Labor market Integration of Refugees in Scandinavia after 2015

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Abstract

Sweden, Denmark and Norway have long been refugee destinations. All three countries received record numbers of asylum seekers between 2015 and 2016. This paper gives an overview and comparison on integration policies and labor market outcomes for refugees in the three countries after 2015. The paper also provides lessons from Scandinavia on fostering successful labor market integration for refugees.

Keywords: Labor market, Integration, Education and Social welfare.

JEL Codes: I24, I38, J15 and J61.

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Introduction

Between 2014 and 2017 nearly 3.7 million asylum seekers arrived in the European Union, comprising the largest mass movement in Europe since World War II. The influx culminated in the years of 2015-2016 when almost 2.5 million people applied for asylum in the European Union. More than half chose to apply for asylum on the northernmost edge of the continent: Germany was the top destination country by far, but much-smaller Sweden received more asylum applications in relation to its population. The other two Scandinavian countries—Norway and Denmark—also saw significant numbers of asylum applications in relation to their populations. Since then, Scandinavian countries—high-income states known for their generous welfare systems and hospitality toward protection seekers—have turned to the sizable task of integrating new arrivals into the labor market.

In light of the major inflows of primarily Syrian, Afghan, and Iraqi asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016, governments are reconsidering their integration policies, in an attempt to ease asylum seekers’ transition into the job market. This article compares labor market outcomes among earlier waves of successful asylum applicants (referred to here as refugees) and integration programs across the three Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Denmark and Norway—and identifies key lessons governments can learn from the varied experiences refugees have in finding work. The findings are adapted from the author’s book, Inspiration for Integration, originally published in Swedish in December 2017, with updates to include developments after the book’s publication.

The Scandinavian countries are no strangers to immigration, having received 900,000 migrants from outside the EU between 2000 and 2013, in addition to significant numbers of intra-EU migrants. However, despite their relatively welcoming attitudes towards migration, the Scandinavian countries are marked by high barriers of entry to the labor market for humanitarian arrivals, and many refugees who arrived in previous decades found it harder than anticipated to find work. The challenges experienced by previous cohorts of humanitarian migrants may prove instructive for policymakers providing integration support to the more recent arrivals.

A Short Background on Migration to Scandinavia

The Scandinavian countries have been popular immigrant destinations since the 1960s, and since the 1970s they have also received substantial numbers of humanitarian migrants. All Scandinavian countries experienced increasing numbers of asylum seekers from 2014, culminating in 2015 and 2016, but the numbers coming to Sweden were significantly higher than arrivals to Norway and Denmark. It is very likely that more generous asylum policies in Sweden were a contributing factor.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Denmark and Sweden were considered to have comparatively generous asylum policies. However, since the early 2000s the paths of their asylum policies have diverged somewhat. Sweden continued to practice generous policies toward refugees, issuing permanent residence permits immediately for asylum seekers whose claims are approved and allowing refugees to bring their spouses and children to Sweden without needing to demonstrate they can financially support them. But after the surge in arrivals of asylum seekers in 2015-2016, Sweden changed track and tightened its asylum rules considerably, introducing temporary

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3 Eurostat, “Asylum and First Time Asylum Applicants by Citizenship, Age and Sex.
4 In this paper the term refugee is used to cover both those who receive asylum according to the Geneva Convention and those who are granted subsidiary protection.
5 Joyce, 2017.
residence permits for refugees (instead of permanent residence) and restricting family reunification. Temporary residence permits and economic requirements on refugees who wished to bring their families where then common policy in almost all EU-countries. Due to falling public support for asylum, Denmark started tightening its asylum policies from 2000 onwards, introducing temporary resident permits for refugees, restricting family reunification rights, and reducing economic benefits to refugees. Norway held the middle ground and put some restrictions on family reunification in 2010 but continued to provide substantial economic benefits for refugees.

Table 1. First Time Asylum Applications in Scandinavia, 2014-17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asylum Applications</th>
<th>Asylum Seeker Share of Total Population (%)</th>
<th>Top Three Countries of Origin, 2014-17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>276,000</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Syria (33%), Iraq (9%) and Afghanistan (7%),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>Syria (29%), Afghanistan (17%), and Eritrea (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Syria (40%), Eritrea (10%), and Afghanistan (9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Eurostat 2018a and 2018b.

As Table 1 illustrates, a substantial share of first asylum applications came from Syrians, as well as Afghans, Eritreans, and Iraqis. Eritreans and Syrians had a very high chance of having their asylum applications approved (above 90 percent), but the odds for Afghans and Iraqis were lower.6

A major challenge for the Scandinavian countries is the large share of refugees with low levels of education. This presents a significant integration challenge, as the Scandinavian economies offer few jobs to those with only basic skills. Of the refugees and their spouses who settled in Sweden between 2010 and 2017, more than half (54 percent) only had basic education, meaning nine years of schooling or less. This share was slightly higher among female refugees (at 57 percent, compared with 51 percent of male refugees). Only one in five refugees and their spouses had completed secondary education (19 percent of female refugees and 21 percent of male refugees), while 27 percent had completed at least two years of tertiary education (28 percent of male refugees and 24 percent of female refugees).7 Currently, only five percent of the jobs in the Swedish labor market are classified as being open to those without a completed secondary education or some sort of vocational training.

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6 Between 2014 and 2017, more than 90 percent of decisions issued for Eritrean and Syrian asylum seekers in the three Scandinavian countries were positive. But this share was comparatively much lower for Afghans (24 percent in Denmark, 40 percent in Sweden, and 43 percent in Denmark) and for Iraqis (11 percent in Denmark, 34 percent in Sweden, and 32 percent in Norway). Eurostat, “First instance decisions on applications by citizenship, age and sex (Annual aggregated data (rounded)),” last updated November 15, 2018.

7 Arbetsförmedlingen, 2018.
Getting Refugees into Work

While labor migrants have found it reasonably easy to find work in Scandinavia, refugees have struggled to find employment. Labor migrants are generally employed at higher rates than the overall population. Between 80 and 90 percent of all labor migrants (including EU and non-EU migrants) who have lived in Sweden or Norway for two years are working. But only between 20 and 25 percent of refugees who have lived in Sweden or Norway for two years are employed.\(^8\)

An analysis of employment data shows refugees who arrived in the three Scandinavian countries in the late 1990s and early 2000s generally spent many years after arrival unemployed. Refugees have a harder time finding employment than labor migrants even when differences in individual characteristics, such as age and education, are taken into consideration.\(^9\) Refugees are overrepresented in lower-skilled jobs in the public and private sectors, and refugees with higher levels of education are also more likely to be underemployed (i.e. working in roles below their skill level) than the native-born population.\(^10\) One possible explanation for this difference is that labor migrants usually arrive with a job offer waiting for them. If they become unemployed, labor migrants also have to move home or to another country. While more than half of the labor migrants who came to Sweden in the late 1990s and early 2000s had left Sweden within a decade, 95 percent of the refugees who came at the same time were still living in Sweden a decade later.\(^11\)

\(^9\) Dustmann et al., 2016.
\(^10\) SCB, 2017.
\(^11\) SCB, 2011.

**Figure 1a. Employment Rate of Working Age Refugee Men by Years of Residence and Compared with All Residents.**
Figure 1b. Employment Rate of Working Age Refugee Women by Years of Residence, and Compared with All Residents.

Notes: The term refugee refers to asylum seekers and their family members who have had their asylum claims approved. Data for Sweden are for employment rates only in 2014 among refugees who arrived between 1997 and 2012. Data for Denmark are for refugees who arrived between 1997 and 2011 and shows the average employment after years of residence across all years up until 2014. Data for Norway are for refugees who arrived between 1990 and 2013 and shows the average employment after years of residence across all years up until 2014. The employment rate for all residents (20-64 years) 2014 is collected from Eurostat.

Sources: SCB, 2016; Schultz-Nielsen, 2017; Bratsberg et al. 2017 and Eurostat, 2018c.

The employment rate among female refugees is very low during the first years after arrival. Female refugees usually have less schooling than their male counterparts and often bear children after arrival—two factors that may hamper their options for finding work. Employment among female refugees picks up after some time though, and 10 to 15 years after arrival their employment rates approach those of male refugees.

While a refugee's chances of finding work increase with each year of residence, after 10 to 15 years employment generally plateaus at a rate significantly below that of the overall population. In Norway and Denmark employment among male refugees even starts to decrease slightly. The reasons for this phenomenon are not clear. One factor could be the downturn in the labor market from 2008; another explanation could be that relatively harder and more insecure working conditions for refugee men could lead to related health problems. More research on this issue would be welcome.

Refugees have long faced several barriers to finding work in Scandinavia, including lower levels of education (on average) than the domestic workforce, lack of host-country language skills, a limited

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12 It is common for refugee women to delay having children until they have found shelter in a new country. This makes it harder for them to participate fully in integration efforts after arrival. Liebig and Tronstad, 2018.
13 The results hold for several cohorts of refugees who arrived in the late 1990s and early 2000s.
professional network (e.g. employer contacts), and discrimination. These challenges, combined with the overwhelming number of new arrivals in 2015-16, have increased the willingness of recipient country governments to review their integration policies and find ways to promote faster tracks to employment. In Denmark, where earlier cohorts of refugees fared worse on the labor market than in Norway and Sweden, large reforms of public integration policies were introduced in 2016 which have led to substantial improvements in labor market outcomes.

Integration Programs in Scandinavia

From the late 1990s to roughly 2010, Scandinavian countries simultaneously developed the same type of cohesive integration programs for refugees. Though there was no formal policy coordination, Scandinavian countries share the same cultural and historical background, speak similar languages, and often choose similar policy solutions.

All three countries share the ambition to distribute newly arrived refugees to all parts of the country. Denmark and Norway allocate new refugees to selected municipalities and withdraw welfare payments from those who move away from their municipality before they have completed their integration program. Sweden has more liberal rules that allow refugees to settle more freely in the country. Recent arrivals to Sweden tend to settle in metropolitan areas where the job prospects are better, but this has contributed to a concentration of new arrivals in ethnically segregated districts with cramped housing, low performing schools, and high crime rates. On the other hand, distributing refugees more evenly across the country risks moving them away from where the jobs are.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have adopted full-time integration programs for refugees, with benefit payments conditional upon their participation. The programs are composed of language education at special schools combined with apprenticeships and internships, vocational training, and assistance from employment offices in finding work.

In Sweden, the program is run by the Public Employment Service. In Denmark and Norway, the municipalities are responsible but the central government agencies provide funding and set up the general guidelines, for example the number of hours of language education to which participants are entitled. The Danish government regulates municipal efforts in greater detail, deciding exactly how many refugees they must accept each year and what type of language and workforce training they must provide.

In Norway, meanwhile, municipalities have more freedom to compose their own integration programs. Some municipalities favor placing refugees in private-sector internships, others enroll more refugees in regular schooling, while some employ them in municipal jobs to get them started. That autonomy might have contributed to the better overall outcomes for refugees in Norway, but may also explain the vast differences in their labor market outcomes between Norwegian municipalities. Refugees who completed their integration program in the best-performing towns are employed at rates almost twice of those who attended in the worst-performing areas. The Norwegian government is not content with the large geographic differences in these outcomes and plans to make the integration program more uniform across the country.

15 Joyce, 2015.
16 Joyce, 2017.
17 UIM, 2017.
### Table 2. Compulsory Integration Programs for Refugees and Spouses in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Denmark</th>
<th>Norway</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsible Agent</strong></td>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>Central government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length</strong></td>
<td>1 to 5 years</td>
<td>2 to 3 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Components</strong></td>
<td>Language and civic education, workforce training</td>
<td>Language and civic education, workforce training</td>
<td>Language and civic education, workforce training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as of Jan 1, 2018)</td>
<td>21,400</td>
<td>21,400</td>
<td>74,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tuition Charged</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Support</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Participants*</td>
<td>Means tested: Max 815 Euros per month before tax. 33 percent of base salary</td>
<td>Fixed sum: 1 680 Euros per month before tax. 71 percent of base salary</td>
<td>Fixed sum: 710 Euros per month after tax. 49 percent of base salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Extra Allowance for Housing and Families)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Required for Permanent Residence</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>In Work or School 3 Months after Completion of Program</strong></td>
<td>45 percent</td>
<td>49 percent</td>
<td>44 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** *Figures for 2017. The duration in Norway and Denmark’s programs vary according to refugee needs. In Denmark the share in work and school is measured after three years in the country (the average duration time for the integration program). While Sweden does not require participation in its integration program for permanent residence, it may cut benefits for those who do not participate.

Sources: Joyce, 2017; UIM, 2017; IMDi, 2018 and Arbetsförmedlingen, 2018c.

### Why do Labor Market Outcomes for Refugees in Scandinavia differ?

Refugees taking part in the Norwegian integration program have so far fared better than the participants in Denmark and Sweden. Since 2012 half of the participants in Norway have found work or enrolled in education immediately after the program, with the share rising to over 60 percent one year later. In Denmark and Sweden, the integration programs have not managed to provide such a fast route to work until recently. Up until 2016 less than 30 percent of the refugees who took part in the Swedish and Danish programs were employed afterwards, with an additional 4-5 percent enrolled in regular education. Employment rates were even lower among females and among those with limited or interrupted education. There is no clear-cut explanation for why

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19 IMDi, 2018.
outcomes were significantly better in Norway. One factor may be the stronger Norwegian labor market, which was less affected by the 2008-2010 recession than Sweden and Denmark. It could also be that stronger local autonomy in Norway’s integration program has enabled municipalities to adjust the program to the needs of the local labor market.

But the results of Sweden and Denmark’s integration programs have improved over the last two years, coinciding with the surge in arrivals in 2015-2016. In 2018, around 45 percent of participants were employed or enrolled in education after completing the program in both Sweden and Denmark. In Sweden, this improvement has come from making a large number of subsidized jobs available for refugees after the end of the program, rather than reforming the overall program. Of the refugees who were employed after the program only one in five had a regular job, with the others in temporary subsidized jobs where the state pays up to 100 percent of the wage for up to two years. Subsidized jobs can be an important step towards regular employment by providing valuable on-the-job training, but a job with a 100 percent wage subsidy should not count as employment. It is likely that most of the participants will return to unemployment when the subsidy runs out and require further assistance before they find proper work.

In Denmark the share in non-subsidized employment after the integration program has increased from 28 percent in 2015 to 45 percent in 2018. Among male refugees the employment rate is almost 60 percent but among women it is only 20 percent. This improvement in labor market outcomes follows some major changes to the integration program in 2016:

- First, in principle all newly arrived refugees are considered to be ready to work and required to take part in the integration program on a full-time basis. Full-time child care is available to help parents participate.
- Second, the program is more closely linked to the needs of the Danish labor market. Every participant must spend two days per week as an intern or trainee at a suitable workplace. The rest of the week is divided among language training, civic orientation, and efforts to find longer-term work.
- Third, the Danish program has become more adaptable to the abilities of individual participants. Before 2016 the integration program lasted three years for every participant. Refugees with stronger skills or work abilities are now expected to complete the program and start working within a year, with additional language training available after work and on weekends. Meanwhile, refugees with no or very little schooling may stay in the program for up to five years and are given basic schooling as part of the program.
- Fourth, more economic incentives are used to promote part-time work among participants in the integration program. Participants can keep a large share of the income they earn from work, while welfare benefits are also reduced for those who have not worked at all during the year. Cash bonuses are also given to those who pass their language tests.20

The Danish experience indicates that bringing the integration efforts closer to the labor market and requiring a faster transition into work from those who have higher abilities can produce good results. It is worth noting that the Danish labor market has been strong in the past several years and demand for labor has been high. It remains to be seen if recent refugees will be able to keep their jobs if unemployment rises.

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20 UIM, 2017.
Lessons from Scandinavia on Fostering Successful Labor Market Integration

The refugee and migration crisis of 2015-2016 tested the resilience of the integration systems in Scandinavia. So far it looks like they have managed this challenge better than was expected two years ago. While the crisis has not demanded big changes to labor market institutions or welfare systems, it has required some sharpening of policymakers’ integration tools.

Denmark has shown that a faster path to work can be achieved by tailoring integration policies to local labor market needs and incentivizing faster progress from newcomers with higher skills. Norway has found a formula to speed up integration by letting asylum seekers with good prospects of being allowed to stay to jump the queue and start their integration program while their asylum claims are being processed. Sweden has adopted a promising Fast Track program to make better use of refugees with in-demand skills.

One key factor has been the timing of the crisis, which coincided with a labor market that was stronger in all three countries compared to the years immediately after the recession. This has helped the much larger cohorts of new arrivals to find work at the same rate as earlier arrivals—or even faster. Even so, less than half of the new refugees are working 2-3 years after arrival.

Europe’s population is aging, and the continent stands to benefit from the arrival of younger people willing to work. But this requires that the receiving countries continue to improve their integration systems to further shorten the time from arrival to work for people seeking protection in Europe in the future. Integration efforts in Scandinavian countries offer several lessons in this respect.

A. Intervene as early as possible

The big increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2015-2016 led to long waiting times before the asylum seekers had their claims reviewed. In Sweden and Norway the average waiting time for a first ruling on an asylum claim was at least one year during 2016. Long waiting periods are stressful and can negatively impact on the psychological health of asylum seekers, which in turn can have serious implications for their ability to integrate. All Scandinavian countries have understood the importance of using the waiting time in the asylum centers to start the integration process. They all now offer some language training and civic orientation to asylum seekers. In Denmark and Norway participation is mandatory. Asylum seekers can also have their education and work skills assessed and even work during the waiting time. Norway has the most ambitious early start policy, allowing asylum seekers deemed to have good prospects of having their claims approved to start the full integration program. Special asylum centers (Integreringsmottak) are dedicated for this group, which are located in the municipalities where they will be settled if their claims are granted so that they can continue their integration training uninterrupted. These centers ensure that the integration of asylum seekers is not slowed down by long waiting times for their claims to be adjudicated. But it comes with risks. Enrolling asylum seekers in a full-time integration program is costly and represents a lost investment if the applications of participating asylum seekers are not granted.

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21 Asylum seekers can apply for this program and will be accepted if they come from countries where the majority of applications are granted.

22 IMDi, 2018.
B. Focus on host-country language skills

Scandinavian languages are not widely spoken and asylum seekers usually have no prior knowledge of them before arrival. Proficiency in the language of the host country is very important in finding and keeping a job. This has become increasingly true as entry-level jobs available to migrants are now predominantly in the service sector rather than in manufacturing. While refugees working in some service jobs may be able to rely on a prior knowledge of English, public service jobs in sectors such as childcare and eldercare require proficiency in the host-country language. And in Sweden, for example, most employers tend to favor applicants who are proficient in Swedish. All three countries are struggling to improve results in the language training courses. The big challenge has been to provide courses tailored to refugees with very different native languages and education backgrounds that range from holding university degrees to having limited literacy skills. Combining language education with employment training, preferably in the workplace, has been shown to be effective. Both Denmark and Norway require refugees to pass language tests at a basic level before they can be eligible for permanent residence. Denmark is the only country which promotes fast language training by paying out cash bonuses to refugees who pass their language tests and granting permanent residence faster to those who pass a more advanced language test.

C. Provide bridges to regular work

The Scandinavian countries have significant entry barriers to the labor market, including high entry-level salaries and strong employment protection legislation, which makes it harder for newcomers to find their first job. Public support for a general reduction in entry level wages to create more jobs has so far been low. All three countries instead use different types of state subsidized internships or temporary job programs during or after the integration program. Evaluations of these programs in Denmark, Sweden and Norway have shown they help participants get valuable work experience and significantly increase their chances of finding regular work. Evaluations show that subsidized work in the private sector is a faster path to regular work than subsidized public sector work.

In both Denmark and Sweden the state has made agreements with employers and trade unions to institute new temporary trainee positions for refugees in the private sector with either lower wages or a state subsidy to reduce labor costs. The positions are in industry and in the service sector and can last up to two years. One particularly successful Danish program (Branchepakker) combines vocational training with multiple internships in a field with high labor demand, most commonly in the service-sector industries such as retail, restaurant work, and health care. A Swedish program that pays half of the salary for two years for employers who hire newly arrived refugees has helped many to qualify for permanent work. As of December 2018 21,000 refugees were employed through this system. Evaluations have shown that those who take part have a 15-17 percent higher probability of finding unsubsidized work afterwards, but there is also evidence that employers may use this wage subsidy to hire people they would have hired anyway.

23 Bonfanti and Nordlund, 2012.
26 LG Insight 2015.
27 People who have been unemployed for one year are also eligible for the subsidy.
D. Make better use of refugees' skills

More than half of the refugees who arrived during the 2015-2016 influx, only had primary education, defined as nine years of schooling or less. Still there are sizeable groups with higher education or practical skills in high demand in the host countries. More educated migrants usually find work fast but risk getting stuck in jobs below their skill level. Underemployment of migrants occurs throughout Europe but is more common in Scandinavia: labor market research suggests that migrants with a college degree in Sweden are three times more likely to be employed below their qualification level than native-born Swedes.²⁹

Initiatives to recognize foreign credentials and provide bridging courses have been effective when adopted on a smaller scale. Evaluations show that the employment rate among those who had a foreign university education officially recognized increased by 5 percent and the share working in qualified jobs rose by 7 percent within one year.³⁰ The Swedish government has allocated funds to scale up these initiatives.

Especially promising is the so-called Fast Track program targeting newcomers with skills in 14 high-demand professions, including chefs, lorry drivers, construction workers, painters, electricians, engineers, technicians, social workers, nurses, and teachers. The Fast Track program enables participants to have their skills assessed early and they are given special bridging courses (which include tailored language and vocational training, work experience, and support in meeting licensing requirements) to help them resume their profession in Sweden. So far, 7,000 refugees have taken part. Most of the participants (70 percent) are men, although this can partly be explained by the prevalence of traditionally male-dominated professions. The Fast Track program has worked best for those with experience in high-demand professions that don’t require a license. Half of the participants found unsubsidized work in their profession within 20 months, but for nurses and teachers who need a license to work progress through the Fast Track program has been slower, with 35 percent working in their profession after 20 months. The Fast Track program could be scaled up to include more professions in high demand but since new refugee arrivals has fallen the last two years it has become harder to recruit new participants. Plans are now in place to offer this program to refugees who have lived in Sweden longer but still are unemployed or working in jobs that do not utilize their qualifications.³¹

Conclusion

The Scandinavian experience show that the labor migrant integration of refugees is a slow process. The new arrivals could provide a significant boost to the fast-aging workforces in Scandinavia but realizing this large economic benefit will require patience and sustained investments. Many refugees have limited or interrupted education and no prior knowledge of the receiving countries’ language, limiting their appeal to employers, and there is a limited supply of unskilled jobs in Scandinavian labor markets.

Looking ahead, the most important priority will be to shorten the length of time that elapses from when newcomers arrive to when they get their first job, especially for refugee women, whose employment outcomes lag behind those of their male counterparts. Experiences from all three countries have shown that early interventions (such as assessing skills early in the asylum process, or even providing some asylum seekers with access to a full-time integration program) and

²⁹ OECD, 2014 and Saco, 2015.
³⁰ UHR, 2014
³¹ Arbetsförmedlingen, 2018b.
language and vocational training that are tailored to the labor market can produce significant improvements in that sense. Efforts to support the participation of refugee women (such as providing childcare, improving outreach, and providing fast-track services for more female-dominated professions) in integration programming can in turn help narrow the gender gap.
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