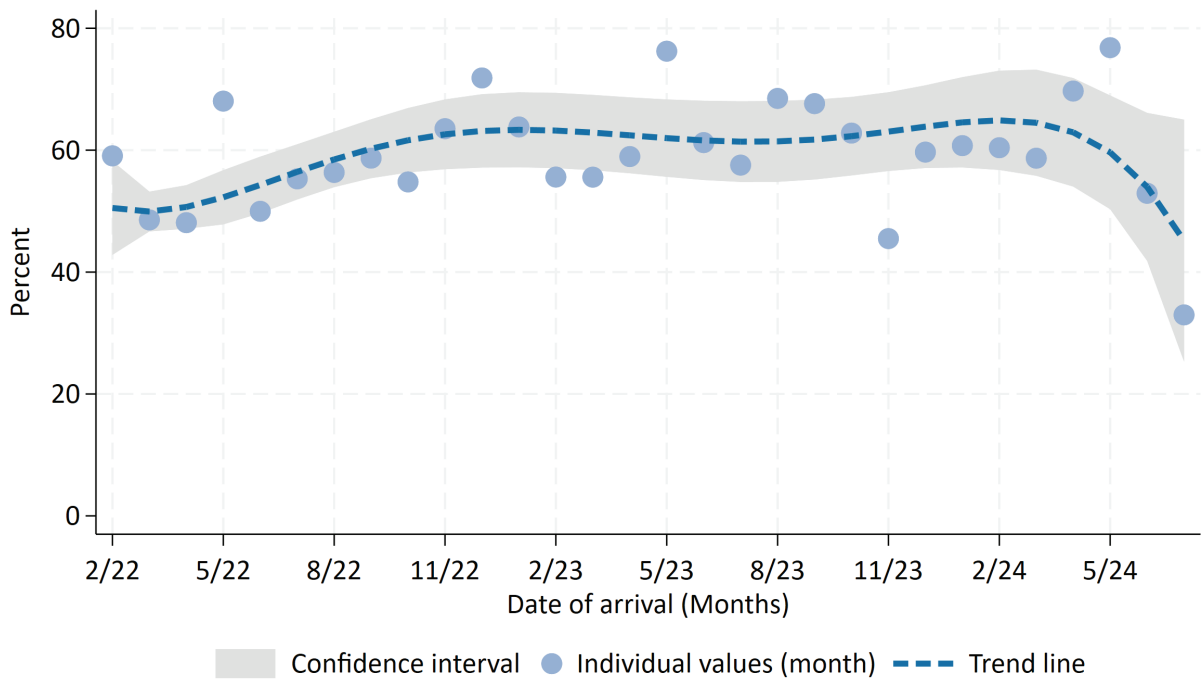
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Figure 3.4: Proportion of Women Among Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Figure 3.5: Proportion of Ukrainians in a Relationship at the Time of Arrival in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

refugees in a relationship was 49 per cent, rising to 60 per cent over the course of the year. Between January 2023 and summer 2024, 61 per cent of Ukrainian refugees arriving in Germany were in a relationship at the time of their arrival (see also Chapter 4).

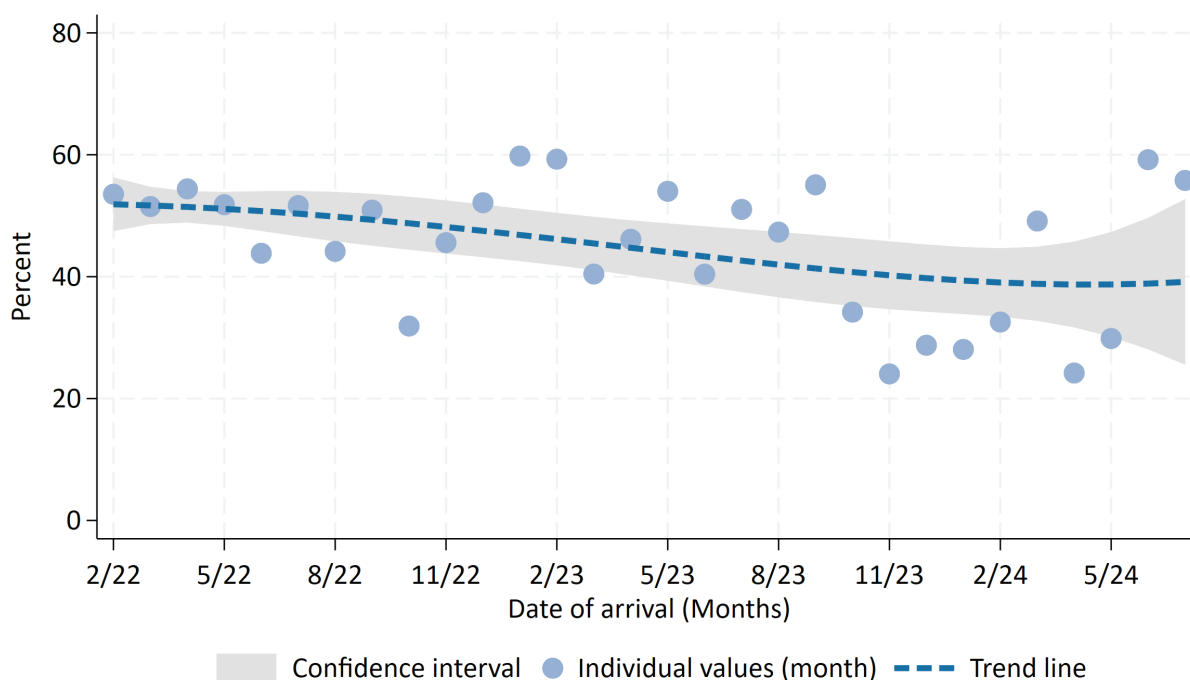
The proportion of Ukrainian refugees with minor children in the household is also high, compared to other groups of refugees. Of all Ukrainians who moved to Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024, 49 per cent live in households with minor children and adolescents. A total of over 353,000 Ukrainian children and young people, who moved to Germany in the three years between the beginning of 2022 and the end of 2024, are currently living in Germany (see also Chapter 5 for information on their living situation). The high proportion of refugees with minor children and adolescents has decreased somewhat over the course of the war. While in February and March 2022, around 52 per cent of Ukrainians lived with one or more minor children, this proportion fell – statistically significant – to 43 per cent among those who arrived after January 2023 (Figure 3.6).

3.4 Level of Qualification and Economic Situation

The “pioneer migrant” hypothesis posits that self-selection among refugees extends beyond the previously discussed demographic characteristics to encompass, in particular, people’s financial resources and qualifications. Analyses based on the first wave of the IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey already showed that Ukrainian refugees are a highly qualified group compared to the average Ukrainian population (Brücker et al. 2023b). Van Tubergen et al. (2024a) were also able to confirm this for people who fled Ukraine early on to various host countries.

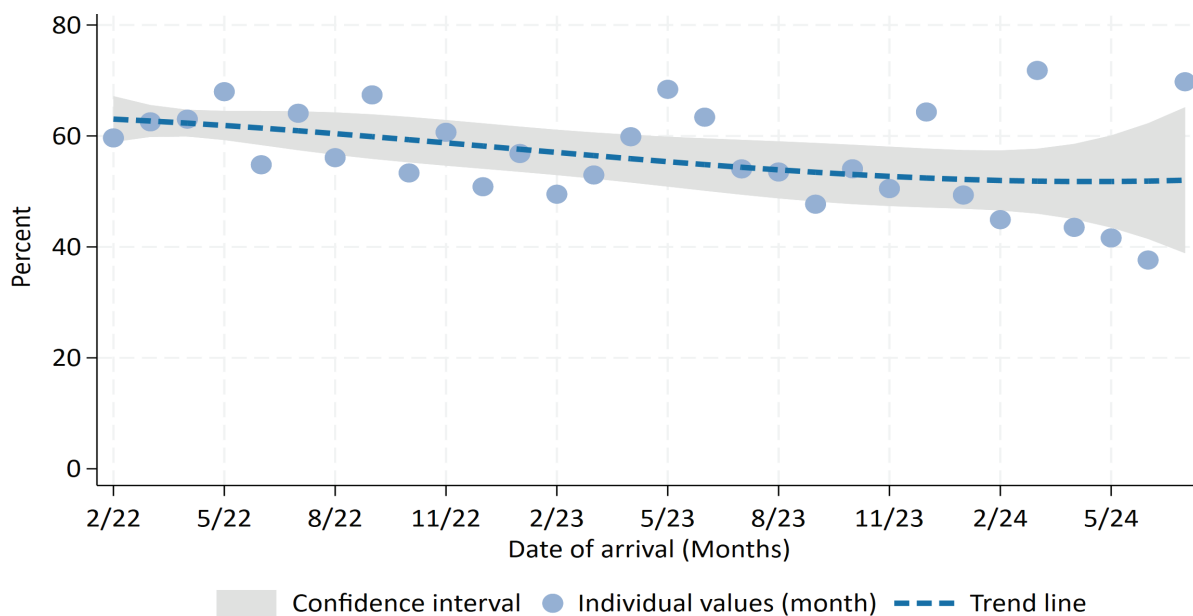
This finding is also confirmed for Ukrainians seeking protection in Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024 – 60 per cent have a tertiary education qualification. However, Figure 3.7 shows that those Ukrainians who entered Germany later, have a slightly lower average level of education. While 62 per cent of Ukrainian refugees had a tertiary education qualification in February and March 2022, this proportion fell by 8 percentage points

Figure 3.6: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany with Minor Children in Their Household, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Fig. 3.7: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany with Tertiary Education Qualifications, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

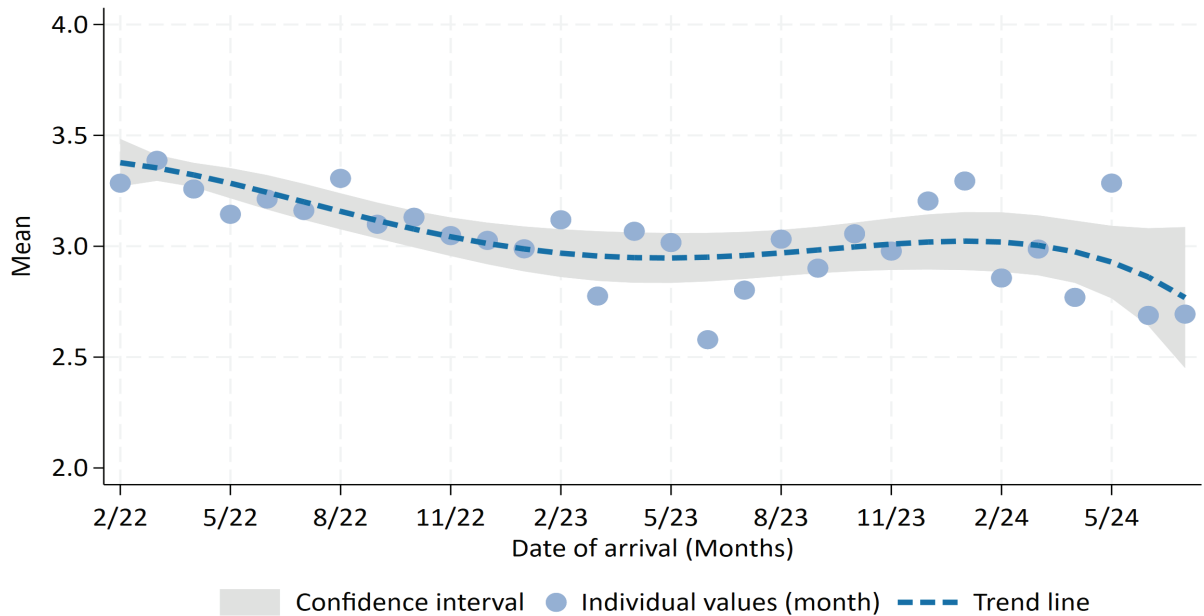
for refugees arriving after January 2023. This is consistent with empirical findings on the self-selection of migrants, according to which existing networks with people who fled earlier reduce costs and risks, and also enable people with access to fewer financial resources to seek protection abroad. In-depth statistical analyses confirm the significant decline in the average level of qualifications over time. Nevertheless, 54 per cent of Ukrainians who have moved to Germany since January 2023, have a tertiary education qualification, making them a positively selected population group compared to the Ukrainian population as a whole.

The slight deterioration in the average level of qualifications among Ukrainian refugees in Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024, is also confirmed by an examination of other socio-economic characteristics. The survey included the following question: "How would you assess your economic situation three months before leaving Ukraine, compared to the situation of others there?" Participants gave their answers on a scale from "well below average (1)" to "well above average (5)". Ukrainian refugees in Germany rated their econo-

mic situation at an average of 3.2, which is slightly better than the average rating among the over population in Ukraine. However, this subjective assessment of their own status declined significantly during the war. While it was still 3.4 for people who fled to Germany in February/March 2022, the refugees who arrived from January 2023 onwards rated their situation at just under 3.0 (Figure 3.8). It is particularly striking that the proportion of those who rated their economic situation before leaving Ukraine as (well) below average rose significantly. While this proportion was 12 per cent among refugees in February and March 2022, it rose to 27 per cent among those who arrived from January 2023 onwards.

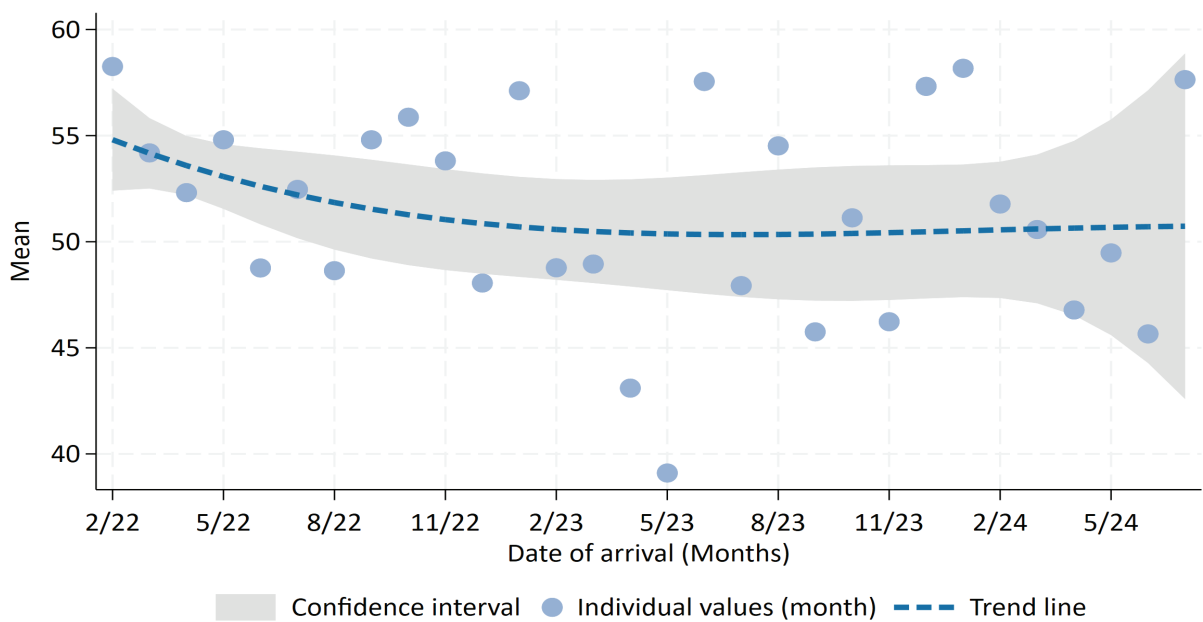
When examining the subjective assessment of the economic situation, it remains unclear whether, as the war progressed, more people fled Ukraine who were fundamentally in a worse position in Ukrainian society. Alternatively, those fleeing may have been increasingly people who were more severely affected by the war than others. For this reason, we also asked all survey participants about their occupation a few months before the Russian invasi-

Figure 3.8 Economic Situation of Ukrainians in Germany Before Fleeing, by Date of Arrival (Mean)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

Figure 3.9: Average Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) of Ukrainians in Germany Prior to Displacement, by Date of Arrival (Mean)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

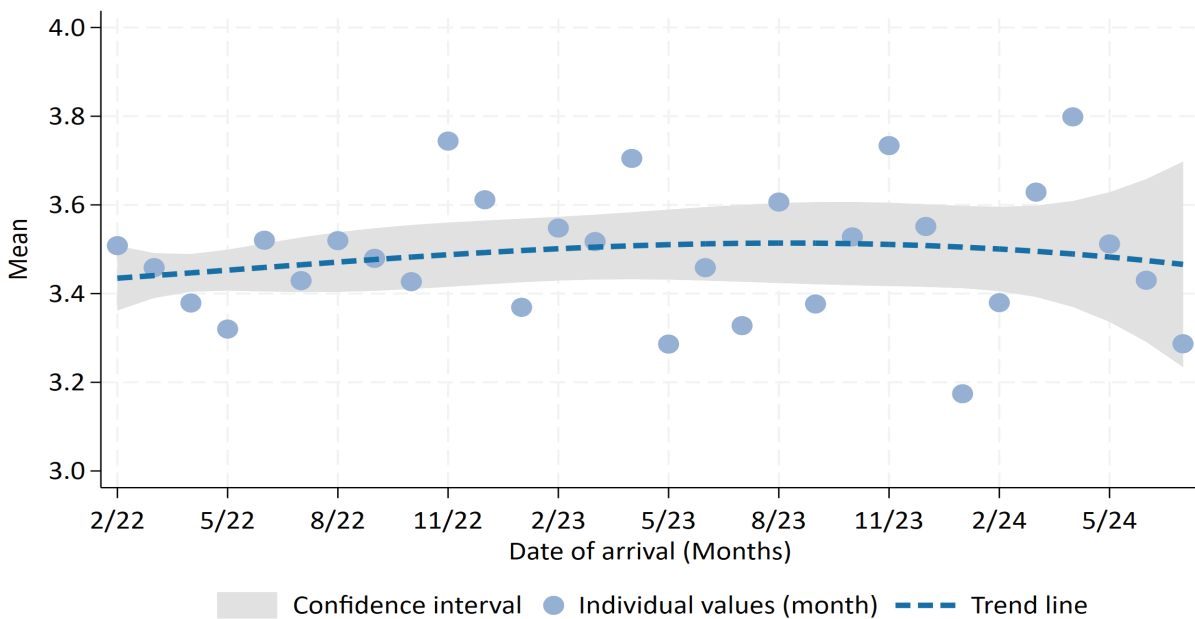
on began, specifically in September 2021. With the help of the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI), these occupations can be compared on a scale of 10 to 90 in terms of income, but also in terms of the educational pathways and career opportunities typically associated with them (Figure 3.9).

Before the war began, Ukrainian refugees in Germany were employed in occupations corresponding to an average value of 53 on the ISEI scale. In line with the average level of qualification and the subjective assessment of the economic situation before fleeing Ukraine, the average ISEI value decreased as the war continued. Ukrainians who have moved to Germany since January 2023 have an ISEI value of 51, which is four points lower than that of Ukrainian refugees who arrived in Germany in February and March 2022. However, against the backdrop of an average ISEI value of 47 among the resident population in Germany in the same age group, Ukrainian refugees remain a positively self-selected population group.

3.5 Health and Support Needs

A final aspect of the changing socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees is their health situation. The slight decline in the positive socio-economic self-selection among Ukrainians over the course of the war (as measured by educational level, economic situation prior to fleeing Ukraine, and the socio-economic index of occupational status) is not reflected in their health situation. The much-cited "healthy migrant paradox" – according to which international migrants are in better health than the native population in their destination country despite often less favourable social conditions – is also evident among Ukrainian refugees. The BiB/FReDA-Survey measures health on a self-rated health scale from (1) very poor to (5) very good. Ukrainian refugees living in Germany have an average score of 3.5 on this scale, which is largely comparable to that of the resident population in Germany (results of the FReDA-Survey W3b from 2023 for the resident population in Germany: 3.6). There is no statistically significant association between health status and date of arrival (Figure 3.10). Ukrainian refugees who arrived

Figure 3.10: Average Subjective Health Status of Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Mean)



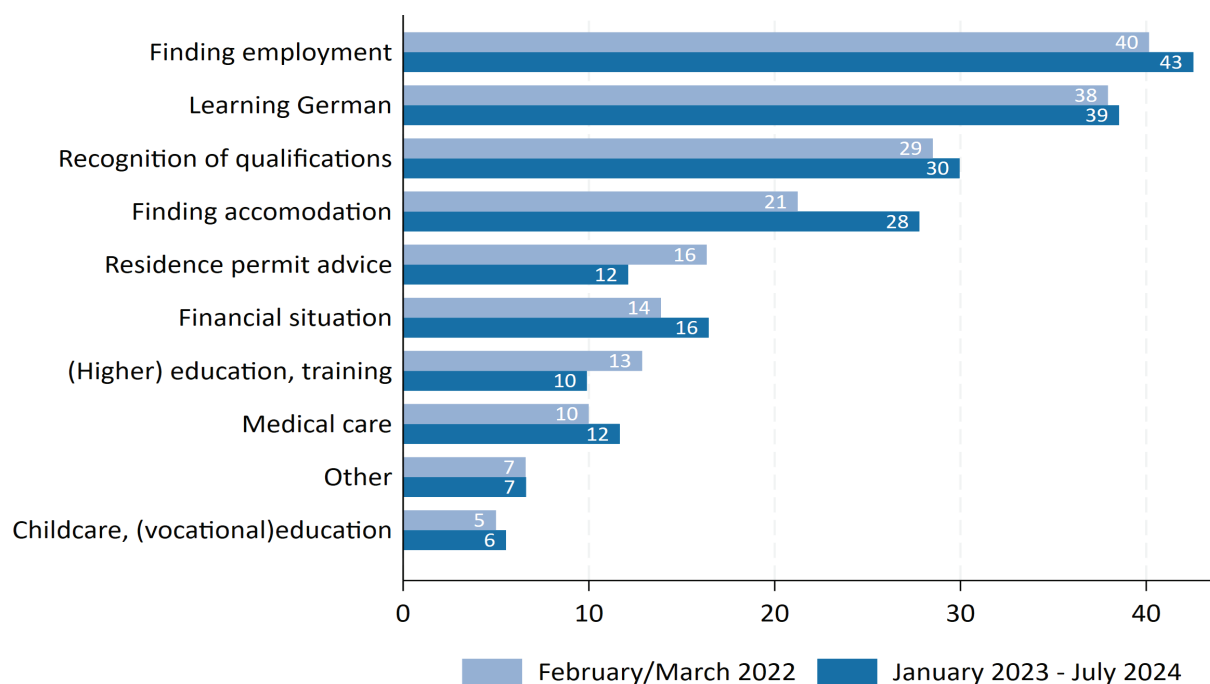
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

in Germany in February and March 2022 report the same average health status as Ukrainians who arrived after January 2023. We have also been unable to confirm a decline in health status among Ukrainian refugees, similar to other immigrant groups, with increasing length of stay (Ette et al. 2023; Lubbers, Gijsberts 2019).

Are the changes in the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees described above reflected in their need for assistance and social support? In the BiB/FReDA-Survey, participants were asked if they currently needed help in specific areas of life (e.g., learning German, finding work, etc.). Of the ten different areas that could be mentioned, an average of 1.9 areas were named by respondents. Throughout the arrival period between February 2022 and summer 2024, only minor and statistically insignificant changes occurred. On average, refugees who arrived between January 2023 and summer 2024 mentioned needing help in 2.0 areas, which is only slightly higher than the average of 1.9 areas mentioned by refugees who arrived at the beginning of the war in February/March 2022.

Depending on the time of arrival, there are only minor differences in the type of support required: Support in finding work plays the most important role for both groups – those who arrived in February/March 2022 and those who arrived in January 2023 or later, at 40 and 43 per cent respectively. Support in learning the German language follows closely behind (Figure 3.11). The only significant differences in the need for assistance between the two groups are related to support in finding accommodation, which is 7 percentage points higher among those who arrived later, and advice on residence permits, which clearly becomes more important as the length of stay increases. Developments in the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees are thus accompanied by only minor changes in their need for support. The integration process, which progresses with an increasing length of stay in Germany, so far results in only minor changes in existing support needs.

Figure 3.11: Support Needs of Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 2, wave 5, weighted.

3.6 Conclusion

For the first time, this chapter examined the development of the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees who moved to Germany between February 2022 and summer 2024. The results, based on the second survey cohort of the BiB/FREDA-Survey, confirm earlier findings about refugees displaced in the first months of the war: The high proportion of women among Ukrainian refugees, the large number of minors, the high average level of qualifications, the comparatively good state of health, and the importance of humanitarian motives for leaving Ukraine.

Over time, only minor changes have been observed in several dimensions of the socio-demographic structure: the regions of origin of the refugees within Ukraine have been characterised by their geographical proximity to military conflicts throughout the entire period, and humanitarian motives have remained the main reason for leaving Ukraine. The health of refugees and their need for support services in the host country are also largely independent of when they arrived.

As the war has progressed, significant changes have become apparent in other areas of the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees. First, the proportion of women among the refugees who arrived from mid-2022 onward has declined. Second, the average level of qualifications has declined. In the course of the war, the economic and employment situation of Ukrainians refugees arriving in Germany has deteriorated. Ukrainian refugees' comparatively high average qualification level and occupational status prior to their displacement may represent an important resource for the German labour market; especially in light of demographic changes and the growing demand for skilled workers.

The effects of the changing socio-demographic structure on the integration processes of Ukrainian refugees in Germany must be assessed in a differentiated manner and continue to be examined in the future: The slightly lower average qualification levels of those who fled Ukraine later compared to those who arrived at the beginning of the war could make it more difficult for them to learn German and participate in the labour market, especially given the more difficult economic conditions on the German

labour market later on. On the other hand, it is to be expected that the increase in the proportion of men over the period under review, the lower proportion of refugees with minor children, and networks with other Ukrainian refugees in Germany may have a positive effect on their integration processes (see also Chapters 6 and 7). However, the socio-demographic structure of Ukrainian refugees living in Germany will be influenced not only by further arrivals from Ukraine. Selective return migration of parts of this population group will also have a significant impact on the social structure of Ukrainian refugees in Germany (see also Chapter 8).

“

The social structure of Ukrainian asylum seekers remained stable in many areas, but the average level of qualifications and the proportion of women declined over time.

”

4

Developments in the Partnerships and Families of Ukrainian Refugee Women

Kerstin Ruckdeschel, Nadja Milewski & Martin Bujard

Refugee movements from Ukraine in 2022, as well as family constellations upon arrival, represented a distinctive pattern: They differed from earlier refugee movements to Germany (Buber-Ennsner et al. 2016; Brücker, Rother, Schupp 2018) and to other countries (e.g., Duszczuk et al. 2023), as well as from forms of voluntary migration (Massey et al. 1993), as women, often with children, clearly predominated among the Ukrainian refugees. This was due to departure restrictions from Ukraine and receiving regulations for refugees in EU countries (Barwick-Gross et al. 2023). In the case of voluntary migration, such as classic labour migration, and in cases of refugee inflows from non-European countries, it is more typical for men to migrate first, followed later by their partners and children when possible (Kohlenberger et al. 2022; Kohlenberger et al. 2023). In other migration contexts, women are more likely to be the “ones left behind” in the country of origin, where they can rely on kinship and social support networks. However, this is not the case for Ukrainian refugees. Here, refugee women very often had to manage the processes of flight, arrival, and integration alone – for themselves and, if applicable, for their children (Brücker et al. 2023b).

Family separation caused by war exacerbates the negative effects of threat, violence, and displacement on all areas of life (Georgiadou, Schmitt, Erim 2020; Löbel, Jacobsen 2021). Accordingly, in the first months after arriving in Germany, families separated by borders had a strong desire to reunite in the

medium term – particularly if minor children were affected (Brücker et al. 2023a). These aspirations have been observed in other refugee contexts as well, but in the case of Ukraine, they were further intensified by the high level of uncertainty regarding the course of the war. The intentions of refugee women to stay in Germany or to return to Ukraine, as well as the prospects of a reunion of separated couples or families through family reunification, were – and therefore still are – characterised by uncertainty to a great extent (Milewski et al. 2023). Additionally, intentions to stay and the motivations for a partner’s subsequent migration prove to be complex and unstable, reflecting not only individual motivations but also the actual and legal conditions. As the length of stay in Germany increases, the individual trade-off between staying and returning can be expected to change due to the ongoing war in Ukraine and ongoing integration processes in Germany. Furthermore, children and adolescents have their own ideas and wishes regarding family life, which do not always align with those of the adults and can significantly shape decisions about staying or returning (see also Chapter 5).

Against this background, we examine how the partnerships and family situations of Ukrainian refugee women have evolved over the first three and a half years of the war. We analyse which socio-demographic factors are associated with these changes, as well as how intentions to reunite with family members and to stay in Germany have evolved. We then analyse how the number of children among Ukrainians in Germany has changed – including births that have occurred since the beginning of the war – and describe their current family constellations.

4.1 Partnership Constellations

The partnership constellation of Ukrainian refugees upon their arrival in 2022 clearly reflects the gender differences that have resulted from the specific circumstances of flight during this war: Among all women aged 18 to 70, less than a quarter (22 per cent) came to Germany with their partner in 2022. About one-third of the women stated that their partner was in Ukraine or a third country, while another 41 per cent had no partner. Of the women who had a partner, approximately 60 per cent had partners living abroad, the vast majority (95 per cent) in Ukraine (Brücker et al. 2023b).

To analyse the situation three years after arrival, we focus on those women who moved to Germany in the first weeks and months of the war – between February and June 2022 – and who were still living in Germany in the early summer of 2025 – at the time of the sixth survey wave (survey cohort 1, see also Chapter 2). They constitute a key target group for integration and family policy in Germany. Their partnership constellations have evolved differently over this period. Figure 4.1 shows the partnership situation at arrival in 2022 as a bar divided into three categories: no partner (45 per cent), with partner in Germany (24 per cent) and partner in Ukraine or another foreign country (31 per cent). The share of women with a partner in a third country is only 1 per cent and is therefore not considered separately. The second bar shows the corresponding constellations in 2025. The flows between 2022 and 2025 illustrate the changes that occurred between the two points in time.

The situation of women without a partner and those who arrived together with their partners in Germany proves to be relatively stable – the respective flow from the initial constellation in 2022 to the same situation in early summer 2025 is comparatively broad. Among women who had no partner upon arrival, around 22 per cent are now in a partnership – mostly in Germany (19 per cent), while the majority (78 per cent) continue to live alone. Of those who sought protection in Germany with their partners, about 10 per cent had separated by 2025. Of those living with a partner in Germany in 2025, 86 per cent are with the same partner they had upon arrival, while 14 per cent have found a new partner (this breakdown is not shown). In a few cases (2 per cent), the partner is now back in Ukraine or in another country.

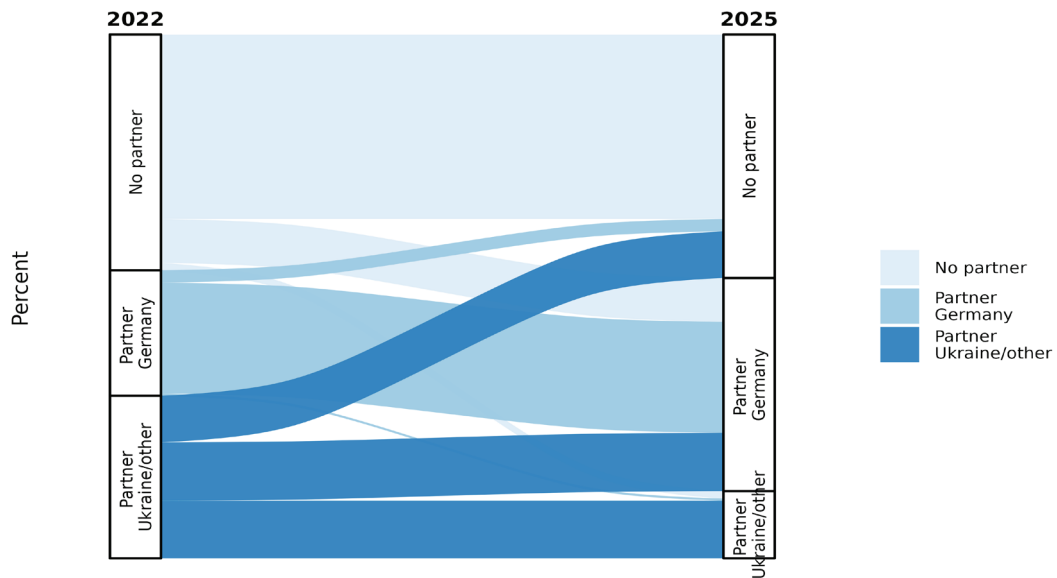
The situation is considerably more dynamic for women whose partners remained in Ukraine in spring 2022: In 35 per cent of cases, there was no change, and they still live in this constellation. Twenty-nine per cent have since separated; and 36 per cent live with a partner in Germany – in 85 per cent of these cases, this is the same partner as previously in Ukraine.

To better understand these dynamics, we also consider the intentions expressed immediately after arrival: At that time, about 54 per cent of the women whose partners did not accompany them stated that they wanted to bring their partner to Germany, while just under 44 per cent said they did not. The intention to bring the partner was higher among younger women and among those who had come to Germany with minor children. Women from regions in eastern and southern Ukraine also more frequently expressed the intention to bring their partner than women from other regions of Ukraine. Finally, the intention to reunite was particularly high if respondents stated that they wanted to stay in Germany “forever”, whereas those who intended to stay “until the end of the war” were less likely to plan to bring their partner.

4.2 Reunification with Partners

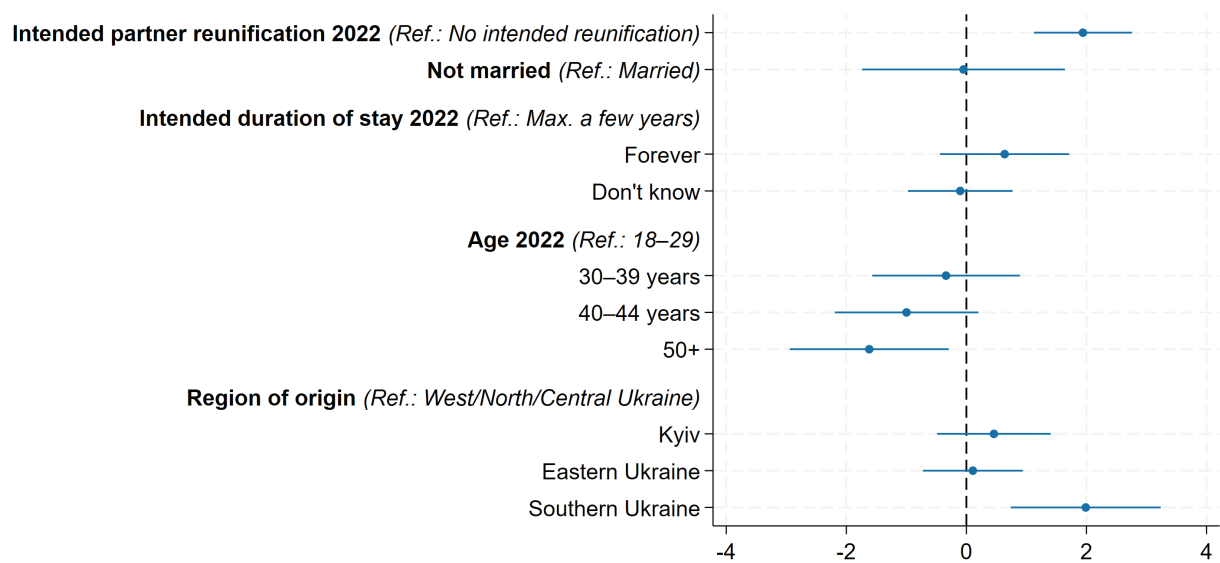
How the early reunification and staying intentions actually played out is shown by examining the partnership situation in 2025. The analyses reveal who had brought their partner to Germany by that point (Figure 4.2). We consider women who had a partner in 2022 who did not initially flee to Germany; we compare women whose partners were still living in Ukraine in 2025 (reference) with those whose partners were now in Germany. Separations are excluded, as only subsequent migration is examined. A central factor is the intention to bring the partner expressed shortly after arrival in Germany. Women who reported this intention in the first wave were more likely to state three years later that their partner had migrated subsequently. Additionally, women from southern Ukraine show higher probabilities of subsequent migration than those from other parts of the country. Finally, the probability of a partner’s subsequent migration decreases with increasing age.

Figure 4.1: Partnership Trajectories of Ukrainian Refugee Women 2022-2025, by Partner's Place of Residence (Per Cent)



Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, wave 1; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

Figure 4.2: Associations Between the Subsequent Migration of Partners to Ukrainian Refugee Women and Selected Characteristics 2022-2025



Note: Women who were between 18 and 70 years old in wave 1 (2022), had a partner but arrived in Germany without them, and consistently stated that they had a partner. Binary logistic regression, average marginal effects, controlled for education.

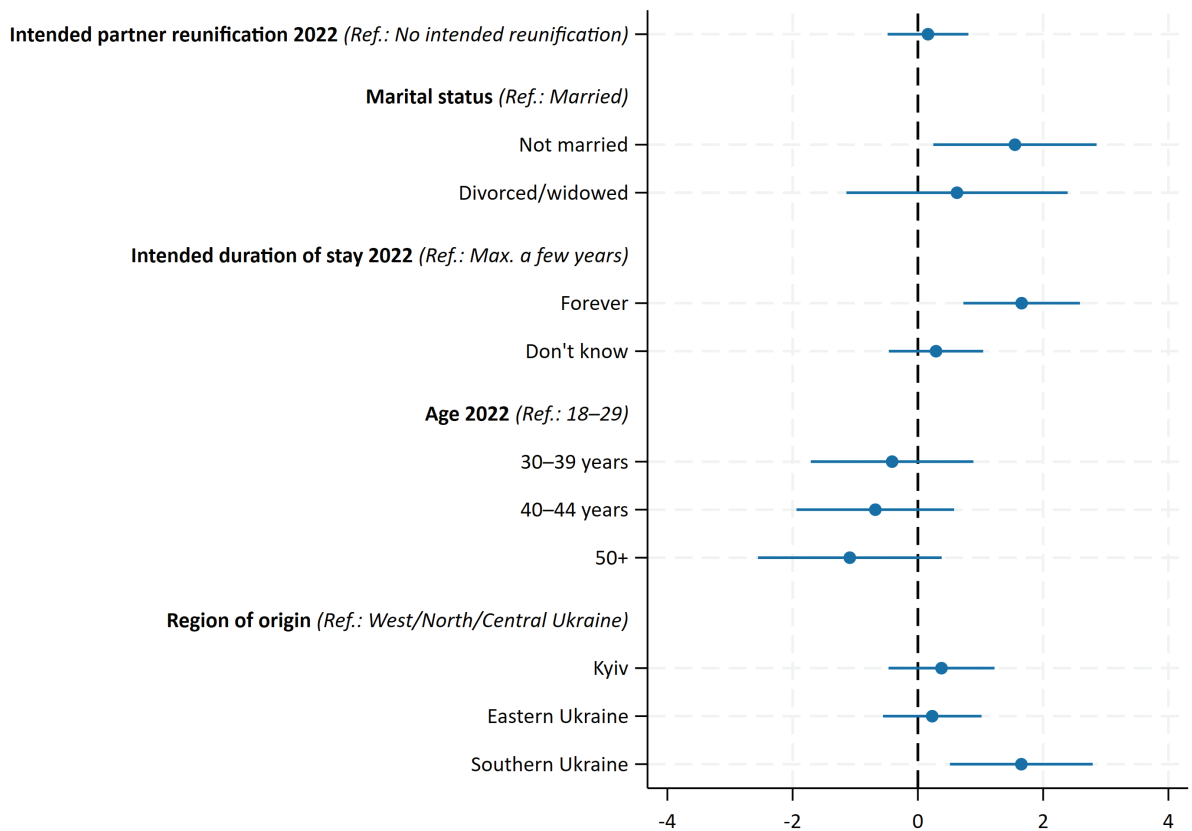
Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, wave 1; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

Further analyses indicate that women who consistently maintain their intention to stay (“forever”) across several surveys are more likely to have brought their partner by 2025. While intentions to stay were often uncertain shortly after arriving in Germany, they became more concrete and significant over time. Although this relationship cannot be interpreted unambiguously as causal, it suggests a growing shift of the centre of life to Germany. Age also interacts with the family phase: Subsequent migration of the partner is particularly likely when the woman has minor children living with her in Germany.

4.3 Partnership Dissolutions

Flight from war can trigger not only physical separation, but also a crisis-like development within partnerships or families. We therefore consider women who reported a separation during the panel, that is, those who no longer had a partner in 2025, and compare them with women whose partnerships persisted and whose partners were still living in Ukraine (Figure 4.3). Women whose partners were already living in Germany, were deliberately excluded from the analysis. Their situation differs structurally from that of women with a partner in Ukraine, as the dynamic of physical separation due to war and flight no longer applies. The analysis focuses on the consequences of enforced distance

Figure 4.3: Associations Between the Dissolution of Partnerships Among Geographically Separated Ukrainian Couples and Selected Characteristics 2022-2025



Note: Women who were 18 to 70 years old in wave 1 (2022), had a partner, but arrived in Germany without him and who reported in wave 6 (2025) that they no longer had a partner. Binary logistic regression, average marginal effects; dependent variable: partner in Ukraine at wave 1 vs. single at wave 2 (= separation), controlled for education.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, wave 1; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

for existing partnerships – a process that is not relevant in the same way for couples already living together in Germany.

The intention to stay in Germany permanently is a key predictor of separation: Women with this intention are at a significantly higher risk of separation than those who did not express such an intention. Additionally, marital status is significantly associated with separation behaviour: Unmarried women separate more frequently than married women.

4.4 *Intentions to Stay and Intentions for Family Reunification*

So far, the results show that the intentions expressed in the first survey regarding family reunification tended to be meaningful predictors of later behaviour. When answering, respondents may have taken into account that legal and practical options were limited and thus said “yes”, particularly when subsequent migration was already foreseeable in the first wave.

Intentions regarding a partner’s subsequent migration can also provide insights into the current outlook and well-being of this group. In 2025, around 28 per cent of women in geographically separated partnerships state that they want to bring their partner to Germany. About 34 per cent express no intention to do so, while 38 per cent answer “don’t know.” The comparatively high share of undecided responses indicates that many refugees are still confronted with uncertainty and limited room for manoeuvre even three years after their arrival – similar to those who expressed the intention to bring their partners but whose partners had not yet been able to migrate. A further breakdown by age group shows that the intention to bring a partner is particularly pronounced among younger women – i.e., where minor children are often affected (Figure 4.4). This is most evident in the 30–39 age group. At the same time, uncertainty is also particularly pronounced in this group, as reflected in the fact that many women do not know whether their partner can or should come to Germany – suggesting a high mental burden for these women.

The partnership situation is also closely linked to the intention to stay in Germany. Figure 4.5 shows

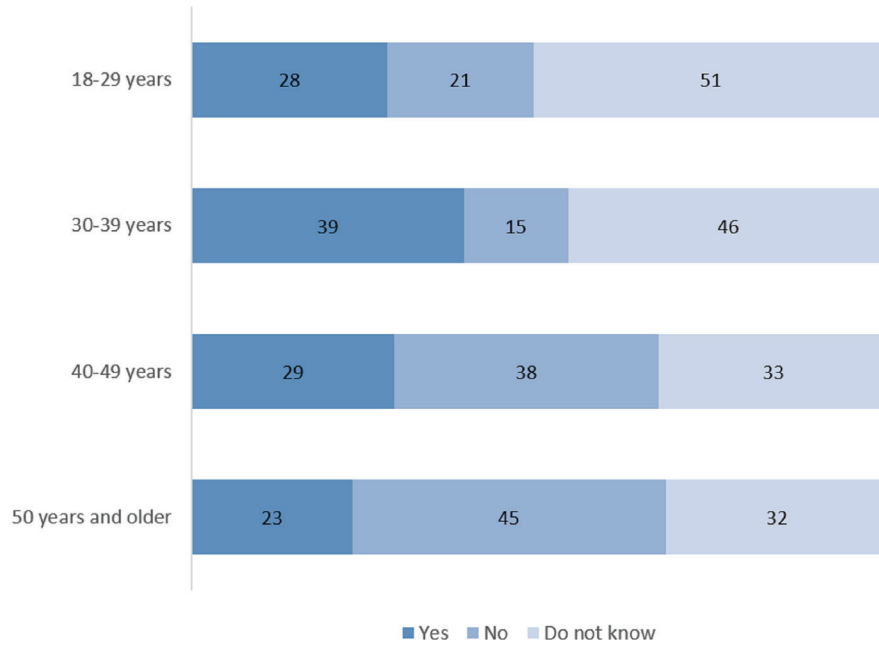
the future plans of the Ukrainian women surveyed in 2025, differentiated by partnership status. The desire to stay permanently (“forever”) is particularly pronounced among women who live with their partner in Germany: Every second woman in this group expresses this wish; a further 29 per cent plan to stay only for a few years, and 21 per cent are undecided. In contrast, women whose partners still live in Ukraine or another foreign country are noticeably more reserved: Only 27 per cent of them want to stay permanently, while 47 per cent intend only a temporary stay and 26 per cent are undecided. Among single women, intentions to stay predominate, while wishes to return and indecision are roughly balanced.

The results confirm existing research showing that family constellations – in particular, the partner’s place of residence – are central to long-term migration decisions (Brücker et al. 2023b). Women living with their partners in Germany are more likely to stay, whereas a lack of prospects for subsequent migration or family ties in the country of origin can lead to uncertainty and conflicting goals (Haas, Fokkema 2011). The high proportion of undecided women in this context highlights insecure and unstable living situations.

4.5 *Children and Fertility*

About one in two Ukrainian refugee women lived with at least one minor child in the household after arriving in Germany. In 2022, these mothers, on average, had 1.6 children (Brücker et al. 2023a). Most children sought protection together with their mothers and/or parents; comparatively few minor children of refugee parents remained in Ukraine. Even though the potential for child-related family reunification was limited, the mothers were highly motivated to bring children who had been left behind (see also Chapter 2). At the same time, crisis-ridden living situations often have an inhibiting effect on the desire for (further) children and on the propensity to expand the family (cf. Saarela, Wilson 2022). This is also reflected in the comparatively low number of births among Ukrainian women in the first three years of their stay in Germany: In total, 6 per cent of the women who were still living in Germany in 2025 had given birth to at least one child during this period. Notably, 38 per cent of these

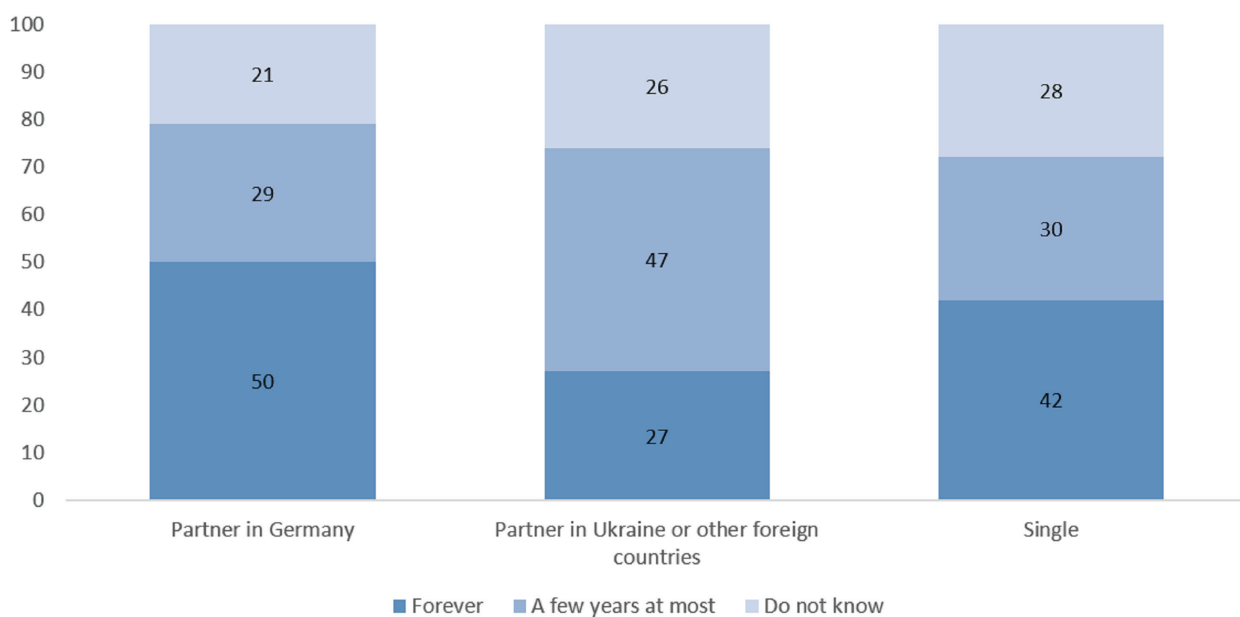
Figure 4.4: Intentions of Geographically Separated Ukrainian Couples to Reunite in 2025, by Age Group (Per Cent)



Note: Women aged 18 to 70 at arrival in 2022, in a partnership since 2022, whose partners were still living in Ukraine or another foreign country in 2025.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

Figure 4.5: Intention to stay Among Ukrainian Refugee Women in 2025, by Partnership Situation (Per Cent)



Note: Women aged 18 to 70 at arrival in 2022, in a partnership.

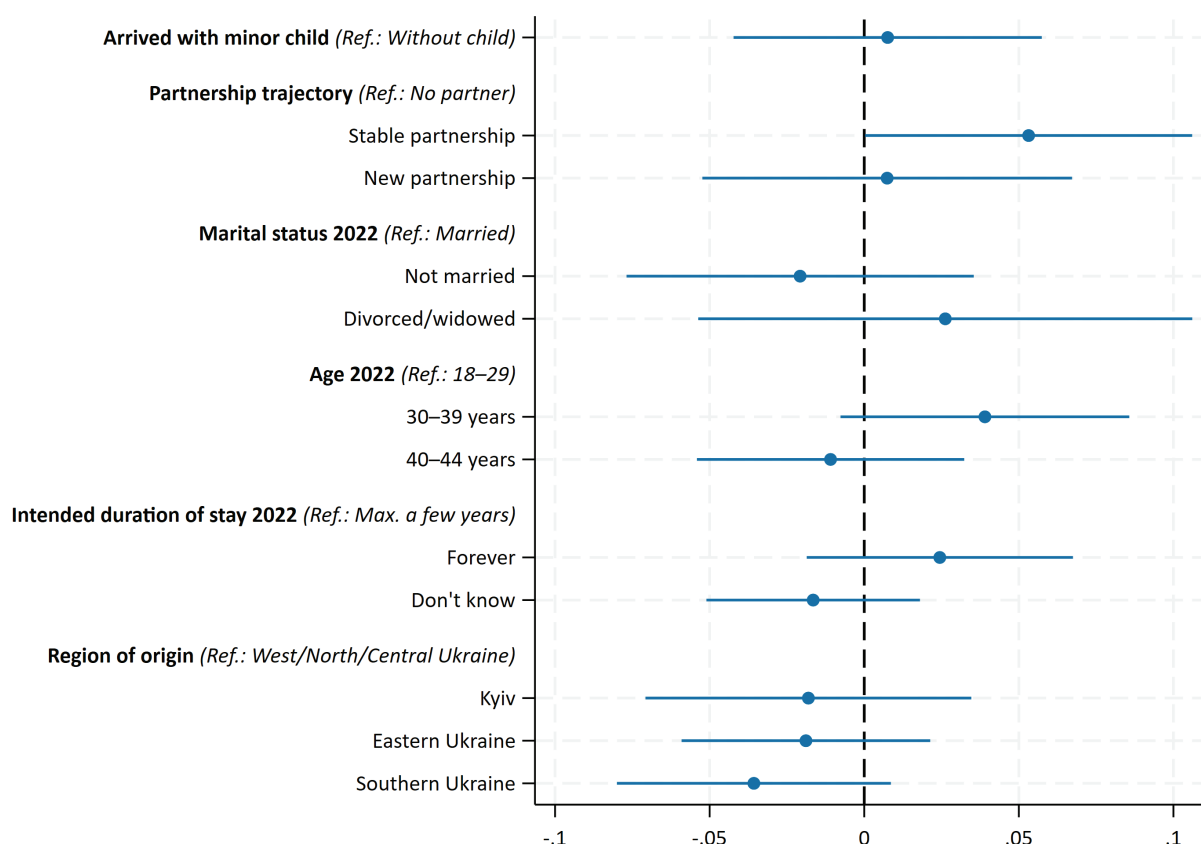
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

births occurred in the first year after arrival – an indication that many women were already pregnant when they fled and that existing pregnancies may have influenced the timing of their flight. After this initial peak, the number of births first fell sharply and then slowly rose again.

To examine these developments in more detail, an in-depth statistical analysis was conducted, comparing groups of women who did and did not give birth during their stay in Germany (Figure 4.6). The analysis refers to women of reproductive age (18–45 years upon arrival). Since the partnership situation of refugee women can change dynamically over the course of their stay in Germany – for example, due to a partner’s subsequent migration, separation, or

new partnerships – the model considers the entire partnership trajectory rather than the status at a particular point in time. The analyses show that women with separation experiences or in new partnerships were significantly less likely to have given birth compared to women in enduring partnerships – a finding that aligns with expectations (Kraus, Milewski 2025). The probability of having another birth decreases with increasing age. Additionally, regional differences emerge: Women from eastern Ukraine, as well as those from the south, show a lower probability of giving birth in the period from 2022 to 2025 than those from western, northern, and central Ukraine. The lower birth probability among women from eastern Ukraine is statistically significant and cannot be explained solely by

Figure 4.6: Associations Between Births Among Ukrainian Refugee Women and Selected Characteristics 2022-2025



Note: Women aged 18 to 44 in wave 1 (2022) who had had at least one birth by wave 6 (2025). Binary logistic regression, average marginal effects; dependent variable: at least one birth by wave 6 (reference category: no), controlled for education.
Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, weighted.

the current crisis; this trend persists even when controlling for other characteristics. Rather, it reflects longer-term demographic patterns: Since the early 1990s, eastern Ukraine has been among the low-fertility regions, partly due to stronger urbanisation, lower religiosity, and less traditional family norms (Perelli-Harris 2008). Similar trends are evident in southern regions, despite the ongoing occupation of Crimea since 2014 and parts of southern Ukraine since 2022. Although estimation uncertainty is greater here, the trend remains recognisable. Overall, these findings suggest that regional fertility patterns persist even under conditions of flight and arrival in Germany. However, since few women in the study had children, the results are subject to a certain degree of uncertainty.

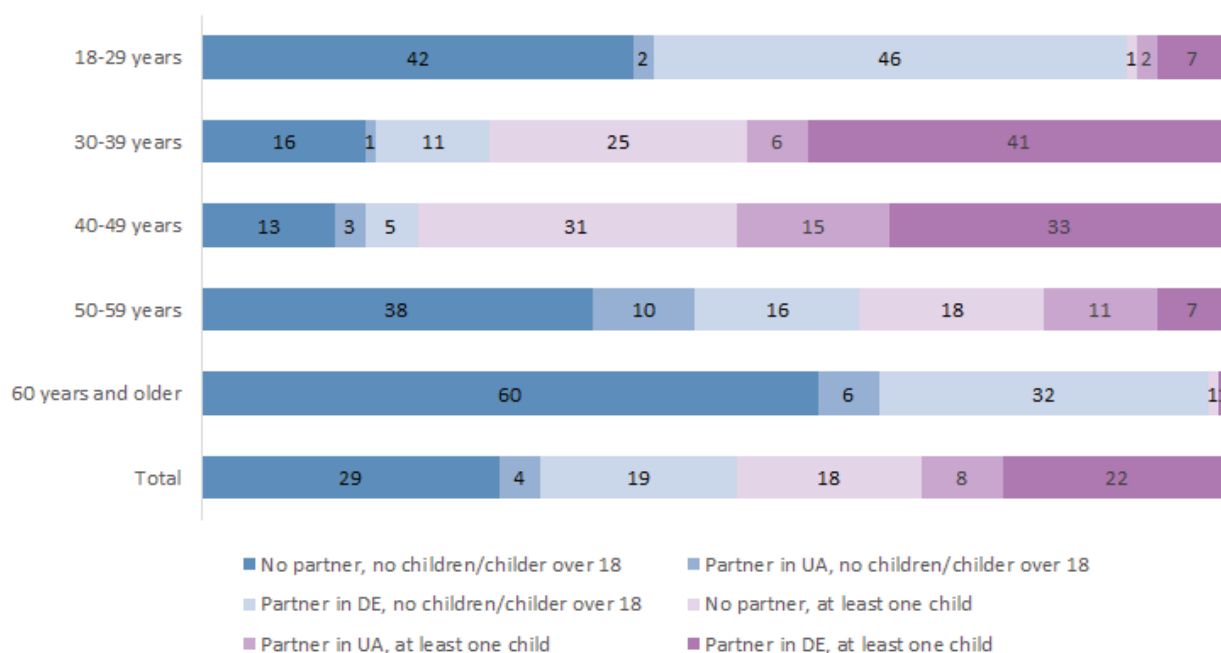
4.6 Household Constellations

After analysing the individual components of partnership and family-formation processes in the previous sections, this section considers these aspects together. The focus is on partnership and

family constellations in 2025, differentiated by the age of children. The analysis distinguishes whether women are in a partnership and – if so – whether their partners are in Germany or Ukraine. For the children, a distinction is made between childless women or women with only adult children and those with at least one minor child. This yields six constellations (Figure 4.7): women without children or with only adult children, and women with at least one minor child – each without a partner, with a partner in Ukraine, or with a partner in Germany.

Looking at the overall group, women are fairly evenly distributed across the various household constellations. Women whose partners still live in Ukraine are an exception: Regardless of whether they have children, they account for around 10 per cent. The remaining constellations are similar in size: The largest group consists of women without a partner and without minor children (just under 30 per cent). Around 20 per cent each are women with a partner in Germany (regardless of whether they have children) and single mothers.

Figure 4.7: Family and Partnership Constellations of Ukrainian Refugee Women in 2025, by Age Group (Per Cent)



Note: Women aged 18 to 70 at arrival in 2022. Shades of blue: without minor children (childless or child over 18). Shades of purple: with at least one minor child.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

The distribution of partnership and family constellations in 2025 varies considerably by age group. The group of women aged 18–29 remains largely childless. At the same time, more than half (53 per cent) have a partner in Germany – some with, some without minor children. Notably, 7 per cent of these young women already have a partner living in Germany and at least one minor child – indicating that the centre of life has partly shifted to Germany. Partnerships in which the partner resides in Ukraine are rare. In the 30–39 age group, a substantial share of women lives with minor children in Germany – either without a partner (25 per cent) or with a partner who is also in Germany (41 per cent). The latter constellation is the most frequent in this age group. Only a small share has partners who are still in Ukraine (7 per cent, with and without minor children). Among 40–49-year-olds, parenthood also predominates. Thirty-three per cent of women in this group have a partner in Germany and at least one minor child. In the higher age groups, the share of women with minor children decreases significantly. From age 60 onward, the majority (60 per cent) live without a partner or a minor child due to life-course factors. More complex family constellations occur only sporadically.

Overall, this shows that, especially among younger women, the conditions for a shared centre of life in Germany are often already in place, whereas dissolved or transnational family constellations predominate in the higher age groups.

4.7 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter highlight the close interconnection between flight and family processes, which are characterised by uncertainty, physical separation, and the challenge of reorienting one's life. Even three years after arriving in Germany, the living situations of Ukrainian refugees are heterogeneous. Nevertheless, the findings show that as the length of stay increases, not only legal and social anchoring but also familial anchoring grows stronger in Germany for the vast majority. For many Ukrainian women, the centre of life has increasingly shifted to Germany. In the first three years after their arrival in Germany, certain patterns have become apparent that indicate longer-term devel-

opments. Four central dynamics of family development are particularly striking.

Family reunification: For many women who initially sought protection alone, especially those with minor children, their partners join them over time. These family reunifications not only express the desire for a close partnership, but also indicate a growing shift in the family's centre of life to Germany. They are an important step toward stabilising and reorganising family life.

Prospects of staying: Family constellations are central to long-term migration decisions. Around half of the respondents express the intention to stay in Germany permanently. The partner's place of residence is a key factor in forming an intention to stay. At the same time, the high share of undecided women shows that many living situations remain unstable and that ambivalent visions of the future continue to be shaped by the unpredictable developments in the (former) home regions in Ukraine.

Strain and reorganisation of partnerships: War and flight put a significant strain on partnerships. They can reinforce or accentuate existing tensions and accelerate ongoing separation processes. The fact that some women separate from their partners after arriving in Germany shows that partnership decisions are also made under conditions of flight. These separations are expressions of biographical transitions that would also occur under normal circumstances. In the long term, they can pave the way for new stability and orientation.

New beginnings and family formation: After three years, some refugees have realized that they have arrived in Germany, new partnerships have formed, and children have been born. This suggests that longer-term life planning and family reorientation are playing a greater role again. However, the number of births remains comparatively low – partly due to culturally shaped low fertility rates in Ukraine, and partly due to phases of partnership instability, separations, or the absence of partnerships during their stay.

5

Participation and Life Satisfaction of Ukrainian Refugee Children and Adolescents

Anna Daelen, Ludovica Gambaro & C. Katharina Spieß (Collaboration: Emeli Beck)

Many of the women and men seeking protection in Germany have come with their children. According to official statistics from the Central Register of Foreigners, nearly one third (30 per cent) of all Ukrainian refugees were under 18 years old by the end of 2024 (Destatis 2025a). In absolute numbers, 353,300 minor Ukrainian refugees have come to Germany (Destatis 2025a). Many of them arrived during the first four months of the war of aggression, between February and June 2022. In this chapter, the term “children and adolescents” refers to those aged 11 to 17. When comparing this group to their parents, we occasionally use the term “children”, even though it refers to both children and adolescents.

The focus is on those children and adolescents who arrived in Germany with their parents in the first weeks and months following the outbreak of the war in February 2022. In many public discussions about Ukrainians living in Germany, they receive less attention than their parents, even though, as young refugees, they constitute a particularly vulnerable group. This is mainly because childhood and adolescence are especially sensitive developmental phases. During this period, children undergo fundamental physical, cognitive, and socio-emotional development, acquire various skills, and form their adult identity (Blakemore, Mills 2014; Sawyer, Patton 2018). Since this developmental phase shapes the subsequent life course, society has a particular interest in ensuring that the living conditions of children and adolescents are as favourable as possible.

This applies to all children and adolescents, including those seeking protection in Germany – regardless of whether they stay in Germany long-term or return to Ukraine with their families.

The positive development of Children and adolescents is always the result of the interplay of various factors. It depends on how young people interact and engage with their environment in different areas of life (Conti, Heckman 2014; Bronfenbrenner, Morris 1998). For this reason, our analyses examine different aspects of the lives of Ukrainian children and adolescents. We focus on their participation in and outside of school and on their well-being, which are closely interlinked. Social acceptance also plays an important role. Adolescents, in particular, are sensitive to experiences of social exclusion. Refugee adolescents are at high risk of experiencing social exclusion, which may lead to dissatisfaction in various areas (Fazel, Betancourt 2018).

Based on data from the child and youth survey in the fourth wave, the following dimensions of participation and well-being can be examined: We begin with language skills – specifically German proficiency – as a central dimension of participation. We then address the social and emotional adjustment of children and adolescents. Both German language skills and social and emotional adjustment are connected to how much these young refugees feel they belong in their school environment. Thus, the sense of school belonging constitutes another aspect we examine. The extent to which participation is successful is at least partly reflected in the refugees’ intentions to stay. This chapter also discusses how these intentions are expressed among children

and adolescents, as well as how they compare to their parents' intentions. Finally, the relationship between these various dimensions of participation and the life satisfaction of children and adolescents are examined. This chapter is thus based on the premise that the social participation of migrants encompasses many different domains, each of which is worth investigating in its own right, as well as in relation to other dimensions (Ager, Strang 2008; Jonsson, Kalter, van Tubergen 2018).

5.1 Database: Children and Youth Survey

In the first three waves of the BiB/FReDA-Survey, information about children and adolescents was collected only from their parents. In the fourth wave, in spring 2024, the children and adolescents were surveyed directly for the first time. For this purpose, the parents of children aged 11 years and older were first asked for their consent to allow their underage children to participate in the study. The invited children and adolescents could participate online or via a paper questionnaire. Most respondents completed the questionnaire online and in Ukrainian. This chapter builds on the previous findings from the 2024 survey of children and adolescents in survey cohort 1 (Gambaro et al. 2025). With a few exceptions, analyses based on the sixth wave of the children and youth survey could not be included in this chapter, as this survey was only completed in August 2025, and the data are therefore not yet complete.

For the first time, these data provide findings on the living situations of Ukrainian refugee children and adolescents in Germany, based on self-reports from the children and representative data collected from their parents. Almost 500 adolescents, aged 11 to 17, took part in the spring 2024 survey, with roughly equal numbers of girls and boys. Information on their parents is also available from the fourth survey and from earlier waves. One parent in each household completed the adult questionnaire – in 80 per cent of cases the mother, and in the remaining cases the father.

Among the surveyed children and adolescents, 45 per cent live in Germany with both parents, or with one parent and their partner. The majority (55 per

cent) live with only one parent, either because the other parent lives outside of Germany (30 per cent) or because the parent is single (25 per cent). For those living with only one parent, it is almost always the mother. Fifty-nine per cent of the minors surveyed have siblings living in the same household. Among secondary school types, 39 per cent of the children and adolescents in our sample attend general education secondary schools (*Gymnasien*), which is similar to the percentage of other non-refugee peers in Germany (Author group: Education Reporting 2024). Seventeen per cent attend comprehensive schools, and 44 per cent attend vocational schools (*Haupt-, Real-, or Mittelschulen*). Special classes for refugees are attended exclusively by 6 per cent and partially (i.e., for some subjects) by 10 per cent. In addition, 33 per cent also participate in Ukrainian online schooling. Outside of school, leisure activities are also important for participation. Overall, 64 per cent take part in extracurricular activities, such as sports, art, or music lessons (for a more detailed analysis, see Gambaro et al. 2025). Participation rates among adolescents from Syria and Afghanistan are similar, albeit not directly comparable (Gambaro et al., 2020).

5.2 Development of German Language Skills Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents

A key characteristic examined in the context of participation is self-reported German proficiency. Mastery of the host-country's language is crucial for participating in school and extracurricular activities. Knowledge of the destination country's language also reflects how well children and adolescents adapt culturally to their new environment (Motti-Stefanidi 2018). Furthermore, learning an additional language is a valuable and enriching experience.

The German language skills of children and adolescents have improved significantly since their arrival in Germany (Figure 5.1). Shortly after their arrival, 92 per cent of respondents reported speaking no or poor German. By spring 2024, only 13 per cent remained in this group, while 48 per cent stated that they spoke good or very good German. The remaining 38 per cent rated their German language

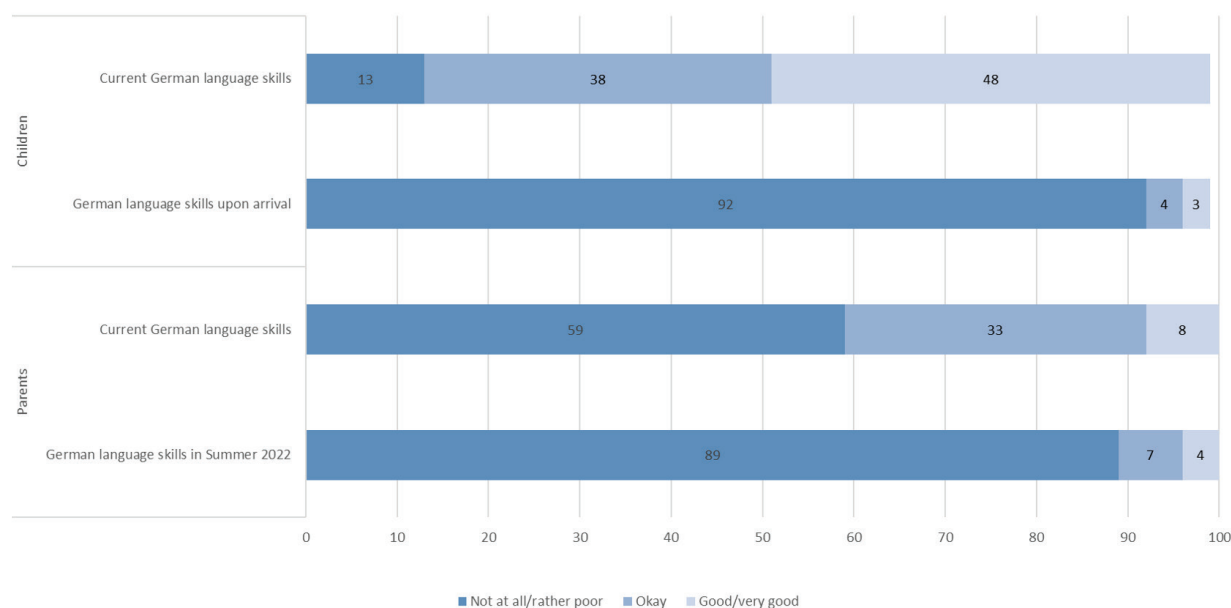
skills as “okay”. Similar to their children, around 90 per cent of parents spoke little to no German upon arrival. By spring 2024, however, 59 per cent of parents still reported no or poor proficiency; only 8 per cent said they spoke good or very good German. Additionally, 56 per cent of parents reported attending a German or integration course, indicating potential for further improvement.

Which characteristics of children and their parents influence children’s language abilities? The analyses show that pupils attending general education secondary schools (Gymnasien, the most academically oriented) report better German language skills than those attending other types of schools (Figure 5.2). This could reflect both a supportive learning environment at Gymnasien and the fact that children with better German language skills are more likely to receive a recommendation for this type of school. Children and adolescents who additionally attend Ukrainian online schooling do not differ in their German proficiency from those who do not. However, children who attend special classes for

refugees – either partly or exclusively – speak German less well. Children who participate in leisure activities – such as sports, music, or art lessons – also exhibit better German language skills. There is also a link between socio-emotional behaviour (see below) and language skills: Those with poor German language skills tend to show greater socio-emotional difficulties.

It is striking that parents’ German proficiency is significantly associated with that of their children: When parents speak no or poor German, their children also have lower proficiency. Conversely, children whose parents have particularly good German language skills, speak better German themselves. However, for other refugee groups, it is known that children whose parents speak poor German often learn faster because they have to support their parents in everyday life – for instance, at doctors’ appointments or with authorities (Leyendecker, Willard, Caspar 2015; Keller 2020). This does not seem to be the case, or is less the case, among Ukrainian families.

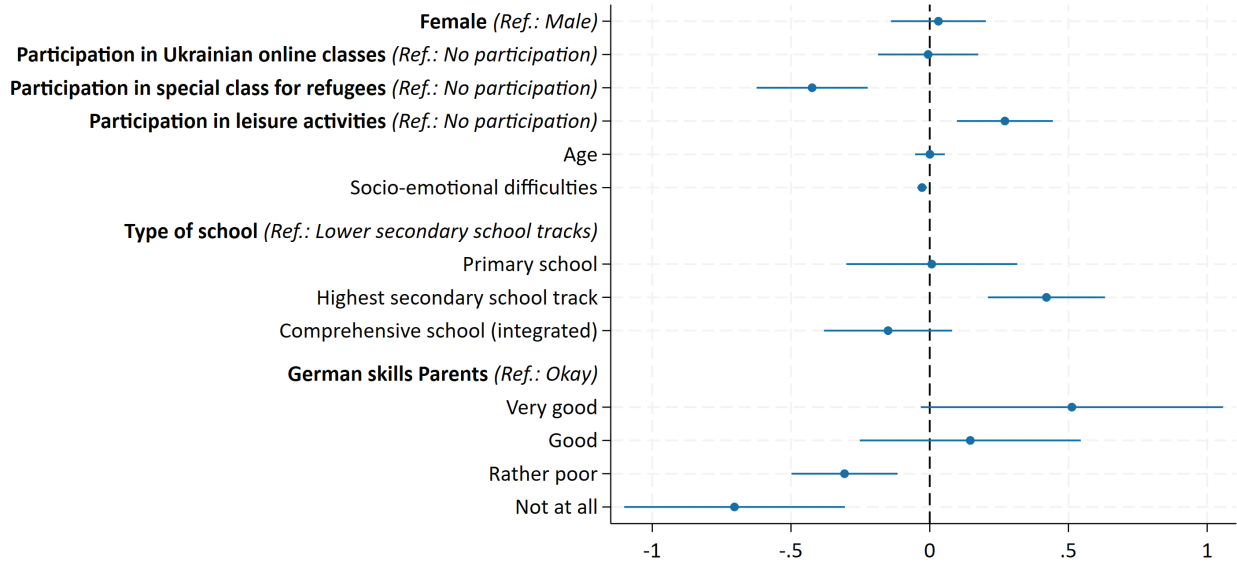
Figure 5.1: Development of Language Skills Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents 2022-2024 (Per Cent)



Note: Children and adolescents (aged 11-17) were asked about their German language skills upon arrival in 2024; information on parents’ initial German language skills comes from the first wave of surveys in summer 2022. A small proportion of respondents, up to 1 per cent, have missing data.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

Figure 5.2: Associations Between the Language Skills of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents, Their Learning Environment and Their Parents' Language Skills



Note: Regression coefficients of a linear regression. Dependent variable: Self-assessment of German language skills of children and adolescents (aged 11-17) in spring 2024. German language skills are measured on a scale of 1 to 5, with higher values indicating better German language skills. The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals and thus show the statistical uncertainty with which the effects are estimated.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

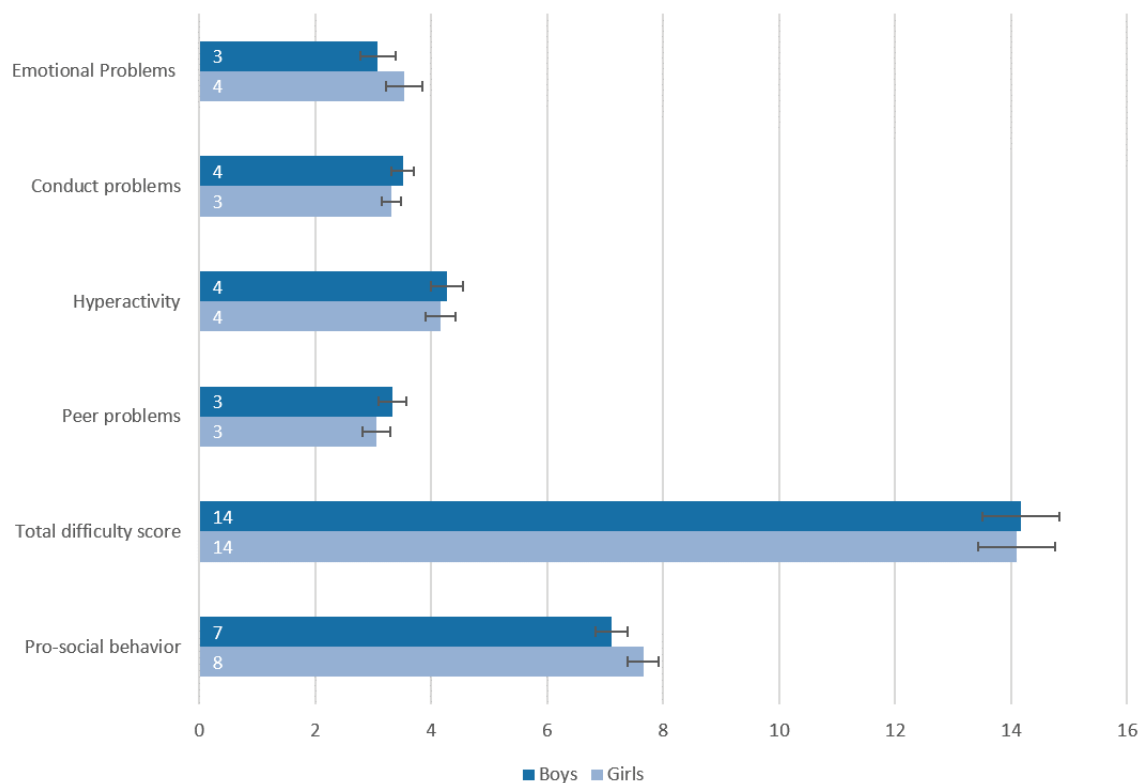
5.3 Socio-Emotional Behaviour of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents

Social and emotional adjustment is an important aspect of children’s and adolescents’ development, their social participation, and well-being. Social and emotional adjustment is measured using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman 1997). The SDQ consists of five subscales: (1) peer problems, (2) hyperactivity, (3) conduct problems, (4) emotional problems, and (5) prosocial behaviour. The first four subscales form the “total difficulties score”. Each subscale includes five items rated 0 (“does not apply”), 1 (“applies partly”) or 2 (“applies fully”).

Among the Ukrainian children and adolescents surveyed, the total difficulties score has a value of 14 (Figure 5.3). This still lies within the normal range (Becker et al. 2018), but it is above the values reported for non-refugee children and adolescents of similar age (Hölling et al. 2014; Lohbeck et al. 2015). These results suggest that refugee children and adolescents from Ukraine are at an increased risk for

socio-emotional difficulties compared to their peers who have lived in Germany longer. However, comparisons between groups and survey times should be interpreted with caution. Elevated scores may reflect the specific stress refugees experience in both Germany and their country of origin. Analyses from the latest wave (summer 2025) suggest that the overall score remained stable though it may have improved slightly for male adolescents.

A gender comparison shows that girls report significantly more emotional difficulties than boys. By age group, older girls (14–17 years) clearly exhibit higher levels of emotional problems, whereas younger girls do not. In line with greater emotional difficulties, older girls also have the lowest overall life satisfaction and the highest proportion of less satisfied respondents (see Section 5.6). In the other subscales and in the total score, gender differences are minimal. For prosocial behaviour, girls demonstrate significantly higher scores than boys – a pattern also observed in previous studies of children and adolescents of similar ages in Germany (Hölling et al. 2014; Lohbeck et al. 2015).

Figure 5.3: Socio-Emotional Behaviour of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany (Mean)

Note: The figure shows the mean values of the subscales of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) and the overall index for Ukrainian children and adolescents (aged 11–17) by gender.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

Children and adolescents who have friends in Germany and speak good German tend to adjust better socially and emotionally. It is also noteworthy that adolescents who partly attend a special class for refugees are better adjusted than those who no longer or exclusively attend such classes. Pagel and Edele (Pagel, Edele 2022) found similar results for refugees from other countries. They also provide an overview of the possible advantages and disadvantages of attending regular classes, special classes, or a combination of both.

5.4 Ukrainian Children and Adolescents' Sense of Belonging at School

Participation and well-being among children and adolescents are closely linked to their sense of belonging to the school they attend. A strong sense of school belonging is an essential resource for successful learning (Patton et al. 2016). Accordingly,

international student comparison studies such as PISA capture this dimension. The sense of school belonging among Ukrainian children and adolescents provides insight into their integration into German society and how they perceive it. The sense of school belonging is measured using six statements that assess feelings of loneliness at school and the ability to make new friends. These can be combined into an overall index that reflects the sense of school belonging as a whole.

A significant proportion of the surveyed children and adolescents from Ukraine display a relatively weak sense of school belonging. Thus, Ukrainian children and adolescents in Germany feel less attached to their school than pupils in the German PISA 2022 study and those in Ukraine. Only 63 per cent agree with the statement “I feel like I belong at this school.” In the regular PISA survey in Germany, 76 per cent agreed with this statement the figure was 76 per cent, and in Ukraine, 84 per cent agreed

(OECD), although here, too, comparison is only partially possible, as these pupils have typically attended their schools for longer. However, other studies on the sense of school belonging among refugee children and adolescents from Syria and Afghanistan in Germany show that they exhibited a significantly higher sense of school belonging after a short time in Germany (Gambaro et al. 2020).

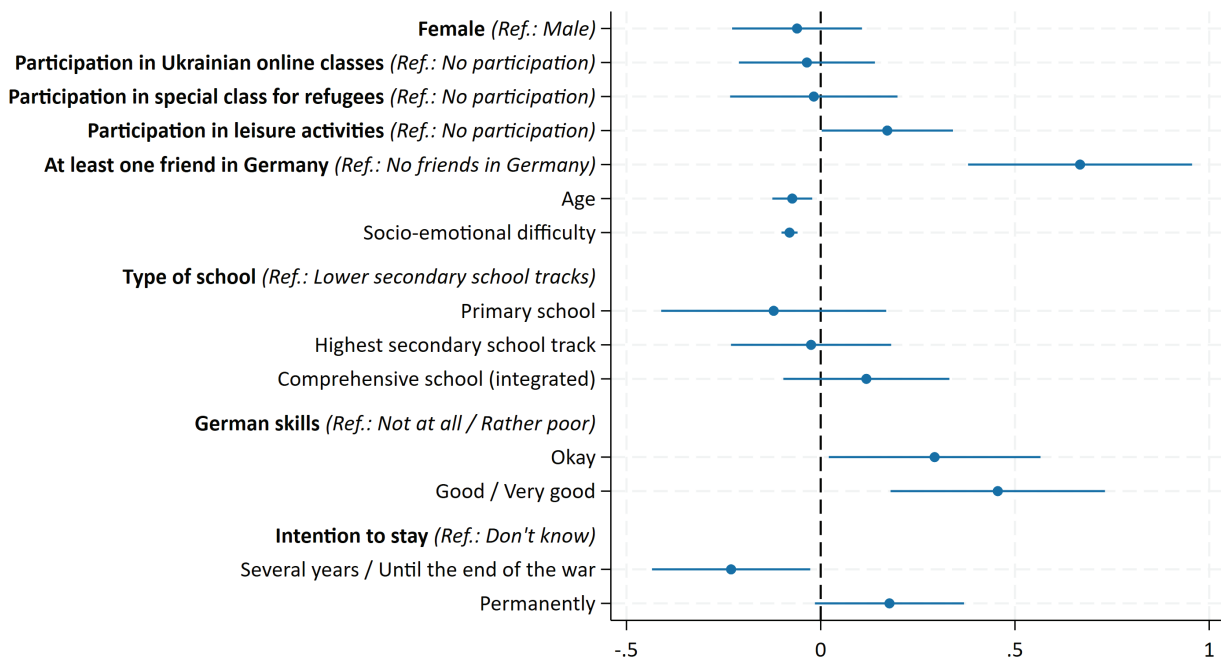
Figure 5.4 shows which characteristics of the children and adolescents are associated with the overall index of school belonging: Among older adolescents, we observe a lower sense of school belonging. The sense of school belonging is higher among children and adolescents who speak German better. Those who participate in leisure activities and have established at least one close friendship in Germany also feel more attached to their school. The greater the socio-emotional difficulties, the lower the sense of school belonging. Intentions to stay are also associated with the sense of school belonging: In particular, adolescents feel least attached to their school if they have no long-term

intention to stay in Germany. However, further analyses show that parents' intentions to stay do not play a significant role in the children's and adolescents' sense of school belonging.

5.5 Intentions to Stay of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents

The intentions of Ukrainian children and adolescents to stay in Germany, as well as those of their parents, greatly impact their living situation and subjective satisfaction. It is also of interest to what extent these intentions differ, as opposing desires to stay may lead to family disputes, which in turn can burden both children and parents. Figure 5.5 shows the differences in intentions to stay between children and their parents: Almost half of all parents wish to stay in Germany permanently. At 34 percent, the proportion is significantly lower among children and adolescents. In contrast, children and adolescents are more often undecided than their parents about how long they wish to stay in Germany.

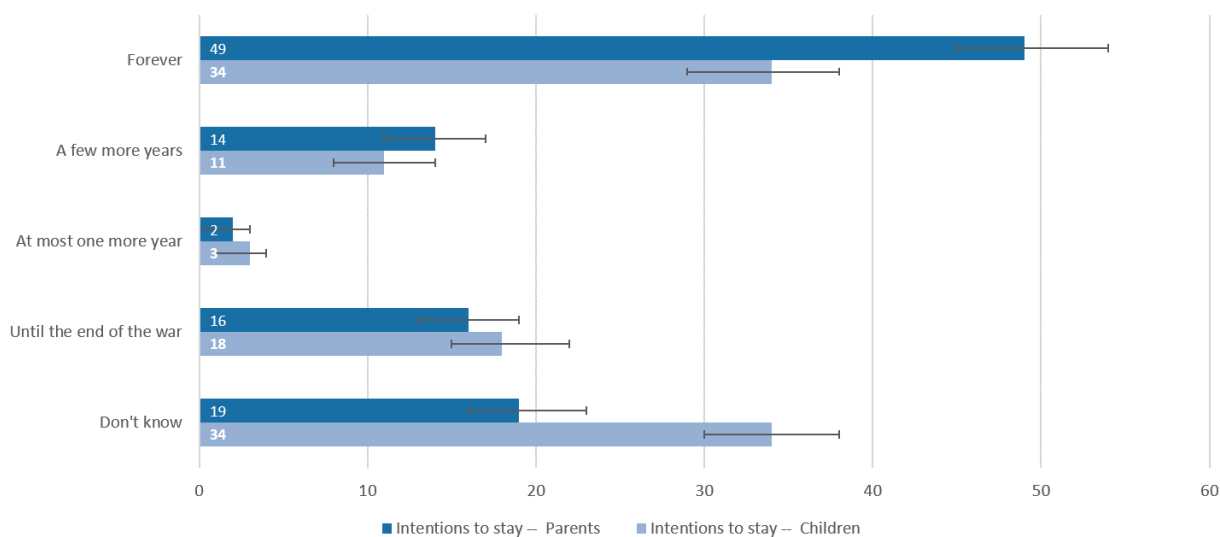
Figure 5.4: Associations Between the Sense of Belonging to the School and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany



Note: Regression coefficients of a linear regression. Dependent variable: standardised school belonging score of Ukrainian children and adolescents (aged 11-17). The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals and thus show the statistical uncertainty with which the effects are estimated.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

Figure 5.5: Intentions to Stay in Germany Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

In Figure 5.6, we also consider how often parents and children agree on their intentions to stay. In this figure, those who are undecided are assigned to the group that does not wish to stay in Germany permanently. In 25 per cent of families, both children and parents want to stay in Germany permanently. In 42 per cent of cases, so in significantly more instances, neither the children nor the parents express a desire to stay permanently. In this respect, intentions to stay are overall similar in two thirds of cases. However, as parents more frequently wish to stay permanently than their children do, there is also a notable share of 24 per cent of children and adolescents who, in contrast to their parents, do not wish to stay in Germany permanently. The smallest group consists of children and adolescents who, contrary to their parents' intentions, wish to stay in Germany permanently (9 per cent).

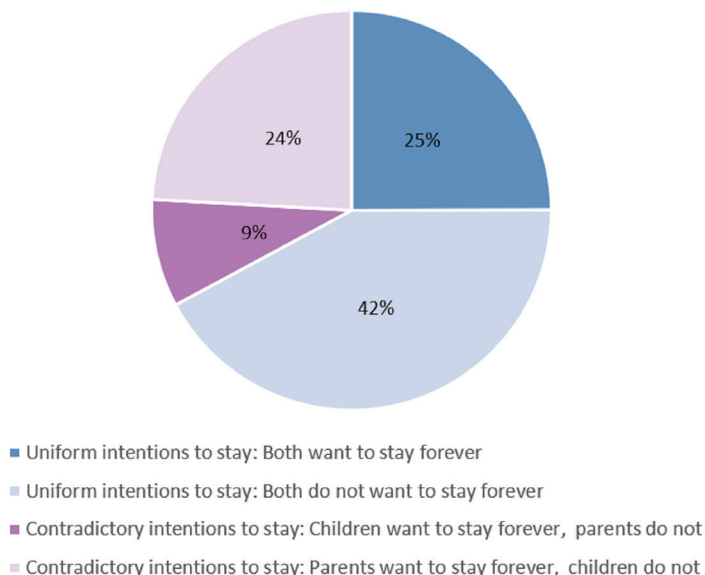
Further analyses show that children and adolescents report longer intentions to stay if they speak good to very good German and if they have at least one close friend in Germany. Children and adolescents report intentions to stay only short-term if, in addition to attending school in Germany, they also participate in Ukrainian online schooling (Gambaro et al. 2025). These findings suggest that cultural and social connections – which arise primarily through

the acquisition of language skills and the formation of friendships and social contacts – are associated with longer intentions to stay among young refugees.

5.6 Life Satisfaction Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents

General life satisfaction is another characteristic frequently used in social-scientific studies to capture the well-being of children and adolescents (UNICEF Innocenti 2025). It is measured in international and national studies using a Likert scale from 0 to 10, with 0 indicating “very dissatisfied” and 10 “very satisfied.” The average life satisfaction score of Ukrainian children and adolescents in Germany is 7.2. Figure 5.7 shows the characteristics associated with this: Higher satisfaction is found among those who feel more attached to their school and who wish to stay in Germany permanently. Children and adolescents who live with both parents in the same household are also more satisfied than those with one parent living outside of Germany. Adolescents whose parents are more satisfied with their lives in general also report higher satisfaction. Lower satisfaction is reported by children and adolescents who experience greater socio-emotional difficulties,

Figure 5.6: Comparison of the Intentions to Stay in Germany Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents (Per Cent)



Note: The intention to stay was divided into two categories, "Forever" and all other options ("A few more years/Until the end of the war," "At most one more year" and "Don't know").

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

who attend general education secondary schools compared to vocational schools, and who, in addition to attending school in Germany, also participate in Ukrainian online schooling.

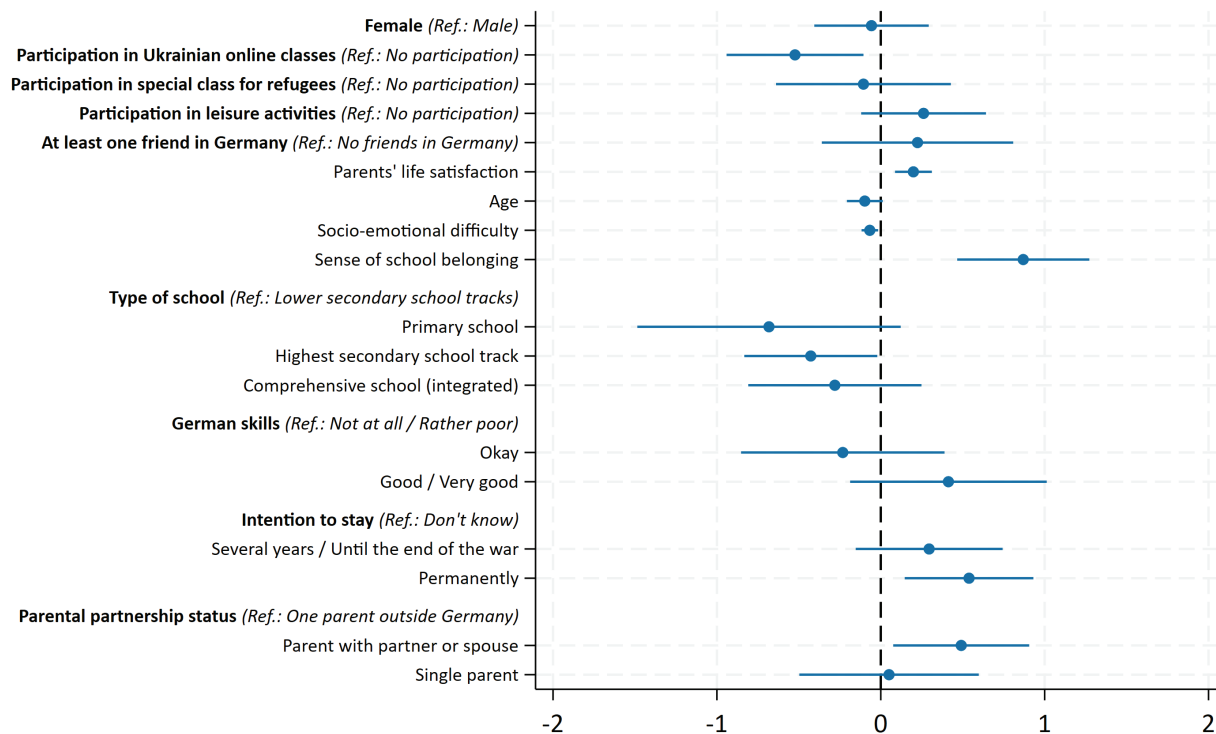
Further analyses show that parents' intentions to stay do not significantly impact their children's life satisfaction. Rather, only the children's and adolescents' own intentions to stay matter. However, the life satisfaction of children is linked to whether their intentions to stay align with those of their parents: Life satisfaction is lowest when both children and their parents do not wish to stay in Germany permanently. Children and adolescents whose desire to stay in Germany permanently differs from that of their parents are also less satisfied. This particularly applies to children and adolescents whose parents wish to stay in Germany permanently but who do not wish to stay themselves. Whether siblings live in the same household or whether parents are in paid employment is not associated with adolescents' life satisfaction in our analyses.

Since children and adolescents with low satisfaction may require particular support, we will now consid-

er this group specifically. We define the less satisfied group as those who report satisfaction levels of up to 6 on the 0 to 10 scale (Spieß et al. 2023). Among Ukrainian children and adolescents, 30 per cent belong to this group. Among 11- to 13-year-olds, boys are more often less satisfied than girls of the same age. In the 14- to 17-year-old age group, the share of fairly dissatisfied adolescents increases overall – among both boys and girls. The proportion is particularly high among older girls: Thirty-six per cent of them fall into the less satisfied category. Thus, adolescents – especially older girls – are a group in particular need of support.

A comparison of the life satisfaction of children and their parents also shows that, in 21 per cent of families, both children and parents are fairly dissatisfied. However, there is no direct, consistent link between parental satisfaction and that of their children. In 32 per cent of cases, the parents are fairly dissatisfied while their children are satisfied. Conversely, the smallest group, at 9 per cent, consists of families where the children are fairly dissatisfied, but the parents are satisfied.

Figure 5.7: Associations Between General Life Satisfaction and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany



Note: Regression coefficients of a linear regression. Additional control variables: parents' employment status, number of siblings in the household. Dependent variable: general life satisfaction of children and adolescents (11-17 years). The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals and thus show the statistical uncertainty with which the effects are estimated.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

Figure 5.8 shows that children and adolescents with greater socio-emotional difficulties and a weaker sense of school belonging are more likely to be fairly dissatisfied. Those who participate in Ukrainian online schooling also tend to be less satisfied. There is more dissatisfaction among pupils at grammar schools. Figure 5.8 also indicates that children and adolescents who are undecided about their intention to stay are most likely to be fairly dissatisfied: Those who want to stay in Germany permanently are less often fairly dissatisfied than the reference group of the undecided. Conversely, those who wish to stay for only a short time or for a few years are also less likely to be fairly dissatisfied than the reference group of the undecided.

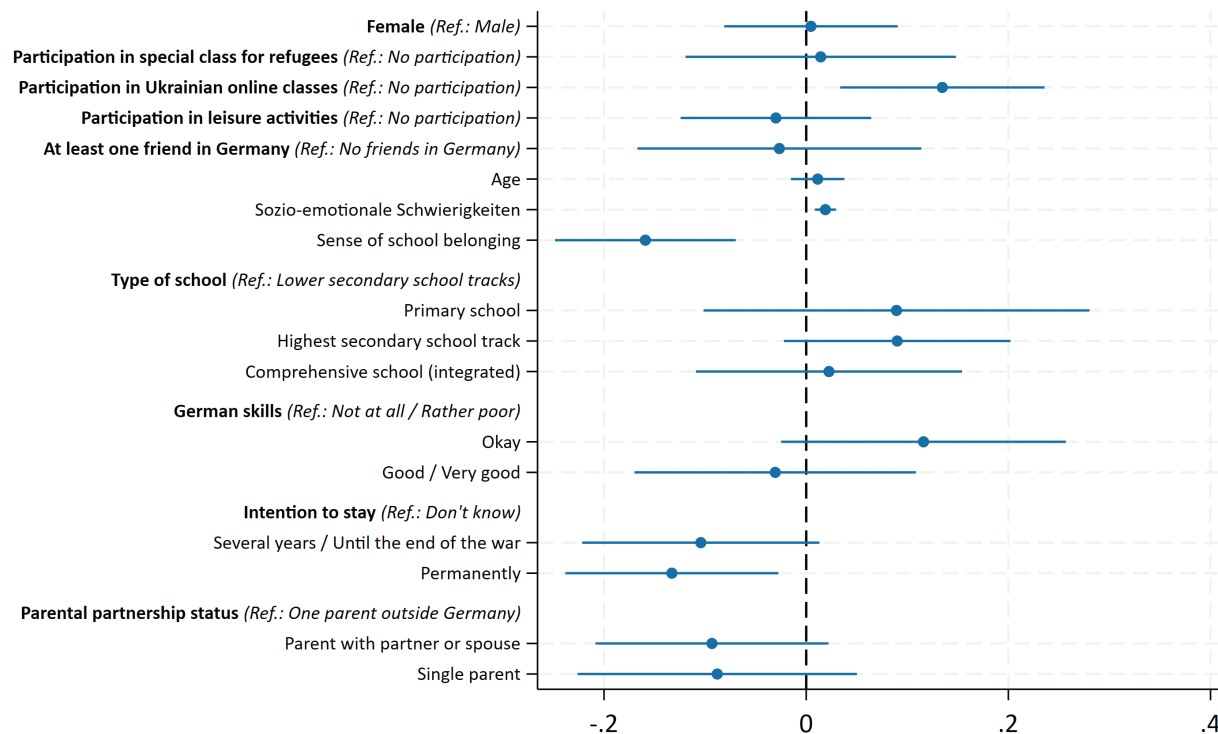
Further analyses examined the association between adolescents' dissatisfaction and additional parental characteristics, such as parents' life satisfaction, their German language skills, and their intentions to stay in Germany. Adolescents whose parents report

higher satisfaction and who speak good or very good German are more likely to be satisfied. Conversely, children and adolescents whose parents are less satisfied and speak no or poor German tend to be less satisfied themselves. When considering the combination of children's and parents' intentions to stay, children are most frequently fairly dissatisfied when they and their parents both indicate that they do not wish to stay in Germany permanently. Children and adolescents whose intentions to stay differ from those of their parents also tend to be less satisfied than those whose intentions align with their parents' regarding the wish to stay in Germany permanently.

5.7 Conclusion

Ukrainian children and adolescents show significant improvement in their German language skills around two to three years after their arrival in Germany. However, they have a relatively low sense

Figure 5.8: Associations Between Dissatisfaction and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany



Note: Regression coefficients of a linear regression. Additional control variables: parents' employment status, number of siblings in the household. Dependent variable: indicator of whether children and adolescents (aged 11–17) tend to be dissatisfied (satisfaction scores below 7 on a scale of 0–10). The lines indicate the 95% confidence intervals and thus show the statistical uncertainty with which the effects are estimated.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 4, weighted.

of school belonging, also compared to refugee children who had previously come to Germany from other countries. Considering the socio-emotional behaviour of Ukrainian children and adolescents, older girls in particular exhibit greater emotional problems. Within this group, the proportion of those who are less satisfied with their lives in general is also relatively high. Ukrainian children and adolescents with a low sense of school belonging appear to be overall less well-integrated, as reflected in poorer German language skills, fewer friendships in Germany, and lower participation in leisure activities.

In order to increase the participation and well-being of Ukrainian children and adolescents in Germany and to ensure that their time in Germany nurtures their development, a variety of measures are needed that can be offered by different stakeholders at various levels. These stakeholders include schools, municipalities, federal states, and the federal

government, as well as actors from civil society, who can further develop their already considerable engagement in a way that is specific to the target group. Support measures should particularly focus on those who are generally less satisfied with their lives and report a low sense of school belonging. Alongside targeted measures for these children and adolescents, families as a whole should be considered. Parents should continue to be supported in acquiring language skills, as children whose parents do not yet speak German well are more likely to be fairly dissatisfied with their life situation. Since parents' language skills and well-being are strongly linked to their children's life satisfaction (Gupta, Jessen, Spieß2023), supporting parents is also central to the children's participation and well-being. Alongside the school environment, the family environment is crucial, if not even more important, for the development of children and adolescents.

6

Development of Labour Market Participation Among Ukrainian Refugees

Andreas Ette & Nils Witte

From the perspective of empirical migration research, participation in the labour market is a key dimension of immigrant integration (Kalter 2008; Heath, Schneider 2021). Not only does gainful employment enable greater economic independence, it also opens up additional opportunities for contact with the host society and promotes language acquisition (see also Chapter 7). As well as having a positive impact on social participation, gainful employment can contribute to securing a longer-term residence perspective in the host country. The activation of the European Union's Temporary Protection Directive (2001/55/EC) just a few days after the start of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine created immediate legal and planning security for the refugees by granting them temporary residence permits in Germany. However, almost four years after the start of the war, and after several one-year extensions of this protection status – currently until 4 March 2027 – the question of long-term residence prospects for Ukrainian refugees remains unresolved.

In the current situation, the right of residence for Ukrainians expires when their temporary protection status expires. And the length of time they have spent in Germany to date is not counted towards the minimum residence periods required for naturalisation in Germany. Transitioning to a different residence status is therefore an important option for those who wish to reside permanently in Germany (Schneider 2025). Gainful employment enables Ukrainian refugees to obtain residence titles that

allow for longer-term planning, independent of temporary protection. These include, for example, the residence permit for qualified employment as a skilled worker with vocational training (§ 18a Residence Act), the residence permit for self-employment (§ 21 Residence Act), or the residence title for vocational education and training (§ 16a Residence Act; Schneider 2025). Some of these residence permits have high monthly income requirements, which many Ukrainian refugees currently find almost impossible to meet. Although employment alone cannot solve the uncertainty regarding residence rights under the current legal situation, it can offer some refugees the opportunity to plan their stay more securely in the long term.

Given the importance of employment in securing residence rights, of achieving financial independence, and of enabling social participation, this chapter analyses the individual and structural factors associated with successful labour-market integration. It addresses the following questions: How has labour-market participation and job satisfaction of Ukrainian refugees in Germany developed over the past three years? Which individual characteristics and contextual factors are associated with employment, and which barriers hinder access to the labour market? To what extent does labour-market integration differ between those refugees who came to Germany in the first weeks and months after the outbreak of the war and those who arrived later? The analyses presented below are based on data from the BiB/FReDA-Survey (both survey cohorts, waves 1–6; see Chapter 2). For reasons of comparability, only individuals aged 20 to 50 years are considered.

6.1 Development of Labour Market Participation

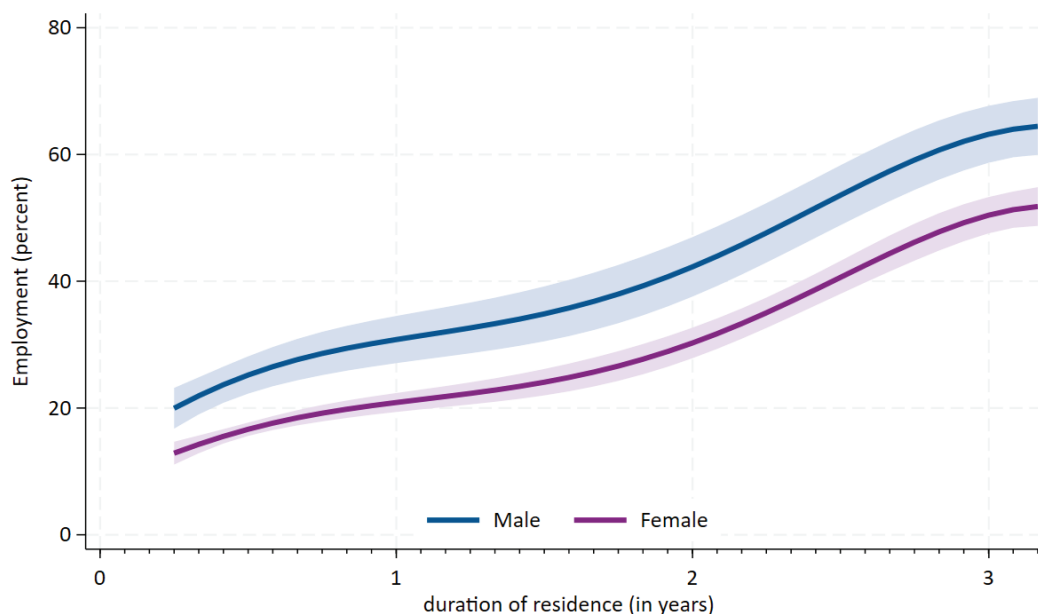
Access to the labour market for refugees is subject to restrictive legal requirements. Accordingly, their employment rates tend to be lower and increase more slowly during the first years after arrival compared to other immigrant groups (Kosyakova, Kogan 2022). However, the EU Temporary Protection Directive created conditions that allow Ukrainian refugees to access the labour market much faster. The temporary residence permits were issued without an asylum procedure and allow refugees to take up employment or self-employment immediately and without restriction. In addition, Ukrainian refugees were included in the system of Book II of the Social Code (SGB II, citizens' benefits) and thus in the placement and support structures of the Job Centres.

Recent survey results from early summer 2025 show that the employment rate of Ukrainian refugees increases sharply with the duration of their stay (Figure 6.1). Among 20- to 50-year-old Ukrainians who arrived between February and May 2022,

the employment rate was around 18 per cent at the time of the first survey (August–October 2022). By the sixth survey in early summer 2025, this figure had increased to 53 per cent.

Similar patterns have been observed among refugees from other countries and in other host states, where the length of stay is strongly associated with employment probability (Brell, Dustmann, Preston 2020). In the case of Ukrainian refugees in Germany, however, the increase in employment was particularly pronounced over the past year: While the employment rate was still at 32 per cent at the time of the fourth survey between March and April 2024, it had already risen to 46 per cent by the fifth survey in October and November 2024, and increased by a further 7 percentage points over the following six months. Throughout the entire observation period, the employment rate of men remained consistently higher than that of women. Between May and July 2025, 62 per cent of men and 51 per cent of women aged 20 to 50 were employed. In total, 53 per cent of Ukrainian refugees who arrived between February and May 2022 were working, 27 per cent were unemployed, 7 per cent were in education or training,

Figure 6.1: Development of Employment Among Ukrainian Refugees who Arrived in Germany Between February and May 2022, by Duration of Stay and Gender (Per Cent)



Note: Results of pooled logistic regressions, without controlling for other characteristics of the refugees, only individuals of working age between 20 and 50 years, 95% confidence intervals.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohorts 1 and 2, waves 3-6, weighted.

another 7 per cent were on maternity or parental leave, and 5 per cent were not working due to health or other reasons. Whether these employment gains are related to labour-market policy measures, such as the Job-Turbo initiative, will have to be examined by future analyses. Initial evaluations suggest that more intensive consultation and pragmatic placement by the Job Centres may have contributed to this success (Hainmueller et al. 2025).

The results of the BiB/FReDA-Survey are broadly consistent with employment-register data from the Federal Employment Agency (BA), which show that the number of employed Ukrainians in Germany rose from around 235,000 in March/April 2024 to about 340,000 between May and July 2025 (BA 2025). However, there are differences in the reported employment rates: While the BiB/FReDA-Survey yields a rate of 53 percent, the BA register reports 36 per cent for the same period.

Sample-based population surveys are always subject to statistical uncertainty, as indicated by the confidence intervals (see the light blue and light purple areas in Figure 6.1). Differences in survey participation between groups may also lead to biases, which can be largely corrected through weighting procedures. These statistical uncertainties play a relatively minor role in explaining the differences in employment rates between the BiB/FReDA-Survey and the employment statistics. Far more relevant are three structural differences in the underlying populations. At the same time, the higher employment rates in the BiB/FReDA-Survey are supported by data from the German Micro-census: The employment rate for Ukrainians who moved to Germany in 2022 was already 44 per cent in the fourth quarter of 2024 (Destatis 2025e).

The first difference concerns the age groups considered. The BA statistics include all individuals of working age (15 to 65 years), whereas the analyses presented here, based on the BiB/FReDA-Surveys, focus exclusively on individuals aged 20 to 50. The lower employment rates among younger (under 20) and older (over 50) Ukrainian refugees are one reason for the discrepancies between the two data sources. For example, during the fourth wave of the survey, the probability of being employed was 13 percentage points lower among 55 to 64-year-olds than among those under 30 (Ette et al. 2024).

A second difference concerns the calculation of employment rates. The BiB/FReDA-Survey calculates these by determining the proportion of Ukrainians employed in Germany out of all Ukrainian refugees living in Germany. All individuals who participated in the first wave of the survey are invited to participate in the longitudinal survey, regardless of whether they still live in Germany, or have since returned to Ukraine or migrated to another country. For this reason, the survey data can provide relatively accurate information about the number of individuals still living in Germany. In comparison, the employment statistics include all employees subject to social insurance contributions or exclusively in marginal employment in Germany and can report the number of employed individuals for this population more accurately than a survey based on a sample. However, the employment statistics require additional data sources to calculate the employment rate by Ukrainian nationality. Preliminary information from the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR) is essentially used for this purpose. This raw data count of the foreign population results in significantly higher figures than the population update by the Federal Statistical Office, particularly in the case of Ukrainians, due to insufficient recording of deregistrations. According to the AZR, 1.334 million Ukrainian nationals were living in Germany on 31 December 2024 (Destatis 2025a), while the population update from the Federal Statistical Office shows 1.085 million, resulting in correspondingly lower employment rates from the BA (Destatis 2025b).

A third difference between the two data sources is the definition of refugees and the consideration of their length of stay. The BA's employment statistics include all Ukrainian nationals in Germany. Therefore, the BA's data also include Ukrainian nationals who were already living in Germany before the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. According to the BA, an average of around 62,000 Ukrainian nationals were employed in Germany in 2020 and 2021, corresponding to an average employment rate of 52 per cent during this period. Assuming that the majority of these people are still living in Germany and are still employed, the employment rate of Ukrainian refugees is overestimated. On the other hand, the employment statistics refer to a population group that has changed steadily over the past three and a half years due to

continuous immigration from Ukraine, but also due to emigration. After all, a quarter of the Ukrainian refugees registered in Germany by the summer of 2024 have only moved there since the beginning of 2023 (see Chapter 3). Since the likelihood of refugees being in employment increases significantly with the duration of stay, the BA's employment rates underestimate the development of labour market participation over time. In contrast, the six waves of the first BiB/FReDA cohort consistently track those who arrived between February and May 2022, providing a more precise longitudinal picture of their integration process.

6.2 Potentials and Barriers to Labour Market Participation

The labour market participation of Ukrainian refugees in Germany has increased significantly, particularly during the third year after the start of the Russian invasion. Nevertheless, before their flight, the employment rate of today's 20- to 50-year-old Ukrainians was considerably higher, and a total of 44 per cent of all those previously employed have not yet found work again in Germany. While earlier analyses have already shown that older refugees over the age of 50 in particular find it difficult to find employment in Germany (Ette et al. 2024; Kosyakova, Rother, Zinn 2025), the following analysis focuses on the potentials and barriers to labour market participation for Ukrainians aged 20 to 50. Which factors and individual characteristics are associated with employment among Ukrainians today, three years after their arrival in Germany?

The *family situation* is a primary factor for refugee women that may explain why they are less likely to take up employment in Germany. The general mobilisation in Ukraine in February 2022, along with the subsequent exit ban on men of conscription age, resulted in the physical separation of many families (see Chapter 4). Especially in the first few years of their stay in Germany, the (often sole) responsibility for childcare led to lower employment rates among women (Gambaro et al. 2024). Even three years after arriving in Germany, women whose partners live with them are 6 percentage points more likely to work than women without partners (Figure 6.2). Partners who join their spouses later in the course of the war thus have a clearly positive effect on

the employment of Ukrainian women. There are also significant differences in employment rates between men and women in families with children. While mothers with preschool-aged children are 29 percentage points less likely to be employed, Ukrainian fathers tend to have higher employment rates than men without children. Improvements in childcare for preschool-aged children have the potential to increase the employment rate of mothers with young children.

The human capital acquired in Ukraine – *vocational training qualifications and skills* – is a second important factor that is closely related to employment in Germany. On average, Ukrainian refugees have a higher level of formal education and training than the comparable Ukrainian and German populations (Brücker et al. 2023a). Nevertheless, these qualifications are not always transferable to the German labour market, as there is less association between educational and training qualifications and actual occupational activities in Ukraine than in Germany (Schreyer et al. 2024). While within the first year of arrival in Germany, only refugees with a university degree had a significantly higher probability of being employed than those without a vocational qualification (Brücker et al. 2023c), after three years this also applies to all other individuals with other vocational qualifications. The probability increases by around 26 percentage points for women and 21 percentage points for men with a university degree and other vocational qualifications. Although only a small proportion of Ukrainian refugees have no vocational qualifications, there is further potential for better integration into the labour market in Germany by obtaining professional qualifications at a later stage.

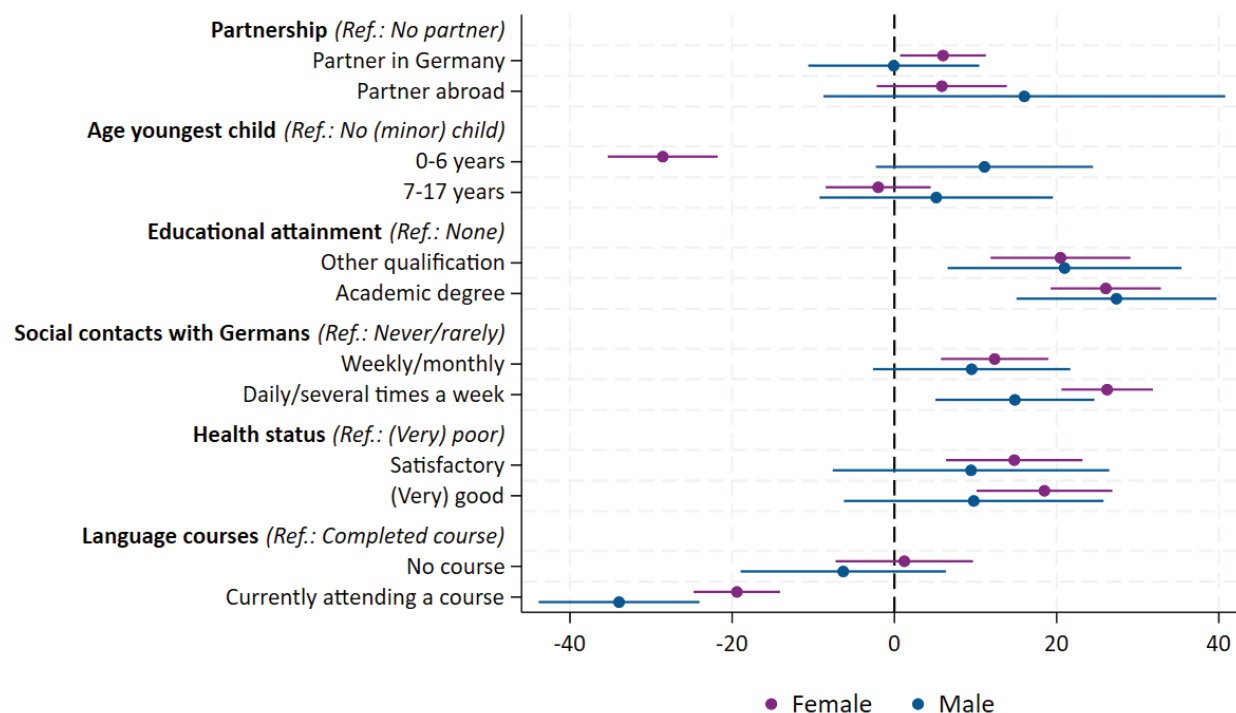
Previous research on immigrants and their descendants shows that *social networks* in the society of the destination country have a significant influence on the likelihood of employment (Kalter, Granato, Kristen 2011). Among women surveyed at the end of 2024, the probability of employment was 12 percentage points higher in early summer 2025 for those who stated they had monthly or weekly contact with Germans, compared to those who had very rare or no contact with Germans (see also Chapter 7). With more regular contact, the association increases to 26 percentage points. This finding is also confirmed for men, although the association is somewhat less

pronounced. Social networks often help immigrants find work more quickly in their destination country. However, future analyses will need to examine in more depth whether the jobs found in this way are permanent and adequate for individual levels of qualifications (Kosyakova, Kogan 2024).

Poor *health* is a common reason why refugees have a lower employment rate than other immigrants. Although the general health status of Ukrainian refugees is comparatively good (see Chapter 3), initial studies show that Ukrainian refugee women in particular suffer from the consequences of war and displacement (Buchcik, Kovach, Adedeji 2023). In line with these findings, the results show that, even three years after arriving in Germany, refugees who are in satisfactory (+15 percentage points) or (very) good health (+18 percentage points) are, on average, more likely to be employed than those in (very) poor health.

The role of *language courses* in helping refugees' transition into the labour market has been widely discussed in research. Results from early summer 2025 confirm previous survey findings of a "lock-in" effect (Brücker et al. 2023c), as well as demonstrate a trade-off between attending language courses and employment. For women, the unequal distribution of childcare responsibilities means that attending a language course alongside household chores and caring for minor or dependent relatives leaves no time for gainful employment (Ette et al. 2024; Arendt, Bolvig 2023). However, even among those who have completed a language course, there is no statistically significant higher probability of employment than among refugees who have not (yet) attended a language course. However, one question that remains unanswered is how the *quality of employment* differs between those who have attended language courses and those who have not.

Figure 6.2: Associations Between Employment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 who Arrived Between February and May 2022, by Gender



Note: Average marginal effects (in percentage points) of logistic regressions; only individuals of working age between 20 and 50 years, 95% confidence intervals. Models also control for age and date of arrival (month/year) in Germany.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 6, survey cohorts 1 and 2, weighted.

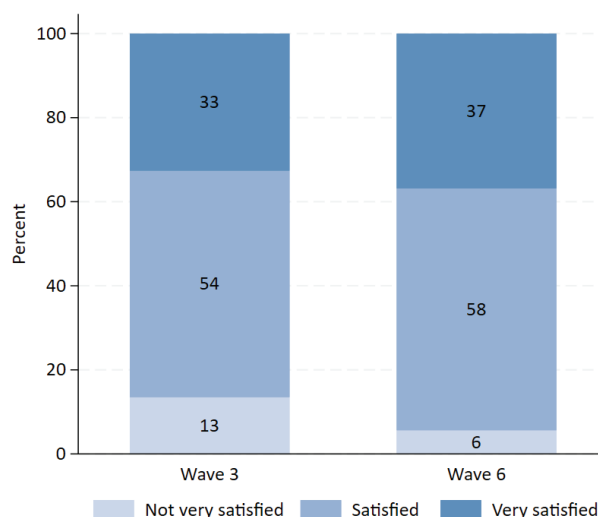
6.3 Development of Satisfaction with the Employment Situation

Previous research has shown that job satisfaction is more than just an influential factor in immigrants' overall life satisfaction. Differences in job satisfaction between immigrants and native workers, as well as developments over time, allow us to draw initial conclusions about the quality of labour market integration (Benedetti, Laureti, Regoli 2021). Overall, it can be assumed that higher-quality employment goes hand in hand with higher job satisfaction. For example, job satisfaction tends to increase when the qualifications and skills of the employee are better-matched to the requirements of the position. A survey of Ukrainian refugees in Brandenburg and Berlin also confirms that, on average, people working in sectors with predominantly low-skilled job profiles (e.g., catering/hospitality, cleaning) are significantly less satisfied with their work than those in sectors with highly skilled job profiles (e.g., IT, arts/culture; Ünzal, Oswald, Lushankina 2023).

The results of the BiB/FReDA-Surveys show that job satisfaction among employed Ukrainians increased within the first three years of their arrival in Germany. In the summer of 2023 and again in early summer 2025, employed refugees who arrived in Germany in the first weeks and months of the war were asked how satisfied they were with their employment situation. Responses were given on a scale ranging from "not at all satisfied" (value 0) to "completely satisfied" (value 10). Within the nearly two years between the two measurement points, average job satisfaction rose significantly from 6.0 in summer 2023 (wave 3) to 6.5 in early summer 2025 (wave 6; figure 6.3). Specifically, the proportion of those who are dissatisfied with their professional situation (0-2 on the scale) fell from 13 per cent in summer 2023 to 6 per cent in early summer 2025. Conversely, the proportion of those who were satisfied (3-7 on the scale) or very satisfied (8-10 on the scale) rose by 4 percentage points within just under two years.

The increasing job satisfaction among Ukrainian refugees is an initial indication that the average quality of employment improved between summer 2023 and early summer 2025. Further analyses based on the BiB/FReDA-Survey show that this

Figure 6.3: Development of Satisfaction with the Professional Situation of Employed Ukrainian Refugees, by Wave (Per Cent)



Note: Only employed individuals between the ages of 20 and 50.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, waves 3 and 6, survey cohort 1, weighted.

improvement in job satisfaction is due, on the one hand, to career progression among those who were employed in both periods. On the other hand, it is also due to new employment relationships among people who were looking for work or attending language courses in 2023 but found employment by early summer 2025. The average job satisfaction of both groups was similar in early summer 2025. However, there are still significant differences compared to existing analyses of job satisfaction among the resident population in Germany (Hammermann 2025). For example, the proportion of refugees who were not very satisfied in early summer 2025 drew near that of the overall population, but was still twice as high as in the overall population. At the upper end of the scale, there was also a convergence among those who were very satisfied. The figure for Ukrainians rose to 37 per cent by early summer 2025, but this was still well below the 49 per cent for the resident population as a whole.

6.4 Labour Market Participation of Later-Arrived Refugees

So far, this chapter has examined the development of employment among Ukrainian refugees who moved to Germany in the first weeks and months of the war, between February and May 2022. In this last section, we shift our perspective to the relationship between the date of arrival of Ukrainian refugees and their labour market participation.

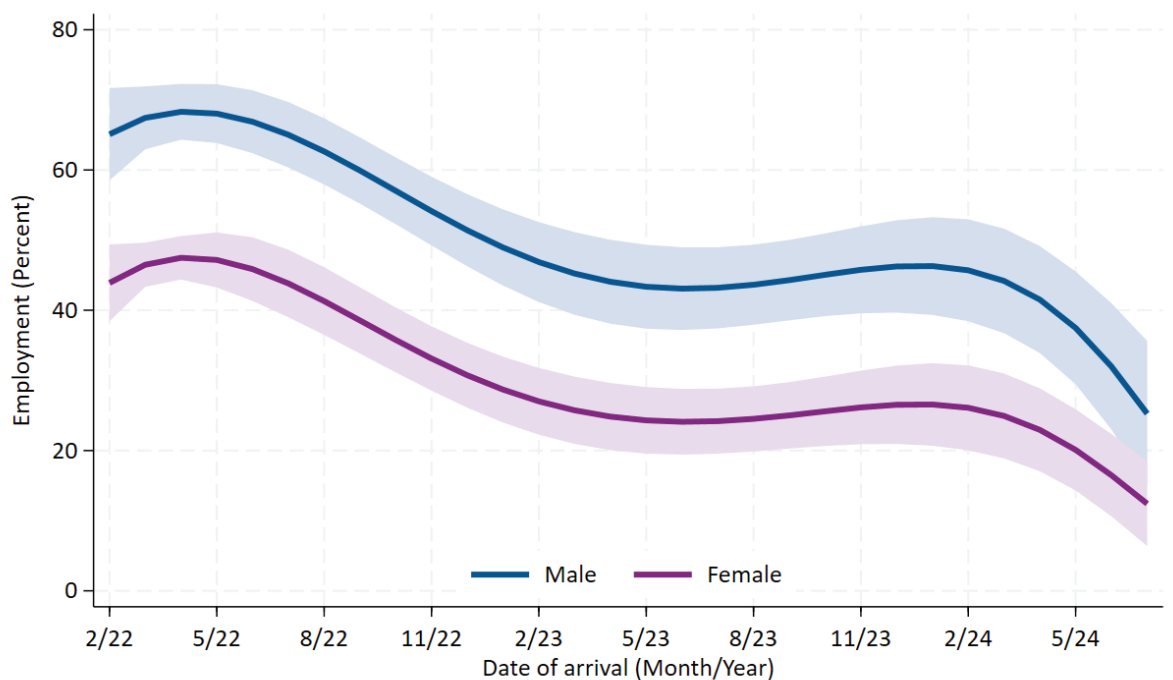
The analyses in this study have shown that the social structure of Ukrainian refugees arriving in Germany has changed as the war has progressed. Those who arrived at the end of 2023 or the beginning of 2024 are, on average, slightly less qualified than earlier arrivals (see Chapter 3). At the same time, the situation in Germany has changed – labour market policy instruments have been adapted to enable refugees to enter the labour market more quickly, while at the same time, economic condi-

tions have deteriorated. How do the changes in the individual characteristics of refugees and the changes in structural conditions in Germany affect the labour market participation of Ukrainians who moved to Germany after May 2022?

The second survey cohort of the BiB/FReDA-Survey, which began in the fall of 2024, allows us to answer this question. It includes Ukrainian refugees, regardless of when they moved to Germany (see Chapter 2). Results from the last survey, conducted between May and July 2025, show a close association between the date of arrival and employment: The earlier Ukrainians sought refuge in Germany since the start of the Russian invasion in February 2022, the higher the probability of employment (Figure 6.4).

At first glance, Figure 6.4 appears to be a mirror image of Figure 6.1, and indeed, the individuals who arrived between February and May 2022 (on the left

Figure 6.4: Labour Market Participation of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Date of Arrival and Gender (Per Cent)



Note: Results of logistic regressions, without controlling for other characteristics of refugees, only individuals of working age between 20 and 50, 95% confidence intervals.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 6, survey cohort 2, weighted.

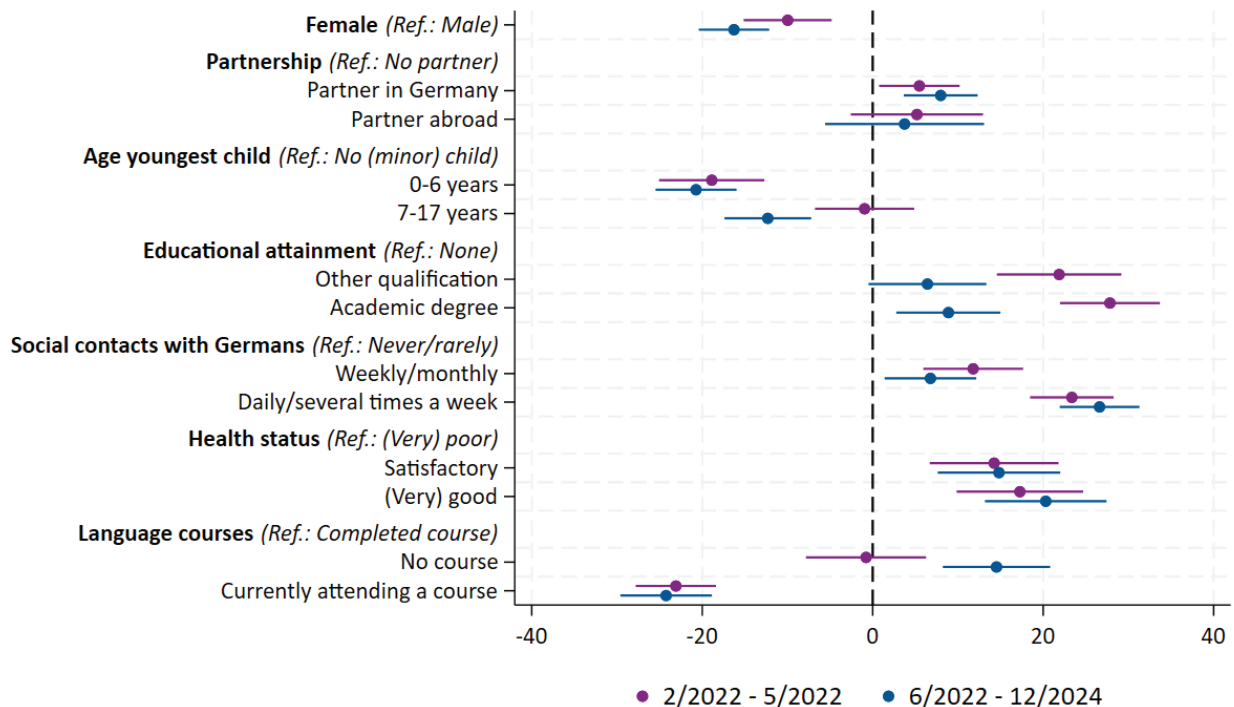
side of Figure 6.4) replicate the previous findings. At the time of the survey between May and July 2025, these individuals had been in Germany for an average of just over three years. The results of the two independent samples (see Chapter 2) are nearly identical. They are 60 per cent for men and 48 per cent for women (Figure 6.4) – which provides additional evidence of the quality of these survey data.

However, there are differences among those who arrived between the end of 2023 and mid-2024. At the time of the last survey, between May and July 2025, they had been living in Germany for just over a year. After this relatively short period, 41 per cent of men and 23 per cent of women were employed. In particular, a significantly lower proportion of men from Ukraine who fled to Germany in the first weeks and months of the war were employed after a similarly long stay in Germany – as shown by the second and third surveys. It appears that refugees who ar-

rived later are making the transition to employment more quickly. Conversely, a slightly lower proportion of those who arrived in Germany a year earlier, at the turn of 2022/23, seem to have already made the transition to employment. Future analyses will reveal whether this was due, for example, to longer waiting times before language courses began.

Therefore, there are some differences between the refugees who arrived at the beginning of the war and those who fled later, when it comes to transitioning into employment. However, the associations between the individual characteristics of the refugees and their employment are largely confirmed. Figure 6.5 shows the associations between selected characteristics of refugees and employment. It distinguishes between refugees who arrived in Germany between February and May 2022 and those who arrived between June 2022 and the end of 2024. With a few exceptions, the associations are

Figure 6.5: Associations Between Employment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Date of Arrival



Note: Average marginal effects (in percentage points) of logistic regressions; only individuals of working age between 20 and 50, 95% confidence intervals. Models also control for age and date of arrival (month/year) in Germany.

Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, wave 6, survey cohorts 1 and 2, weighted.

similar in both groups. Some negative associations, which are more pronounced among refugees who arrived later, have already weakened among those who arrived at the beginning of the war. For example, women are less likely to be in gainful employment than men (-10 percentage points), even among those who arrived at the beginning of the war, but it is already lower than that of those who arrived later (-16 percentage points). It is also striking that the presence of school-age children no longer affects employment among the refugees who have been living in Germany for a longer period of time.

Conversely, the positive influence of educational qualifications on employment is already much stronger among those who arrived between February and June 2022 than among those who arrived later. The differences amount to 22 and 28 percentage points, respectively, for other qualifications and tertiary qualifications in the group of earlier arrivals, compared to 6 and 9 percentage points, respectively, in the group that arrived later. Finally, the group differences regarding language course attendance are interesting. The probability of employment among the group that arrived earlier does not differ from the comparison group that completed a language course. For refugees who arrived later, the opposite is true: Ukrainians who did not attend a language course are more likely to find employment (+14 percentage points) than their compatriots who completed a course. Those who complete a language course first also need more time to find a job that matches their qualifications. In economic terms, they invest more heavily in their human capital and accept higher search costs to ensure their skills match job requirements and thus achieve higher wages – an assumption that requires further analysis.

6.5 Conclusion

The employment rate of Ukrainian refugees rose steadily in the first three years after their arrival in Germany. For Ukrainians who arrived in Germany in the first weeks and months of the war – between February and May 2022 – it stood at 53 per cent overall at the time of the sixth survey in early summer 2025 – 62 per cent of men and 51 per cent of women aged 20 to 50. This means that the labour market integration of Ukrainian refugees has so far been

significantly faster than that of refugees from other countries of origin, and the employment rates of those who arrived early surpass the available forecast scenarios (Kosyakova, Brücker 2024).

At the same time, job satisfaction among Ukrainian refugees increased between summer 2023 and early summer 2025. A subjective indicator such as job satisfaction cannot replace more detailed studies on job quality, such as the permanence of the employment relationship, the scope of work, the fit between training and job requirements or the income earned. However, the findings show that employment quality has clearly improved for those who were already employed in 2023 and for those who have found employment since then. At the same time, job satisfaction among Ukrainian refugees remains far below comparative figures for the German population. Whether this is due to difficulties in recognising previous qualifications or a lack of access to more skilled or secure employment remains to be seen in future analyses.

Given their shorter length of stay, the employment rates of refugees who arrived later in the war are significantly lower than those who arrived at the beginning. Refugees who arrived in Germany at the end of 2022 or beginning of 2023 reportedly experienced a slower transition into the labour market than Ukrainians who arrived earlier. Conversely, refugees who arrived even later (between the end of 2023 and mid-2024) find employment noticeably faster. The cohort perspective chosen here allows for a differentiated analysis of labour market transitions depending on the period of arrival in Germany. Whether the trend of labour market integration among early arrivals will serve as a model for subsequent arrival cohorts will be answered with data from the next BiB/FReDA-Survey waves.

7

Social Integration of Ukrainian Refugees

Johanna Gereke & Karelis Olivo Rumpf

Arriving in a new country entails numerous challenges – from navigating everyday life to entering the labour market, participating in the education system, and engaging in social life. A central aspect of this arrival is refugees' opportunities for social participation, which is crucial for societal inclusion, access to key resources, and individual well-being.

Social integration is a complex and multidimensional process (Carol & Leszczensky 2019). Empirical studies highlight its significance across major life domains. Language proficiency, in particular, is considered key to both occupational and social participation (Paveia Lareiro & Schwarzmüller 2021), as it facilitates social contacts and fosters a sense of belonging (Arnold & Fleischmann 2025; Siegert 2021). Furthermore, successful social integration can help mitigate psychosocial stress and positively impacts psychological and physical well-being (Damen, Dagevos & Huijnk 2024). Migration research often distinguishes four central dimensions of social integration (Esser 2008): *Cultural adaptation*, i.e., the acquisition of knowledge and skills; *Placement*, defined as access to positions and rights in the host country; *Interaction*, meaning the establishment of social contacts in everyday life; and *Identification*, referring to the emotional attachment and sense of belonging to the host society. These dimensions are closely interlinked and together form the basis for successful integration.

This chapter analyses the social integration of adult refugees from Ukraine who arrived in Germany between February and June 2022 and who have been surveyed regularly since late summer 2022 as part of the Ukrainian Refugees in Germany BiB/FReDA-Survey (survey cohort 1; see also Chapter 2). The analyses primarily draw on the sixth survey wave, conducted between May and August 2025. Various survey items that are well established in international research were used to capture the dimensions of *interaction* and *identification*, which are key elements of social integration (see information boxes). The aim is to describe the current state of social integration and to identify central associations that facilitate or hinder this process. The analyses presented here do not allow for causal conclusions, showing only statistical associations.

Examining the dimensions of *interaction* and *identification* provides valuable insights into the individual perceptions and everyday realities of Ukrainians. These insights are important for understanding successful social integration. The study includes both subjective assessments (feelings of being welcome, loneliness, and perceived discrimination as well as regional and national attachment to Germany) and more objective indicators the frequency of social contact with Germans). In doing so, the chapter offers a comprehensive overview of the social integration of Ukrainian refugees in Germany and identifies factors that may facilitate it.

7.1 Feeling Welcome in Germany

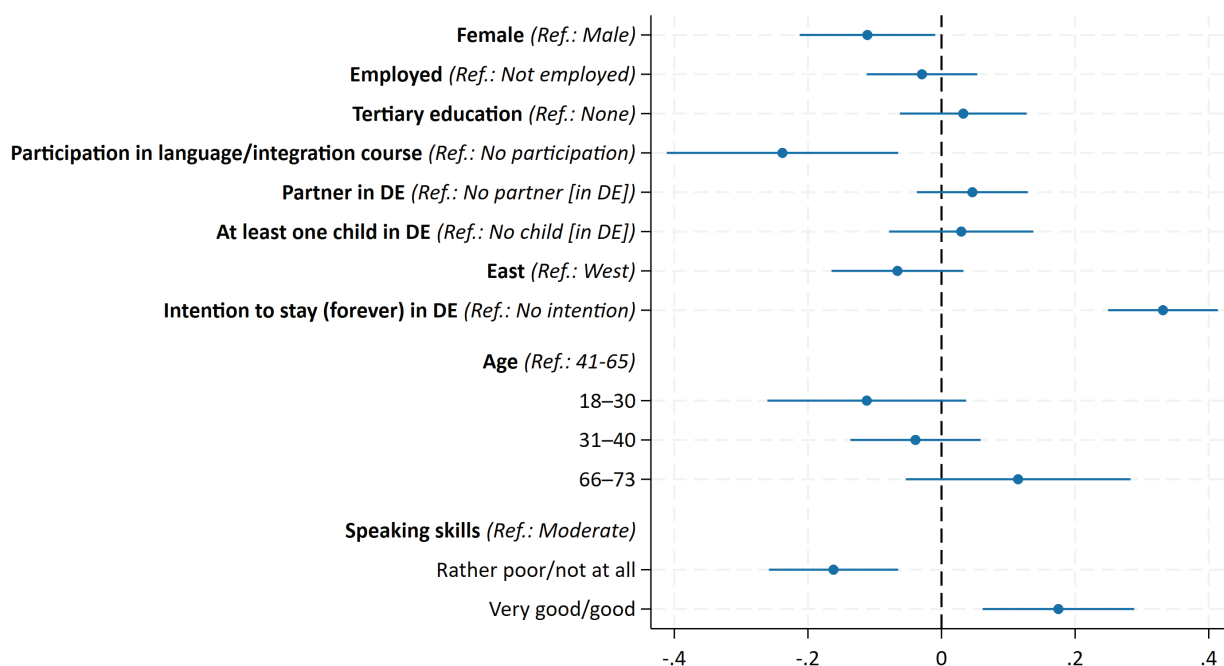
The personal feeling of being welcome reflects how emotionally accepted and included refugees feel in society. It is closely related to mental health and the subjective sense of belonging (Hosari et al. 2022) and is therefore considered a key indicator of successful social integration (Ager & Strang 2008). In early summer 2025, around 32 per cent of Ukrainian refugees stated that they felt “mostly” or “completely” welcome, while 18 per cent reported feeling “hardly” or “not at all” welcome. Immediately after their arrival in Germany – at the time of the first survey in late summer 2022 – the picture was more positive: At that time, a total of 76 per cent of respondents said they felt “mostly” or “completely” welcome, while only 7 per cent reported feeling “hardly” or “not at all” welcome (Brücker et al. 2023a). The initial feeling of welcome among many Ukrainian refugees in Germany has declined noticeably over time, a trend also observed among other

refugee groups (Scheible, Schacht & Trübswetter 2016). This decline may indicate that expectations have not been fulfilled or that political and social conditions in Germany have changed.

Measurement of feeling welcome in waves 1-6
How welcome do you feel in Germany?
1 "Completely", 2 "Mostly", 3 "Partly", 4 "Hardly", 5 "Not at all"

Figure 7.1 shows the analysis of selected characteristics of Ukrainian refugees and how these characteristics relate to their sense of feeling welcome in Germany, based on the survey conducted in early summer 2025. Notably, women tend to feel less welcome than men. Another relevant factor is the intention to stay: Refugees planning to stay in Germany permanently feel more welcome than

Figure 7.1: Associations Between the Feeling of Being Welcome and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025

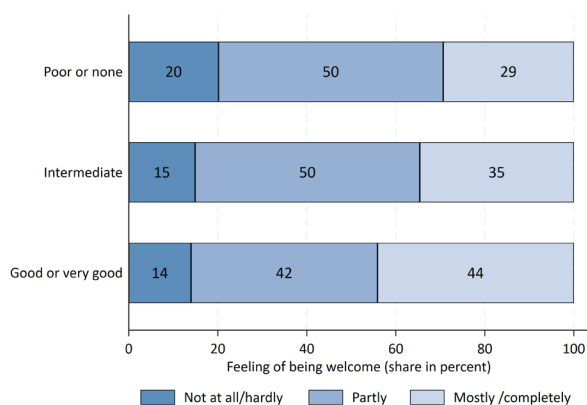


Note: Multivariate linear regression results with average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals, in percentage points.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

those without such plans. Language proficiency also appears to play a key role. Ukrainian refugees with better spoken German language skills in early summer 2025 reported feeling significantly more welcome. Our analyses in this chapter focus on spoken German – as opposed to comprehension and writing – which is particularly relevant, as oral communication enables active participation, conveys self-efficacy, and contributes substantially to the subjective sense of belonging (Blake, Bennetts Kneebone & McLeod 2019). It is thus a key prerequisite for social interaction in everyday life. Interestingly, however, there is a negative association between participation in language or integration courses and the feeling of being welcome. This may suggest that participants are still in the early stages of arrival, face more frequent institutional demands and adaptation pressures, or assess their sense of belonging more critically than non-participants do.

Figure 7.2 shows the relationship between feeling welcome and proficiency in the German language in detail. Refugees with very good or good speaking skills are considerably more likely to report feeling welcome (44 per cent) than those with intermediate (35 per cent) or poor (29 per cent) speaking skills. Thus, language skills not only improve communication but are also linked to a stronger sense of societal belonging.

Figure 7.2: Feeling Welcome Among Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by German-Speaking Skills (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

7.2 Social Contacts with Germans

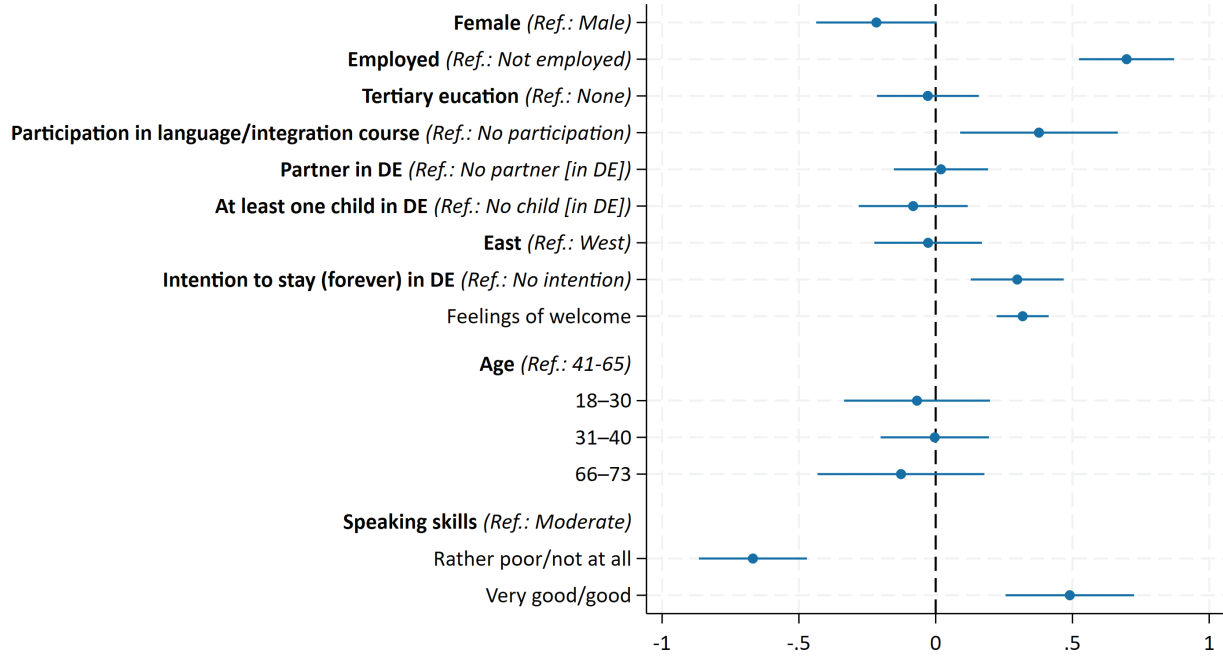
Social contacts with Germans play a central role in the integration of refugees. They facilitate access to information about social structures and everyday norms and provide both emotional and practical support during the process of settling in Germany (Brücker et al. 2023a; Niehues, Rother & Siegert 2021).

The results on contact frequency from the fifth survey wave at the end of 2024 (the question was not repeated in the sixth wave in 2025) show considerable variation: Thirty-six per cent of respondents reported spending time with Germans very frequently (several times a week to daily), 47 per cent weekly to rarely, and 17 per cent never had contact with Germans. Compared to late summer 2022, shortly after their arrival, the data suggest that frequent contact between Ukrainian refugees and Germans slightly decreased with a longer duration of stay (Brücker et al. 2023a). At that time, 44 per cent reported very frequent contact, 41 per cent occasional contact, and 15 per cent none at all.

Measurement of contact with Germans in waves 1-5
How often do you spend time with German people?
0 "Never", 1 "Rarely", 2 "Monthly", 3 "Weekly", 4 "Several times per week", 5 "Daily"

Similar to the feeling of being welcomed, the intention to stay is linked to the frequency of social contact: Refugees who plan to stay in Germany permanently report having more frequent contact with Germans than those without such plans (Figure 7.3). Again, language proficiency is a key factor. Proficiency in spoken German facilitates the establishment of social connections. Ukrainian refugees with very good or good speaking skills, as well as those who have participated in at least one language or integration course since their arrival, are much more likely to have contact with the German population. For example, 41 per cent of those with good or very good German language skills report daily contact with Germans, compared to 24 per cent with intermediate skills and only 13 per cent with poor or no skills (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.3: Associations Between the Frequency of Social Contacts with Germans and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees, Autumn/Winter 2024



Note: Multivariate linear regression results with average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals, in percentage points.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 5, weighted.

Employment status reveals a similar pattern: Employed refugees have more frequent contact with Germans (Figure 7.4). Thirty-six per cent of employed refugees spend time with Germans on a daily basis, compared to only 12 per cent of those without work. Meanwhile, 60 per cent of the non-employed report never, rarely, or only monthly contact with Germans, compared to 37 per cent among the employed. Language proficiency and employment are therefore key factors for social contact – a finding confirmed by earlier studies and for other refugee groups as well (Siegert 2019; Niehues, Rother & Siegert 2021).

7.3 Loneliness Among Ukrainian Refugees

Loneliness describes the subjective perception of not being socially embedded and can occur even when objective social contacts exist (Eckhard & Siegert 2024; Rüdél & Joly 2024). The current survey shows that almost half of the Ukrainian refugees

Measurement of feelings of loneliness in waves 1-6

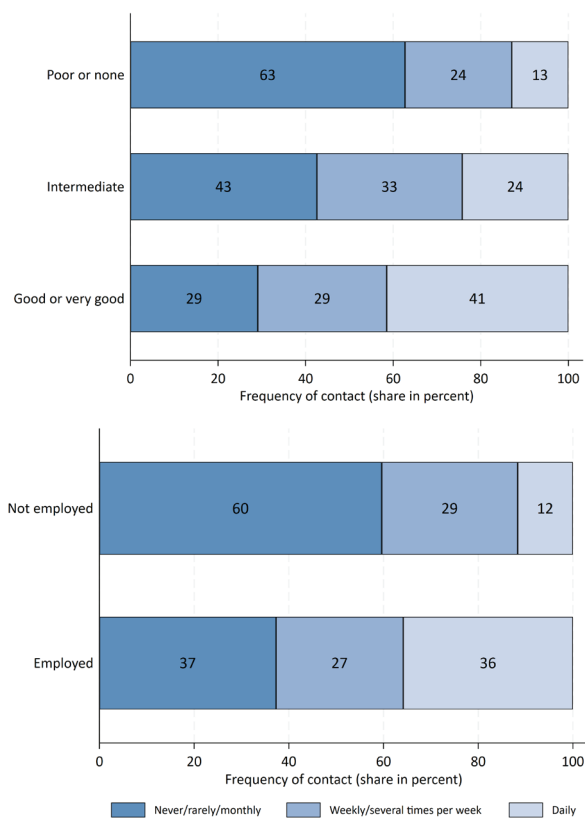
To what extent does the following statement apply to you? Please answer using a scale again. A value of 1 means: does not apply at all, a value of 5 means: applies completely.

I feel alone.

who participated in the survey feel rarely or not at all lonely (47 per cent; values 1-2 on a 5-point scale). At the same time, about one-fifth (23 per cent) reported feeling very lonely (values 4-5). In late summer 2022, shortly after their arrival in Germany, perceived loneliness was at a similar level: 45 per cent felt a little lonely and 26 per cent very lonely (Brücker et al. 2023a).

As with the previous indicators of social integration, language barriers also play a central role in feelings of loneliness: Those with poor or no German language skills report feeling lonely far more often than refugees with intermediate proficiency

Figure 7.4: Frequency of Contacts with Germans, Autumn/Winter 2024, by Spoken German Proficiency and Employment Status (Per Cent)



Note: The upper graph shows contact frequency by spoken German proficiency, and the lower one by employment status.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 5, weighted.

(Figure 7.5). Family situation also matters: Singles and those whose partners do not live in Germany feel lonelier than those currently living with their partners in Germany. Interestingly, older refugees aged 66 and over report feelings of loneliness less frequently, while refugees under 40 are more likely to experience loneliness than those aged 41 to 65.

Having regular contact with Germans is associated with lower levels of loneliness: Sixty per cent of respondents who have daily contact with Germans report feeling hardly or not at all lonely, while only 15 per cent in this group report experiencing strong loneliness (Figure 7.6). In contrast, 26 per cent of those who never, rarely, or only monthly have contact with Germans feel mostly lonely.

7.4 Perceived Discrimination Among Ukrainian Refugees

The perception of discrimination negatively affects the sense of belonging and trust in the host society. It can hinder social participation and is therefore an important indicator of unsuccessful integration (Schaeffer & Kas 2024). In early summer 2025, a majority (54 per cent) of Ukrainian refugees reported that they rarely experienced discrimination; 38 per cent said they never experienced it, and 8 per cent said they often did – indicating a generally moderate but tangible presence of discriminatory experiences in everyday life. In early 2023, about one year after arrival, the picture was still somewhat more positive: At that time, most respondents (60 per cent) stated they had never experienced discrimination, 36 per cent rarely, and only 4 per cent often. This development suggests that experiences of discrimination have increased over time.

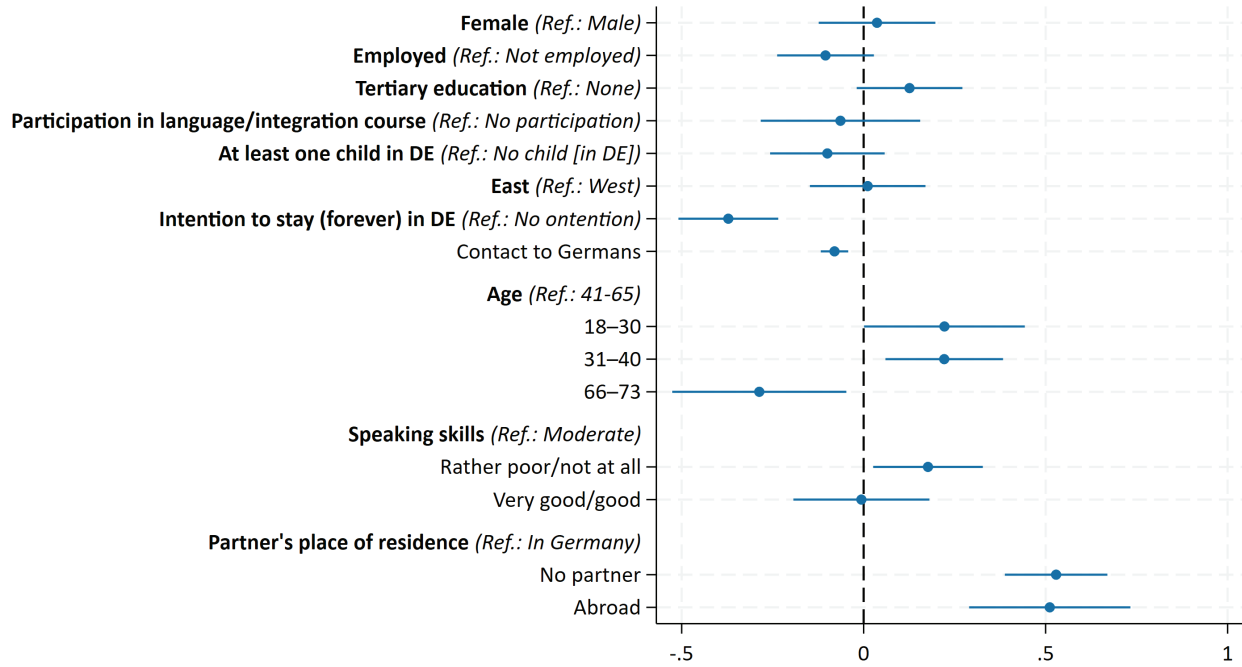
Measurement of the frequency of experiences of discrimination in waves 2-6

How often have you personally experienced discrimination in Germany because of your origin?

1 "Frequently" 2 "Rarely" 3 "Never"

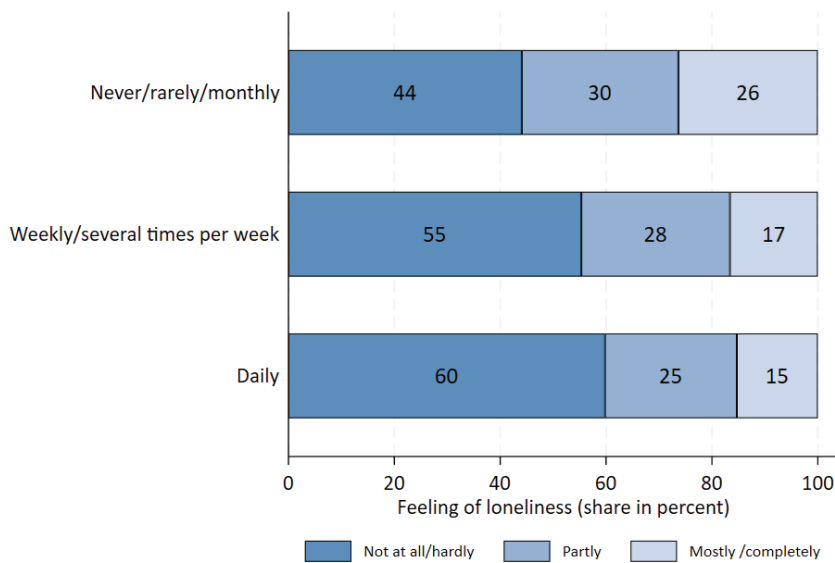
The data show that Ukrainian refugees in Germany experience discrimination at varying rates depending on individual characteristics (Figure 7.7). Younger refugees report experiencing discrimination more frequently than older ones. Furthermore, there is a connection between perceived discrimination and the intention to stay: Refugees planning to stay in Germany permanently report experiencing discrimination less often than those without such plans.

Figure 7.5: Associations Between Loneliness and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025



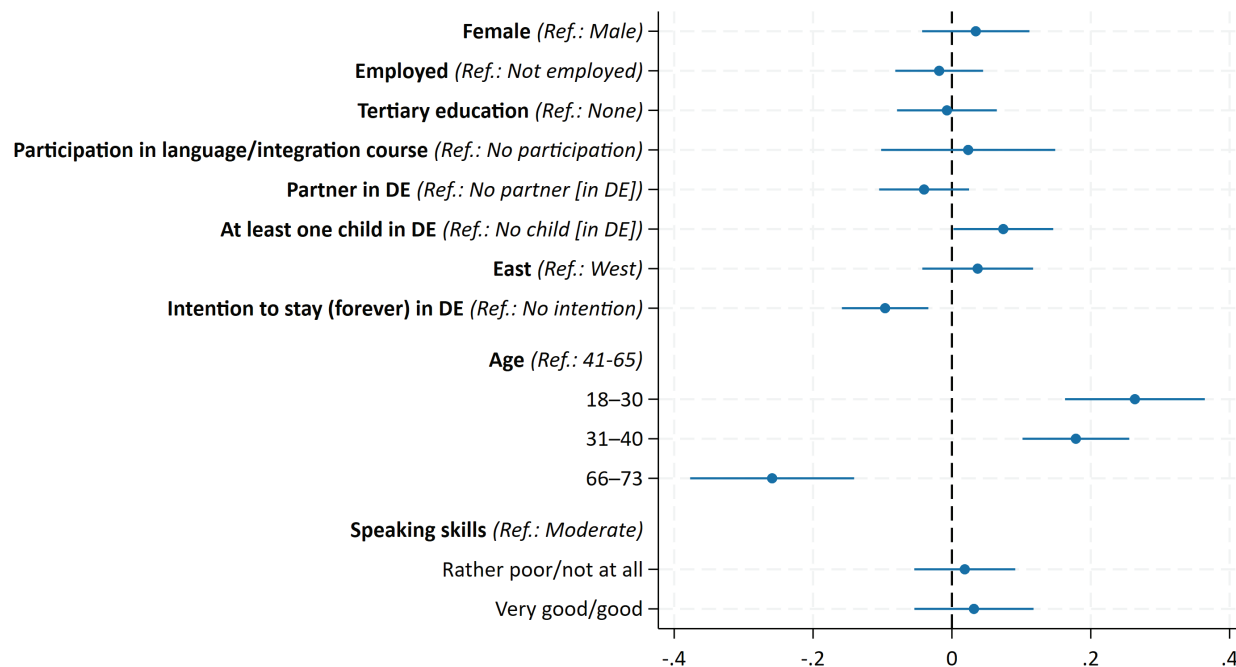
Note: Multivariate linear regression results with average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals, in percentage points.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

Figure 7.6: Loneliness Among Ukrainian Refugees in Winter 2024, by Frequency of Contacts with Germans (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 5, weighted.

Figure 7.7: Associations Between Experiences of Discrimination and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025



Note: Multivariate linear regression results with average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals, in percentage points.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

7.5 Emotional Attachment of Ukrainian Refugees to Germany

Emotional attachment to the host society is considered a key indicator of successful social integration. It fosters identification, belonging, and long-term participation, reflecting the extent to which refugees perceive themselves as part of society (Esser 2008; Schaeffer & Kas 2024).

The results show that a relative majority of Ukrainian refugees feel only weakly attached to their municipality of residence in Germany (i.e., regional attachment; 41 per cent) and to Germany as a whole (i.e., national attachment; 47 per cent). About 37 per cent report feeling fairly attached – both regionally and nationally – while a very strong attachment is rather rare, at 6 per cent regionally and 4 per cent nationally. Overall, these results indicate a weak emotional bond with the host society, which is somewhat stronger regionally than nationally.

About a year after arriving in Germany (third survey wave), many Ukrainian refugees already reported low attachment to Germany (mean value 1.94, own calculations; not shown). Over time, national attachment increased moderately: After about 500 days, the mean value was 2.07, after 600 days 2.17, and after roughly 900 days 2.35. Even after three years (the sixth survey wave), national attachment remains at a low-to-moderate level overall. These results underscore that regional and national attachment is still developing and that it takes time for refugees to truly feel at home in Germany.

Measurement of regional and national attachment in waves 3-6

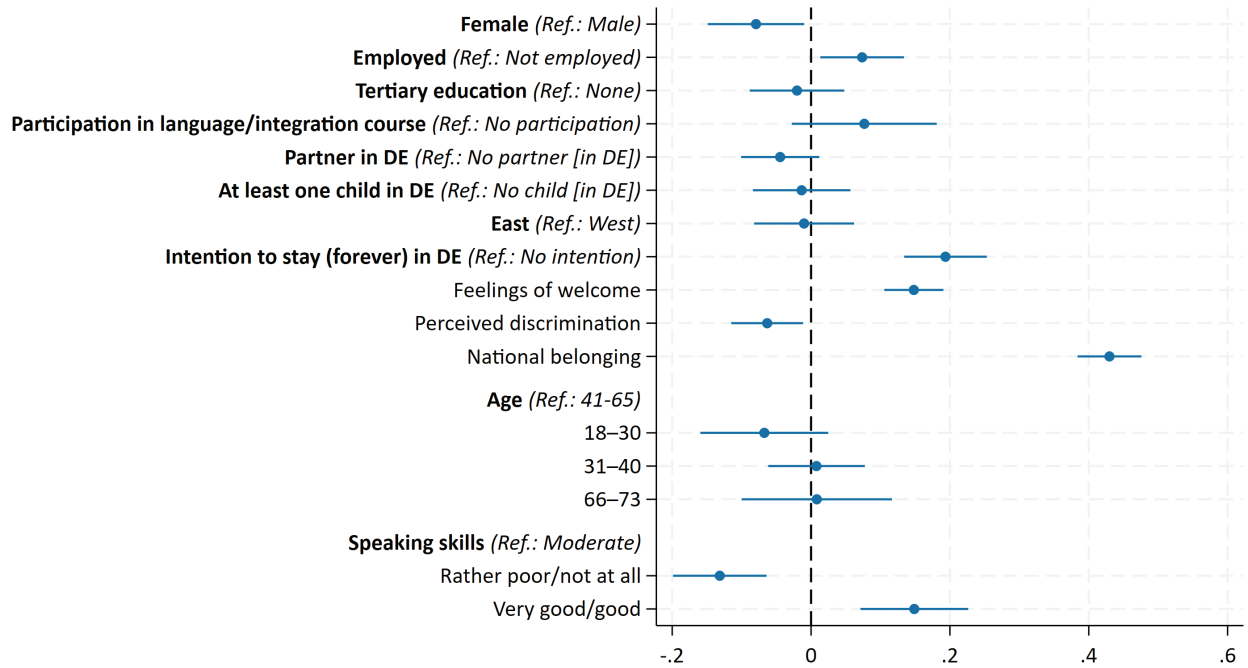
How strongly do you feel connected to...

...your municipality/city and its citizens?

...Germany as a whole and its citizens?

1 "Strongly attached", 2 "Fairly attached", 3 "Somewhat attached", 4 "Not at all attached"

Figure 7.8: Associations Between Regional Attachment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025

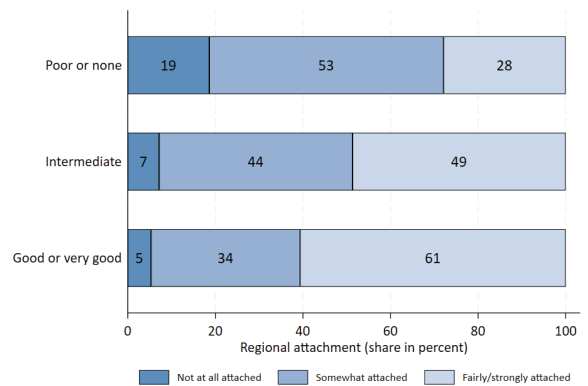


Note: Multivariate linear regression results with average marginal effects and 95% confidence intervals, in percentage points.
Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

A noteworthy finding is that refugees with a permanent intention to stay demonstrate a stronger regional attachment than those without such plans. This suggests that regional integration and long-term prospects are closely linked (Figure 7.8). Language skills also play a crucial role: Refugees with poor or no ability to speak German feel significantly less attached to their municipality than those with intermediate German language skills. Conversely, those with (very) good spoken German report a stronger sense of attachment. Additionally, refugees who are employed more frequently express a stronger regional attachment than those who are not working.

Figure 7.9 illustrates the relationship between regional attachment and spoken German language skills in detail. Only 28 per cent of respondents with low speaking proficiency feel fairly or very attached to their municipality in Germany. This proportion increases to 49 per cent among those with intermediate skills and to 61 per cent among those with good or very good spoken German.

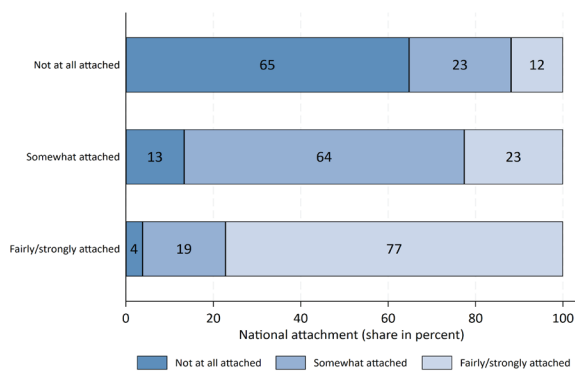
Figure 7.9: Regional Attachment of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Spoken German Proficiency (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

The data also reveal a close connection between regional and national attachments: Seventy-six per cent of refugees who feel fairly or strongly attached to their municipality also report a similarly strong attachment to Germany (Figure 7.10). In contrast, only 23 per cent of those with little regional attachment and just 13 per cent of those with no regional attachment report a strong emotional attachment to Germany.

Figure 7.10: Attachment to Germany by Regional Attachment Among Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 (Per Cent)



Source: BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, wave 6, weighted.

7.6 Conclusion

The social integration of refugees in the host country is closely linked to successful labour-market integration, higher life satisfaction, and stable intentions to stay (Ager & Strang 2008; Hainmueller, Hangartner & Lawrence 2016). It encompasses several aspects, including social contacts, feelings of being welcome, perceptions of discrimination, loneliness, and regional attachment to one's municipality and to Germany as a whole.

Based on the most recent data from the BiB/FReDA-Survey, the chapter examined how various factors are associated with indicators of social integration among adult refugees from Ukraine who arrived in Germany between February and June 2022 (survey cohort 1). The results present a clear picture: In particular, spoken German proficiency proves to be a key factor for social integration. Social contacts with the majority population play a dual role; they seem to foster both the acquisition of language skills and the feeling of being welcome. Employment also appears to contribute to social integration, as it creates opportunities for everyday contact and is associated with lower feelings of loneliness.

These findings highlight the importance of accessible opportunities for language learning and social interaction. At the same time, integration measures must also facilitate access to the labour market, as employment may promote not only economic but also social participation of Ukrainian refugees in Germany.

Return, Onward, and Internal Migration of Ukrainian Refugees

Lenore Sauer

After the first year of the war, it became evident that a growing number of Ukrainian refugees who fled to Germany three and a half years ago had to shift their perspective from temporary to long-term residence in Germany (Brücker et al. 2023c). The expected duration of stay is of central importance for planning and providing support and integration measures for refugees. Furthermore, research shows that there is a close relationship between the successful integration of migrants and their well-being in the host country on the one hand, and their intentions to return or to stay on the other hand (Haas, Fokkema & Fihri 2015; Wachter & Fleischmann 2018). Social participation and well-being may also be related to housing situations (Braun & Dwenger 2020; Hanhörster & Wessendorf 2020). Since refugees often have limited opportunities to arrange and personalise their living space, moving house offers an opportunity to better adapt their living environment to their needs and life circumstances (Tanis 2022). Therefore, internal migration within Germany can also play a significant role in successful integration.

There are already initial findings on both return migration to Ukraine as well as internal migration, which usually refer to the situation a few months or one and a half years after arrival in the host country (Ette et al. 2023; Siegert et al. 2023). As the duration of stay increases, however, these types of migration change. This chapter therefore examines the development of international migration (i.e., return

to Ukraine and migration to third countries) as well as internal migration (i.e., moves within Germany) of Ukrainian refugees within the first three years after their arrival in Germany. The aim is to capture the extent and reasons for the various types of migration throughout the survey waves and to identify the connections between key individual socio-demographic characteristics and the respective types of migration.

The following subchapters are structured in such a way that migration intentions are discussed first. These often serve as an indication of actual migration behaviour, which many data sets cannot capture because respondents are typically not followed across national borders. In contrast, the BiB/FReDA-Survey offers a great opportunity to also track and continue surveying Ukrainians who have permanently or temporarily returned to Ukraine, migrated onward to another country, or moved within Germany. The following analyses focus on Ukrainian refugees who moved to Germany between February and June 2022 (survey cohort 1) and who have been surveyed regularly since late summer 2022 as part of the BiB/FReDA-Survey, so that initial developments can be tracked over time (see also Chapter 2).

8.1 Return and Onward Migration Intentions of Ukrainian Refugees

Studies on the return intentions of Ukrainian refugees are now available for various European destination countries (Hernes et al. 2024; van Tubergen et al. 2024b). For Germany, initial analyses show that

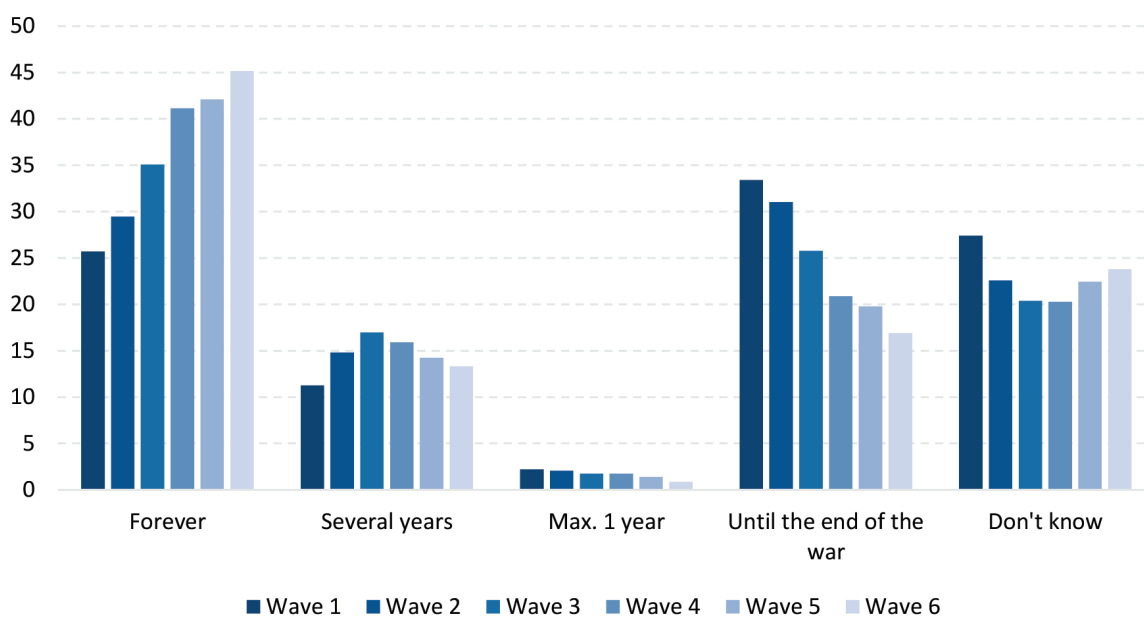
intentions to stay vary with the length of stay and tend to increase over time (Ette et al. 2023; Kosyakova, Rother & Zinn 2025) – a finding that is also supported by previous research on refugees (Müller-Funk & Fransen 2023; Al Husein & Wagner 2023).

In early summer 2025, the proportion of those who wanted to stay in Germany permanently or for several years – i.e., who had no immediate intention to return – was 59 per cent (Figure 8.1), an increase of 22 percentage points compared to late summer 2022. At the same time, the proportion of those who wanted to stay only until the end of the war decreased from 33 per cent to around 17 per cent over the same period. The proportion of those who remained uncertain stayed relatively constant, between 20 and 25 per cent, since spring 2023. To avoid bias caused by those who had already returned, the initial intentions to stay expressed in late summer 2022 are examined only for those who were still in Germany in early summer 2025. Here, too, there is a significant increase in long-term intentions to stay (from 43 to 59 per cent) and a decline in the proportion of those who only wanted to stay until the end of the war (from 29 to 17 per cent).

Those who stated that they wanted to stay in Germany for a maximum of one year or until the end of the war were asked which country they would like to move to. The majority intended to return to Ukraine, although a certain proportion could also imagine living in both Ukraine and Germany. Only a small number were uncertain about their future place of residence or considered onward migration to a country other than Ukraine (not shown). Since the surveys conducted in spring 2023, there has been a slight shift: The proportion of those who wanted to return to Ukraine has decreased modestly (from 85 to 79 per cent), while the share of those who were uncertain about their future place of residence has increased slightly (from 13 to 18 per cent). When including those who expressed the wish to return only after several years or were still undecided, the proportion of potential returnees was 49 per cent in early summer 2025. At the same time, the proportion of those who were uncertain about their future place of residence remained relatively high at 47 per cent.

It is difficult to consider intentions as an indicator of possible return, and the few studies available so far provide inconsistent findings as to whether

Figure 8.1: Development of Intentions to Stay Among Ukrainian Refugees 2022-2025 (Per Cent)



Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, weighted.

intentions to stay or to return are reliable predictors of actual behaviour. Some studies suggest that initial intentions to return may be an important driver of return behaviour, but are often influenced by conditions in the country of origin, including security, stability, and employment opportunities (Alrababah et al. 2023; Hammer et al. 2025). These factors can cause refugees to postpone their plans to return, just as unexpected life-course events, such as caring for relatives, can prompt return among those who previously had no such intention. In the BiB/FReDA-Survey, between 1 and 4 per cent of respondents in each wave stated that they had returned to Ukraine. Only a very small proportion – between 0.5 and 1 per cent – migrated onward to a third country. Overall, since the first survey, slightly more than 11 per cent of Ukrainian refugees have returned to Ukraine, and another 3 per cent have moved on to a third country. It should be noted that, compared to register data, the proportion of the mobile population is probably underestimated in the available survey data, as the willingness to participate in follow-up surveys generally decreases with mobility, and, in particular, when moving away from Germany. Current data from the Central Register of Foreigners (AZR) show that around three-quarters of Ukrainian nationals who entered Germany between 24 February 2022 and 30 June 2024 were still registered as residing in Germany at the end of June 2024, around 15 per cent had moved abroad (again), and around 8 per cent were listed in the register as “moved to unknown address” (Siegert 2025).

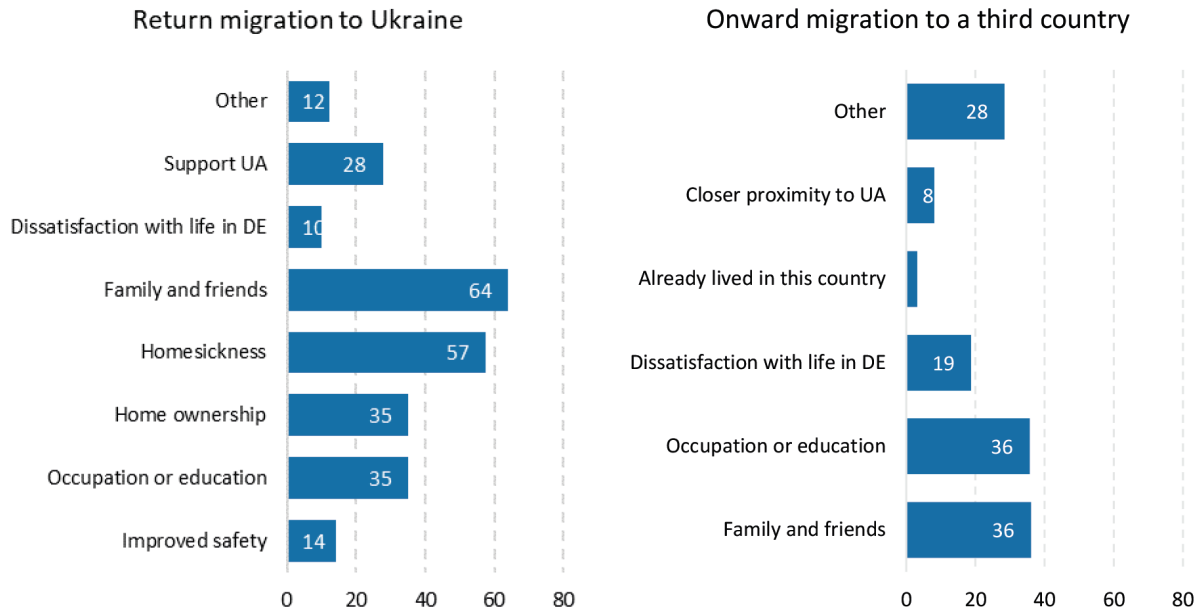
The actual return and onward migration rates, at 1 to 4 per cent and 0.5 to 1 per cent respectively, are considerably lower than the previously expressed intentions. However, looking instead at the initially stated migration intentions of those who did in fact return during the course of the survey, about 67 per cent of the returnees had indicated in the initial survey in late summer 2022 that they intended to stay in Germany for a maximum of one year or until the end of the war, while only 11 per cent had expressed long-term intentions to stay.

8.2 Reasons for Return and Onward Migration Among Ukrainian Refugees

To better understand the decisions to return or migrate further, the BiB/FReDA-Surveys can be used to analyse either the reasons given for migration or the associated socio-demographic characteristics. Since there are few cases of return and onward migration, the reasons reported at all survey dates are aggregated. Previous research based on the first three surveys shows that family-related reasons were decisive for the return decisions of Ukrainian refugees (Ette et al. 2023). This finding is confirmed when the first six survey waves are taken into account. Family and friendship ties (64 per cent) play a major role in the decision to return to Ukraine, as do feelings of belonging to Ukraine, expressed through homesickness (57 per cent), and the desire to support the home country (28 per cent). Checking the condition of one’s property in Ukraine is also an important factor (35 per cent; Figure 8.2). Dissatisfaction with life in Germany and a potential improvement in safety in the country of origin, on the other hand, play a comparatively minor role. The importance of the latter motive even declines over the course of the survey period. Family and friends (36 per cent) and occupation- or education-related reasons (36 per cent) also appear to influence onward migration to third countries. Dissatisfaction with life in Germany was mentioned by one in five of those who migrated onward. Differences in the frequency of reported reasons between the two migration types may also result from the fact that respondents typically mentioned two to three reasons for return to Ukraine, but only one reason for onward migration.

The analysis of socio-demographic characteristics largely confirms the reported reasons for return or onward migration (Figure 8.3). It demonstrates that parenthood negatively affects the likelihood of international migration: Refugees with children in the household are significantly less likely to return or migrate onward. In the case of international migration from Germany – whether to Ukraine or to a third country – the family constellation, particularly the partner’s place of residence in the wave preceding return or onward migration, plays a major role. If the partner lives in Ukraine, the probability of returning there increases by around 6.0 percentage points. If both partners reside in Germany, this

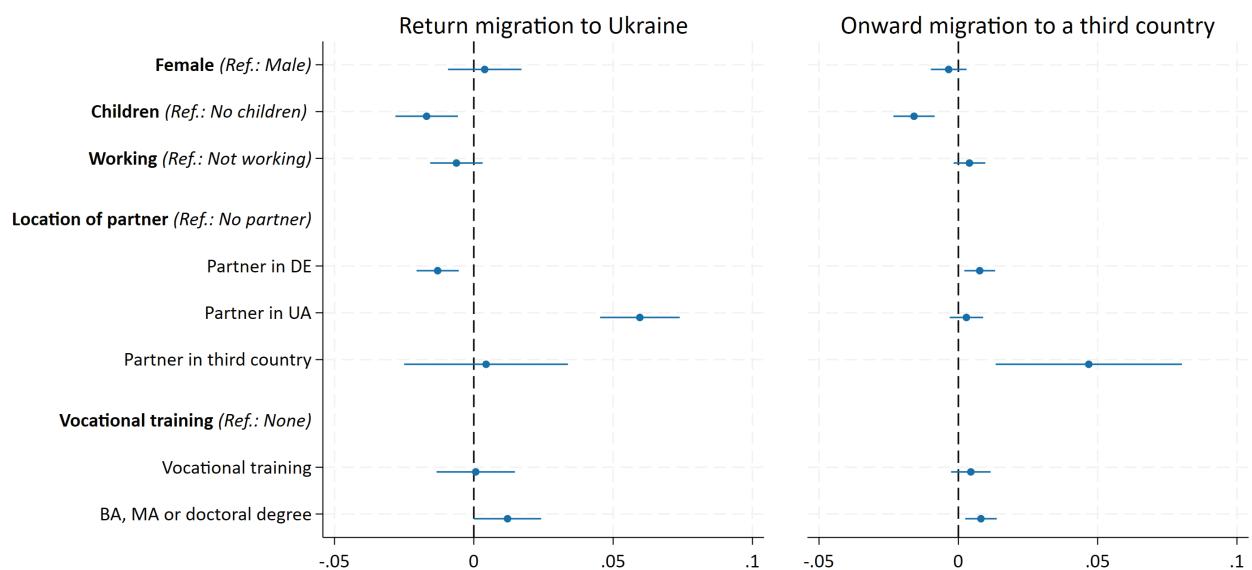
Figure 8.2: Reasons for Return or Onward Migration Among Ukrainian Refugees, Multiple Answers Possible (Per Cent)



Note: Multiple answers were possible, meaning that the total exceeds 100 per cent. In the sixth wave of the survey, health reasons could also be mentioned as reasons for return for the first time. As the number of cases for one wave are too low, health reasons are not shown.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, weighted.

Figure 8.3: Associations Between Returning to Ukraine or Onward Migration to a Third Country Compared to Non-Migrants by Individual Characteristics



Note: Multivariate binary logistic regression results with robust standard errors. For mobile Ukrainians, all characteristics refer to the last available wave before the move; for those who have never been mobile, they refer to the last available wave. Average marginal effects in percentage points with 95% confidence interval.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, unweighted.

probability decreases by approximately 1.3 percentage points. If the partner lives in a third country, onward migration to that country becomes significantly more likely. These analyses thus underscore the importance of family-related reasons for return and onward migration decisions expressed by respondents themselves. Furthermore, the analyses indicate that individuals with higher professional qualifications are more likely to return to Ukraine or migrate onward to a third country than those without such qualifications.

8.3 Moving Intentions of Ukrainian Refugees in Germany

In Germany and other European countries of destination, the spatial distribution and type of accommodation for refugees are regulated by the state immediately after their arrival (Wiedner & Schaefer 2025). Thus, the housing situation of refugees is largely determined by official allocation procedures (Tanis 2022). Unlike refugees undergoing asylum

procedures, Ukrainian refugees were initially not subject to any legal restrictions regarding their choice of residence. However, since 1 June 2022, residence regulations have also been extended to those who are unable to support themselves financially and who receive social welfare benefits. Results from the first survey in late summer 2022 show that only 16 per cent of Ukrainian refugees stated that they had been assigned their current place of residence (Brücker et al. 2023a). Consequently, some Ukrainian refugees have moved within Germany during the first three years following their arrival.

During the first four survey waves, respondents were asked to rate their likelihood of moving within Germany. They could answer on a scale from zero (“very unlikely”) to ten (“very likely”). Scores from zero to three were grouped as “very unlikely,” four to six as “somewhat likely,” and seven to ten as “very likely.” The data on the probability of moving within Germany are relatively constant regardless of the time of the survey. About 90 per cent of

Table 8.1: Probability of Ukrainian Refugees Moving Over Time (Per Cent)

	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave3	Wave 4
(Very) unlikely	91	89	91	92
Somewhat likely	6	8	6	5
(Very) likely	3	3	3	3
N	11,497	6,632	2,621	2,714

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-4, weighted.

Table 8.2: Extent of Different Types of Migration Among Ukrainian Refugees Over Time (Per Cent)

	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6
No move	79	79	80	84	90
Return to Ukraine	2	4	3	1	1
Onward migration to a third country	0	1	1	1	1
Moving across municipal boundaries in Germany	2	2	2	3	3
Moving within the same municipality in Germany	17	14	13	11	5
N	6,817	2,821	2,924	2,735	2,563

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, weighted.

respondents considered moving within Germany as very unlikely, with 77 per cent selecting a value of zero. Six to seven per cent considered it as somewhat likely, and three to four per cent as very likely (Table 8.1). These results suggest that respondents are more inclined to consider returning to Ukraine or migrating to a third country than moving within Germany.

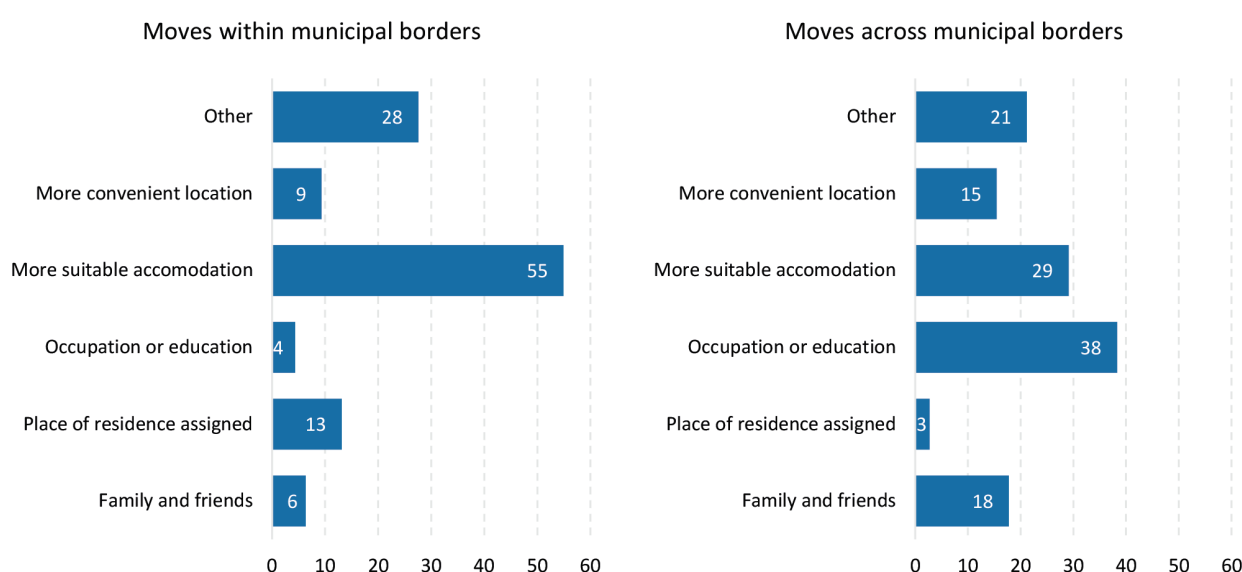
Around 15 per cent of respondents reported having moved within Germany at least once before the first survey in late summer 2022. Initial analyses based on the first two survey waves show that internal migration generally occurs within the same municipality (Siegert et al. 2023). This is also confirmed by our current analyses: In each survey, between 10 and 20 per cent of respondents stated that they had moved. The vast majority moved within the same municipality in Germany, while approximately 2 per cent moved across municipal boundaries (Table 8.2). Across the surveys, the frequency of moving appears to be decreasing. About half of the respondents who participated in the survey in early summer 2025 had moved at least once within

Germany during the survey period. Including those who had already moved once before the first survey increases this proportion to 58 per cent. Unlike international migration, where intentions to stay or return tend to underestimate actual migration behaviour, the results of internal migration show that many respondents who considered their probability of moving to be very low nevertheless moved.

8.4 Reasons for Moving Within Germany Among Ukrainian Refugees

When moves within Germany are considered collectively across all surveys, every second mobile respondent indicates that relocating within municipal boundaries was motivated by the search for more suitable accommodation. Four out of ten respondents primarily cite occupation- or education-related reasons for moving across municipal boundaries, a trend that has become more significant over the course of the survey (Figure 8.4). This also reflects the increasing employment participation of Ukrainian refugees (see also Chapter 6).

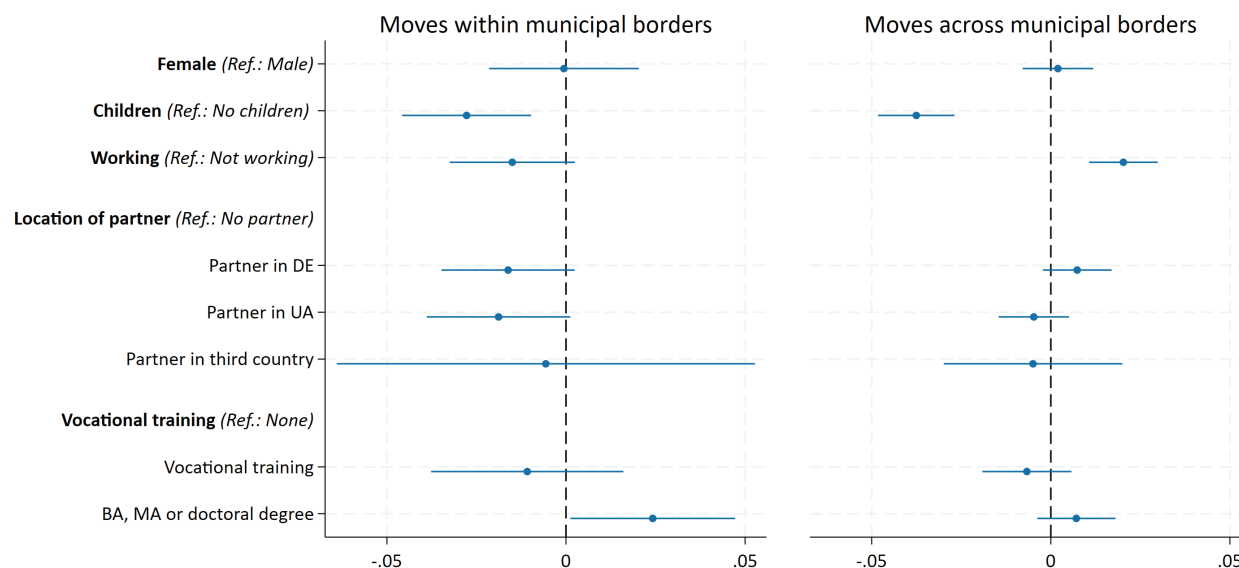
Figure 8.4 Reasons for Moving Within Germany Among Ukrainian Refugees, Multiple Answers Possible (Per Cent)



Note: Multiple answers were possible, meaning that the total exceeds 100 per cent.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, weighted.

Figure 8.5: Associations Between Moves Within Germany Compared to Non-Migrants by Individual Characteristics



Note: Multivariate binary logistic regression results with robust standard errors. For mobile Ukrainians, all characteristics refer to the last available wave before the move; for those who have never been mobile, they refer to the last available wave. Average marginal effects in percentage points with 95% confidence interval.

Source: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Survey, waves 1-2; BiB/FReDA-Survey, survey cohort 1, waves 3-6, unweighted.

Similar to return and onward migration, the analysis of internal migration shows that parents are significantly less likely to have moved within Germany (Figure 8.5). Unlike international migration, the partner's place of residence does not appear to be a decisive factor. This aligns with the low importance of family reasons for internal migration reported by respondents. For moves within Germany, the analyses reveal that those who are employed have a significantly higher probability of being mobile, reflecting the significance of work-related reasons.

8.5 Conclusion

In summary, the data indicate that the desire of Ukrainian refugees to stay in Germany permanently has continued to increase: In early summer 2025, more than half of the respondents intended to stay long term, while the proportion of those who wanted to stay only until the end of the war decreased significantly. Previous and current analyses both show a close link between intentions to stay, family

constellation, and social integration (see also Chapter 7). The data also reveal that since the first survey, slightly more than 11 per cent of Ukrainian refugees have returned to Ukraine, and an additional 3 per cent have migrated to a third country. The reasons mentioned by respondents and the results of the multivariate analyses both confirm the central importance of family-related factors, particularly the partner's place of residence. The results also demonstrate that the reasons for migration vary depending on the distance moved. While family factors play a major role in return and onward migration, employment and the availability of suitable accommodation are decisive factors for moving within Germany. The latter is especially evident in moves across municipal boundaries.

Literature

Ager, Alastair; Strang, Alison 2008: Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. In: *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21;2: 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>.

Aksoy, Cevat G.; Poutvaara, Panu 2021: Refugees' and irregular migrants' self-selection into Europe. In: *Journal of Development Economics* 152: 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2021.102681>.

Al Husein, Nawras; Wagner, Natascha 2023: Determinants of Intended Return Migration among Refugees: A Comparison of Syrian Refugees in Germany and Turkey. In: *International Migration Review* 57;4: 1771–1805. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183221142780>.

Alrababah, Ala; Masterson, Daniel; Casalis, Marine; Hangartner, Dominik; Weinstein, Jeremy 2023: The Dynamics of Refugee Return: Syrian Refugees and Their Migration Intentions. In: *British Journal of Political Science* 53;4: 1108–1131. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123422000667>.

Arendt, Jacob Nielsen; Bolvig, Iben 2023: Trade-offs between work-first and language-first strategies for refugees. In: *Economics of Education Review* 92: 102353. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedu-rev.2022.102353>.

Arnold, Lena; Fleischmann, Fenella 2025: Group boundaries in the Netherlands: how religion and ethnicity matter for social integration. In: *European Sociological Review* 41;1: 68–83. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcae023>.

Autor:innengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2024: *Bildung in Deutschland 2024: Ein indikatorengestützter Bericht mit einer Analyse zu beruflicher Bildung*. Bielefeld: wbv Media.

BA 2025: *Beschäftigte aus der Ukraine (Monatszahlen)*. Nürnberg: Bundesagentur für Arbeit.

Bakewell, Oliver; Haas, Hein de; Kubal, Agnieszka 2012: Migration Systems, Pioneer Migrants and the Role of Agency. In: *Journal of Critical Realism* 11;4: 413–437. <https://doi.org/10.1558/jcr.v11i4.413>.

Barwick-Gross, Christine; Börner, Stefanie; Drewski, Daniel; Milewski, Nadja 2023: Forced migration to Germany: Bordering practices and lived experiences. Introduction to the special issue. In: *Culture, Practice & Europeanization* 8;2: 153–165. <https://doi.org/10.5771/2566-7742-2023-2-153>.

Becker, Andreas; Wang, Biyao; Kunze, Barbara; Otto, Christiane; Schlack, Robert; Hölling, Heike; Ravens-Sieberer, Ulrike; Klasen, Fionna; Rogge, Jana; Isensee, Corinna; Rothenberger, Aribert; Bella Study Group, The 2018: Normative Data of the Self-Report Version of the German Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire in an Epidemiological Setting. In: *Zeitschrift für Kinder- und Jugendpsychiatrie und Psychotherapie* 46;6: 523–533. <https://doi.org/10.1024/1422-4917/a000589>.

Benedetti, Ilaria; Laureti, Tiziana; Regoli, Andrea 2021: The native-migrant gap in job satisfaction across European countries. In: *International Journal of Manpower* 42;4: 604–627. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-09-2019-0432>.

Billari, Francesco C. 2022: Demography: Fast and Slow. In: *Population and Development Review* 48;1: 9–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12464>.

Blake, Helen L.; Bennetts Kneebone, Laura; McLeod, Sharynne 2019: The impact of oral English proficiency on humanitarian migrants' experiences of settling in Australia. In: *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 22;6: 689–705. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1294557>.

Blakemore, Sarah-Jayne; Mills, Kathryn L. 2014: Is adolescence a sensitive period for sociocultural processing? In: *Annual review of psychology* 65: 187–207. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115202>.

- Borjas, George J.; Kauppinen, Ilpo; Poutvaara, Panu 2019: Self-selection of Emigrants: Theory and Evidence on Stochastic Dominance in Observable and Unobservable Characteristics. In: *The Economic Journal* 129;617: 143–171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/econj.12585>.
- Braun, Sebastian T.; Dwenger, Nadja 2020: Settlement location shapes the integration of forced migrants: Evidence from post-war Germany. In: *Explorations in Economic History* 77: 101330. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eeh.2020.101330>.
- Brell, Courtney; Dustmann, Christian; Preston, Ian 2020: The Labor Market Integration of Refugee Migrants in High-Income Countries. In: *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 34;1: 94–121. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.1.94>.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie; Morris, Pamela A. 1998: The ecology of developmental processes. In: Damon, William; Lerner, Richard M. (Hg.): *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development*. 5. Aufl. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc: 993–1028.
- Brücker, Herbert; Ette, Andreas; Grabka, Markus; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Niehues, Wenke; Rother, Nina; Spieß, C. Katharina; Zinn, Sabine; Bujard, Martin; Cardozo, Adriana; Décieux, Jean P.; Maddox, Amrei; Milewski, Nadja; Naderi, Robert; Sauer, Lenore; Schmitz, Sophia; Schwanhäuser, Silvia; Siebert, Manuel; Tanis, Kerstin; Steinhauer, Hans Walter 2023a: Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine in Deutschland: Ergebnisse der ersten Welle der IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP-Befragung. BiB.BeVölkerungsstudie 1/2023. Wiesbaden: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Brücker, Herbert; Ette, Andreas; Grabka, Markus M.; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Niehues, Wenke; Rother, Nina; Spieß, C. Katharina; Zinn, Sabine; Bujard, Martin; Cardozo, Adriana; Cumming, Philippa P.; Décieux, Jean P.; Gatskova, Kseniia; Maddox, Amrei; Milewski, Nadja; Nebelin, Jana; Sauer, Lenore; Schmitz, Sophia; Schwanhäuser, Silvia; Siebert, Manuel; Steinhauer, Hans W.; Tanis, Kerstin 2024: IAB-BiB/FReDA-BAMF-SOEP Refugees from Ukraine 2022 and 2023. Berlin: SOEP Socio-Economic Panel Study.
- Brücker, Herbert; Ette, Andreas; Grabka, Markus M.; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Niehues, Wenke; Rother, Nina; Spieß, C. Katharina; Zinn, Sabine; Bujard, Martin; Cardozo, Adriana; Décieux, Jean P.; Maddox, Amrei; Milewski, Nadja; Sauer, Lenore; Schmitz, Sophia; Schwanhäuser, Silvia; Siebert, Manuel; Steinhauer, Hans; Tanis, Kerstin 2023b: Ukrainian Refugees in Germany: Evidence from a Large Representative Survey. In: *Comparative Population Studies* 48: 395–424. <https://doi.org/10.12765/CPoS-2023-16>.
- Brücker, Herbert; Ette, Andreas; Grabka, Markus M.; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Niehues, Wenke; Rother, Nina; Spieß, C. Katharina; Zinn, Sabine; Bujard, Martin; Décieux, Jean P.; Maddox, Amrei; Schmitz, Sophia; Schwanhäuser, Silvia; Siebert, Manuel; Steinhauer, Hans Walter 2023c: Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine: Knapp die Hälfte beabsichtigt längerfristig in Deutschland zu bleiben. In: *DIW Wochenbericht*. https://doi.org/10.18723/DIW_WB:2023-28-1.
- Brücker, Herbert; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Rother, Nina; Zinn, Sabine; Liebau, Elisabeth; Gider, Wenke; Schwanhäuser, Silvia; Siebert, Manuel 2025: Exploring integration and migration dynamics: the research potentials of a large-scale longitudinal household study of refugees in Germany. In: *European Sociological Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcaf032>.
- Brücker, Herbert; Rother, Nina; Schupp, Jürgen 2018: IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Befragung von Geflüchteten 2016. Studiendesign, Feldergebnisse sowie Analysen zu schulischer wie beruflicher Qualifikation, Sprachkenntnissen sowie kognitiven Potenzialen. Forschungsbericht 30. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung.
- Buber-Ennsner, Isabella; Kohlenberger, Judith; Rengs, Bernhard; Al Zalak, Zakarya; Goujon, Anne; Striessnig, Erich; Potančoková, Michaela; Gisser, Richard; Testa, Maria Rita; Lutz, Wolfgang 2016: Human Capital, Values, and Attitudes of Persons Seeking Refuge in Austria in 2015. In: *PloS one* 11;9: e0163481. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0163481>.

- Buchcik, Johanna; Kovach, Viktoriia; Adedeji, Adekunle 2023: Mental health outcomes and quality of life of Ukrainian refugees in Germany. In: *Health and quality of life outcomes* 21;1: 23. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12955-023-02101-5>.
- Carol, Sarah; Leszczensky, Lars 2019: Soziale Integration. In: Pickel, Gert; Decker, Oliver; Kailitz, Steffen; Röder, Antje; Schulze Wessel, Julia (Hg.): *Handbuch Integration*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden: 1–14.
- Conti, Gabriella; Heckman, James J. 2014: Economics of Child Well-Being. In: Ben-Arieh, Asher; Casas, Ferran; Frønes, Ivar; Korbin, Jill E. (Hg.): *Handbook of Child Well-Being*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands: 363–401.
- Damen, Roxy; Dagevos, Jaco; Huijnk, Willem 2024: Feeling at Home? A Dynamic Analysis of the Impact of Discrimination, Refugee-Specific, and Participation Characteristics on Recently Arrived Refugees' Belonging. In: *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 25;3: 1547–1569. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-024-01135-y>.
- Décieux, Jean P.; Zinn, Sabine; Andreas, Ette 2025: Effects of Changing the Incentive Strategy on Panel Performance: Experimental Evidence From a Probability-Based Online Panel of Refugees. In: *Survey Research Methods* 19;2: 223–239. <https://doi.org/10.18148/SRM/2025.V19I2.8437>.
- Destatis 2025a: Ausländerstatistik: Ukrainische Staatsangehörige nach Geschlecht, Altersgruppen und Aufenthaltsdauer. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Destatis 2025b: Fortschreibung des Bevölkerungsstandes, 12411-0009. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Destatis 2025c: Im Fokus: Russland und Ukraine. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Destatis 2025d: Sonderauswertung des Ausländerzentralregisters. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Destatis 2025e: Ukrainische Staatsangehörige mit Zuzug nach Deutschland ab 2022. Sonderauswertung des Mikrozensus. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.
- Diehl, Claudia; Lubbers, Marcel; Mühlau, Peter; Platt, Lucinda 2016: Starting out: New migrants' socio-cultural integration trajectories in four European destinations. In: *Ethnicities* 16;2: 157–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815616158>.
- Duszczyc, Maciej; Górny, Agata; Kaczmarczyk, Pawet; Kubisiak, Andrzej 2023: War refugees from Ukraine in Poland – one year after the Russian aggression. Socioeconomic consequences and challenges. In: *Regional Science Policy & Practice* 15;1: 181–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/rsp3.12642>.
- Dyrting, Sigurd; Taylor, Andrew 2021: Smoothing destination-specific migration flows. In: *The Annals of Regional Science* 67;2: 359–383. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00168-021-01051-4>.
- Eckhard, Jan; Siegert, Manuel 2024: Soziale Isolation und Einsamkeit bei Geflüchteten in Deutschland (Forschungsbericht 50): Federal Office for Migration and Refugees.
- EMN 2022: Secondary movements of beneficiaries of international protection. Brüssel: European Migration Network.
- Esser, Hartmut 2008: Assimilation, ethnische Schichtung oder selektive Akkulturation? Neue Theorien der Eingliederung von Migranten und das Modell der intergenerationalen Integration. In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 60;48: 81–107.
- Ette, Andreas; Décieux, Jean P.; Erlinghagen, Marcel; Guedes Auditor, Jean; Sander, Nikola; Schneider, Norbert F.; Witte, Nils 2021: Surveying Across Borders: The Experiences of the German Emigration and Remigration Panel Study. In: Erlinghagen, Marcel; Ette, Andreas; Schneider, Norbert F.; Witte, Nils (Hg.): *The Global Lives of German Migrants*. Cham: Springer International Publishing: 21–39.

- Ette, Andreas; Kriechel, Lisa; Spieß, C. Katharina; Bujard, Martin; Décieux, Jean P.; Gambaro, Ludovica; Gutu, Lidia; Milewski, Nadja; Olivo Rumpf, Karelis; Sauer, Lenore 2024: Erwerbstätigkeit Schutzsuchender aus der Ukraine in Deutschland. Bestehende Hürden und weitere Potenziale für den Arbeitsmarkt. BiB.Aktuell 6/2024. Wiesbaden: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Ette, Andreas; Spieß, C. Katharina; Bujard, Martin; Décieux, Jean P.; Gambaro, Ludovica; Gutu, Lidia; Milewski, Nadja; Ruckdeschel, Kerstin; Sauer, Lenore; Schmitz, Sophia 2023: Lebenssituation ukrainischer Geflüchteter. Höhere gesellschaftliche Teilhabe nach eineinhalb Jahren in Deutschland. In: Bevölkerungsforschung Aktuell 6: 3–16.
- EUAA 2024: Surveys of Arriving Migrants from Ukraine: Movements and Returns Report, December 2024: European Union Agency for Asylum.
- Eurostat 2025: Beneficiaries of temporary protection at the end of the month by citizenship, age and sex - monthly data (migr_asytpsm). Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Fazel, Mina; Betancourt, Theresa S. 2018: Preventive mental health interventions for refugee children and adolescents in high-income settings. In: *The Lancet. Child & adolescent health* 2;2: 121–132. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642\(17\)30147-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642(17)30147-5).
- Gambaro, Ludovica; Huebener, Mathias; Schmitz, Sophia; Spieß, C. Katharina 2024: Unlocking Potential: Childcare Services and Refugees' Integration, Employment and Well-Being. BiB Working Paper 8/2024. Wiesbaden: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Gambaro, Ludovica; Kemptner, Daniel; Pagel, Lisa; Schmitz, Laura; Spieß, C. Katharina 2020: Erfolge, aber auch weiteres Potential bei der schulischen und außerschulischen Integration geflüchteter Kinder und Jugendlicher. In: *DIW Wochenbericht* 87;34: 579–589. https://doi.org/10.18723/diw_wb:2020-34-4.
- Gambaro, Ludovica; Spieß, C. Katharina; Daelen, Anna; Ette, Andreas 2025: Geflüchtete Kinder und Jugendliche aus der Ukraine: Ihre Lebenssituation etwa zwei Jahre nach Ankunft. In: *BiB.Aktuell* 2.
- Georgiadou, Ekaterini; Schmitt, Gregor Martin; Erim, Yesim 2020: Does the separation from marital partners of Syrian refugees with a residence permit in Germany have an impact on their quality of life? In: *Journal of psychosomatic research* 130: 109936. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychores.2020.109936>.
- Goodman, Robert 1997: The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire: a research note. In: *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry, and allied disciplines* 38;5: 581–586. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.1997.tb01545.x>.
- Gupta, Nabanita Datta; Jessen, Jonas; Spieß, C. Katharina 2023: Maternal life satisfaction and child development from toddlerhood to adolescence. BiB Working Paper 2/2023. Wiesbaden: Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung.
- Haas, Hein de; Fokkema, Tineke 2011: The effects of integration and transnational ties on international return migration intentions. In: *Demographic Research* 25: 755–782. <https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2011.25.24>.
- Haas, Hein de; Fokkema, Tineke; Fihri, Mohamed Fassi 2015: Return Migration as Failure or Success?: The Determinants of Return Migration Intentions Among Moroccan Migrants in Europe. In: *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16;2: 415–429. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0344-6>.
- Hainmueller, Jens; Hangartner, Dominik; Lawrence, Duncan 2016: When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees. In: *Science advances* 2;8: e1600432. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.1600432>.
- Hainmueller, Jens; Marbach, Moritz; Hangartner, Dominik; Harder, Niklas; Vallizadeh, Ehsan 2025: Refugee Labor Market Integration at Scale: Evidence from Germany's Fast-Track Employment Program Immigration Policy Lab Working Paper Series;2.
- Hammer, Luisa; Kassam, Kamal; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Gallegos-Torres, Katia; Olbrich, Lukas; Koch, Theresa; Wagner, Simon 2025: The Downfall of Assad: Syrian Refugees' Settlement Intentions after the Unexpected Regime Change. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung.

- Hammermann, Andrea 2025: Alle unmotiviert? Arbeitsmotivation und Arbeitgeberbindung in Deutschland. IW-Report 19/2025. Köln: Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft.
- Hanhörster, Heike; Wessendorf, Susanne 2020: The Role of Arrival Areas for Migrant Integration and Resource Access. In: *Urban Planning* 5;3: 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2891>.
- Hank, Karsten; Gummer, Tobias; Bujard, Martin; Neyer, Franz J.; Pollak, Reinhard; Spieß, C. Katharina; Wolf, Christof; Christmann, Pablo; Kunz, Tanja; Lück, Detlev; Naderi, Robert; Nutz, Theresa; Schmid, Lisa; Thönnissen, Carolin 2025: A new data infrastructure for family research and demographic analysis: the German Family Demography Panel Study (FReDA). In: *European Sociological Review* 41;2: 316–328. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcae019>.
- Heath, Anthony F.; Schneider, Silke L. 2021: Dimensions of Migrant Integration in Western Europe. In: *Frontiers in sociology* 6. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.510987>.
- Hernes, Vilde; Aasland, Aadne; Deineko, Oleksandra; Handå Myhre, Marthe 2024: Where does the future lie? Initial aspirations for return among newly arrived Ukrainian refugees in Norway. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 51;1: 79–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2024.2383729>.
- Hölling, Heike; Schlack, Robert; Petermann, Franz; Ravens-Sieberer, Ulrike; Mauz, Elvira 2014: Psychische Auffälligkeiten und psychosoziale Beeinträchtigungen bei Kindern und Jugendlichen im Alter von 3 bis 17 Jahren in Deutschland - Prävalenz und zeitliche Trends zu 2 Erhebungszeitpunkten (2003-2006 und 2009-2012): Ergebnisse der KiGGS-Studie - Erste Folgebefragung (KiGGS Welle 1). In: *Bundesgesundheitsblatt, Gesundheitsforschung, Gesundheitsschutz* 57;7: 807–819. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00103-014-1979-3>.
- Hosari, Remy Rahim; Borho, Andrea; Morawa, Eva; Erim, Yesim 2022: Which Protective Factors Are Associated with the Mental Health of Syrian Students in Germany? A Register-Based Cross-Sectional Study. In: *International journal of environmental research and public health* 19;23: 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192316200>.
- Jonsson, Jan O.; Kalter, Frank; van Tubergen, Frank 2018: Studying Integration: Ethnic Minority and Majority Youth in Comparative Perspective. In: Jonsson, Jan O.; Kalter, Frank; van Tubergen, Frank (Hg.): *Growing up in Diverse Societies: British Academy*: 3–39.
- Kalter, Frank 2008: Stand, Herausforderungen und Perspektiven der empirischen Migrationsforschung. In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Sonderhefte* 48: 11–36.
- Kalter, Frank; Granato, Nadia; Kristen, Cornelia 2011: Die strukturelle Assimilation der zweiten Migrantengeneration in Deutschland: Eine Zerlegung gegenwärtiger Trends. In: Becker, Rolf (Hg.): *Integration durch Bildung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: 257–288.
- Keller, Heidi 2020: Kindheit, Entwicklung und Migration. In: Genkova, Petia; Riecken, Andrea (Hg.): *Handbuch Migration und Erfolg*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden: 153–168.
- Kocar, Sebastian; Kaczmirek, Lars 2024: A meta-analysis of worldwide recruitment rates in 23 probability-based online panels, between 2007 and 2019. In: *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 27;5: 589–604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2023.2242202>.
- Kohlenberger, Judith; Buber-Ennser, Isabella; Pędziwiatr, Konrad; Rengs, Bernhard; Setz, Ingrid; Brzozowski, Jan; Riederer, Bernhard; Tarasiuk, Ole-na; Pronizius, Ekaterina 2023: High self-selection of Ukrainian refugees into Europe: Evidence from Kraków and Vienna. In: *PLoS one* 18;12: e0279783. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0279783>.
- Kohlenberger, Judith; Heyne, Sophia; Rengs, Bernhard; Buber-Ennser, Isabella 2022: Soziale Inklusion geflüchteter Frauen. Zur Rolle der Familie und Familienarbeit. *Migration & Integration* Band 10. 1. Aufl. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Kosyakova, Yuliya; Brücker, Herbert 2024: Zur Arbeitsmarktintegration von Geflüchteten aus der Ukraine: Eine Simulationsstudie. IAB-Forschungsbericht. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung.

Kosyakova, Yuliya; Kogan, Irena 2022: Labor market situation of refugees in Europe: The role of individual and contextual factors. In: *Frontiers in Political Science* 4. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.977764>.

Kosyakova, Yuliya; Kogan, Irena 2024: The role of social capital in immigrants' and refugees' labour market integration: evidence from Germany. In: McDonald, Steve; Côté, Rochelle; Shen, Jing (Hg.): *Handbook on Inequality and Social Capital*: Edward Elgar Publishing: 288–304.

Kosyakova, Yuliya; Rother, Nina; Zinn, Sabine 2025: Lebenssituation und Teilhabe ukrainischer Geflüchteter in Deutschland. Ergebnisse der IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Befragung (Forschungsbericht 51). Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

Kraus, Elisabeth K.; Milewski, Nadja 2025: Gendered Migration Patterns and Fertility Among Refugees En Route. In: *Population, Space and Place* 31;5. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.70057>.

Leyendecker, Birgit; Willard, Jessica; Caspar, Ulrike 2015: Die Bedeutung der Muttersprache in zugewanderten Familien für die Eltern-Kind-Beziehung. In: Otyakmaz, Berrin Özlem; Karakaşoğlu, Yasemin (Hg.): *Frühe Kindheit in der Migrationsgesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden: 111–123.

Löbel, Lea-Maria; Jacobsen, Jannes 2021: Waiting for kin: a longitudinal study of family reunification and refugee mental health in Germany. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47;13: 2916–2937. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1884538>.

Lohbeck, Annette; Schultheiß, Jan; Petermann, Franz; Petermann, Ulrike 2015: Die deutsche Selbstbeurteilungsversion des Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ-Deu-S): Psychometrische Eigenschaften, Faktorenstruktur und Grenzwerte. In: *Diagnostica* 61;4: 222–235. <https://doi.org/10.1026/0012-1924/a000153>.

Lohr, Sharon L. 2021: *Sampling: Designs and Analysis*. 3. Aufl. Boca Raton: Chapman and Hall/CRC.

Lubbers, Marcel; Gijbels, Mérove 2019: Changes in Self-Rated Health Right After Immigration: A Panel Study of Economic, Social, Cultural, and Emotional Explanations of Self-Rated Health Among Immigrants in the Netherlands. In: *Frontiers in sociology* 4: 45. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2019.00045>.

Lynn, Peter (ed.) 2009: *Methodology of Longitudinal Surveys*. 1. Aufl.: Wiley.

Massey, Douglas S.; Arango, Joaquin; Hugo, Graeme; Kouaouci, Ali; Pellegrino, Adela; Taylor, J. Edward 1993: Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. In: *Population and Development Review* 19;3: 431. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>.

Milewski, Nadja; Décieux, Jean P.; Ette, Andreas; Bujard, Martin 2023: Gendered flight constellations and family-reunion intentions of female refugees from Ukraine: Evidence from a representative survey in Germany. In: *Culture, Practice & Europeanization* 8;2: 250–263. <https://doi.org/10.5771/2566-7742-2023-2-250>.

Moise, Alexandru D.; Dennison, James; Kriesi, Hanspeter 2024: European attitudes to refugees after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In: *West European Politics* 47;2: 356–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2023.2229688>.

Motti-Stefanidi, Frosso 2018: *Immigrant and Refugee Youth Positive Adaptation and Development 1*: Oxford University Press.

Müller-Funk, Lea; Fransen, Sonja 2023: "I Will Return Strong": The Role of Life Aspirations in Refugees' Return Aspirations. In: *International Migration Review* 57;4: 1739–1770. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183221131554>.

Niehues, Wenke; Rother, Nina; Siegert, Manuel 2021: *Spracherwerb und soziale Kontakte schreiten bei Geflüchteten voran: vierte Welle der IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Befragung von Geflüchteten*. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

OECD: PISA 2022 database. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

- Pagel, Lisa; Edele, Aileen 2022: The role of different school organizational models in the psychological adaptation of refugee adolescents. In: *European Journal of Psychology of Education* 37;4: 1069–1092. [https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s10212-021-00582-w](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-021-00582-w).
- Patton, George C.; Sawyer, Susan M.; Santelli, John S.; Ross, David A.; Afifi, Rima; Allen, Nicholas B.; Arora, Monika; Azzopardi, Peter; Baldwin, Wendy; Bonell, Christopher; Kakuma, Ritsuko; Kennedy, Elissa; Mahon, Jaqueline; McGovern, Terry; Mokdad, Ali H.; Patel, Vikram; Petroni, Suzanne; Reavley, Nicola; Taiwo, Kikelomo; Waldfogel, Jane; Wickremarathne, Dakshitha; Barroso, Carmen; Bhutta, Zulfiqar; Fatusi, Adesegun O.; Mattoo, Amitabh; Diers, Judith; Fang, Jing; Ferguson, Jane; Ssewamala, Frederick; Viner, Russell M. 2016: Our future: a Lancet commission on adolescent health and wellbeing. In: *Lancet* (London, England) 387;10036: 2423–2478. [https://doi.org/ 10.1016/S0140-6736\(16\)00579-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00579-1).
- Paveia Lareiro, Christina de; Schwarzmüller, Julia 2021: Geflüchtete Frauen in Deutschland. Freizeitverhalten und soziale Kontakte. BAMF-Kurzanalyse 2/2021. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.
- Perelli-Harris, Brienna 2008: Ukraine: On the border between old and new in uncertain times. In: *Demographic Research* 19: 1145–1178. [https://doi.org/ 10.4054/DemRes.2008.19.29](https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2008.19.29).
- Rüdel, Julia; Joly, Marie-Pier 2024: Perceived loneliness: Why are Syrian refugees more lonely than other newly arrived migrants in Germany? In: *Comparative Migration Studies* 12;1. [https://doi.org/ 10.1186/s40878-024-00398-9](https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-024-00398-9).
- Saarela, Jan; Wilson, Ben 2022: Forced Migration and the Childbearing of Women and Men: A Disruption of the Tempo and Quantum of Fertility? In: *Demography* 59;2: 707–729. [https://doi.org/ 10.1215/00703370-9828869](https://doi.org/10.1215/00703370-9828869).
- Savatic, Filip; Lazzeri, Margherita; Herscheid, Kartika; Lacroix, Thomas; Thiollet, Hélène; Yavçan, Başak 2025: Ukrainian Voices: Surveying the Spatial and Socio-Economic Trajectories of Ukrainian Refugees across Europe. In: *International Migration Review*. [https://doi.org/ 10.1177/01979183251343888](https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183251343888).
- Sawyer, Susan M.; Patton, George C. 2018: *Health and Well-Being in Adolescence* 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schaeffer, Merlin; Kas, Judith 2024: The Integration Paradox: A Review and Meta-Analysis of the Complex Relationship Between Integration and Reports of Discrimination. In: *International Migration Review* 58;3: 1384–1409. [https://doi.org/ 10.1177/01979183231170809](https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231170809).
- Scheible, Jana Anne; Schacht, Diana; Trübswetter, Parvati 2016: Ankommen in Deutschland. In: Brückner, Herbert; Rother, Nina; Schupp, Jürgen (Hg.): *IAB-BAMF-SOEP-Befragung von Geflüchteten: Überblick und erste Ergebnisse*. Forschungsbericht 29. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge: 30–37.
- Schneider, Jan 2025: Wie lange ist vorübergehend? Lösungen für das Dilemma des temporären Schutzes von ukrainischen Kriegsflüchtlingen werden gebraucht. SVR-Kurzinformation. Berlin: Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration.
- Schreyer, Franziska; Böhringer, Daniela; Brussig, Martin; Hartosch, Katja; Kellmer, Ariana; Kupka, Peter; Osiander, Christopher; Rauch, Angela; Schlee, Thorsten 2024: Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine: Jobcenter schreiben ihnen gute Arbeitsmarktchancen zu. IAB-Kurzbericht 12-2024. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung.
- Siegert, Manuel 2019: Die sozialen Kontakte Geflüchteter. BAMF-Kurzanalyse 4-2019. Mannheim, Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.
- Siegert, Manuel 2021: Beeinflussen Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte die soziale Integration Geflüchteter? In: *Soziale Welt* 72: 206–236.
- Siegert, Manuel 2025: Die Veränderung der Bevölkerungsstruktur ukrainischer Geflüchteter in Deutschland zwischen Ende 2022 und Mitte 2024. Ergebnisse auf Basis des Ausländerzentralregisters. BAMF-Kurzanalyse. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge

Siegert, Manuel; Tanis, Kerstin; Ette, Andreas; Sauer, Lenore 2023: Entwicklung der Wohnsituation ukrainischer Geflüchteter in Deutschland. BAMF-Kurzanalyse 3/2023. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

Spieß, C. Katharina; Barschkett, Mara; Cihlar, Volker; Dechant, Anna; Décieux, Jean P.; Diabaté, Sabine; Genoni, Andreas; Loichnger, Elke; Milewski, Nadja; Rüger, Heiko; Schmitz, Sophia; Stawarz, Nico 2023: Wie zufrieden ist die Bevölkerung in Deutschland? In: BiB.Monitor Wohlbefinden: 1–24.

Spörlein, Christoph; Kristen, Cornelia; Schmidt, Regine; Welker, Jörg 2020: Selectivity profiles of recently arrived refugees and labour migrants in Germany. In: Soziale Welt 71;1-2: 54–89. <https://doi.org/10.5771/0038-6073-2020-1-2-54>.

Steinhauer, Hans; Siegers, Rainer; Siegert, Manuel; Jacobsen, Jannes; Zinn, Sabine 2022: Sampling, nonresponse, and weighting of the 2020 refreshment sample (M6) of the IAB-BAMF-SOEP refugee panel. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).

Steinhauer, Hans Walter; Décieux, Jean P.; Siegert, Manuel; Ette, Andreas; Zinn, Sabine 2024: Establishing a probability sample in a crisis context: the example of Ukrainian refugees in Germany in 2022. In: AStA Wirtsch Sozialstat Arch (AStA Wirtschafts- und Sozialstatistisches Archiv) 18;1: 77–97.

Tanis, Kerstin 2022: Die Wohnhistorie Geflüchteter in Deutschland. BAMF-Kurzanalyse 1/2022. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

UNHCR 2025: Ukraine Situation Flash Update 83. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - Regional Bureau for Europe.

UNICEF Innocenti 2025: Innocenti Report Card 19: Child well-being in an unpredictable world. Florence: United Nations Children's Fund Global Office of Research and Foresight.

Ünzal, Gizem; Oswald, Anne von; Lushankina, Olga 2023: Geflüchtete aus der Ukraine in Berlin und Brandenburg. Berlin: Minor Projektkontor für Bildung und Forschung.

van Tubergen, Frank; Kogan, Irena; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Pötzschke, Steffen 2024a: Self-selection of Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons in Europe. In: Journal of Refugee Studies 37;1: 72–96. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fead089>.

van Tubergen, Frank; Wachter, Gusta G.; Kosyakova, Yuliya; Kogan, Irena 2024b: Return intentions among Ukrainian refugees in Europe: A Cross-National Study. In: International Migration 62;5: 181–198. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.13291>.

Wachter, Gusta G.; Fleischmann, Fenella 2018: Settlement Intentions and Immigrant Integration: The Case of Recently Arrived EU-Immigrants in the Netherlands. In: International Migration 56;4: 154–171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12434>.

Wiedner, Jonas; Schaeffer, Merlin 2025: Spatial overlap: trade-offs in refugees' residential choices. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 51;5: 1075–1097. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2024.2425213>.

Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1: The 20 Largest Groups of Foreign Nationals in Germany on 31 December 2024 and 31 December 2021	8
Figure 2.1: Spatial Distribution of the Selected Sampling Units across Regional Districts in Germany.....	12
Figure 2.2: Number of Completed Questionnaires from Respondents Willing to Participate in Follow-Up Surveys of the Multi-Cohort and Multi-Actor Design of the BiB/FReDA-Survey, by Wave.....	14
Figure 3.1: Arrivals from Ukraine Migration Statistics and Date of Arrival of Ukrainians in Germany (BiB/FReDA-Survey), by Month of Arrival (Per Cent).....	20
Figure 3.2: Regions of Origin of Ukrainians, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent).....	22
Figure 3.3: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany who Left Ukraine for Humanitarian Reasons, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)	23
Figure 3.4: Proportion of Women Among Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)	24
Figure 3.5: Proportion of Ukrainians in a Relationship at the Time of Arrival in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)	24
Figure 3.6: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany with Minor Children in Their Household, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)	25
Figure 3.7: Proportion of Ukrainians in Germany with Tertiary Education Qualifications, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent)	26
Figure 3.8: Economic Situation of Ukrainians in Germany Before Fleeing, by Date of Arrival (Mean)	27
Figure 3.9: Average Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) of Ukrainians in Germany Prior to Displacement, by Date of Arrival (Mean)	27
Figure 3.10: Average Subjective Health Status of Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Mean).....	28
Figure 3.11: Support Needs of Ukrainians in Germany, by Date of Arrival (Per Cent).....	29
Figure 4.1: Partnership Trajectories of Ukrainian Refugee Women 2022-2025, by Partner's Place of Residence (Per Cent)	33
Figure 4.2: Associations Between the Subsequent Migration of Partners to Ukrainian Refugee Women	33
Figure 4.3: Associations Between the Dissolution of Partnerships Among Geographically Separated Ukrainian Couples and Selected Characteristics 2022-2025	34
Figure 4.4: Intentions of Geographically Separated Ukrainian Couples to Reunite in 2025, by Age Group (Per Cent)	36

Figure 4.5: Intention to stay Among Ukrainian Refugee Women in 2025, by Partnership Situation (Per Cent) 36

Figure 4.6: Associations Between Births Among Ukrainian Refugee Women and Selected Characteristics 2022 - 2025 37

Figure 4.7: Family and Partnership Constellations of Ukrainian Refugee Women in 2025, by Age Group (Per Cent) 38

Figure 5.1: Development of Language Skills Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents 2022-2024 (Per Cent) 43

Figure 5.2: Associations Between the Language Skills of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents, Their Learning Environment and Their Parents' Language Skills..... 44

Figure 5.3: Socio-Emotional Behaviour of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany (Mean) 45

Figure 5.4: Associations Between the Sense of Belonging to the School and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany 46

Figure 5.5: Intentions to Stay in Germany Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents (Per Cent) 47

Figure 5.6: Comparison of the Intentions to Stay in Germany Among Ukrainian Children and Adolescents and Their Parents (Per Cent) 48

Figure 5.7: Fig. 5.7: Associations Between General Life Satisfaction and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany 49

Figure 5.8: Associations Between Dissatisfaction and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Children and Adolescents in Germany 50

Figure 6.1: Development of Employment Among Ukrainian Refugees who Arrived in Germany Between February and May 2022, by Duration of Stay and Gender (Per Cent) 52

Figure 6.2: Associations Between Employment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 who Arrived Between February and May 2022, by Gender 55

Figure 6.3: Development of Satisfaction with the Professional Situation of Employed Ukrainian Refugees, by Wave (Per Cent) 56

Figure 6.4: Labour Market Participation of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Date of Arrival and Gender (Per Cent) 57

Figure 6.5: Associations Between Employment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Date of Arrival 58

Figure 7.1: Associations Between the Feeling of Being Welcome and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025..... 62

Figure 7.2: Feeling Welcome Among Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by German-Speaking Skills (Per Cent) 63

Figure 7.3: Associations Between the Frequency of Social Contacts with Germans and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees, Autumn/Winter 2024 64

Figure 7.4: Frequency of Contacts with Germans, Autumn/Winter 2024, by Spoken German Proficiency and Employment Status (Per Cent) 65

Figure 7.5: Associations Between Loneliness and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025..... 66

Figure 7.6: Loneliness Among Ukrainian Refugees in Winter 2024, by Frequency of Contacts with Germans (Per Cent) 66

Figure 7.7: Associations Between Experiences of Discrimination and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 67

Figure 7.8: Associations Between Regional Attachment and Selected Characteristics of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 68

Figure 7.9: Regional Attachment of Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025, by Spoken German Proficiency (Per Cent) 68

Figure 7.10: Attachment to Germany by Regional Attachment Among Ukrainian Refugees in Early Summer 2025 (Per Cent) 69

Figure 8.1: Development of Intentions to Stay Among Ukrainian Refugees 2022-2025 (Per Cent) 72

Figure 8.2: Reasons for Return or Onward Migration Among Ukrainian Refugees, Multiple Answers Possible (Per Cent) 74

Figure 8.3: Associations Between Returning to Ukraine or Onward Migration to a Third Country Compared to Non-Migrants by Individual Characteristics..... 74

Figure 8.4: Reasons for Moving Within Germany Among Ukrainian Refugees, Multiple Answers Possible (Per Cent) 76

Figure 8.5: Associations Between Moves Within Germany Compared to Non-Migrants by Individual Characteristics 77

Table 2.1: Distribution of the Population, Gross Sample, Net Sample and Key Demographic Characteristics by Survey Cohort (Per Cent) 15

Table 2.2: Contents of the BiB/FReDA-Survey Questionnaires 17

Table 8.1: Probability of Ukrainian Refugees Moving Over Time (Per Cent)..... 75

Table 8.2: Extent of Different Types of Migration Among Ukrainian Refugees Over Time (Per Cent) 75

Imprint

Published by

Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB)
Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 4
65185 Wiesbaden, Germany
Director: Univ.-Prof. Dr. C. Katharina Spieß
Phone: +49 (0)611-752235
E-Mail: post@bib.bund.de

Release date

January 2026

Scientific Authors

Martin Bujard, Anna Daehlen, Jean Philippe Décieux,
Andreas Ette, Ludovica Gambaro, Johanna Gereke,
Nadja Milewski, Karelis Olivo Rumpf, Kerstin Ruckdeschel,
Lenore Sauer, C. Katharina Spieß, Nils Witte
The authors can be contacted at the following email address:
firstname.lastname@bib.bund.de

Layout

Sybille Steinmetz

Proof reading:

Amelie Pohl

Design

familie redlich AG – Agency for Brands and Communication
KOMPAKTMEDIEN – Agency for Communication GmbH

Title page photo credits: © Adobe Stock/Olga Yastremska

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-en> (complete study)

Chapter 1: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-1-en>

Chapter 2: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-2-en>

Chapter 3: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-3-en>

Chapter 4: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-4-en>

Chapter 5: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-5-en>

Chapter 6: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-6-en>

Chapter 7: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-7-en>

Chapter 8: <https://doi.org/10.12765/bro-2025-04-8-en>

URN: <urn:nbn:de:bib-bro-2025-04>

ISSN: 2702-766X (Online)

Any reprinting or reproduction, even in part, requires the express permission of the Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB).

The Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB) is a research institution within the remit of the BMI.

 @bib-bund

 @bib_bund @wisskomm.social

 @bib_bund

 @bib_bund