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# **ROLE OF POLICY CONFIGURATIONS IN LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF HUMANITARIAN MIGRANTS**

Comparative Analysis of seven European Countries

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## **Abstract**

This PhD thesis explores how policies in several receiving countries in Europe shape the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. This research involved a systematic comparison across seven countries (The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway and Greece) in the period 1990 - 2008. Building on the integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008), I argue that integration is a multidimensional process that is influenced by both the individual characteristics of persons and the policy factors in the countries of reception. A combination of various policy instruments create an environment conditioning the behaviour of the integrating migrants, namely in granting or depriving legal rights, allowing more or less decision-making freedom with regards to employment or residence, and facilitating or hampering employment trajectories. A policy tool does not act in isolation, thus I deem it crucial to consider several policy areas at the same time. The following aspects are explored in this study: 1) access to a stable residence status and official labour market; 2) welfare benefit policies; 3) policies actively promoting labour market participation; 4) policies supporting language training. I show how different configurations of these policy conditions have led to different labour market integration outcomes among humanitarian migrants.

Successful labour market integration is understood as equal labour market performance between humanitarian migrants and natives. This is operationalized by two indicators – difference in employment chances and difference in chances of having a good quality job. These parameters are measured through logistic regression analysis using the data of the European Labour Force Survey, Ad-hoc Module of 2008.

The findings reveal that no country exhibited an outcome where humanitarian migrants are fully equal to natives in both parameters. However, Norway and Germany were found to be the countries where the differences between humanitarian migrants and natives were minimal. This outcome was labelled ‘balanced integration’. Using a technique of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), I compared the configurations of policies observed in the countries revealing balanced integration (Germany and Norway) with the remaining five countries. I found that having obligatory language and employability training programmes for humanitarian migrants was a crucial policy aspect, and the success of economic integration increases when such a policy is combined with generous welfare benefits and relatively easy and fast access to the official labour market.

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## INTRODUCTION

Mass migration of refugees to Europe became one of the most acute political and media topics of the last five years. Among others, civil wars in Syria, Yemen and South Sudan, the dictatorship regime of the Eritrean government and the military conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, forced many people to leave their homes. According to the UNHCR data (UNHCR, 2016), of the 65,6 million people who have been forcibly displaced worldwide 22,5 million are refugees. Although the majority of refugees (54%) are being hosted in the countries of Africa, North Africa and the Middle East (UNHCR, 2016), many arrived in the European Union too.

The initial idea for this project was born in 2014, which was the year when the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ was unfolding in the EU and raised a lot of public and political concerns. The countries of the European Union have faced an unprecedented number of asylum seeker arrivals since the 1990s. In 2015 and 2016, 1,3 million asylum seekers applied for asylum in the EU-27 (Eurostat, 2017). By the end of 2016, Europe (excl. Turkey) hosted 2,3 million refugees<sup>1</sup>. The EU politicians and mass media were alarmed by these numbers, because the European reception system was not prepared for such an influx (Trauner, 2016). There were many concerns that the reception (i.e. provision of accommodation and food) of such numbers of asylum seekers would be expensive for the hosting countries. Moreover, there were fears (e.g. see Today's Zaman, 2015, Sept 17) that once recognized as refugees the newcomers would become a burden on welfare systems, because they were not expected to easily find sources of income in the countries of asylum and would remain dependent on welfare benefits for a long period of time

These prominent media and political discourses made me wonder: if the receiving governments are so concerned about refugees being a burden for welfare systems, is it possible to somehow promote their financial self-reliance and reduce their dependency from welfare benefits, for example by means of employment? If the answer is yes, then how can this be achieved and what conditions have to be fulfilled? This dissertation is written in the attempt to find answers to these questions.

The recent history, the human tragedy of forced migration sparked interest of various scholars such as: sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, lawyers and psychologists. A large body of literature has been produced on the many issues of asylum and forced migration, ranging from: exploration of motivations and reasons for departure; choice of destinations (Crawley, 2011); studies about legal and illegal migration routes (Djajić, 2014; Peterka-Benton, 2011); research on health issues of forced migrants (Grove & Zwi, 2006); study of encampment (Darling, 2009) and

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<sup>1</sup> Persons with refugee status, subsidiary protection or other forms of humanitarian protection

life in the refugees camps (Kenyon Lischer, 2005), criticism of detention (Campesi, 2018) and the conditions in asylum centres (Campesi, 2015); studies on the integration of refugees in the receiving societies (Critical Reflections on Refugee Integration, 2010; Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002); and, of course, literature on policies regulating all those aspects.

My dissertation falls within the realm of research on integration of forced migrants in the receiving societies. I understand integration as the “*multidimensional process of becoming part of the receiving society, which starts from the first day of migrant’s arrival and involves both the hosts and immigrants*”. Integration into the labour market is the chief focus of the project because my initial interest was to explore the possibilities for refugees’ financial self-reliance. Independence from the welfare support system can usually be achieved by means of paid employment or entrepreneurship. The integration trajectory is influenced by pre-migration and migration experiences of refugees. Hence, the study of the integration should also consider other aspects characterising forced migration.

First, the reader should keep in mind that migrants who left their home country under threatening circumstances, and are in search of humanitarian protection, have more difficulties finding employment in the host country compared to labour migrants. Unlike economic migrants, humanitarian migrants<sup>2</sup> did not choose the destination country because of job availability in their occupation and do not have an employer waiting for them in the receiving country. Evidence from the UK suggests that majority of asylum seekers end up seeking asylum in a certain country by virtue of chance. For many, the decision on where to go was made by others, which was oftentimes a network of smugglers and other facilitators (Crawley, 2011).

Second, the routes of forced migrants can often be irregular because they frequently come from countries where European visas are very difficult to obtain or because they are fleeing government persecution and have to hide from the authorities (Black, 2003). Irregular traveling is dangerous, lengthy and expensive. It is common place that irregular travellers experience different forms of abuse and forced labour (Collyer, 2010; Schuster, 2011). The journeys can be full of de-tours, periods of detention, and other traumatic experiences (Collyer, 2010) that undermine the physical and psychological health of humanitarian migrants (Steel et al., 2006). Of course, not all of refugees migrate irregularly. A few arrive through state resettlement programmes, in which some of the most vulnerable refugees are selected from camps in the countries of first asylum and are relocated to developed countries in the global North. In 2016, only 189 thousand refugees were resettled worldwide through these programmes (less than 1% of all refugees) (UNHCR, 2016).

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<sup>2</sup> Humanitarian migrants – individuals who immigrate for reasons of international protection. For further explanation of this term and its use in this dissertation see p. 33

Some humanitarian migrants are able to secure tourist visas and request asylum upon arrival in the country of choice. These are examples of the many ways in which individuals can travel to the country of destination, some of which are much more risky than others. I acknowledge that pre-migration traumas and difficulties of traveling can negatively influence a person's ability to secure employment but these aspects are beyond the scope of this study.

After an often precarious flight from their countries of origin, refugees start the process of adaptation and establishment of their new lives. This process is accompanied by a myriad of legal, economic, social and psychological challenges (Ambrosini, 2014; Björnberg, 2014; Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002). Immediately after their arrival (unless they are resettled refugees), asylum seekers are scrutinized by the asylum systems to determine the eligibility of their claims. During this period of investigation, asylum seekers are usually placed in isolated reception centres, which are very similar to detention centres (Welch & Schuster, 2016). Their freedom of mobility is limited and the housing conditions can be rather poor. It was only in the year 2013 that the EU adopted the Reception Conditions Directive, which established a standard for asylum reception centres. Before that, there were very diverse types of conditions across the centres and many of them could be characterized as degrading (Szczepanikova, 2013), even dangerous (Hsiao-Hung, 2018, 8 February; Keygnaert, Vettenburg, & Temmerman, 2012). Long waiting times and the uncertainty about their status, combined with bad conditions and experiences of violence in the reception centres, often cumulated in a negative first experience that undermined asylum seekers integration into the host society.

The growing suspicion and distrust of asylum seekers from the point of view of the receiving countries bureaucracies (Fassin, 2012) has contributed to their public image as potentially dangerous and unwanted newcomers (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) in the media discourse and in the eyes of receiving populations. States have focused their efforts on discriminating between 'bogus' and 'genuine' asylum seekers (Malloch & Stanley, 2005), which has led to very narrow interpretation of the Geneva Refugee Convention (UNHCR, 2010) and resulted in a scenario where many asylum seekers are denied refugee status, simply because their situation does not fit the narrow profile of a conventional refugee (Zetter, 2007).

During the process of asylum claim examination (which in some cases can take many months), asylum seekers are kept in centres that are isolated from the rest of the society and hinder their social integration (Darling, 2009; Mulvey, 2010). The idea of separating asylum seekers from the host society symbolically emphasises their 'otherness, or their abnormality. Isolated asylum centres can be compared with camps, ghettos, or reservations: places where the life of forced

migrants cannot be fully rebuilt, because they are withdrawn from ‘normal’ society. Such policies, combined with racism and xenophobia, additionally complicate their integration process.

Thus, this research project addresses a critical issue that is relevant for both policy makers and academics. Nowadays, there is a lot of political interest in finding appropriate approaches for dealing with the substantial number of newly arrived refugees and to integrate them fast into society. The issue of the incorporation of humanitarian migrants into the labour market is very prominent among the developed receiving states. Economic integration is often a priority for the host countries’ governments, since those who are able to generate their own income are not dependent on welfare benefits (Haines, 1988; Juzwaik, McGregor, & Siegel M., 2014). Joppke (2007) writes that the urge of developed states to “master global competition” is one of the main reasons for a state to promote immigrant self-sufficiency and independence from welfare benefits. Socio-economic integration of migrants therefore becomes an obligation because “fiscally diminished states” cannot provide welfare subsistence for everybody, and the people who work leally contribute to the general wealth of the country (Joppke, 2007). Moreover, there is no doubt that participation in the labour market is one of the crucial aspects of overall integration, with one argument being that working refugees adapt much easier to the life in the receiving society (Bloch 1999; Phillimore et. al. 2006).

Although policy discourse in many countries shifts the responsibility of integration to the migrants (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002), the process is not merely a matter of individual behaviour. It is important to bear in mind that the economic realities of the European receiving states are quite different than those of the regions where the humanitarian migrants come from (mainly Africa, South-East Asia and the Middle East)<sup>3</sup>, so an extra effort is required to understand the new labour market system and find ones’ own way in it. Besides the role of migrants’ personal efforts and motivation in finding suitable employment in the country of asylum (Allen, 2009; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Colic-Peisker, 2008; Hagelund & Kavli, 2009; Korac, 2003; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008), institutional and policy conditions can also play a part in facilitating or hindering the process (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2013; Bloch, 2008; Edin, Fredriksson, & Aslund, 2004; Rosholm & Vejlin, 2010; Tress, 1998).

With regards to academic relevance, research on the influence of policy on refugees’ economic integration has not been widely published (Mulvey, 2015) with systematic accounts of policy integration measures lacking (Schibel, Fazel, Robb, & Garner, 2002). The literature on forced migration usually addresses humanitarian relief responses or studies of refugees in camps of the

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<sup>3</sup> See details in Chapter III, sect. 1, p.64-65

countries of first asylum. I intend to look beyond the arrivals and admissions issues of refugees in the host countries and instead study their economic integration as a process that is shaped by policies of the receiving states and personal characteristics of individuals.

In short, my study aims are as follows:

- 1) To determine which policy conditions combine to jointly facilitate labour market integration of humanitarian migrants in the receiving European countries and which hinder it?
- 2) To showcase the application of the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) approach in the field of migration studies.
- 3) To provide policy recommendations for the European countries receiving humanitarian migrants.

This research contributes to the fields of migration and integration studies, labour market studies, forced migration studies, and, public policy and methodology research in social science.

My main research questions are:

1. Which configuration(s) of policy conditions in the European receiving countries are favourable for the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants?
2. Which configuration(s) of policy conditions in the European receiving countries hamper successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants?

To address these primary questions, I first needed to answer the following sub-questions:

- What does the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants really mean? How can we define it and measure it?
- What are the differences in labour market integration of humanitarian migrants across European countries? Which countries demonstrate successful labour market integration, and which countries demonstrate a lack of successful labour market integration (failure)?
- What policies in these countries have potentially shaped the success or failure of labour market integration?
- How do the configuration(s) of policy conditions in the countries with successful labour market integration differ from those found in countries with less successful labour market integration?

A suitable research design for answering these questions needs to involve data on labour market integration and policy information, that can be comparable across countries. Such a research design could be implemented only if the quantitative data on labour market integration is available and comparable data on policies could be accessed or collected. After examining various datasets, it became clear that the choices were limited. I opted to use the European Labour Force Survey 2008 (EU-LFS) dataset, which included the ad-hoc module about migration, in order to estimate the levels of economic integration in several countries. This dataset was published in 2013 and at the time I started this project (in 2014), was the only available dataset that surveyed both the native population and various types of migrant populations using identical questions from a standardized questionnaire – making the data comparable across countries.

Since the labour market integration was measured in this dataset in 2008, the policies that may have influenced this integration process were active prior that year. Also, due to the fact that vast majority of humanitarian migrants in this dataset migrated after 1989, I focused on policies and institutional factors in the period 1990 to 2008.

It could be argued that data from this period cannot accurately reflect the policy situation nowadays in the receiving countries, which is quite different compared to that of early 1990s and 2000s. Whilst there is some truth in this, nevertheless, this research can be still useful. By analysing past data, researchers can evaluate the results of prior policies and learn from that experience. They can also trace the development of policies that have shaped the incorporation of humanitarian migrants into European societies throughout time. It is worth noting that some policy databases were already in existence from 2004 onwards, for example Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), providing a means by which to compare policies on immigrant integration across countries. Additionally, the Asylum Information Data Base (AIDA) gives an overview of asylum policies and practices across many European countries starting from 2014. However, no dataset on prior policies, from 1990 until 2004, specifically focuses on integration of humanitarian migrants. My project represents the first effort to collate this information into a dataset that can be expanded by future researchers.

Last but not least, as a final argument in favour of this analysis timeframe, I would like to emphasise that using 2008 as a benchmark of labour market integration is of merit because the EU-LFS survey was conducted before the economic crisis of autumn 2008, which negatively affected the labour markets in the European countries. The same justification was also used in the study of Hooijer and Picot (2015) on migrant poverty.

This study focuses on European developed countries i.e., democracies with advanced and regulated economies. It is important to note that the modes and indicators of economic integration in regions outside Europe can be very different from those showcased in this research. A substantial number of refugee populations are hosted by Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, the Islamic Republic of Iran, as well as in Uganda and Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2016). The governing regimes, levels of economic development, and regulations of these countries are rather distinct from those of Europe. The topic of refugee economic integration in these countries has been tackled by several other researchers (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan, & Omata, 2014; Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016)

The choice of countries for analysis was motivated, on the one hand by, the aim to represent the variety of European countries, on the other hand, it was driven by the data availability. Not all the countries in the EU-LFS 2008 had a sample of humanitarian migrants that was large enough to conduct a quantitative analysis. I was therefore bounded to the few countries where there were enough cases available. Nevertheless, these countries represent different types of welfare systems, which according to Reyneri and Fullin (2011), provide different contexts for labour market integration of migrants. For this reason the typology of Esping-Andersen (1990) was applied to theorise the structural differences in the selected countries.

Table 1: Country-cases and welfare systems

<b>Country</b>	<b>Welfare State Type</b>
Sweden	Scandinavian
Norway	
The Netherlands	Socio-democratic (corporatist)
Germany	
Austria	
Greece	Southern European with informal labour market
The United Kingdom	Liberal

While these constraints made me focus on the abovementioned 7 countries, I do acknowledge the need to analyse more countries in the future, which may help to enhance generalizability of the current research, or potentially indicate alternative ‘paths’ to the success or failure of the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants.

The following text is divided into 5 parts.

Chapter I is a theoretical chapter which consists of a systematic literature review describing state-of-the-art research on the topic of policy influence on labour market integration of humanitarian migrants and refugees. The literature review is followed by a definition of the conceptual

framework of this project. In addition to the review, some more general studies of migrant integration are discussed in order to answer these three questions:

- what is the population of interest;
- how can labour market integration be defined;
- which policies shape the process of labour market integration and how?

Chapter II gives a concise methodological commentary that explains the approach of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (Ragin, 1987), sets out the terminology of set-theoretic methods (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013), and justifies the choice of this method. It serves as a prelude to Chapter III and IV, where the data collection and analysis methods are described more in detail along with the results.

Chapter III is devoted to the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. Here the dataset and its parameters and limitations are first introduced, after which the following three indicators of labour market integration are outlined: (1) the gap between the employment chances of humanitarian migrants compared to native-born (all population); (2) the gap between the employment chances of humanitarian migrants compared to the natives (only active population<sup>4</sup>); (3) the gap between a humanitarian migrants' chances of having a good quality job versus that of the native-born. Next, all three indicators were mapped against each other to show how the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants can be evaluated differently by each indicator. At the end of the chapter, the concept of balanced labour market integration is introduced as a final definition and the countries are ranked according to how they fit within this conceptual definition.

Finally, Chapter IV presents the analysis of the policy composition of the countries. First, a method of systematic policy data collection is described. Here the policy dataset is introduced, in which I systematically described the institutional conditions of the seven analysed countries. This is followed by a comparison of five policy aspects that are relevant for the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. For each policy aspect two opposing ideal-typical situations are developed: one which would affect positively the integration process, and another which would negatively affect the integration process. After the description of the policy situation in all countries is given, a decision is made as to which of these two 'ideal-types' fits each country's situation better. Lastly, a qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is performed and the results are interpreted for both successful and unsuccessful integration outcomes.

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<sup>4</sup> Active population is the one that is either working or actively searching for jobs. Inactive population is the one not working and not actively searching for job.



To conclude, I summarise the results and reflect on the main findings of the project, proposing new policy recommendations and avenues for further research in the field.

The economic integration of humanitarian migrants and other migrants is a multifaceted topic that can be studied from many different angles. It is often measured through a variety of quantitative indicators, and is show-cased through the personal narratives of refugees, natives, practitioners and politicians. In the framework of one PhD dissertation it is difficult to encompass the complexity of integration and touch upon all the internal, external, institutional, personal, economic, political and cultural factors related to the process of economic integration. Therefore, several of these aspects are not the focus of this project.

The first aspect I did not focus on was the agency of humanitarian migrants. My research takes a macro-analytical point of view. Although I do not deny the importance of migrants' actions, aspirations and intentions for the success of their economic integration, the possibilities for incorporating these micro level factors into my research design were limited. The importance of migrants' personal characteristics and their actions have been previously studied by Colic-Peisker (2008), Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002) and Ambrosini (2001). Some individual characteristics of migrants are controlled for in the quantitative analysis conducted in the Chapter III, but other aspects, such as their motivation, health related issues, and specific job search activities are beyond the scope of this study.

Additionally, the economic situation in the countries of reception is also not explored in detail. The function of some indicative economic aspects such as GDP, general unemployment rates, and the type of welfare system, as difference markers for the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants are briefly discussed in the chapter IV.

The role of non-governmental organizations in the labour market integration of refugees is also not a key focus of this dissertation. While collecting policy data for this research, I sought for evidence about NGOs' provision of language training and job-search advice. It was expected that some services could be provided by non-governmental organizations either in parallel with state-run services, or NGO's could be funded by the public funds, or, in the absence of state programmes, NGOs would be the only institutional actors of humanitarian support. However, there is no systematic or truly comparable information on the degree of involvement of NGOs involved in humanitarian support across the analysed countries in the 1990s and early 2000s. The scattered existing evidence does not provide a solid basis for estimating the scope of population covered by the NGO programmes, nor for evaluating the effectiveness of those activities in the time-frame of the analysis.

## **I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Introduction**

The first chapter of my dissertation pursues several goals: first, to describe state-of-the-art research on the topic of this study; second, to identify theoretical and methodological gaps in the literature and to outline the definitions, concepts and theoretical framework of this research project. My research topic touches upon three wide bodies of literature: (1) sociology of forced migration; (2) migrant integration studies; (3) literature on policies and policy instruments. The first category includes literature on refugees, asylum seekers, internal displacement and development-induced displacement (Castles 2003). This category is helpful in defining my population of interest characterised by the involuntary nature of migration. The second category is useful for conceptualising the ‘object’ of my study i.e., labour market integration, and to situate migrants’ life trajectories within the bigger picture in the receiving countries. The third category provides the basis for conceptualization of the ‘factors’ influence on the ‘object’.

While there are a multitude of studies in each category, not all of them are relevant for this research. Therefore, I decided to structure my literature review around the subject (humanitarian migrants), object (labour market integration) and factor (policies) of my interest. Guided by the question “How is the economic integration of humanitarian migrants influenced by the policies of a receiving state?” I conducted a systematic literature review, which is presented in the first part of the chapter. Next, on the basis of that review, I drew conclusions about how these studies conceptualized their population of interest and the success/failure of labour market integration, as well as the policies they explored. At that stage other sources from the wider body of literature were discussed in order to put these conceptualizations into perspective and justify the choice of definitions. I close this chapter by highlighting methodological gaps, paving the way for the introduction of my methodological approach in Chapter II.

### **1. Literature review**

This literature review surveyed contemporary books, peer-reviewed articles, and independent scientific reports on the economic integration of refugees or humanitarian migrants in the receiving countries (with a strong focus on the role of policies). The review was conducted in the period 2015 to 2016. The literature was gathered by undertaking a systematic keyword search in several electronic catalogues that included:

- Google Scholar search engine
- Electronic catalogue of the University of Milan [Explora]

- Electronic catalogue of the University of Turin [Tutto]
- Electronic catalogue of Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford [Solo]
- ProQuest Social Science Citation Index
- World of Science

Combinations of the following key words were searched for in Titles and Abstracts:

	<b>Main term</b>	<b>Alternative 1</b>	<b>Alternative 2</b>
Concept 1	econom*	“labour market”	employ*
Concept 2	integration	adaptation	inclusion
Concept 3	polic*	regulation*	-
Concept 4	“Humanitarian migrant*”	Refugee*	“Asylum seeker*”

The search focused on texts in the English language that has been published in the last 16 years (2000-2016). An exception was one article from 1998 which was included due to its high relevance. Published literature from academic journals or the reports of scientific institutions were selected. In addition, some very important pieces of grey literature, i.e. reports commissioned by NGOs and IGOs, were also included.

The articles that met the selection criteria were diverse in terms of methodology, geographical coverage, scope of analysed policies, and even the professional or academic background of the authors. Major themes were: sociology, especially migration; ethnic and integration studies; and political, legal, economic and psychological studies. These articles were published in the following journals:

- Journal of Refugee Studies; ISSN: 0951-6328
- International Migration; ISSN: 00207985
- Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; ISSN: 1369-183X
- Ethnic and Racial Studies; ISSN: 0141-9870 (Print) 1466-4356
- Journal of International Migration and Integration; ISSN: 1874-6365
- Sociology BSA; ISSN: 00380385
- Journal of Population Economics; ISSN: 0933-1433
- Labour Economics; ISSN: 0927-5371
- Journal of Social Policy; ISSN: 0047-2794
- Social Behaviour and Personality: an international journal; ISSN: 03012212

In this review, special attention was paid to how the link between policies and economic integration outcomes was explored, including what policy tools are focused on, the country based contexts observed, and different methods employed. Selected research is presented by the groups of methodological approaches, used in them to investigate the link between policy and the economic outcomes of humanitarian migrants

*a. Qualitative & mixed-methods*

The two articles of Alice Bloch (2000; 2008) combine analysis of integration policy in the United Kingdom with material drawn from interviews with humanitarian migrants of diverse origins. Labour market participation is a key topic in both articles, since the author claims that it is the most important aspect of immigrants' integration. Here, the impact size of policy on employment is not measured quantitatively, but the fact that policies do influence integration is concluded from previous studies and confirmed through the personal evidence of the respondents.

In Bloch's first article (2000), 180 humanitarian migrants from three ethnic backgrounds, who all came from one area of London, were interviewed as a case study. The non-random sampling included quotas for age, gender and length of residence in the county. The main results highlighted the importance of immigration status<sup>5</sup> and the accompanying right to enter the official labour market. Policy that aimed to prevent asylum seekers from entering the labour market directly affected their employability. This claim was supported by descriptive results of the 180 asylum seeking respondents, of whom, very few were in paid employment in comparison to refugees and humanitarian migrants with the exceptional leave to remain (ELR). Another policy related finding was that the recognition of foreign qualifications was very limited, which prevented many qualified refugees from finding a job in accordance with their qualifications, thus wasting their prior skills and working experience whilst in the country of asylum.

In Bloch's second article (Bloch, 2008), a larger sample of 400 humanitarian migrants was surveyed with a smaller subset interviewed, and six focus groups with stakeholders and community representatives were conducted. The article describes the recent changes in reception and integration policies for humanitarian migrants in the UK, specific integration strategies developed by Home Office, and the importance of employment in those provisions. The determinants of employment that were tested through the logistic regression showed the importance of previous qualifications and work experience of refugees, language proficiency and participation in training courses, along with gender and age. Barriers to employment mentioned most frequently by the humanitarian migrants were: knowledge of English language; UK work experience; lack of qualifications; and discrimination. The author argues that, in general, strategies to improve the employment integration of refugees should aim at capacity-building, such as language training and vocational education. However, for humanitarian migrants with high levels of human capital, fluent knowledge of English, and professional qualifications, such policy measures were not effective at bringing them into employment. Of the 27 highly skilled refugees with fluent English,

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<sup>5</sup> asylum seeker, recognized refugee or holders of Exceptional Leave to Remain on humanitarian grounds (ELR)

only 9 were in paid employment in the UK at the time of the survey. “The commitment to refugee integration through capacity-building has to take into account diversity of need and go hand in hand with tackling discrimination and structural barriers”, concluded Bloch (2008, p.35).

The effects of UK policy-making on refugees in Scotland has been explored by Mulvey (2015). He uses a similar approach to Bloch (2000; 2008), combining detailed description of policy provisions in the UK with the results of a mixed-method study of medium sample of refugees and asylum seekers living in Scotland. Two hundred and sixty-two humanitarian migrants of various ethnic backgrounds were surveyed with 40 follow-up interviews conducted. The questionnaire was distributed through colleges, and community or voluntary organizations. In this article the existence of a largely inhibitory impact of policy on the integration of refugees was traced out from the evidence obtained from the survey and interviews. The author claims that numerous time-lags including: “waiting to be recognised as a refugee, waiting for work, waiting for suitable homes, and waiting to have security of stay”, negatively impacted integration (Mulvey, 2015, p. 366). The author stated that time spent in the asylum process and lack of housing stability also has a long term negative effect on the integration outcomes of refugees. Moreover, he highlighted that general hostility and distrust towards of humanitarian immigrants by the UK’s Coalition government is reflected in policy (i.e., by withdrawing all funds for the provision of integration services in 2011), and contributes to the prejudices of potential employers towards refugees. In contrast, the Scottish government had a more inclusive and welcoming attitude to humanitarian migrants, financing language services and some community projects. In this article, there was no comparison integration of refugees in Scotland and the rest of the UK, which would be a useful determinant of whether the Scottish government’s policy does in fact facilitate refugee integration. In line with Bloch (2008), Mulvey (2015) claims that UK policies have a universally negative effect on integration because both high and low-skilled refugees are poorly integrated into the labour market.

The barriers to employment of qualified professional humanitarian migrants has been also described by Smyth and Kum (2010) in a qualitative study of refugee teachers. In this study refugee difficulties in employment arose from a combination of personal, cultural, institutional, and structural discrimination. With regard the policies, the recognition of foreign qualifications and the required registration in a supervising institution, were claimed to be the main obstacles for economic integration.

The large-scale qualitative study of Krahn et al. (2000) confirmed these findings by investigating employment experiences of refugees resettled in the period of 1992 – 1997 in Alberta, Canada. The main difficulty for the interviewed participants was finding jobs appropriate to their level of

skills and experience. Many highly skilled and experienced professionals could not enter the same occupations in their host country. They experienced high levels of underemployment and were pushed to inferior occupations leading to their downward mobility. These processes are explained by the structural factors of Canadian labour market. Refugees confirmed that although their degrees were recognized by the universities, employers did not consider those certificates appropriate to hire them. Alongside this, the offered English language training did not fit their occupational needs, and lack of Canadian work experience was a severe obstacle for finding suitable employment or even accessing employment assistance programmes (Krahn et al., 2000).

Shutes (2011) contributes to this discussion by exploring how one policy instrument – employment assistance for refugees – was implemented in practice and how it affected the labour market outcomes of UK refugees. She uses a qualitative approach based on 28 interviews with refugees i.e., the beneficiaries of the service, as well as 5 members of the staff of non-state organizations providing employment assistance and 7 employees of the state agency Jobcenter Plus. Her main findings were that the service providers in the UK are dependent on the funding from Jobcenter Plus and are themselves under pressure to deliver the result. The effectiveness of service provision was usually measured by the quantity and the speed by which employment is procured. The author's cautious conclusion is that, due to this emphasis on both fast and short-term job placements, there may be a tendency for service providers to focus on those refugees whom it is easier to help, and to ignore the needs of those requiring more assistance. In the same way, policy encouraging the assisting organizations to “place refugees in any jobs, irrespective to their experience, skills needs and work-related interests, <...> may reinforce the concentration of refugees in ethnically segmented, low-paid, low-skilled and less secure types of employment” (Shutes, 2011).

The study of Franz (2003) provides a rare example of qualitative research comparing the influence of different policies on the economic integration of Bosnian refugees in Austria and the USA. She describes the policies and legal provisions relevant for Bosnian humanitarian migrants in both countries. Special focus is given to laws on refugee status recognition and relief programmes. In Austria, Bosnians were given temporary protection status and some integration assistance through a federal provincial plan, while the USA had a policy of open borders and a labour oriented resettlement project that was assisted via a public-private partnership. The author illustrates the experiences of refugees by quoting excerpts from the in-depth interviews conducted (26 in Vienna and 20 in the New York). On the basis of the evidence from her interviewees and ethnographic field research, Franz concludes that socio-economic integration was very similar in both countries

and that individual characteristics and motivations of people played a more important role in shaping the outcome than policy frameworks (Franz, 2003).

Overall, this author provided a comprehensive overview of policies in both countries supported by the life experiences of the interviewees, who included multiple age and ethnic groups, as a representative Bosnian refugee community. Her informants also included representatives of the government and NGOs in the receiving states. However, the assessments of policy effects and the perceived similarity of the economic integration of refugees in the both countries were not well justified.

The last article in this section writes about one narrow aspect of economic integration, that of refugees' self-employment. Wauters and Lambrecht (2008) conducted 15 interviews with refugee-entrepreneurs or "to-be-entrepreneurs" and 5 advisers. The researchers gathered personal and business histories of humanitarian migrants and tried to answer the question of "why there are so few refugee entrepreneurs in Belgium?" Policy related factors were examined together with specific market opportunities and the individual characteristics of self-employed refugees. Among the highlighted institutional factors were: the need for recognition of previous qualification; the certified knowledge of business administration; banks reluctance to give credit to this category of people; lack of information on microfinance institutions, their rules and regulations (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

Summing up, these pieces of research are grouped together due to the strong qualitative component in their research design and bottom-up approach to knowledge generation. Some of them only employ a small sample of semi-structured interviews conducted in one city or country, others combine non-random surveys with follow-up interviews. All the studies contained detailed discussions of policies relevant for refugee's economic integration and welfare. In some, policies were presented as a general framework for integration, in others, policy conditions were illustrated via particular policy instruments, providing a more structured basis for inter-country comparison. The causal link between policies and economic integration outcomes is demonstrated using evidence from the interviews with refugees. One of the main advantages of such an approach is the opportunity to 'hear' the voices of refugees who are typically excluded from the policy-making process. Such studies are able to deliver the message from the bottom-up by highlighting how refugees themselves perceive the effects of policy context on their lives. In addition, this approach is useful for theory building: i.e. potentially influential factors are investigated in one setting and then can be verified in other communities and countries. A third advantage is that these studies provide a detailed overview of various policies that have shaped integration processes and draw attention to the often complex and unintended consequences of some regulations.

That said, these types of studies do have limitations. A key limitation is that it is difficult to generalize their findings to other locations or countries, making it challenging to claim these findings are truly representative for a variety of humanitarian migrants. On the basis of these articles, it is therefore difficult to draw conclusions for different countries in regard to policy settings and their effects on refugees' economic integration. Moreover, there may be a bias from the interviewees regarding the reasons for their poor labour market situation. It is always easier to blame the external circumstances than yourself for not being economically successful.

*b. Policy studies focusing on law*

The book chapter of Wright & McKay (2008) provides a legal perspective on the issue of policies influencing the employment of refugees. Despite the fact that the title seems to introduce a descriptive article, the abstract suggests that there is also explanatory content. 'The chapter *explores* the short- and long-term implications of excluding asylum seekers and undocumented migrants from the labour market and the *impact* of successive and increasingly restrictive changes in immigration and asylum laws on the employment prospects of these groups' (2008, p.53, *cursive by Pisarevskaya*). The authors detail the policy instruments regulating immigration and employment. The increasingly restrictive stance of the UK's policy is suggested to hamper economic integration of humanitarian migrants, especially those that are in the asylum process or undocumented. Rather than identifying or measuring the impact of policies, this work theorises on the possible (and indeed plausible) consequences of regulative provisions on employment chances and quality of jobs for humanitarian migrants. The implied policy effects are supported by referencing the articles of other researchers.

Da Lomba (2010) also presents a legal point of view on refugee integration in the UK. She investigates the interrelation of immigration and citizenship law, and shows their conflicting objectives. The author does not speak about employment at first, but rather builds an argument around the general idea of integration as a two-way process that starts upon arrival. Da Lomba states: 'Paradoxically, whilst citizenship is presented as central to integration, progress to this legal status has become more difficult' (2010, p. 435). It is argued that current legal provisions construe the acquisition of a secure legal status as a reward for successful integration. Hence, integration in the UK context is framed as a goal for humanitarian migrants and not a two-way process between migrants and host society.

This idea has been further developed in the sociological work of Stewart and Mulvey (2013) who investigated acquisition of a secured residence status by humanitarian migrants. The authors conducted 30 qualitative interviews with refugees in Scotland asking about the perceived



implications of the recent changes in the asylum and citizenship policy in the UK on their economic integration. The evidence of the interviewees allowed for the conclusion that temporariness of their refugee protection status (i.e. 5 years) is seen as a disadvantage by potential employers because companies prefer to hire someone with longer term guarantees. This aspect contributes to a sense of instability that prevents refugees from perceiving the host country as their home. Thus, often they desire to obtain citizenship not because they intrinsically feel that they are part of the country, but because this is the only way for them to obtain a sense of security in their own lives.

The article by Vrečer (2010) describes the results of her long-term ethnographic study conducted in Slovenia on the economic integration of Bosnian refugees. Whilst working for an advocacy organisation she conducted semi-structured interviews with over 350 people, with many of whom she talked with many times over. On the basis of the evidence from the interviews and participant observation, the lack of economic integration is explained as an outcome of the state policies forbidding legal employment. During the decade from the outbreak of Yugoslavian war up until 2002, there was legislation in place in Slovenia that excluded forced migrants from the labour market. To survive, people had to work illegally and often suffered from abuse, non-payment of the salaries and tough working conditions. This legislation had long term negative implications: after such long periods of inactivity or struggling for survival, people suffered insecurity and ill health and were not able to find good jobs even if they were allowed to do so.

Summing up, these articles provide important input on the role of law and the governmental intentions embedded in it, which matter in the integration process of humanitarian migrants. Legal frameworks grant or restrict access to equal rights for refugees - the basis of inclusive societies. All of these studies provide a detailed history of legal changes in a particular country (i.e., UK, Slovenia). However, the scope of analysis varied: some authors focused on policy instruments concerning formal membership or access to official employment, while others maintained a more general outlook/overview. The common feature of the studies that focused on legal aspects was ; that policy 'effects' were confirmed by evidence from other researcher's studies. In contrast, the sociological study of Vrečer drew conclusions on the basis of qualitative interviews and ethnography.

### *c. Historical research*

The piece of Easton-Calabria (2015) stands out from the literature reviewed above because it has a clear historical focus. The article compared two periods of refugee livelihood assistance programmes: one after the First World War and the other after the Second World War. The author

approached the investigation chiefly through document analysis. The ways in which the international organizations (UNHCR and League of Nations) supported refugees were found to be fundamentally different in the two periods. The first period was characterised by an ad-hoc ‘bottom-up’ approach, which involved refugees in the decision-making process, meaning their needs were consulted and own initiatives supported. After WWII, the system radically changed to a ‘top-down’ system of livelihood assistance provision, imposing refugee settlement in isolated camps, forced farming, and other paternalistic, authoritarian practices. Any initiatives of refugees in rebuilding their lives were discarded or left unattended. Easton-Calabria highlights the difficulty of assessing the impact of this policy change on the successful settlement of refugees due to the lack of data, however, it is cautiously stated that the former ‘bottom-up’ approach was more efficient than the latter in facilitating the self-sufficiency of humanitarian migrants.

Another article of special interest is the study of Tress (1998). It is a detailed and structured comparison of the policy and labour market integration experiences of Jews in Germany and the United States. The author argues that differences between the countries reception and integration contexts resulted in different outcomes for seemingly homogeneous groups of Jewish refugees from Former Soviet Union (FSU). She develops her argument by comparing the welfare systems (liberal vs. corporatist) and the characteristics of labour markets. Several tables in the article present comparisons of various aspects of policies: types of resettlement benefits, and public-private relationships in the welfare state. She examines secondary statistical data in order to make inferences on the successfulness of the labour market integration of these groups of refugees. She concludes that in the market-based resettlement context in the US, Jewish refugees tended to be more self-sufficient than in Germany, where the highly regulated labour market made it difficult to achieve pre-arrival occupational status.

This article is a rare example of a structured inter-country policy comparison where the effects on economic integration are argued to be produced by a *combination* of policy and labour market conditions. Although the lack of comparable datasets may produce a certain bias in the evaluation of the outcomes, the piece deserves a close attention because of the author’s rigorous and elaborate comparison of the many facets of the receiving countries’ conditions.

#### *d. Quantitative studies*

A very different approach was used in the piece of Edin et al. (2004) to investigate policy effects on the economic integration of refugees. The authors examine the impact of settlement policy reform in Sweden on economic integration of ‘refugee immigrants’ using linear regressions. The LINDA data base contains information on about 20% of the foreign-born population from 1960s

onwards, including data from income tax registers, population censuses and other sources. The refugee groups are defined indirectly by immigrants' countries of origin that generated refugee flows in two time-slots 1981/83 and 1987/89. These groups are assumed to be similar (identical) and have been compared with each other eight years after immigration. The main finding of the authors was that the shift from an employment-oriented integration policy towards a welfare-based policy with imposed settlement dispersal, has a substantially negative effect on the amount of earnings, whilst simultaneously increasing the probability of idleness and receipt of welfare benefits among these immigrant groups. The long-term effects of the localities (usually with low employment prospects) where the refugees were placed were relatively small because people had moved from these regions to cities and were able to improve their economic outcomes.

Another quantitative study, this time from sociological perspective, was produced by Bakker et al. (2014). This article investigated the impact of the length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status on the socio-economic integration of refugee groups. Both of these variables can be seen as policy generated effects. The dataset of 2907 respondents comprised of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia. Using the method of Structural Equation Modelling, the researchers tested the following hypothesis: that the influence of length of stay in asylum centres and residence status on employment is mediated through the mental health of refugees. The economic integration was operationalised as a combination of two variables: employment status and social benefits dependency. Quality of employment was also taken into account in terms of permanency of contract and occupational status. The findings confirmed that 'a longer stay in asylum accommodation was positively associated with the risk of social benefits dependency and that it decreases employment chances, job stability, and refugee occupational status' (Bakker et al. 2014, p. 441). Temporary and permanent refugee status both negatively correlate with economic success variables, while citizenship has a positive impact. This result confirms the claims of Da Lomba (2010) about the influence of a secure residence status on integration success. Finally, it has been proven that staying in asylum accommodation for longer than 5 years complicates employment due to the occurrence of mental health problems for refugees (Bakker et al., 2014).

Rosholm and Vejlin (2010) conducted an econometric study of the impact of the reduction in welfare support for refugees on their participation in the Danish labour market. They took administrative data from refugees resettled in 2002 and compared employment paths of two cohorts: those who arrived before the change in legislation and those who arrived after it. The longitudinal dataset allowed the history of employment entrance and exit of these groups to be tracked for several years. The results of this study showed that the effect of the reform was low

during the first two years of the refugee settlement in Denmark but increased later. After 2 years, the refugees improved their language proficiency and completed orientation programme, and those who received less welfare support, entered employment quicker than those who received more support. However, the authors found that receiving less initial assistance positively influenced the time of transition out of the labour market during the first 8 months of living in Denmark, meaning that people who receive less help tried to find job as quick as possible but end up in more unstable jobs.

The article of Hohm et al. (1999) presents the results of a policy evaluation research project conducted in San Diego, USA. They compared the outcomes from two types of organizations: one private (run by Catholic organization) and one public (state run by County Department of social services). The samples of 800 refugees were randomly drawn from these databases. These humanitarian migrants were observed in the period of 1992-1994 and had similar socio demographic characteristics.

First, structural and implementation features of the two projects were compared, including the number of responsible agencies in the project, flexibility of the programmes, type of service provision (simultaneous or sequential), performance or process-oriented management; and type of funding. Then the economic integration of the two groups was measured using descriptive statistic methods. Results showed that refugees in the privately-run project had better outcomes with higher earnings, faster job placement, less lengthy social support reception, and higher employment rates. The authors claim that the design and delivery of services in the private agency were more efficient than in the public one. The more successful project possessed the following characteristics: it was implemented by a single agency, all the services were provided simultaneously, it was more flexible and focused on performance of the beneficiaries and not on the process (Hohm et al., 1999).

Taken together these studies present a quantitative approach for investigating factors influencing refugees' economic integration. They employ various techniques of statistical analysis on large samples (1200+). The data usually comes from administrative registries or the internal databases of organizations. Humanitarian migrants "under treatment" are compared with those in control groups. There are no comparisons with other groups of immigrants or natives. These studies test the impact of one or two policy instruments: settlement policy, integration framework (Edin et al., 2004); length of stay in the asylum accommodation (Bakker et al., 2014); and reduction of welfare support (Rosholm & Vejlin, 2010). The combination of policy instruments was only investigated by Edin and colleagues (2004).

*e. Policy Oriented research synthesis*

In recent years, several policy-oriented studies on economic integration of refugees have been produced. They usually summarize literature on the topic in an attempt to identify factors influencing the process of integration and identify good policy practices that can bring humanitarian migrants into employment. These studies are presented in the following sub-section.

In the first global meta-study commissioned by UNHCR; Ott (2013), carried out a systematic literature review of the research dealing with the topic of the labour market integration of resettled refugees. The article does not only highlight policy driven factors but also presents an overview of the ‘refugee gap’ in labour market participation and the complexity of individual and institutional aspects that shape the process of adaptation. The author claims that there is not enough literature to evaluate the effectiveness of different employment facilitating programmes but she lists several “promising practices” that have proved to be effective in some countries. These are: matching needs of refugees and employers; managing pre-resettlement expectations; individualised plans-of-action; outreach to the employers/private sector; placements with employers; vocationally-focused language courses with working experience; assistance with recertification; partnership with broader community of the host country; and microenterprise support.

The recent study by Konle-Seidl (2016), commissioned by the European Parliament, Konle-Seidl, 2016 has a similar approach. The report is a summary of research papers that have been mostly produced by international organizations and NGOs, that describe known obstacles and support policies for refugees’ integration into the labour market. The most interesting part of this paper is the list of policy recommendations for helping refugees enter employment. Among others, the recommendations include: provision of early access to labour market, language courses, facilitation of recertification and recognition of foreign qualifications.

Another study employing the research synthesis methodology was produced by Zetter and Ruadel in 2016 for the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development. This study gives a detailed examination of the access to the right to work for refugees and asylum seekers in 22 countries from all regions of the world. The authors gathered evidence from the countries on several main dimensions: legal frameworks and legislation; policies and practices; mediating factors of the context and outcomes of labour market inclusion of humanitarian migrants. Data from secondary sources, legal documents and reports was gathered according to a standardized template that allowed for inter-country comparison at a later stage. The results of their secondary analysis have been then validated by country experts (Zetter & Ruadel, 2016).

The special report of Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) (Barslund, Busse, Linaert, Ludolph, & Renman, 2016) comparatively studied labour market integration of Bosnian Refugees in Europe across 4 host countries. This analysis involved the study of institutional and legal frameworks such as: the granted time of residency; access to labour market and education; integration measures and provided financial support. The population of interest was defined rather ambiguously: although interested in Bosnian refugees, the researchers based their analysis on the labour market outcomes that seemed to belong to *migrants* from former Yugoslavia. The migrants, without special distinction by their statuses, were split by the time of arrival (before 1993 and in the period 1993-1998). Moreover, it is not clear if the basis for the refugees' origin was birth or citizenship in one for the ex-Yugoslavian countries. The authors highlight that this lack of detailed data prevented them from making a more precise distinction between refugees and not-refugees. Nevertheless, they proceed with simple comparison of labour force participation rates, employment and unemployment rates across the ex-Yugoslav migrant groups, and for the natives of the host countries. The conclusions of this analysis regarding the policy influence are thus not based on any formal procedures. They claim to establish correlations, however, no statistical tests have been conducted.

Another recent policy-oriented research synthesis was carried out by Phillip Legrain (2017, August). This study explored research evidence on policies facilitating economic integration of refugees. The report is clearly oriented towards policy-makers and perhaps the general public, giving many policy recommendations. The author draws on a multitude of published research articles, including NGOs reports and media sources that were not systematically selected. The provided recommendations seem plausible, but the supposed positive effects on refugee economic integration are not clearly testes in the text of the report.

To conclude, the main features of this type of research are its focus on policies, practices and legal provisions, with reports in this area not always guided by academic research principles but often using pragmatic logic. The main goal is to summarize previous research and give a list of recommendations for policy makers. These articles attempt to sample the evidence from several countries, however comparison between countries is not the main objective of these reports.

With this final summary I bring the review of the literature to a close, leaving the intriguing conclusion that can be drawn from these studies until the end of the chapter. A few words to close this section should be said. As the reader saw, the studies are diverse in their methods, approaches, ethnic and national groups of the studied humanitarian migrants, and the geographical coverage of countries. An inevitable imbalance in terms of geographical coverage of studies occurred due to the language of the studies, which is why many pieces focused on the English-speaking countries

such as the United Kingdom (6), USA, Canada, a few covering Austria, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands (2). The research-synthesis studies either did not focus on any country specifically, drawing evidence from multiple sources, or, like in the case of Zetter and Ruaudel (2016), compared many countries. Empirical, theoretical and methodological gaps identified through this review will be presented at the end of this chapter. The next section will look into the ways in that previous research has conceptualized the subject of labour market integration and policies that influence it.

## **2. Conceptualizing refugees and labour market integration**

### *Understanding and operationalization of the main concepts*

The studies above have been selected for the review on the basis of several key words, which also are the main concepts of the research topic: economic integration and humanitarian migrants. Now it will be explained how they are understood, measured and explained in the abovementioned literature.

#### *a. Defining the subject – humanitarian migrants*

These articles and reports study the topic of policy influence on labour market integration of a population, which is defined and conceptualized in a number of diverse ways. Below, I offer an overview of these terms and later continue with the discussion.

Bakker et al. (2014) uses the 1951 definition of the Geneva Convention in their study, focusing on recognized refugees from several major refugee-sending countries residing in the Netherlands. Tress (1998) focuses on Jews, who emigrated from the Soviet Union to Germany and the United States, also referring to them as refugees on the basis of the 1951 Geneva Convention definition: as individuals with a ‘well-founded fear of being persecuted in his country of origin for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion’ (p.117). Likewise, Wright & Mckay (2008) start with 1951 Convention definition of refugees, and then go on to use the UK legislation and practice that distinguishes between asylum seekers (applicants), (recognized) refugees and “people with humanitarian protection (those who do not qualify as a refugee but who, if returned to their country of origin, would face a serious risk to life or person such as the death penalty, unlawful killing or torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment)” (p.55).

The notion of humanitarian protection has been highlighted in several more articles. For example, Konle-Siedl (2016) focuses on asylum seekers and refugees who applied through asylum channels (not resettled). The terms ‘humanitarian migrant’, ‘refugee’ and ‘beneficiaries of international

protection' are used interchangeably. However, it is noted that 'refugees' may have several statuses such as 'recognized' or 'holder of subsidiary protection' (not protected by the Geneva Convention 1951) and 'asylum seekers' who are defined as those whose asylum claim is pending (p.13).

Vrečer (2010) referred to her population of interest as 'forced migrants', instead of refugees, because it describes groups displaced by "violations of human rights and natural disasters" (p.499) in addition to the reasons specified by Geneva Convention on Refugees 1951. Moreover, she mentioned the uneasiness of her informants about the term 'refugees', due to the negative connotations attached to that term.

Wauters and Lambrecht (2008) define refugees as individuals fleeing their countries due to persecution, analysing recognized refugees and asylum seekers involved in entrepreneurship. In Bloch (2000), the term refugee is "also used as a generic one to describe people with refugee status, Exceptional Leave to Remain on humanitarian grounds and asylum-seekers".

Shutes (2011) speaks about 'refugees', recognized in the UK and who hold either permanent or temporary residency. Da Lomba (2010) focuses on recognized refugees and holders of humanitarian protection – "people who have applied for asylum in the UK and have subsequently been granted international protection status" (p.416). Also Stewart and Mulvey (2013), who investigate policy impacts on refugees with a granted protection status, and who see them as different from other migrants because they are "unable to return to their home country" if the residence permit is not prolonged (p.1036). Krahn et al. (2000) study 'refugees', who claimed (and received) the status in Canada on their own, as well as those resettled privately or through government programmes.

There are also studies that do not give any definition of the terms they use. These include Mulvey (2015), Bloch (2008) and Franz (2003), who limits her study to the Bosnian refugees who fled to Austria and the USA during the Yugoslavian crisis. Smyth and Kum (2010) refer to 'refugee teachers' without using a distinction of legal status, so that recognized refugees and asylum seekers are put in the same analytical category. Barslund et al. (2016) focused on Bosnian refugees, generally defining them as people who fled Bosnia during the Yugoslav war, which they operationalize by the migrant's country of origin. Easton-Calabria (2015) also do not provide a definition of the term 'refugee', however, while discussing refugee livelihood solutions of the past, it becomes evident that she means persons displaced by war and its consequences, such as famine, destitution.

The quantitative study of Edin et al. (2004) and Rosholm and Vejlin (2010) uses the concept 'refugee immigrants' without providing a theoretical definition of it. Edin et al. (2004)



operationalized this category through the migrants' countries of origin (non-OECD countries) in 1980s (assuming that most of them were coming for humanitarian reasons) and do not distinguish between 'quota refugees' (resettled) and those who claimed asylum in Sweden on their own, due to data problems. Rosholm and Vejlin (2010) operationalize 'refugee immigrants' as recognized refugees and their partners, who have already received the residency status in Denmark.

Besides these definitions, some studies have also used the term 'resettled refugees' (Hohm et al., 1999; Ott, 2013), to indicate persons who "are brought to the country in *cooperation* with the government" (Ott, 2013).

In this brief section alone, the reader has encountered many terms that can be used to describe the population of interest including: refugees, asylum seekers, refugee immigrants, holders of humanitarian protection status, recognized refugees etc. Without a doubt there is a need to clarify how these terms relate to each other and how they are used in this research project.

As mentioned, the term 'refugee' is often applied to describe migrating populations that do not fit into the narrow legal definition established by the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol, which was also confirmed by Zetter (2007).

The 1951 Refugee Convention states that a '*refugee*' is a person who:

"Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Art.1).

This definition has been criticised because it only emphasises the individual nature of prosecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion (UNHCR, 2010, 14, 46) and does not include massive causes of mass immigration as violent conflicts, famine, upheaval, despotic or poor governance, warlord economies, or environmental disasters that push people outside of their countries (James, 2014; Zetter, 2015). In practice, to be recognized as 'refugees', people claiming the right of international protection have to be proved by authorities of a receiving country to own a 'genuine reason' for their flight. According the UNHCR statistical definitions, these individuals are termed 'asylum-seekers' (EMN, 2014). Hence, in legal terms, 'refugees' are only those forced migrants whom the host state has granted the official permit to stay on the grounds of international protection. Individuals, who do not "fit" into the legal definition of 'refugee' but cannot be sent back to their country of origin because of the life-threatening circumstances, are often granted other forms of temporary protection, which are not defined by the 1951 Refugee convention or

other international regulations. Such statuses are termed in different countries as ‘subsidiary protection’, ‘complementary protection’, ‘humanitarian protection’ or ‘temporary protection status’ (TPS), and vary in their degree of protection (EMN, 2014; Zetter, 2015).

In my opinion, the use of the term ‘refugees’ is rather confusing because it can mean many things: a specific legal status (of forced migrants who were recognized as refugees) or an analytical umbrella term for populations in need of international protection irrespective of their status, or some combinations of those. To avoid this confusion, I sought another concept to define my population of interest.

Zetter (2015) suggests the term ‘forced migrants’ is an overarching concept that encompasses a variety of forcibly displaced populations, of which the officially recognized refugees are only one part. However, forced migrants also include internally displaced persons (IDPs), who are not included in the scope of this analysis. The concept of ‘forced migrants’ is also too broad for the purposes of my research because I focus on the analysis of policies and their influence on labour market integration, with the policies of the receiving countries targeting *legal* categories of the population. These legal statuses are important and change overtime: from asylum seeker, to a recognized refugee and perhaps a naturalized citizen; or, in the worst-case scenario, from asylum seeker to an irregular migrant. The states' policies include regulations for all these categories of migrants and shape their access to employment.

Another term comes from Australian and US documents, where the notion of ‘humanitarian migrants’ (Khoo, 2012; Wasem & Ester, 2008) is often used. The humanitarian migration programme in Australia is said to be “designed for people who are in *need of protection*” (“Humanitarian Migration Program | Australian Immigration Visas”). In the US context the term ‘humanitarian migrant’ is used for the people who “may not meet the legal definition of a refugee but are nonetheless fleeing potentially dangerous situations” (Wasem & Ester, 2008).

The concept that I deem appropriate for this research project highlights that these people are international migrants, who migrated under pressure of some threat in their country of origin and are therefore likely to pass through the asylum system of the receiving country. Hence, for the purposes of my research, I suggest use of the term “**humanitarian migrants**” to describe persons who left their country of origin under the influence of life and/or freedom threatening circumstances, who considered themselves eligible for the international protection, and applied for asylum in a destination country. Despite changes of these individuals legal status throughout time, these people can still be seen as a type of migrants for humanitarian reasons, with corresponding special policies and personal contexts.

### *b. Defining labour market integration*

The next concept to examine is that of “labour market integration”. Nearly all the studies mentioned above employ this term or use “economic integration” as a synonym. The studies vary in the degree of embeddedness into the theoretical framework of immigrants’ integration. This variety of theoretical approaches is presented below, concluding with the rationale behind the approach selected for use in this project.

There are few authors in this field who do not mention the concept of integration. Rather, in their research universe, the issue of refugee employment is embedded into the problem of “refugee settlement” (Bloch, 2000) and “refugee self-sufficiency” (Hohm et al., 1999). These authors explore such issues such as: employment status/rates; speed of securing employment; and the amount and duration of financial support received. Meanwhile, Wright and McKay (2008) understand the employment of humanitarian migrants from a legal studies perspective: as a right that when enshrined in policy aims to produce social exclusion or inclusion of the non-nationals. Neither Krahn et al. (2000), nor Shutes (2011) mention integration, the former focusing on the occupational downward mobility of refugee teachers and the latter on employment as a product of job-search assistance programmes.

The second group of researchers can be loosely defined by articles that mention immigrant (or refugee) integration and use it to justify the policy relevance of their studies. Economic integration in these articles is seen as an issue of policy agenda and thus an important matter to write about. Both Tress (1998) and Franz (2003) use the term “socio-economic integration”, of which, labour market and economic integration is part. Easton-Calabria (2015) speaks about refugees’ livelihoods that function as a means to achieve local integration. However, none of these authors engaged in any theoretical discussion in regard to the meaning and definition of this term.

In contrast, other articles use the policy-defined meaning of refugees’ integration and list the measures of the policy apparatus such as: integration programmes or courses; cultural and language training; and advice on labour market participation and housing management. For example, in reference to UK policy, Bloch writes: “The Home Office (2005) maintains that integration takes place when refugees achieve their full potential as members of British society, contribute to the community and access the services to which they are entitled.” (Bloch, 2008). Governmental statutes, laws and policy texts are usually cited as a prelude to the discussion on labour market integration and reaffirm the importance of refugees’ employment for them to become “good” members of the host society. The issue of integration is presented in a similar vein

in the studies of Rosholm and Vejlin (2010), Edin et al. (2004), Wauters and Lambrecht (2008), and Konle-Seidl (2016).

The third group of studies conceptualizes economic integration and its indicators within the framework of immigrant integration (Bakker et al., 2014; Da Lomba, 2010; Smyth & Kum, 2010; Stewart & Mulvey, 2013; Vrečer, 2010). Although they do highlight the debate on the nature and application of this term, these authors refer to the definitions proposed by Castles et al. (2002) and Ager and Strang (2008). All of them agree that *integration is a multidimensional, two-way process that starts on the first day of a migrant's arrival in the host country*. Thus, employment of refugees is usually framed as being part of the “Markers and Means” domain (along with housing, education and health) (Ager & Strang, 2008). In other words, it is not only seen as an indicator of (un)successful integration, but also as a resource that allows individuals to advance in other dimensions of the integration process (Ager & Strang, 2008). This dimension is alternatively referred to as *Plazierung* (Esser 2004 in Bakker et al., 2014) which is a position immigrants assume in the social stratosphere determined by their employment, education and housing situation. For Vrečer (2010), integration is also closely linked to self-reliance and self-sufficiency: ‘If (forced) migrants are integrated, they can take care of themselves’ (Vrečer, 2010, p. 490).

This notion of a two-way process is rooted in the understanding that the newcomers cannot become part of the society if the locals do not accept them. Hence, integration efforts include not only immigrant's individual willingness to become integrated, but also the welcoming efforts of the receiving population and policies open to the incorporation of non-nationals (Ager & Strang, 2008; Bakker et al., 2014; Castles et al., 2002; Da Lomba, 2010; Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002).

The claim that the integration process starts from the first day of arrival is largely derived from a multitude of personal accounts by humanitarian migrants. The first post-migration experiences often shape the migrants attitudes towards the a country and influence their willingness to become part of the host society (i.e. see Mulvey, 2015). Many arrive full of motivation to start a new life and eager to learn the language of the host country, but the time spent in passivity and isolation without local contact or language classes, is considered as “wasted” and undermines their journey towards positive integration. Castles et al. (2002) argues that integration should be seen as a process during which short- and long-term outcomes can be measured. This process may be lengthy, can even span generations, and individuals may have a different pace in achieving positive outcomes.

Both policy evaluators and social scientists are interested in measuring integration outcomes. From a policy perspective, the notion of equity within the society is central to integration. The

integration process “ends when refugees are in an equal position to the majority” (Phillimore, Craig, Goodson, & Sankey, 2006). Ager and Strang (2004), proposed that integration takes place when immigrants “achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities”. Moreover, Carrera (2006) critically notes that in many integration policies there is a preconception that integrating populations should aspire to a mainstream local standard. Although it may be difficult to argue what the mainstream standard of cultural integration is, economic integration is more straightforward to define.

In the aforementioned articles the terms ‘economic integration’ and ‘labour market integration’ are used as synonyms. Here, integration success is evaluated in terms of equal employment chances, quality of jobs, underemployment and independency from state’s financial support. The outcomes are represented through the following indicators: employment and unemployment rates, earnings, welfare receipt, occupational statuses, legal access to labour market, participation in entrepreneurship, and idleness (no work or study activity). When taken together these indicators provide information on the economic situation of humanitarian migrants. However, proper comparison with the reference group i.e., the natives<sup>6</sup>, is usually absent. Some of the articles contained short notes from censuses of the employment rates of the country’s nationals, but these rates were compared with non-random samples of refugees living in one or two towns of a country. Only one article by Edin et al. (2004) provided a more convincing comparative account of the labour market situation of humanitarian immigrants with natives.

Integration of humanitarian migrants was not a very trendy subject of social research until recently. As a consequence, there is a profound lack of good quantitative data that encompasses natives, humanitarian migrants, and other migrants. This makes comparative research across native and humanitarian migrant groups very difficult to accomplish. Some countries have population registries that allow for such comparisons, however, inter-country comparisons on this basis are not very reliable because national registries are not entirely comparable with each other, as they use different definitions of categories and methods of data collection.

In this research project, I examined the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants by treating it as part of a larger multidimensional integration process, as proposed by Ager and Strang (2008). I build on their definition and that of Castles et al. (2002) defining *labour market*

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<sup>6</sup> I use the term the natives to mean the non-migrant local population. I understand that in some fields this term may refer to indigenous populations, but in this study this is not the case. I follow the terminology used in the articles of Reyneri & Fullin (2011) and Ballarino & Panichella (2015) who conducted the analysis on the same EU-LFS dataset, and compared “natives” to “migrants”.

*integration* as: a two-way process, that starts upon arrival and is understood to be successful when the labour market performance of humanitarian migrants is equal to that of the natives.

Hence, the outcome of the labour market integration is relative by definition, because the idea of equality can only be understood when the performance of the two groups is compared. It cannot be argued that the labour market integration is successful only by looking at the population of humanitarian migrants, and we need to compare them within the mainstream society that the migrants are integrating into. In my view, the profound difference, or gap, between the refugees and natives can be interpreted as a lack of integration, while small or inexistent difference indicates a successful labour market integration.

Following the framework of Ager and Strang (2008), I agree that besides the domain ‘Markers and Means (of integration)’, of which economic integration is part, there are other crucial domains of integration: ‘Foundation’ of integration process, which consists of rights and citizenship; ‘Facilitators’ - involving linguistic and cultural knowledge of the host country, and aspects of safety and stability; and ‘Social Connections’, which include social bridges (between the ethnic communities), social bonds (within ethnic communities) and social links (relations with institutions of the host society).

All levels of the integration framework are interconnected. Advancement in the economic sphere of integration is often influenced by other aspects of life, such as health, education and housing; and is mediated by the Facilitators domain, i.e. cultural and linguistic knowledge. As the authors suggest, the dynamics of integration can be seen through the allegory of ‘*resource acquisition spirals*’, where each domain plays the role of a *reservoir of resources* from which individuals can “draw and invest in securing other resources” (Strang & Ager, 2010, p. 604). Having the right to work is the legal basis for official employment, and knowing the language increases the likelihood of becoming acquainted with local people can also facilitate the job search. Moreover, having a job might improve the migrants’ knowledge of the language and culture of the host country, possibly strengthening the ties with the locals and giving the sense of stability. Of course, humanitarian migrants are also at risk of going through ‘*spirals of loss*’ (Strang & Ager, 2010), where a lack of resources or an obstacle in one domain, can lead to inability to achieve progress in other spheres of integration.

### **3. Policy factors of labour market integration**

Many studies on integration of immigrants point out that the process is influenced not only by personal characteristics and efforts of immigrants, but also by the institutional structures and policies of receiving societies (Smyth et al. 2010; Castles et al. 2002; Da Lomba 2010). On the one hand, governments may seek to tackle social exclusion of foreigners and achieve certain integration goals (Carrera 2005), but on the other hand, they may aim to create more regulatory obstacles that push foreigners away from their country (as described in Vrečer, 2010). The reviewed pieces of work indicate which policy areas are seen as relevant in shaping the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants.

#### *a. Secure residence status/ citizenship*

Migrant residence status or citizenship status is one of the most studied and crucial policy aspects. Secure residence status is understood as a guaranty of a stable residence for both refugees and their potential employers (Bloch, 2008; Vink, 2017). The right to access to the labour market is usually legally linked to the residence status. It is generally the case that the asylum seeker status is the most insecure one because the permission to stay and live in the country has not yet been granted. The refugee status gives a more durable guaranty to remain and work, however, many employers are not well informed about the rules for employing individuals with a refugee status and thus prefer not to hire foreigners in order to avoid problems with the law (Mulvey, 2015). Hence, the citizenship status is the best securer of the refugee's concern regarding their place of residence, which is often perceived symbolically as the acquisition of a new homeland (Da Lomba, 2010). From the point of the employers this document removes the legal distinctions between the candidates and resolves the confusion about employment procedures.

#### *b. Access to work, recognition of foreign qualifications*

Legal permission to work is one of the most obviously problematic issues in economic integration of humanitarian migrants. On the one hand, governments are interested in granting this right to refugees, on the other hand there is pressure from the native population to protect the labour market from foreigner competition. Most researchers argue that granting permission to work allows more refugees to find official employment and become economically self-sufficient (Wright & McKay, 2008). For highly skilled workers and professionals, the issue of the recognition of qualifications and degrees that they obtained in their country of origin is also important. Most of the interviewed refugees could not find work in the host country that was comparable with their previous occupational status (Bloch, 2000; Bloch, 2008). Refugees with university degrees experienced a

pronounced loss of occupational status, which negatively affects their economic and overall integration in the receiving country (Krahn et al., 2000; Smyth & Kum, 2010).

*c. Length of stay in asylum centres*

The lengthy stay in the asylum centre is usually accompanied by an enduring feeling of insecurity and temporality for humanitarian migrants, in regard to their presence in the host country. The asylum centres usually have governance regimes that do not contribute to the feeling of normality. Often the centres are located in the rural areas where the chances of meeting natives and finding work are very limited. Lengthy residence in asylum facilities affects the mental health of humanitarian migrants, resulting in long-term exclusion from the life of host society and difficulties in integrating (Bakker et al., 2014).

*d. Dispersal settlement policy*

Governmental control of refugees' settlement in a country is often aimed at resolving the problem of a country's population dynamics. It is often the case that the state settles the newly arrived into less populated areas that are often in economic decline and offer few job opportunities (Wright & McKay, 2008). Lack of jobs is also a factor that forces the natives to leave those regions. Such places are the least welcoming environment for the immigrants because locals perceive them to be a threat to their chances of finding employment in the area. Moreover, the lack of immigrant networks affects the chances of finding jobs. It has been proven that individuals find jobs most often through recommendations of their friends, relatives and acquaintances. Thus, the state often forces refugees to settle in a hostile environment characterized by a lack of ethnic networks and labour market opportunities (Wright & McKay, 2008). For these reasons, policies allowing freedom of settlement and movement in a country are thought to facilitate economic integration, as people are not limited to the region/town for employment (Edin et al., 2004).

*e. Amount of welfare benefits*

A few studies have tried to ascertain the appropriate level of welfare support for refugees and how that support influences their employment rates. The articles covering the topic of the financial support highlight how a lack of financial assistance makes it very hard for people to re-establish their lives in the country of asylum. Many people can barely survive and face the risk of falling into a trap of poverty and criminal networks as a last resort to make ends meet, especially when they are still in the asylum process and are not allowed to find employment. There is evidence that situations such as these often force people to be proactive and to interact more with local people to seek help that the state cannot provide. In some cases this can lead to faster integration (Korac, 2003). On the other hand, when the welfare support is almost as high as a prospective work income,



it can reinforce idleness in humanitarian migrants and encourage welfare dependency. When it is not easy to become employed (which is often the case), welfare support may serve as a main source of income for a long time. Of course, such a scenario is not preferable for the host state because having many inactive residents not contributing to the tax system is draining for the economy. Rosholm (2010) found in his Danish case study that people receiving less money entered faster into employment but their jobs were less stable. These findings allow for the conclusion that receiving less money pushes individuals to get *any* paid jobs, which are not always good or stable. When humanitarian migrants have to work to sustain their basic needs they do not have time to improve their language skills or retrain to allow them to use their pre-migration skills.

*f. Language training*

As the main tool of human communication, language is another factor that plays an important role in integration. To become part of a society one should be able to communicate with its members. Of course, the learning process largely depends on an individuals' abilities and motivation. However, researchers point out that freely available language courses can facilitate the acquisition of language proficiency which is helpful in finding employment in the host country (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014). Inadequate language provision with a very basic level of training were criticised by refugees because this level of language training did not help them find a job or communicate with the locals efficiently (Burnett, 2015).

*g. Type of welfare policy regime*

Welfare state regime as factor influencing labour market integration was discussed by Tress (1998) who analysed the integration of Jewish refugees in two different systems: the liberal welfare regime (in the USA) and corporatist welfare regime (in Germany). The liberal welfare regime is characterised by its strong links to market forces and individual's willingness to work. Here, social security of citizens is realized through private welfare schemes. "Government programmes are limited to the certifiably needy and structured so as to discourage workers from choosing welfare instead of work" (Tress, 1998). In the corporatist welfare model the focus is more on interest sharing and citizens loyalty to the state.

Some papers on migrant integration<sup>7</sup>, which I additionally considered for the theoretical chapter, suggest that in a liberal welfare system "characterized by high labour market flexibility, weak industrial relations and market-based social insurance", immigrants are less prone to unemployment, than in the countries with socio-democratic welfare systems and "more rigid

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<sup>7</sup> Which were not included in the *systematic* literature review in the previous sections of this chapter

labour markets with high labour costs and either employer-based or universal social insurance” (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011, pp. 38–39).

#### **4. Defining ‘policies’**

While the studies described above investigate the impact of these various policy areas, they do not usually specify their definition of policy. In this research, policy is understood as “a formal decision or plan of action adopted by an actor <...> to achieve a particular goal <...>”, and it is described as being public when a state body is involved in the process of decision making (Richards & Smith, 2009). This general ‘plan of action’ can be broken down into *policy instruments*, or tools, defined as “a set of techniques by which governmental authorities wield their power to ensure support and effect (or prevent) social change” (Vedung, 1998). Alternatively, a policy instrument is called an “identifiable method through which collective action is structured to address a public problem” (Salamon & Elliott, 2002, p. 19). The common definition of policy instruments points to the capacity of governments to manage the state of affairs in the field by pursuing their goals even against the people’s will, as discussed in (Schneider & Ingram, 1990)

The typology of policy instruments proposed by Vedung (1998) distinguish between the nature of tools and their coerciveness. Each type has a different underlying motivation with regulatory ‘sticks’, economic ‘carrots’, and informational ‘sermons’. Each one is thought to shape the behavioural choices of individuals through the incentives or penalties of different degrees of coerciveness.

This typology is used in my study and creates an exhaustive framework for policy data collection. The first group of ‘regulatory instruments’ include obligatory laws, rules, and directives, with non-compliance usually backed by negatives sanctions of various types. The second group of ‘economic and financial instruments’ can be observed in form of monetary incentives or disincentives that encourage or restrain social or economic activities (i.e. cash transfers, subsidies, loans with reduced interest rates; government provision of goods and services; as well as taxes, fees and charges etc.) The last group of ‘soft instruments’ include voluntary measures based on persuasion and provision of information between different kind of actors and targeted population (i.e. campaigns, recommendations, voluntary agreements) (Vedung 1998).

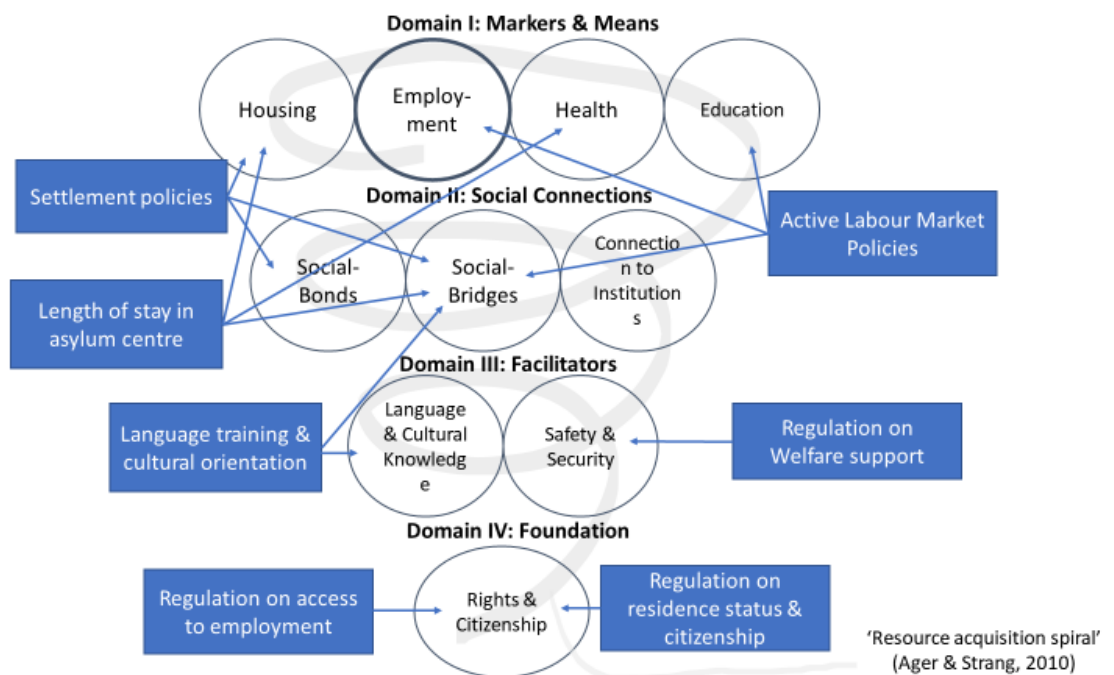
The activities of third sector and private organizations, which are involved in providing assistance for immigrants and refugees (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder, & Beckmann, 2017), also fall under the Richards and Smith’s (2009) definition of policies. In the absence of state actors addressing the needs of vulnerable migrants (irregular migrants and asylum seekers), NGOs and volunteers often fill the gap in service provision (Ambrosini, 2017) by directly supplying basic services and social

welfare, along with capacity development and advocacy (Garkisch et al., 2017). Current state-of-the-art research on the role of NGOs reveals that this topic is understudied in a European context (Garkisch et al., 2017). To the best of my knowledge there are no studies examining the relative influence of NGO activities on labour market integration of humanitarian migrants in comparison with the state activities, or, moreover, compare the NGO service provision across countries. This makes it significantly challenging to incorporate this aspect into my study. However, I do not intend to ignore the evidence of the integration activities of third sector organization and suggest that they should be considered part of the existing institutional context in the included countries.

*a. Theorising the mechanism*

To give a better overview how the policy instruments can shape labour market integration, I present a scheme that is based on integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008) and the literature on policy factors, presented in the section 3 of this chapter.

*Figure 1: Theoretical scheme of policies shaping labour market integration*



In Figure 1 you can see the integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008) where the theoretical impacts of various policy areas are indicated. The four domains within the framework are interconnected and interdependent. The authors use the ‘resource acquisition spiral’ metaphor (Strang & Ager, 2010) as a way of imagining the dynamics between the integration domains. All dimensions of integration can be linked to some degree with the employment aspect, which is at the centre of my research. Various policy areas can thus influence several integration aspects, which can either contribute to a successful employment outcome or make it more difficult to

achieve. For example, regulation of residence status is associated with the right to remain in the country and together with regulation of employment, often determines the right to participate in the country's labour market. If these policies are very restrictive for humanitarian migrants, they limit the 'Foundation' domain of integration. However, this does not mean that this aspect alone is enough to prevent humanitarian migrants from obtaining employment. Most likely, if not provided with sufficient welfare support, individuals will be pushed to the sphere of irregular labour and their work conditions will be very poor and precarious. As I mentioned earlier, language and cultural knowledge is very important for finding a job. Such knowledge can also be acquired without policy support, however, if the host country's authorities have the intention to promote faster employment of refugees, they can facilitate this aspect by providing compulsory language courses. Welfare support, if present, may contribute to a sense of financial security (in times of unemployment) and provide a time buffer which can be spent in education, training and language learning which could facilitate future employment.

Asylum centres usually isolate the new incoming population from the rest of the society, with the long stay in these centres impacting the social connectivity and mental health of humanitarian migrants, both of which are very important for employment. In addition, settlement policies, when involving dispersal, may disrupt ethnic networks (Social Bonds) and affect employability by allocating people to areas with a poor economy and lack of job vacancies. Lastly, Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) are the measures directly oriented towards facilitation of job searches and help with employment. They can provide opportunities for internships or vocational training (Education), and put humanitarian migrants in touch with potential employers (improving the 'Social Bridges' in Domain II).

Consequently, I argue that an isolated analysis of the separate policy areas cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of how policy conditions in the countries shape labour market integration. The joint effects of several combined policy areas should be considered, and this is what I attempt to do in my research.

#### *b. Other factors*

Ambrosini argued that "immigrants are not passive objects of state policies, but they act to gain access to social acceptance and formal recognition" (Ambrosini, 2016, p. 154). It has been mentioned in the previous research, how the personal characteristics of individuals play an important role in integration. Motivation, aspirations and personal character (Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002), gender and cultural norms related to it (Allen, 2009), education level and qualifications (Bloch, 2008), host country's language proficiency (Bloch, 2000), ethnic and

cultural visibility (Colic-Peisker, 2008) and psychological health (Bakker et al., 2014) were found to be important determinants of success and failure in labour market integration. The agency of immigrants comes into play with the policy conditions in which they find themselves, and some people will surely try to make the best of the situation they find themselves in, while others may be more passive. This research does not look into the dynamics of the interaction between agency and policies, however, I do acknowledge the need for such studies.

Although the individual dimensions of labour market integration are not at the centre of my research, I do take some of them into account by using control variables of socio-economic characteristics while estimating the success of labour market integration in Chapter III. For example, it is possible to control for gender, language proficiency and education in the quantitative estimations of labour market performance presented in the next chapters. Even though psychological health is difficult to account for in this study, it has a known correlation with some policy aspects that can be explored. Bakker et al. (2014) showed that the length of stay in the asylum centres can negatively affect humanitarian migrants' mental health. Hence, the policy aspect of short and fast asylum processes can be seen as contributing to a better mental health situation. Moreover, the availability of free medical healthcare for refugees (as a policy) may indicate that individuals in need can be helped to cope with trauma and hence be potentially capable of entering the labour market in the host country.

The motivations and aspirations of humanitarian migrants is not easy to grasp in a macro-level research project such as mine. Nevertheless, it has often been suggested in prior studies that once refugees have migrated they have very strong commitment to rebuild their life and want to be active members of the host societies. However, their aspirations are often blocked by restrictive labour market policies that do not allow them to work for a long time, or put them on the path of imposed welfare dependency. Thus, I can infer that policies which are less restrictive with access to the labour market will help humanitarian migrants to make use of their work-related motivation and aspirations, leading to more successful labour market integration. The individual's language proficiency and overall educational level is also closely related, and can be targeted by the state policies. If a state allows refugees to access vocational training programmes, university study tracks, and provides free language courses, then more individuals may acquire better language skills and education, which, in turn, will positively affect their employment prospects.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, first, I reviewed the literature and highlighted the existing gaps in respect to the influence of policy on the economic integration of humanitarian migrants. In the second part, the creation of my theoretical framework was explained in connection with the previous studies.

The approaches to the topic range widely, and are grouped into qualitative and mixed-methods, including legal studies; historical articles; quantitative research and policy-oriented research synthesis. The first group dives deeply into the policy conditions that shape the labour market integration of forced migrants during a certain time period of time in one or two countries. Although the material from the qualitative interviews with humanitarian migrants gives rich insights on the perceived influence of policy on their employment trajectories, it is hard to generalize these accounts to the whole refugee population or compare them with other countries. Furthermore, the gap between natives and refugees is understudied: providing a picture of the difficulties in one group does not lead to an understanding of the wellbeing of the other group or the differences between them.

The studies characterised as historical in this classification employ rather different approaches. Easton-Calabria (2015) based her research on document review and compared time periods - but not countries - with one another. Due to a lack of data, the study is rather more descriptive than explanatory. The work of Tress (1998) provides a good and rather unique example of a comparative policy analysis, where combinations of policy conditions in Germany and the USA are studied. The effects of these have been explored in one group of Jewish refugees. A limitation is a lack of reliable statistical data on the economic integration, which could be unquestionably compared between the two countries.

The quantitative studies usually take a much narrower look at policies, choosing just one or two policy instruments, tracing a change, and then testing how it affects the refugee populations in different times. These articles are also based on national data and, thus, cannot be considered internationally comparative. This type of research reduces the complexity of the integration process along with the intertwined individual and institutional factors that shape it.

Policy oriented research synthesis gives conclusion on and recommendations about policy impact on refugee labour market integration on the basis of prior done studies by summarising their findings. These reports draw on world-wide literature not just on forced migration, but on migrant integration overall. This method is good for identifying best practices and critical policy areas. However, such studies synthesise the research carried out in different times, that it why they do not provide a rigorous basis for inter-country comparison, leading to only indicative findings.

As a result, I highlight the following gaps in the recent research:

- There are either too many unstructured policy descriptions or too narrow a focus on specific policy tools.
- There are a lack of studies comparing humanitarian migrants with natives and other types of migrants, thus in some countries there is not enough knowledge to assess whether labour market equality is emerging or not.
- There is a lack of systematic and rigorous inter-country comparison.

In my project, I aim to address these gaps by developing a framework of systematic comparison across seven European countries. This framework would cover a range of relevant policy areas and employs a definition of labour market integration that is based on comparison of humanitarian migrants and the natives. By considering the different policy aspects simultaneously, I will analyse their interplay in shaping the labour market integration process.

The population of interest in my research is defined as humanitarian migrants, who are understood as persons who left their country of origin under the influence of life and/or freedom threatening circumstances, and who consider themselves eligible for the international protection and have applied for asylum in a destination country. I acknowledge that their legal statuses have most likely changed with time. Since the time of arrival as asylum seekers they could have eventually acquired a status of 1951 Convention refugee, or an alternative humanitarian protection status, or even become naturalized citizens. However, their main reason of migration (search for protection), and the policy processes shaping their post-migration experiences, I consider as the basis for the analytically distinction between humanitarian and other types of migrants.

The labour market integration in this study is seen as an important part of multidimensional integration process that starts upon arrival of migrants to the host country and is performed by humanitarian migrants as well as by the native population and is facilitated by the institutional structures of the host society. The success of labour market integration is understood as the equality of humanitarian migrants and natives in terms of employment and quality of employment.

Policies are theorized to be a set of actions that the institutional powers of society employ to achieve desired social outcomes. Policies in different fields directly or indirectly influence some aspects of integration process, which resonate with the outcomes in employment. Therefore, a variety of relevant policies (related to residency, work rights, welfare support, language training and employment facilitation) should be analysed in combination. This is especially important given that interconnected dimensions of the integration process can be impacted by multiple policies simultaneously, and it can hardly be argued that the employment performance is a result of just one policy instrument.

## II. METHODOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

### Introduction

The previous chapter showed that current literature on the role of policies in labour market integration of refugees is represented by a limited number of scattered case studies and a few policy reports with research syntheses, which taken together, reveal a profound lack of comparable quantitative data in this area. To arrive to a better understanding of policy conditions that promote economic integration of humanitarian migrants, a systematic cross-country comparison is needed.

Comparative research can bring a new perspective on theory and concepts, allowing one to formulate some general conclusions or to determine different mechanisms for specific types of cases. Bloemraad (2013, p. 29) argues that “through comparison we can de-centre what is taken for granted in a particular time or place”, because we learn how different a situation in another temporal or spatial context can be.

While getting acquainted with this topic, in many single-case studies, I encountered concepts such as “very restrictive policy”, “long duration of asylum procedure”, “high requirements”, “generous welfare support”, “minimal subsistence” etc. I therefore asked myself – what is the reference point of the author? On what basis can some researcher claim that a policy is restrictive, supportive, generous or that some policy requirements are high – and is this in comparison to the past or another country or another group of subjects? It is not straightforward to determine these adjectives, and this made me think that they largely come from the researchers’ common sense or their normative stance<sup>8</sup>.

Comparative approaches on policy and labour market integration can help to put these concepts into perspective by analysing differences and similarities between countries. But the real question is, how to perform such a comparison without losing ourselves in too much detail, and whilst simultaneously covering several relevant policy aspects?

Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) (Ragin, 1987) may offer a third way between too much detail of policy analysis and too much simplicity. It allows researchers to account for the complexity of policies in each country-case and still produce modest generalizations on the basis of small number of cases (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). In situations where longitudinal cross-country data on humanitarian migrants and natives is not available, and the nature of policy data is also rather diverse, this method is suitable because it can incorporate inputs from both quantitative and qualitative data, which is necessary for my research aims here.

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<sup>8</sup> By normative stance I mean a belief about how things should be.



This commentary functions as a foreword to Chapters III and IV, which both have their own sections on methods of data collection and analysis.

## 1. Set-Theoretic Method

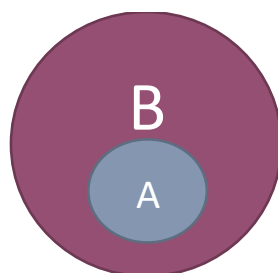
In this section, I briefly outline the main point of the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) as a method and its' assumptions and terminology. QCA is not a standard type of quantitative analysis because it is not based on regressions or probabilities. Nor is it an interpretive qualitative analysis. However, QCA can be performed on many diverse types of data such as opinion polls, indexes, statistical data, and even on in-depth interviews or documents. Moreover, QCA is not only a data analysis technique, it is also an acknowledged research approach (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009).

QCA is a sub-type of set-theoretic methods, which are based on *formal logic* - a well-known system of thought within philosophy and mathematics. Set-theoretical notions are widely used in social science even without being explicitly mentioned, for instance, when “forming concepts or verbally formulating (causal) relations between social phenomena” (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, pp. 2–3).

*Sets* are *concepts* in the sense of being “boundaries that define zones of inclusion and exclusion”, and not in the sense of a “mental representation of an empirical property” (Mahoney 2010, pp. 2, 7 in Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 24). The cases of interest are thus analysed in terms of their “fit within the boundaries of the set” (Mahoney 2010, p.2 in Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 24). The idea of set membership (belonging) is used to define whether a case can be described by a concept or not, and this process is called ‘calibration’ (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013).

Membership in conceptual sets can be visualized using circles. Here (in Fig.2), A belongs to set B. For example, ‘recognized refugees’ belong to a set of ‘migrants’, which means that recognized refugees can be conceptualized as migrants, because they also move from one country to another. But not all migrants are recognized refugees, because only those migrants who fall under the definition of the 1951 Geneva Convention can be called ‘recognized refugees’. Hence, the set of ‘recognized refugees’ is a *sub-set* of ‘migrants’.

Figure 2: Example of a set and a sub-set



### *a. Causality*

In QCA analysis the notion of ‘conjunctural causation’ is a central theme. The idea of a single causal factor having independent impacts is rejected in this approach, instead, it is argued that several causes may simultaneously account for the occurrence of an outcome. Moreover, the studied combination of causes may not be the only one to produce the observed result (Berg-Schlosser, De Meur, Rihoux, & Ragin, 2009). This means that “different constellations of factors may lead to the same result” (Berg-Schlosser et al., 2009, p. 8). The goal of researchers using the QCA approach is to determine the number and character of different causal models that exist among the cases under study (Ragin, 1987). It is also important to note that uniformity of causal effects is not assumed, meaning that depending on conjuncture, a condition may sometimes positively *or* negatively affect the outcome when combined with different conditions (Berg-Schlosser et al., 2009). The last consideration is that the causal relationships are assumed to be asymmetrical, meaning that “the presence and absence of the outcome may require different (causal) explanations” (Berg-Schlosser et al., 2009, p. 9).

In the case of this research, the causal conditions under study are policies, and the ‘conjunctural combinations’ are understood to be the co-presence of various policy aspects related to different domains of labour market integration process. I accept that there could be more than one combination of policy conditions leading to the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants and several paths to the opposite outcome.

### *b. Logical operations and notation rules*

QCA was initially developed by Charles Ragin based on a dichotomous understanding of cases belonging to a set, where a case can either belong to a conceptual set or not. If it belongs, it is ascribed a formal score of 1, if it does not - it receives a score of 0. All conditions and case outcomes are formally described by either number (i.e. 1 or 0). This is called crisp-set QCA, and it mentioned here because it serves as the basis for a later version of the analysis termed fuzzy-set QCA<sup>9</sup>. Instead of making a sharp distinction between inclusion and exclusion in or out of a set, fuzzy-set QCA uses a *continuum* of the fuzzy membership scores from 0 (full exclusion) to 1 (full inclusion) (Ragin, 2009). In my study I will be using fuzzy-set QCA because the nature of the analysed concepts is rather fluid and I believe it is important to grasp the *degree* of the presence or absence of policies (as conditions), the degree of successfulness of labour market integration (as an outcome).

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<sup>9</sup> For more on fuzzy-set QCA consult Ragin, 2008 as well as Schneider & Wagemann, 2013.

There are several operations which can be done with sets with the three main ones being ‘negation’, ‘union’ (logical OR), and ‘intersection’ (logical AND).

*Negation* is a conversion of the set into a set with the opposite meaning. For example, if we let set-*Y* be ‘countries with successful labour market integration’, the negation of this set will be ‘countries with NOT successful labour market integration’ (which is noted as  $\sim Y$  or *y*).

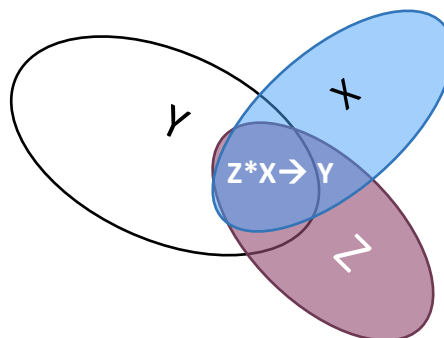
The membership score in the negation of the set is calculated as following:

$$\text{Membership in set not-}Y (y) = 1 - \text{membership in set } Y$$

For example, country A has a score of 0,8 in the set *Y* (almost fully in the set), then in the negated set [*y*] it will have a score of 0,2 (almost fully out of the set).

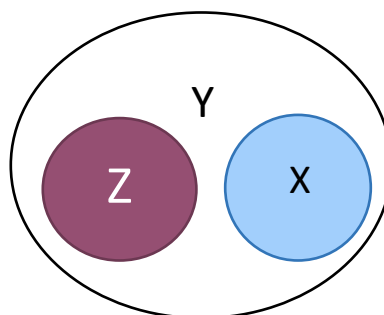
*Intersection* of the sets is when a case is simultaneously belongs to two sets (i.e. *Z* and *X*). It is noted as  $Z * X$ . In fuzzy-set QCA the way to calculate the membership score in the intersection of sets is to take the minimum value of the two sets, following the “weakest link principle” (Ragin, 2009, p. 96). For example, if case A has a membership score of 0,8 in set *Z* and 0,6 in set *X*, then its membership score in the intersection of the sets  $Z*X$  is equal to 0,6.

Figure 3: Set Intersection [AND]



*Union* of the sets occurs when the researcher wants to indicate that there maybe two or more alternative conditions for an outcome. The sets are joined through the logical OR. To state that either *Z OR X* lead to the outcome *Y*, we can notate  $Z + X \rightarrow Y$ . The membership score of a case in the union of the sets is calculated by taking the maximum of those values (Ragin, 2009, p. 97). Taking the example from above, the membership of A in the union  $Z + X$  equals 0,8.

Figure 4: Set Union [OR]



c. *Necessity and sufficiency*

The notions of necessity and sufficiency of causal conditions in QCA are not the same as in common language. The understanding of terminology is crucial for correct comprehension of results in the chapter IV.

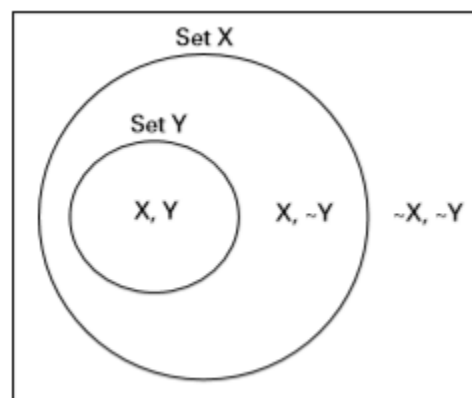
As stated in the introduction of the book “Configurational Comparative Methods”:

- “A condition is *necessary* for an outcome if it is always present when the outcome occurs. In other words, the outcome cannot occur in the absence of this condition.
- A condition is *sufficient* for an outcome if the outcome always occurs when the condition is present. However, the outcome could also result from other conditions” (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009, xix).

The two statements do not have identical meaning, even if from the first sight it may seem so. The logic of *necessity* starts by looking at the outcome first. If  $Y \rightarrow$  then  $X$ . No case with the outcome  $Y$  displays the absence of  $X$ , and  $Y$  is a subset of  $X$  (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 69). The logic of *sufficiency* starts from looking at the condition first. If  $X \rightarrow$  then  $Y$ ,  $X$  implies  $Y$ , or,  $X$  is a subset of  $Y$  (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 57). So, there could be a situation where  $\sim X \rightarrow Y$  (absence of  $X$  still leads to  $Y$ ). it can happen because  $Y$  could result from another condition in this particular case.

In the form of Venn-diagrams the relations of necessity are illustrated as follows:

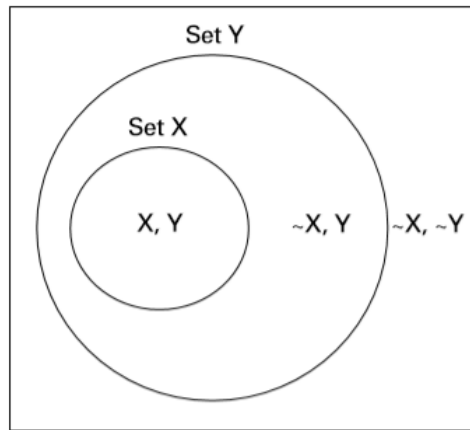
Figure 5: Venn diagram – necessity



(Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 72)

Set  $X$ , contains cases with present condition  $X$ , and both cases with present outcome  $Y$  (set  $Y$ ) or absent  $Y$  ( $\sim Y$ ). Cases with both absent condition  $X$  and the outcome  $Y$  are outside of this set. The cases with condition  $X$  present but outcome  $Y$  absent, could indicate that in order for  $X$  to lead to  $Y$ , it needs to be combined with some other conditions.

Figure 6: Venn diagram – sufficiency



(Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 60)

Set Y contains cases with the presence of the outcome, cases with present condition X (set X), and cases with the absent condition X ( $\sim X$ ). Those of the cases which do not display outcome Y nor condition X, do not belong to the set Y. The cases within the set Y, but with the absent X, may indicate that there is another causal path to the occurrence of the outcome.

## 2. Overview of conceptual sets for the outcome and conditions

It is very important to unambiguously define the conceptual sets of the outcome and the conditions on a theoretical and empirical level. In this study the outcome is labour market integration of humanitarian migrants, while the conditions are several policy aspects that potentially shape this integration process. The previous chapter provided a theoretical basis for these sets. However, there are some issues that need to be discussed with respect to the empirical level.

How to determine when successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants has occurred? On a theoretical level, this means that the labour market situation of humanitarian migrants should be equal to the reference group, i.e., the natives, in the country of residence. On an empirical level, it means that we need to have knowledge of the labour market performance of these two groups in the countries of analysis, and need to be able to compare these levels across countries. This can be done through statistical analysis of international survey data, which contains both population groups sampled representatively.

In the next chapter I give details on my operationalization and calculation of the outcome indicator. This involves the analysis of three dimensions of labour market integration, comparison of two ways of calculating the difference between the natives and humanitarian migrants (in absolute rates and in probabilities), and the cross-mapping of these three dimensions. At the end of the

chapter, the rationale for the calibration of the country-case membership in the outcome set is explained.

The sets of policy factors are constructed through a different method known as systematic document analysis. The task of policy comparison is a challenging one due to language limitations and the diverse nature of the data. I decided to approach this task by creating a template for policy data collection that would provide a framework for comparison at a later stage, giving a basis for the calibration of conditions.

The time limit given to conduct this study did not allow for the exploration of all necessary policy factors, so I focused on a selected few: (1) residence status policies; (2) access to the labour market; (3) welfare benefits; (4) Active Labour Market Policies; (5) language training. The recognition of foreign degrees was also considered to be an important factor, however, due to the difficulties of data collection this factor was dropped.

I employed the typology of policy instruments from Vedung (1998) to create questions for a template (see Annex 2) which would cover ideally all three types of instruments: regulatory, economic and soft. To explore the topic of the residence status, a general guiding question was asked: “How fast and how easy was the transition of individuals from the precarious status of asylum seeker to that of permanent resident?” The more detailed questions asked: “Are there any time limits for the application processing set by regulation?” and “Are there any economic costs involved?”

In respect to Topic 2, i.e., that of access to the labour market, the guiding questions were: “how fast and how easily can a newly arrived humanitarian migrant be employed in the official labour market?”; “Are there any restrictions on employment imposed by law, such as duration of residence, limitations due to possessing the status of a humanitarian migrant, or other special requirements to be fulfilled?”; “Is there a need to obtain a work permit?”; and “Does the process involve any costs for an individual?”. These questions are also related to the topic Active Labour Market Policies (Topic 3) which scrutinizes regulatory aspects asking: “are there any regulations which promote employment of refugees and humanitarian migrants?”; economic aspects “if the receipt of welfare support was conditional on participation in the activation programmes?”; and soft information aspects “asking if the measures only involved job search advice or if they also included CV-writing training, internships, job placements and employers outreach?”. The topic of welfare support was examined in terms of how easy was it to obtain and how generous was the financial support. The regulatory aspect was covered by asking whether the asylum seekers, humanitarian migrants and recognized refugees were entitled by law to some kind of welfare

support. The economic aspect looked at the average compensation for each status. Finally, the language training aspect was explored in terms of the existence of state initiated training programmes (regulation), whether those courses were free or not, if there were any economic sanctions for non-participation (economic instruments), and how many hours of language tuition were programmed (information).

There are some blind spots in this policy data collection template, especially at the level of policy implementation. It is unknown how effective the active labour market policy measures and language courses were in each country, how many humanitarian migrants participated in the activities within this policy sphere, and how good was the level of language training. For cases where there was no general state policy for these aspects, there could have been some grass-root organizations and volunteers providing the services, but again, there is no data regarding their work and its results that can be readily compared across countries. In addition, the period of this study's data validity (1990 – 2008) is almost 10 years ago now, so the information about implementation of those policies was extremely difficult to obtain. In order to try to cover these aspects, I would need much more time and resources than those available, with no guaranteed success given that this information might not even exist.

In Chapter 4 further details on the collection of the policy data are given. The ideal-types of the policies i.e. policy-sets (either facilitating or hindering the labour market integration) will be conceptualized for each policy area. Then, the policy situation in each country will be described on the basis of the collected data, and a judgement regarding what country-cases belong to what policy-sets will be made. As a result, each country will be described not in the form of text, but through the formal membership-scores from the conceptual sets of policy conditions and the outcome.

All the processes of calibration are described transparently and are open to reconsideration and redefinition. Thus, the results of the analysis are replicable and open for peer-scrutiny.

The next step of the analysis, which is to be found at the end of Chapter 4, will be to find the combinations of policy conditions that correspond with the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants, and which are *sufficient* to lead to such a situation. After that, I will try to identify the combination of policy conditions that best matches the lack of labour market integration, and thus, can be seen to be unfavourable for humanitarian migrants' employment prospects.

At the end of this methodological commentary, I would like to highlight that my approach is rather novel in the field of migration studies. To my knowledge, there is only one research project by

Hooijer and Picot (2015) that has assessed institutional determinants of migrant's poverty. This study used QCA to explore how the countries characteristics in terms of welfare policies and migrants composition matched the level of migrants' deprivation. However, this study used quantitative indicators from OECD to create the sets of institutional conditions, while I use qualitative policy data.

Thus, the application of the QCA approach here to the study of migration and integration paves the way for other scholars in this field to explore the potential of this method.



### III. LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the differences in the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants across the seven European countries which were: Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Greece. I estimate how successful the labour market performance of humanitarian migrants is in comparison to the natives and other types of migrants. I aim to reveal what kind of economic integration took place in these seven countries in the year 2008 by analysing two aspects: employment chances and quality of jobs. The results obtained through my analysis serve as a basis for the conceptualization of the outcome for the fuzzy-set QCA analysis, which is seen in the following chapter. The guiding research questions for this part of my research are: in which countries is the economic integration of humanitarian migrants is more successful? In which countries is it less successful? Is there a country where humanitarian migrants have both equal employment chances and equal quality of jobs, compared to the natives<sup>10</sup>?

I use the European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) Ad-hoc module on migration 2008. This data-set was fully published in 2013, so when this research project started in 2014, it was the ‘most recent’ data-set available for the cross-country comparison I aimed for.

Chapter III is structured as follows: First, I briefly describe the dataset in use, the operationalization of economic integration, and define the population categories of interest. Then, I present the steps of my logistic regression. The limitations of the study are also given at this point. Second, descriptive statistics for each stage of the analysis are given. Third, the analysis of the data for each indicator are presented. Here, I first compare the countries on the basis of simple differences in percentages between humanitarian migrants and natives, and then show the results of the logistic regression analysis, where the comparison is based on probabilities and controlled for some socio-demographic characteristics. The fourth part provides a summary of the three indicators and draw conclusion about the clusters of countries. In the last part I present the calibration process of the outcome to be used in the qualitative comparative analysis.

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<sup>10</sup> See the comment for this term in a foot note of p.36

## 1. Methodology

### *a. Dataset and variables*

The dataset of the European Union Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) ad-hoc module on migration (2008), was conducted in 33 countries of Europe with the same questionnaires translated to the national languages. The individuals in private households were surveyed through various methods including: face-to-face interviews, self-administrated surveys, and telephone interviews. In most of the countries a multi-staged stratified random sample design was used. At the start of this project this was a unique cross-country survey<sup>11</sup> that included both natives and migrants, and allowed one to distinguish between types of immigration. Even though the dataset in use was created in 2008, the impact of the economic crisis on employment rates had not yet been felt at the time of the survey. According to Eurostat (2016), the strongest impact of the economic crisis on the labour market took place in 2009.

The concepts of economic integration and labour market integration are usually synonymous in the literature. They are conceptualized in terms of (un)employment rates (Colic-Peisker, 2008), log earnings (Edin et al., 2004), labour market participation (Bevelander & Lundh, 2007), and skills mismatch, which can also be called underemployment (Krahn et al., 2000) or over-qualification (Capps & Newland, 2015; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Haines, 1988). Other aspects of economic integration described in the literature are levels of idleness (Edin et al., 2004) and the number of people receiving welfare benefits (Hohm et al., 1999).

In the studies on integration of labour immigrants these indicators are compared with those of the natives, but are rarely studied in refugees. In this study, I measure the integration success in terms of the differences between the economic indicators of natives and those of humanitarian migrants. If this comparison was absent, we would not be talking about integration, but rather labour market performance.

For these reasons, and to provide a good basis for intergroup and intercountry comparison, I operationalize economic integration through the indicators of relative difference:

- Gap in employment probabilities of all population
- Gap in employment probabilities of the active labour force
- Gap in probability of having a better quality (higher-skilled) job

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<sup>11</sup> In 2017, a more recent EU-LFS Ad-Hoc module on Migration was published, however, it was too late to use that newer data for my research.

When the differences between humanitarian migrants and natives are small, then there is more equality, and integration can be seen as more successful. The employment rates of the natives (as well as the quality of their jobs) can vary from country to country, but if we take their labour market performance and measure it against the average level that the newcomers are expected to achieve, then we can compare the differences between these key groups and can estimate in which countries have smaller or larger differences.

To evaluate the differences while controlling for individual characteristics, I used binary logistic regression models. Country binary variables are included in each model as interaction terms with the migrant's category. Conceptually, that means that I estimate the difference in the effects of being a humanitarian migrant (or other type of migrant) in each country, on each indicator of economic integration. Thus, it is possible to evaluate whether those differences are statistically significant for each migrant category and across countries.

I explore the economic integration through 3 indicators which are my dependent variables:

- *Employment of all* is defined as the number of the working age population in employment, compared to those out of employment, i.e., either unemployed or idle (not working nor searching for jobs).
- *Employment of active* is operationalized using the standard International Labour Organization definition. The employed population is contrasted with the unemployed population, while the idle population is excluded from the analysis. This is the difference between this and the previous variable.
- *Quality of jobs* is evaluated according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (International Labour Organization, 2012). Higher skilled (better) jobs are defined as those below the score 500, lower skilled jobs (worse) are defined as those with a score of 500 and above.

In my definition of job quality I follow the example of Ballarino and Panichella (2015), who defined the quality of jobs based on the ISCO-88, treating occupations with a score of 800 or higher as “unstable jobs”. In contrast to these authors, I chose to split the classification scale of occupations equally (as described above). In the table below you can see how the original variable (is881d) was re-coded into the binary variable “quality of jobs”.

Table 2: Recoding of variables ISCO88 into binary “quality of jobs”

Occupation (ISCO-88 COM, 1 digit)	Quality of jobs		All population
	0. Worse jobs	1. Better jobs	Total
0. Armed forces occupations	-	1 012	1 012
100. Managers	-	21 585	21 585
200. Professionals	-	34 398	34 398
300. Technicians and associated professions	-	36 777	36 777
400. Clerical support workers	-	25 223	25 223
500. Service and sales workers	35 255	-	35 255
600. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	7 163	-	7 163
700. Craft and related trade workers	23 367	-	23 367
800. Plant and machine operators	14 871	-	14 871
900. Elementary occupations	17 490	-	17 490
Total	98 146	118 995	217 141

I do admit, however, that inclusion of other dimensions of jobs quality such as temporality, salary levels, and legality of employment, could bring about a more detailed analysis of this dimension. Various limitations of the EU-LFS dataset did not allow me to account for these aspects. First, the information on the amounts of earnings or salaries was absent. Second, the variable which could have been used as a proxy for the legality of jobs did not cover the whole population of migrants. Only 62% of those who were included in the variable “quality of jobs” provided information on whether their legal status restricted access to the labour market or not. Given the fact that the samples are not so large, it was important not to lose any respondents due to this missing data. Similar reasons prevented me from including the dimension of temporality as part of the variable quality of jobs, because that would result in the loss of 10% of migrants from the analysis.

The individual characteristics influencing labour market integration have been listed in the previous chapter. I included the following control variables in my logistic regression models: level of education, gender, age, language proficiency, and length of residence in the host country. If the gaps in employment indicators are only due to differences between the individual characteristics of migrant and native-born groups, the effect of belonging to a certain migrant category should not be statistically significant.

The population categories are defined on the basis of the region of birth and the reason for migration<sup>12</sup>. Individuals between 15 and 65 years old are included because they are usually considered a population of working age.

- *Natives* are operationalized as individuals who are born in the country of analysis and did not migrate.
- *Non-EU migrants* are those who were born in other countries (not in the European Union (EU) nor in the countries of European Free Trade Association (EFTA)<sup>13</sup>) and migrated for various reasons.
- *Humanitarian migrants* are those who were born in other countries, not in the EU or EFTA, and whose main reason for migration is reported as international protection<sup>14</sup>.

Individuals whose country of birth is missing are coded as “stateless/unknown”. They are put in one of two migrant categories on the basis of their main reason for migration. The EU migrants are not included into the analysis. Annex 1 provides the details on the technical definition of these population categories.

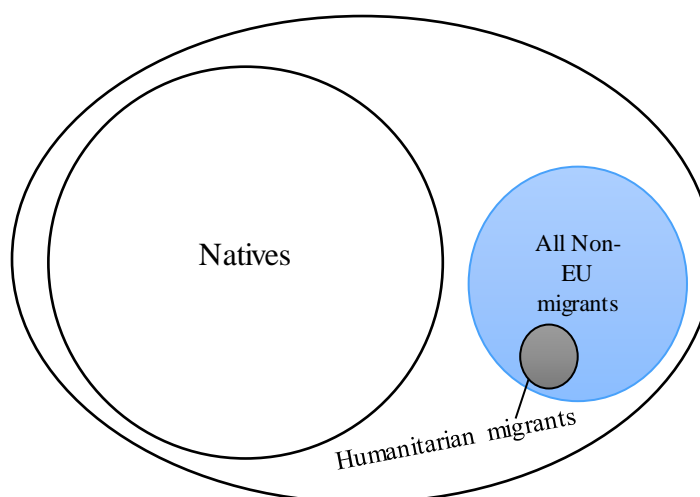
Due to the very uneven samples of different migrant categories in the dataset, I decided to split the analysis into two stages:

*Stage 1:* native population is compared with all non-EU migrants.

*Stage 2:* humanitarian migrants are compared with all other types of migrants.

A visual depiction of the comparison is shown in Figure 7.

*Figure 7: Visualization of population categories*



<sup>12</sup> except for Germany, see Annex 1 for further explanation

<sup>13</sup> The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) is an intergovernmental organisation set up for the promotion of free trade and economic integration to the benefit of its four Member States: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland. <http://www.efta.int/>

<sup>14</sup> In the dataset there is no information on the type of residence permits and legal statuses the individuals have or had before.

### *b. Limitations*

The choice of the countries was partly guided by the availability of the data. Since this survey was did not directly target humanitarian migrants, in some countries their sample is very small i.e., below 100 respondents. A comparative analysis via the logistic regression method would not be reliable in these countries. More data on that sub group of migrants would be highly desirable and mean that the analysis could involve a larger number of countries. In addition, due to the small samples of humanitarian migrants, it is not possible to control for the differences of the ethnic origins. I acknowledge that the difference in integration success across countries may be caused by cultural (dis)similarity of migrants with the natives or even racism, but in this study, I could not cover that aspect. Moreover, the data did not allow me to control for the physical and mental health of the sampled populations. However, it is important to remember that refugees often arrive in the receiving countries mentally and physically traumatised, making it even more difficult for them to enter employment.

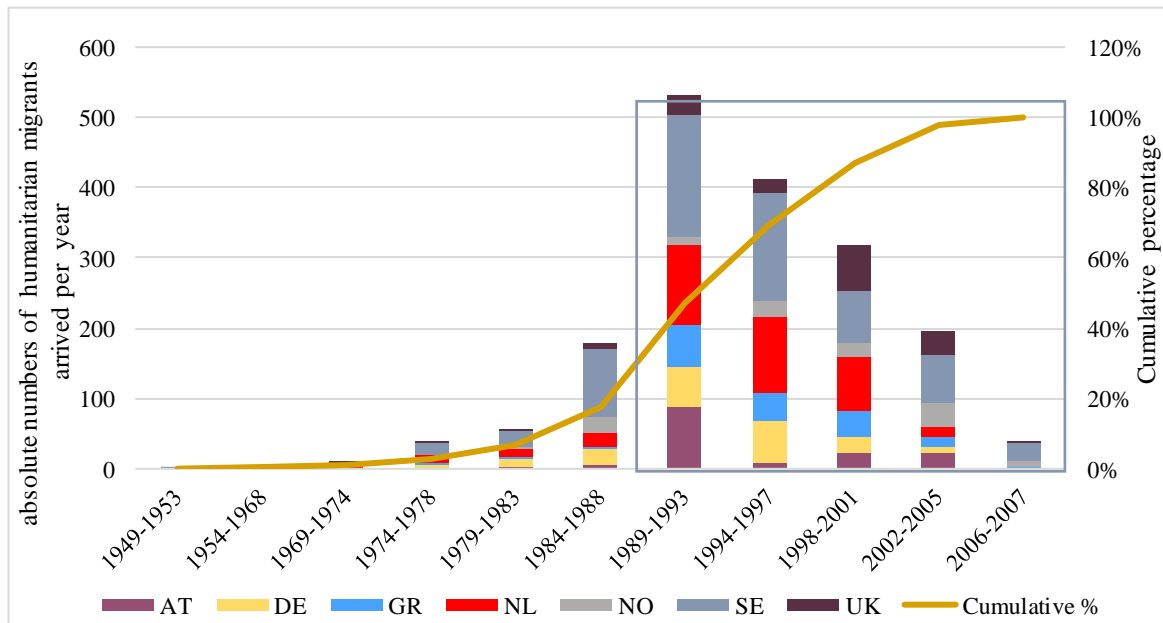
Many individuals who were categorized as migrants had acquired citizenship of the country of residence by 2008. The effect of citizenship status on migrants' economic integration has not been shown to be significant, and was therefore excluded from further models. In addition, the cross-sectional data does not provide the full picture of integration. Longitudinal data is needed to better explore the process of economic adaptation. Unfortunately, such studies are extremely rare. The migrant categories in my analysis are defined on the basis of their reasons for migration. The information about the type of residence permits, if available, would have been very helpful to distinguish more accurately whose migration trajectory occurred via the asylum system, and whose did not.

### *c. Description of dataset population*

As the figure 8 below shows, the majority of the humanitarian migrants who responded to the EU-LFS in 2008 arrived in the receiving country after 1989 (over 80%). The policy situation in the period 1990s-2007 most likely affected the economic integration of those who arrived right before or during these years. The first years after migration are considered to be the most challenging for the newcomers due to the process of adaptation and re-socialization in the new society (Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002). Integration policies usually target the behaviour of the newly arrived, because they represent the common rules of living in the host country, the formalized norms, with which the newcomers are expected to comply. The policies often set a threshold of number of years, after which a migrant becomes eligible for permanent residency and or can apply for naturalization. Once these thresholds are passed, many legal and policy barriers for integration are lifted. In addition, over time most migrants improve their knowledge of the host country's

language and enhance social networks which stabilize their employment (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014).

Figure 8: Humanitarian migrants by country of arrival



Previous studies have revealed that the difference between labour migrants and humanitarian migrants in terms of their labour market performance is significantly reduced after 10 years (OECD, 2016, 9-11 June). It is reasonable to suppose that the results of the economic integration individuals who have spent over 20 years in the receiving country were not significantly shaped by the policies of 1990-2007. Furthermore, since the aim of this research is primarily to explore the ‘influence’ of policies, the ‘older’ migrants are not relevant for this analysis. For these reasons, respondents who stated that their arrival in the host countries was before 1989 were excluded so that their performance would not bias the estimates of differences in 2008.

The analysis was performed on two samples. The first one, used in the Stage 1, is presented in Table 3, and comprises of the native population and all non-EU migrants above 15 years old who migrated after 1989 to the seven analysed countries.

Table 3: Data overview for the stage 1 of the analysis

Stage 1:	variable	Natives		All non-EU migrants	
		N	mean	N	mean
<b>Dependant</b>	Employed of all (incl. idle)	261 009	0,80	14 579	0,72
	Employed of active (excl. idle)	216 568	0,96	11 644	0,90
	Good jobs	207 737	0,56	10 445	0,32
<b>Control</b>	<b>Age</b>	281 221	40,6 (14,08)	16 449	34,8 (11,12)
	<b>Female (sex)</b>	281 221	0,51	16 449	0,52
	<b>Education</b>				
	Lower secondary	278 790	0,29	16 242	0,40
	Upper secondary	278 790	0,46	16 242	0,39
	Third level	278 790	0,25	16 242	0,21

Overall the share of employed non-EU migrants is lower than that of the natives (72% against 80% for all population; 90% against 96% excluding inactive). The percentage of individuals employed in ‘good’ jobs is also lower (32% against 56%). Regarding individual characteristics, the average age of non-EU migrants in the sample is around 34,8 years, while the natives are slightly older at 40,6 years. The migrant sub-sample contains 1% more female respondents than that of the natives. In terms of education level, migrants have a larger percentage of individuals with a lower secondary education and a smaller proportion of individuals with a tertiary level of education.

The second sample is used in Stage 2, where humanitarian migrants are compared with all other types of migrants born in non-EU countries (Tab. 4).

Table 4: Data overview for the stage 2 of the analysis

Stage 2:	variable	Humanitarian migrants		Other migrants	
		N	mean	N	mean
<b>Dependant</b>	Employed of all (incl. idle)	2 014	0,67	12 565	0,72
	Employed of active (excl. idle)	1 547	0,87	10 097	0,90
	Good jobs	1 341	0,25	9 104	0,33
<b>Control</b>	<b>Age</b>	2 157	40,5 (9,56)	14 292	33,9 (11,08)
	<b>Female (sex)</b>	2 157	0,44	14 292	0,54
	<b>Education</b>				
	Lower secondary	2 132	0,41	14 110	0,40
	Upper secondary	2 132	0,38	14 110	0,39
	Third level	2 132	0,21	14 110	0,21
	<b>Language proficiency</b>				
	No need to improve LP	2 157	0,71	14 292	0,71
	Need to improve LP	2 157	0,24	14 292	0,16
	N/A	2 157	0,06	14 292	0,12
<b>Years of residence</b>	2 157	11,30	14 292	9,91	



Table 4 shows that humanitarian migrants have lower employment rates than those who migrated for other reasons. Among the humanitarian migrants, the ratio of working versus non-working (incl. idle) was 67%, while among other migrants it was 72%. The ratio of employed versus unemployed was 87% for humanitarian migrants and 91% for other migrants. Fewer are employed in “quality jobs” (25%) compared to other migrant categories (33%). This group of migrants is a bit older than the rest; with the average age between 40-41 years, compared to 34 years for other migrants. There are fewer females among the humanitarian migrants (44%), with the other migrant categories having a more balanced gender distribution (54%). Interestingly, the educational level of the two groups is very similar, contrary to the common vision that humanitarian migrants are less educated than the others.

*d. Countries of origin*

The UNHCR statistical yearbooks (UNHCR, 2001; UNHCR, 2005) give an indication of the origins of humanitarian migrants in the 7 European countries in the studied time period. Analysing the top-5 asylum seeker ‘countries of origin’ in the countries under research, I concluded that in the period between 1992 and 2006, the vast majority of asylum seekers came from Yugoslavia<sup>15</sup>, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania. Other important sending countries were Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Nigeria, and Sri Lanka. In the period 1997 until 2006, a significant number of asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Russian Federation, and Ukraine came to the counties under analysis.

The above estimations seem to match the data on the origins of humanitarian migrants of the EU-LFS dataset in the period of 1989-2007. Although specific nationalities are not traceable in that dataset, the regions of origin roughly correspond with the UNHCR statistics described above. As you can see in Table 5, the majority of humanitarian migrants in the sample were born in non-EU but European countries belonging to the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

*Table 5: Origin of Humanitarian migrants (EU-LFS 2008 data)*

Regions of birth	% of all Humanitarian migrants
Other Europe	29%
North Africa and Near and Middle East	27%
Other Africa	14%
East and South Asia	12%
Latin America (Central, South + Caribbean)	1%
North America and Australia / Oceania	0%
EFTA <sup>16</sup>	0%
Missing/ stateless/unknown	16%

<sup>15</sup> In the Statistical Year Book of 1992-2001 Yugoslavia is referred to as a country of origin

<sup>16</sup> European Free Trade Association

The second largest group from the Near and Middle East and North Africa, most likely include nationals of Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan; other Africans are represented by Somalia and Nigeria, and East and South Asia are represented by Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan.

Humanitarian migrants of non-European origin are more likely to face xenophobia and racism in the countries of asylum under the study compared to their counterparts from Eastern Europe, this is likely due to visible differences in appearance, culture and perhaps even religion (Colic-Peisker, 2008). It may affect their chances of employment and the type of jobs they get (Colic-Peisker, 2008). For instance, it has been established that Swedish HR-specialists avoid inviting candidates with Arabic sounding names for an interview (Rooth, 2010). On the other hand, many refugees of the Balkan war (who are Europeans), were also not so welcomed by many states. Austria, Germany and the Netherlands assigned them precarious statuses (temporary protection), which heavily limited their access to employment (van Selm-Thorburn, 1998).

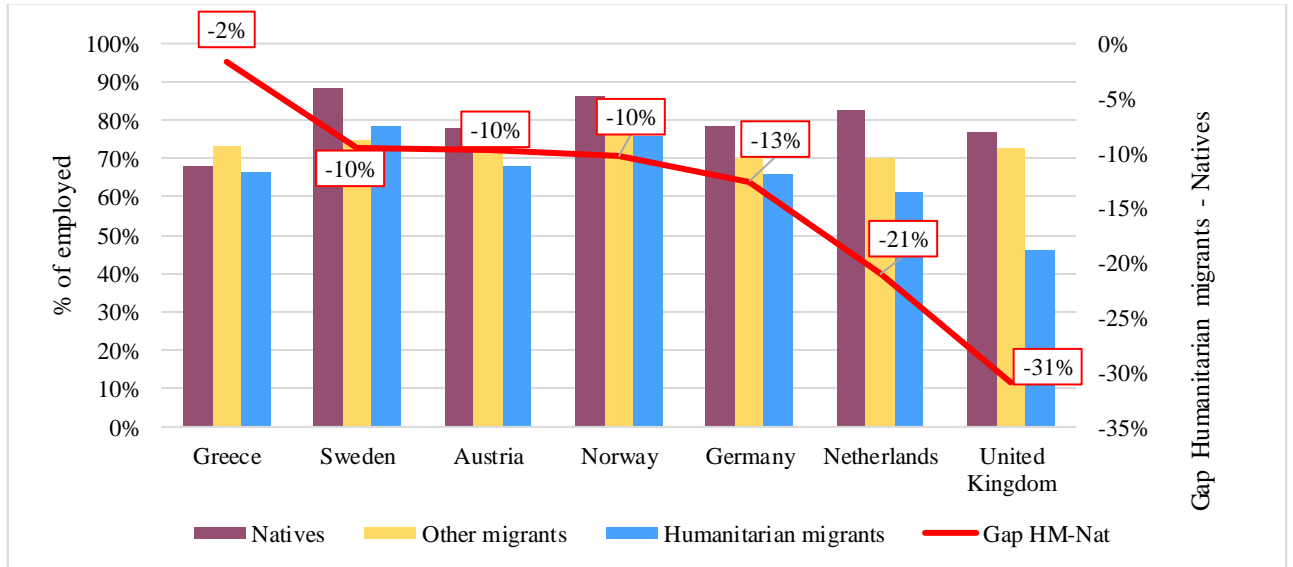
Another dimension of origin that is related to the employability of humanitarian migrants is knowledge of the host country's language. Knowledge of English is useful for finding employment in the United Kingdom, and this may be an advantage for asylum seekers from the countries where the English language is commonly used (Nigeria, India and Pakistan) in comparison to others who arrived without knowledge of English. Whether the pre-migration knowledge of the host country language helps humanitarian migrants to overcome racial bias and, thus, equalise their job chances with eastern-European refugees is not investigated in this research, due to lack of detailed data on countries of origins and pre-migration language skills.

## **2. Analysis**

### *a. Employment of all (including inactive)*

Prior to analysing the regression models, differences in employment rates across the selected countries were ascertained for the following migrant categories: natives, humanitarian migrants and other non-EU migrants (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Percentage of working population & difference between Humanitarian migrants and Natives



The y-axis on the left hand of figure 9 shows the percentage of employed refugees out of the entire working age population (i.e., 15-65 years of age). This includes those who were not searching for jobs (idle), with the exception of students. The bars show the values per population category. The right hand y-axis displays the absolute difference in employment rates between the humanitarian migrants and natives, as indicated by the red line. The lower is the line, the larger the negative gap in the country between the humanitarian migrants and natives. The United Kingdom and the Netherlands have the largest negative difference (over -20%), while Austria, Norway and Sweden, and Germany have a medium gap (around 10%). Greece has a very small gap, meaning that in this country natives and humanitarian migrants report equal employment rates.

Hence, the economic integration based on this indicator is not very successful in the Netherlands and the UK, while in other countries it is more successful, although the chances are not equal in any country.

Such differences may occur due to differences in education, gender, age, time of residency in the receiving country, and language proficiency. To account for these factors, I run logistic regression models with control variables for socio-demographic characteristics and countries binaries. The interaction term combines the countries and the migrant categories to help estimate the difference in probability of employment across countries, and to determine whether such differences are significant<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> A simple explanation on the interpretation of logit models with categorical interaction terms is given [here](#)

The b-coefficients in logit regression indicate the *difference* between the two categories (natives = 0 and migrants = 1) in terms of individuals' probability of being employed (1) versus being unemployed or idle (0). The coefficients of the interaction 'All migrants x Country' signify the difference in probabilities between migrants in the country of reference and the other countries. The b-coefficients of the countries without an interaction term, show the difference in probability of being employed for the natives in those countries, compared to native Norwegians. But these estimates are not very important for my main research question.

In Table 6, the b-coefficients obtained from the logit regressions are shown, where each analysis has been performed with a different country of reference (indicated in the header). The point of comparison in each regression is the probability of employment of a native male person with secondary education. Analysing the first row of the table, it can be concluded that a male migrant with secondary level education will have the largest difference in his chances of being employed in the Netherlands (-112%) and Sweden (-122%), compared to a native-born one with the same characteristics, while in Greece the difference was only around -9%<sup>18</sup>. In other countries (Austria, Germany, United Kingdom and Norway that difference is between -64,7% and -84,5%.

Table 6: Stage 1 All non-EU migrants compared to natives

Referefnce country -> <i>employed = 1; idle or unemployed = 0</i>	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
All migrants (in ref country)	-0,845***	(0,11)	-0,647***	(0,07)	-0,710***	(0,05)	-0,092*	(0,05)	-1,125***	(0,05)	-1,223***	(0,06)	-0,735***	(0,04)
Austria	-0,492***	(0,03)	0,00 (.)		0,01 (0,03)		0,548***	(0,02)	-0,161***	(0,02)	-0,675***	(0,02)	0,167***	(0,02)
Germany	-0,505***	(0,03)	-0,01 (0,03)		0,00 (.)		0,536***	(0,02)	-0,173***	(0,02)	-0,688***	(0,02)	0,155***	(0,02)
Greece	-1,041***	(0,03)	-0,548***	(0,02)	-0,536***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		-0,710***	(0,02)	-1,224***	(0,02)	-0,381***	(0,02)
Netherlands	-0,331***	(0,03)	0,161***	(0,02)	0,173***	(0,02)	0,710***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		-0,514***	(0,02)	0,329***	(0,01)
Norway	0,00 (.)		0,492***	(0,03)	0,505***	(0,03)	1,041***	(0,03)	0,331***	(0,03)	-0,183***	(0,03)	0,660***	(0,03)
Sweden	0,183***	(0,03)	0,675***	(0,02)	0,688***	(0,02)	1,224***	(0,02)	0,514***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		0,843***	(0,02)
United Kingdom	-0,660***	(0,03)	-0,167***	(0,02)	-0,155***	(0,02)	0,381***	(0,02)	-0,329***	(0,01)	-0,843***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Interaction</b>														
All migrants x Austria	0,20 (0,14)		0,00 (.)		0,06 (0,09)		-0,555***	(0,09)	0,478***	(0,09)	0,576***	(0,10)	0,09 (0,08)	
All migrants x Germany	0,14 (0,13)		-0,06 (0,09)		0,00 (.)		-0,618***	(0,07)	0,415***	(0,07)	0,513***	(0,08)	0,03 (0,07)	
All migrants x Greece	0,753***	(0,12)	0,555***	(0,09)	0,618***	(0,07)	0,00 (.)		1,033***	(0,06)	1,131***	(0,08)	0,643***	(0,06)
All migrants x Netherlands	-0,280*	(0,12)	-0,478***	(0,09)	-0,415***	(0,07)	-1,033***	(0,06)	0,00 (.)		0,10 (0,08)		-0,390***	(0,06)
All migrants x Norway	0,00 (.)		-0,20 (0,14)		-0,14 (0,13)		-0,753***	(0,12)	0,280*	(0,12)	0,377**	(0,13)	-0,11 (0,12)	
All migrants x Sweden	-0,377**	(0,13)	-0,576***	(0,10)	-0,513***	(0,08)	-1,131***	(0,08)	-0,10 (0,08)		0,00 (.)		-0,488***	(0,07)
All migrants x United Kingdom	0,11 (0,12)		-0,09 (0,08)		-0,03 (0,07)		-0,643***	(0,06)	0,390***	(0,06)	0,488***	(0,07)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Control variables</b>														
tertriary education	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)	0,973***	(0,01)
female	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)	-0,890***	(0,01)
age	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)	-0,047***	(0,00)
constant	4,235***	(0,03)	3,743***	(0,03)	3,731***	(0,03)	3,194***	(0,02)	3,904***	(0,02)	4,418***	(0,03)	3,575***	(0,02)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

In Table 6, the b-coefficients under the subtitle 'Interaction' demonstrate how different the gap in employment probabilities is in the country of reference compared to other countries. It can be argued that the employment situation of migrants is indeed different in a given country if the coefficients of interaction are significant. For example, looking at the first column (Norway), it

<sup>18</sup>B-coefficients can be understood as the percentage of change in probability (of employment).  
B- Coefficient \* 100 = %

can be seen that, in Greece, the chances of employment between migrants and Greeks are significantly more equal than in Norway, while in the Netherlands and Sweden, the chances are significantly less equal. The other columns can be interpreted in the same way. The control variables for socio-demographic characteristics were all significant. Overall, women had an 89% lower chance of being employed than men, higher educated individuals had a higher employment probability, and older people had a slightly lower chance of being employed compared to younger people.

In Stage 2, the subsample (see Tab. 4) of the previous dataset is analysed. The logit regression models were designed following the same logic described for Stage 1. In addition, I added control variables that were only relevant for the migrant population which were, years spent in the country of origin and language proficiency. I did not include these variables in the previous stage because the natives were not asked those questions, as they are only relevant for migrants. Table 7 presents the b-coefficients of the logit regressions in the same manner as Table 6.

Analysing the first row, it is shown that the difference in employment chances between humanitarian migrants and other migrants is the largest in the United Kingdom, where humanitarian migrants have 142% lower chance of being employed compared to other non-EU migrants. Greece, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands have medium gaps (around 68% - 32%) in the probabilities of employment between these two migrants groups. While in Sweden and Norway these differences are statistically insignificant.

Table 7: Stage 2 Humanitarian migrants compared to other migrants

Referefnc country -> <i>employed = 1; idle or unemployed = 0</i>	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Humanitarian migrants	-0,19	(0,28)	-0,434*	(0,18)	-0,363*	(0,15)	-0,342*	(0,16)	-0,687***	(0,11)	0,10	(0,13)	-1,428***	(0,14)
AT Austria	-0,348*	(0,15)	0,00 (.)		0,239*	(0,09)	0,08	(0,09)	0,17	(0,09)	-0,04	(0,11)	0,13	(0,09)
DE Germany	-0,587***	(0,13)	-0,239*	(0,09)	0,00 (.)		-0,158*	(0,07)	-0,07	(0,07)	-0,280**	(0,09)	-0,11	(0,07)
GR Greece	-0,429**	(0,13)	-0,08	(0,09)	0,158*	(0,07)	0,00 (.)		0,09	(0,07)	-0,12	(0,08)	0,05	(0,07)
NL Netherlands	-0,517***	(0,13)	-0,17	(0,09)	0,07	(0,07)	-0,09	(0,07)	0,00 (.)		-0,210*	(0,08)	-0,04	(0,07)
NO Norway	0,00 (.)		0,348*	(0,15)	0,587***	(0,13)	0,429**	(0,13)	0,517***	(0,13)	0,307*	(0,14)	0,475***	(0,13)
SE Sweden	-0,307*	(0,14)	0,04	(0,11)	0,280**	(0,09)	0,12	(0,08)	0,210*	(0,08)	0,00 (.)		0,168*	(0,09)
UK United Kingdom	-0,475***	(0,13)	-0,13	(0,09)	0,11	(0,07)	-0,05	(0,07)	0,04	(0,07)	-0,168*	(0,09)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Interaction</b>														
humanitarian x Austria	-0,25	(0,34)	0,00 (.)		-0,07	(0,24)	-0,09	(0,25)	0,25	(0,21)	-0,534*	(0,22)	0,995***	(0,23)
humanitarian x Germany	-0,18	(0,32)	0,07	(0,24)	0,00 (.)		-0,02	(0,22)	0,32	(0,19)	-0,463*	(0,20)	1,065***	(0,21)
humanitarian x Greece	-0,16	(0,33)	0,09	(0,25)	0,02	(0,22)	0,00 (.)		0,35	(0,20)	-0,442*	(0,21)	1,087***	(0,22)
humanitarian x Netherlands	-0,50	(0,31)	-0,25	(0,21)	-0,32	(0,19)	-0,35	(0,20)	0,00 (.)		-0,787***	(0,17)	0,741***	(0,18)
humanitarian x Norway	0,00 (.)		0,25	(0,34)	0,18	(0,32)	0,16	(0,33)	0,50	(0,31)	-0,29	(0,31)	1,241***	(0,32)
humanitarian x Sweden	0,29	(0,31)	0,534*	(0,22)	0,463*	(0,20)	0,442*	(0,21)	0,787***	(0,17)	0,00 (.)		1,528***	(0,19)
humanitarian x United Kingdom	-1,241***	(0,32)	-0,995***	(0,23)	-1,065***	(0,21)	-1,087***	(0,22)	-0,741***	(0,18)	-1,528***	(0,19)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Control variables</b>														
tertriary education	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)	0,616***	(0,05)
Female	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)	-1,303***	(0,04)
Age	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)	-0,008***	(0,00)
Language needs improvement?														
Yes	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)	0,234***	(0,05)
Don't know	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)	0,663***	(0,07)
Years of residence in the country	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)	0,041***	(0,00)
constant	1,840***	(0,15)	1,493***	(0,11)	1,253***	(0,10)	1,411***	(0,09)	1,323***	(0,09)	1,533***	(0,10)	1,365***	(0,09)

\* p<0,05, \*\* p<0,01, \*\*\* p<0,001

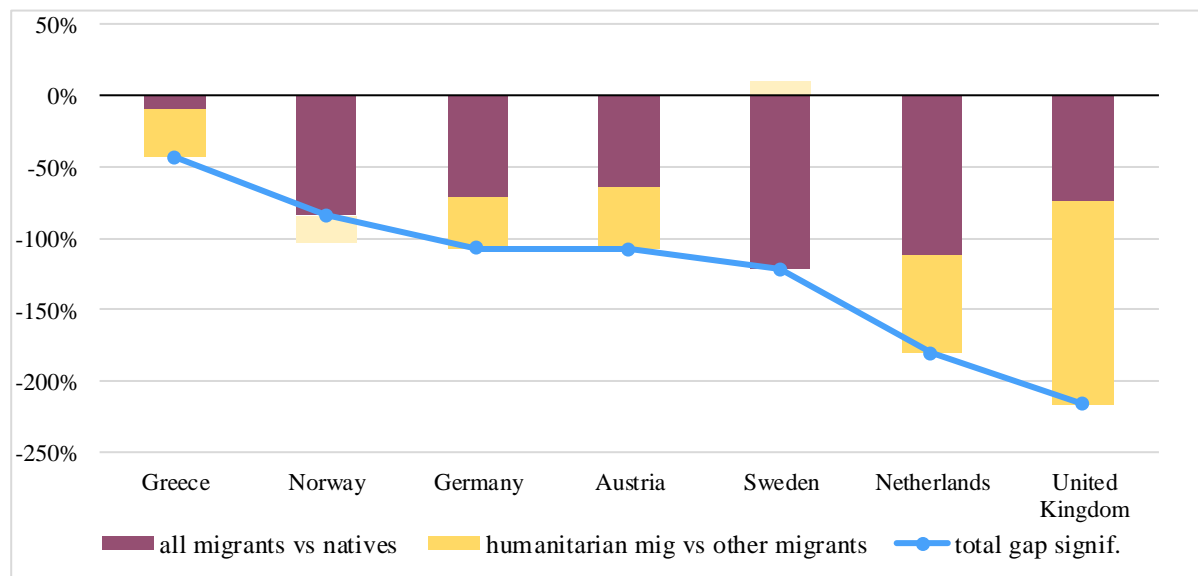
The interaction part of the regression table reveals that the gap in employment observed in the UK is indeed the largest in comparison with all other countries (see the last column, where all the interaction b-coefficients are significant). On the contrary, Sweden (see the second column from the right) showed significantly less difference in the chance of humanitarian versus all other migrants being employed compared to other countries, with the exception of Norway. The rest of the countries have values clustered tightly together between those of the Sweden and the UK.

The socio-demographic control variables are significant and function in the same way as in Stage 1. Migrants with the post-secondary education tend to have 61% higher chance of being employed, compared to those with only a secondary education level. Female migrants had a much lower chance of being employed than male migrants. and the chance of employment for older migrants is slightly lower compared to that of younger migrants. Years of residence in the country positively influenced a migrant's employment probability. Regarding language proficiency, the correlation is in the opposite direction from what I expected. Persons who answered that they needed to improve their language proficiency in order to get appropriate employment had a 23% higher chance of being employed than those who stated the opposite. It could be that individuals who already had jobs wanted to improve their professional profile in order to move on to a better occupation, so they admitted that they needed to improve their language skills.

It would be interesting to investigate this issue further, but the focus of my analysis is on identifying the outcome of economic integration in these seven countries. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, economic integration in my study is defined as the difference in the labour market performance between the humanitarian migrants and the natives. To obtain this information while also taking into account the control variables, I added up the gaps obtained through the first and second stage of my regression analysis. While these way of estimation may raise questions from statisticians this approach was developed as a solution for the very unbalanced samples of the EU-LFS dataset.

In Figure 10 you can see a summary of the two stages of the logit regression analysis. The blue line shows the joint decrease in employment chances for humanitarian migrants compared to

*Figure 10: Accumulated decrease in probabilities of employment for Humanitarian migrants, compared to Natives (all, incl. inactive)*



natives, while the bars show the composition of that effect in each country. The total gap is calculated from the sum of statistically significant gaps obtained in the first and the second stages of the analysis.

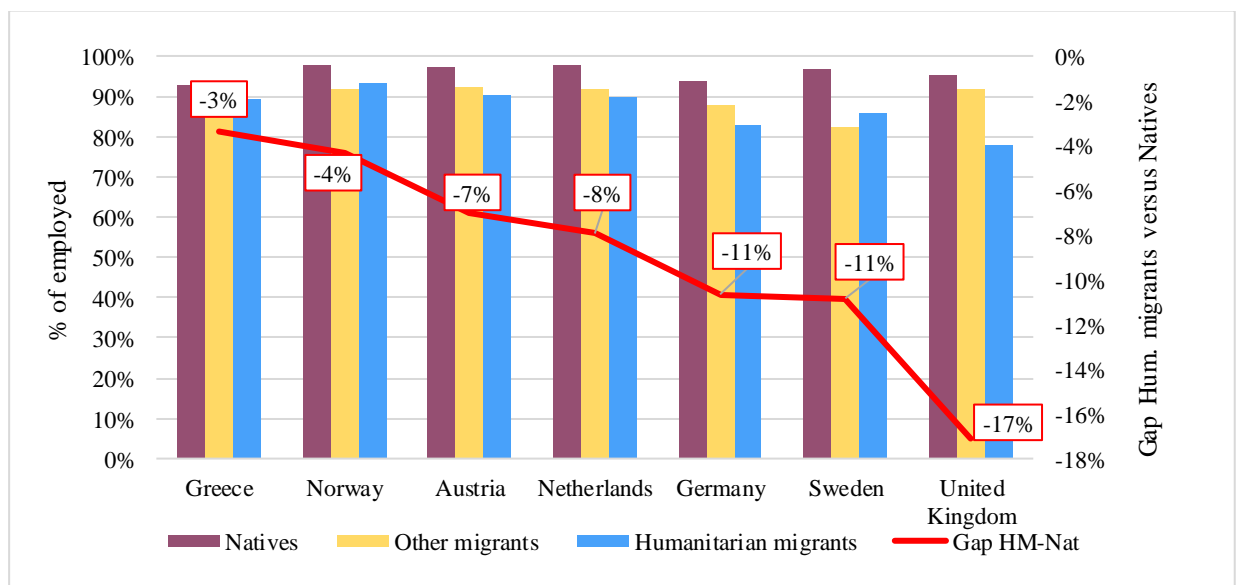
In Greece, the employment chances of humanitarian migrants and the natives are more equal than in any other country. In Norway, Germany, Austria and Sweden, the difference enlarges, leaving humanitarian migrants more disadvantaged in their job search. The differences are the highest in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom: the natives in those countries are almost twice more likely to be employed, than the humanitarian migrants. Thus, the two-stage regression analysis confirmed the differences in employment rates shown in Figure 9.

In the next section I describe the results of the alternative analysis of employment chance based only on active population and those who are working or actively searching for jobs. The idle population, who were included in the data sample in this section, are excluded from this analysis.

*b. Employment versus unemployment (only active)*

In Figure 11 you can see that the employment rates of natives among the active population of the working age is over 90% in all seven countries. However, it is also common that the employment rates of migrants are lower than those of the natives (as showed also in Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). The difference between the number of employed natives and employed humanitarian migrants is visualised by the red line. The gap is the largest for the United Kingdom, where 98% of native British citizens were employed (2% unemployed) versus 78% of the humanitarian migrants (12% unemployed). The difference is smallest in Greece and Norway, where among humanitarian migrants, 3-4% fewer individuals were employed compared to the natives. In other countries, the difference is between 7 and 11%.

*Figure 11: Percentage of employed across countries and population categories (of active population)*



Excluding the idle population from the analysis allowed me to better estimate how likely it was that natives and migrants would get employed if they were actually looking for jobs and intended to actively participate in the labour market.



In Table 8 the first stage of the analysis, where all non-EU migrants are compared to the native-born population, is presented. Following the same logic of interpretation as before, you can see that in all the countries except Greece, there are significant differences between population groups, with non-EU migrants having lower chances of being employed than natives. The largest negative gap is observed for Sweden (-170%), and is significantly different from the rest of all the other countries. Sweden is followed by the Netherlands (-116%), Norway (-112%), and Austria (-95%), these countries can be seen as a cluster, as they are statistically similar to each other. Germany and the UK display somewhat smaller gaps of in probabilities between the migrants and natives with -67% and -55%, respectively, which is significantly smaller than in other countries.

Table 8: Stage 1 Comparison of all non-EU Migrants with Natives

Reference country -> <i>employed = 1; unemployed = 0</i>	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
All migrants	-1,122***	(0,19)	-0,953***	(0,13)	-0,667***	(0,08)	0,15	(0,08)	-1,161***	(0,08)	-1,693***	(0,08)	-0,555***	(0,07)
Austria	-0,179*	(0,08)	0,00	(.)	0,934***	(0,06)	1,135***	(0,05)	-0,120*	(0,06)	0,229***	(0,06)	0,648***	(0,05)
Germany	-1,113***	(0,07)	-0,934***	(0,06)	0,00	(.)	0,202***	(0,04)	-1,053***	(0,04)	-0,705***	(0,04)	-0,286***	(0,04)
Greece	-1,314***	(0,06)	-1,135***	(0,05)	-0,202***	(0,04)	0,00	(.)	-1,255***	(0,04)	-0,906***	(0,04)	-0,487***	(0,03)
Netherlands	-0,06	(0,07)	0,120*	(0,06)	1,053***	(0,04)	1,255***	(0,04)	0,00	(.)	0,349***	(0,04)	0,768***	(0,03)
Norway	0,00	(.)	0,179*	(0,08)	1,113***	(0,07)	1,314***	(0,06)	0,06	(0,07)	0,408***	(0,07)	0,827***	(0,06)
Sweden	-0,408***	(0,07)	-0,229***	(0,06)	0,705***	(0,04)	0,906***	(0,04)	-0,349***	(0,04)	0,00	(.)	0,419***	(0,04)
United Kingdom	-0,827***	(0,06)	-0,648***	(0,05)	0,286***	(0,04)	0,487***	(0,03)	-0,768***	(0,03)	-0,419***	(0,04)	0,00	(.)
<b>Interaction</b>														
All migrants x Austria	0,17	(0,23)	0,00	(.)	-0,29	(0,15)	-1,103***	(0,16)	0,21	(0,16)	0,739***	(0,15)	-0,398**	(0,15)
All migrants x Germany	0,455*	(0,20)	0,29	(0,15)	0,00	(.)	-0,816***	(0,11)	0,494***	(0,12)	1,026***	(0,11)	-0,11	(0,11)
All migrants x Greece	1,272***	(0,20)	1,103***	(0,16)	0,816***	(0,11)	0,00	(.)	1,310***	(0,12)	1,842***	(0,11)	0,705***	(0,11)
All migrants x Netherlands	-0,04	(0,20)	-0,21	(0,16)	-0,494***	(0,12)	-1,310***	(0,12)	0,00	(.)	0,532***	(0,11)	-0,605***	(0,11)
All migrants x Norway	0,00	(.)	-0,17	(0,23)	-0,455*	(0,20)	-1,272***	(0,20)	0,04	(0,20)	0,571**	(0,20)	-0,567**	(0,20)
All migrants x Sweden	-0,571**	(0,20)	-0,739***	(0,15)	-1,026***	(0,11)	-1,842***	(0,11)	-0,532***	(0,11)	0,00	(.)	-1,138***	(0,10)
All migrants x United Kingdom	0,567**	(0,20)	0,398**	(0,15)	0,11	(0,11)	-0,705***	(0,11)	0,605***	(0,11)	1,138***	(0,10)	0,00	(.)
<b>Control variables</b>														
tertiary education	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)	0,725***	(0,03)
Female	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)	-0,215***	(0,02)
Age	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)	0,039***	(0,00)
constant	2,291***	(0,07)	2,112***	(0,06)	1,179***	(0,05)	0,977***	(0,04)	2,232***	(0,04)	1,883***	(0,04)	1,464***	(0,04)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

The control variables for gender, age and education were found to be significant, as in the previous analysis (in Table 6). Higher education correlated with a positive change in the probability of being employed versus unemployed, while female gender negatively affected the chance. Contrary to the findings reported in Tables 6 and 7, age was associated with a slight increase in employment chances. My interpretation of this difference stems from the fact that in the previous analysis, the employed status was contrasted with a situation of unemployment (not working but actively searching for jobs) and idleness (not working plus not searching for jobs). But in this regression analysis (Table 8) the situation of idleness was excluded. Thus, a possible interpretation is that among the active labour force, fewer people of older age are in a job search situation, with more of them employed. However, it may very well be, that with increasing age more people become inactive in the labour market, for instance, due to health issues, and, therefore, are not part of the

sample under the study. This explanation is important to avoid confusion of the reader, however, the influence of individual characteristics on the labour market integration was not central to my research.

The Stage 2 of the analysis is presented in Table 9 where the humanitarian migrants are compared to all other migrants. The first row shows that that the difference in the employment chances of these two categories of migrants does not exist in all the countries. In Norway, Austria and Sweden the differences are not statistically significant. The standard errors are quite large in this analysis, probably due to small number of observations for some groups. However, in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands, the employment chances of humanitarian migrants are lower than elsewhere, with that gap being statistically significant. Due to the large standard errors it is hard to draw a firm conclusion about the differences across countries. The UK revealed the largest negative gap in probabilities, and was statistically different from Sweden, Norway, Austria and the Netherlands. The other countries were comparable in terms of inequality of chances. Despite the fact that the difference between the humanitarian migrants and other migrants was not significant in some cases, it was still possible to estimate the overall gap between the humanitarian migrants and the natives. In the countries where the gap is significantly negative, this means that the employment of humanitarian migrants is even less likely than for migrants in general.

Table 9: Stage 2 Humanitarian migrants compared to all other non-EU migrants.

Reference country -> <i>employed = 1; unemployed = 0</i>	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Humanitarian migrants	0,33	(0,50)	-0,34	(0,32)	-0,649**	(0,21)	-0,53	(0,28)	-0,485*	(0,21)	0,04	(0,16)	-1,190***	(0,21)
Austria	-0,13	(0,24)	0,00	(.)	0,399*	(0,16)	-0,16	(0,16)	0,05	(0,16)	0,841***	(0,16)	-0,12	(0,17)
Germany	-0,531**	(0,21)	-0,399*	(0,16)	0,00	(.)	-0,560***	(0,12)	-0,349**	(0,12)	0,442***	(0,11)	-0,515***	(0,12)
Greece	0,03	(0,21)	0,16	(0,16)	0,560***	(0,12)	0,00	(.)	0,21	(0,12)	1,002***	(0,12)	0,05	(0,12)
Netherlands	-0,18	(0,21)	-0,05	(0,16)	0,349**	(0,12)	-0,21	(0,12)	0,00	(.)	0,791***	(0,12)	-0,17	(0,13)
Norway	0,00	(.)	0,13	(0,24)	0,531**	(0,21)	-0,03	(0,21)	0,18	(0,21)	0,973***	(0,21)	0,02	(0,21)
Sweden	-0,973***	(0,21)	-0,841***	(0,16)	-0,442***	(0,11)	-1,002***	(0,12)	-0,791***	(0,12)	0,00	(.)	-0,957***	(0,12)
United Kingdom	-0,02	(0,21)	0,12	(0,17)	0,515***	(0,12)	-0,05	(0,12)	0,17	(0,13)	0,957***	(0,12)	0,00	(.)
<b>Interaction</b>														
humanitarian x Austria	-0,67	(0,59)	0,00	(.)	0,31	(0,38)	0,19	(0,42)	0,14	(0,38)	-0,38	(0,35)	0,848*	(0,38)
humanitarian x Germany	-0,98	(0,54)	-0,31	(0,38)	0,00	(.)	-0,12	(0,35)	-0,16	(0,29)	-0,687**	(0,26)	0,54	(0,30)
humanitarian x Greece	-0,86	(0,58)	-0,19	(0,42)	0,12	(0,35)	0,00	(.)	-0,05	(0,35)	-0,57	(0,32)	0,66	(0,35)
humanitarian x Netherlands	-0,82	(0,54)	-0,14	(0,38)	0,16	(0,29)	0,05	(0,35)	0,00	(.)	-0,523*	(0,26)	0,704*	(0,29)
humanitarian x Norway	0,00	(.)	0,67	(0,59)	0,98	(0,54)	0,86	(0,58)	0,82	(0,54)	0,29	(0,53)	1,521**	(0,54)
humanitarian x Sweden	-0,29	(0,53)	0,38	(0,35)	0,687**	(0,26)	0,57	(0,32)	0,523*	(0,26)	0,00	(.)	1,227***	(0,26)
humanitarian x United Kingdom	-1,521**	(0,54)	-0,848*	(0,38)	-0,54	(0,30)	-0,66	(0,35)	-0,704*	(0,29)	-1,227***	(0,26)	0,00	(.)
<b>Control variables</b>														
higher	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)	0,406***	(0,08)
Female	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)	-0,338***	(0,06)
Age	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)	0,0234***	(0,00)
Language needs improvement?														
Yes	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)	-0,698***	(0,08)
Don't know	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)	-0,572***	(0,10)
Years of residence in country	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)	0,0180**	(0,01)
Constant	1,854***	(0,22)	1,722***	(0,19)	1,323***	(0,15)	1,883***	(0,15)	1,672***	(0,15)	0,881***	(0,15)	1,838***	(0,14)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

The control variables were also significant in these regression models. As expected, higher educated migrants had an overall higher chance of being employed, women had lower chance compared to men, and age had a small positive impact on employment chance, as did years of residence in the country. Migrants who admitted that they need better language proficiency, were less likely to be employed, than those who did not report that.

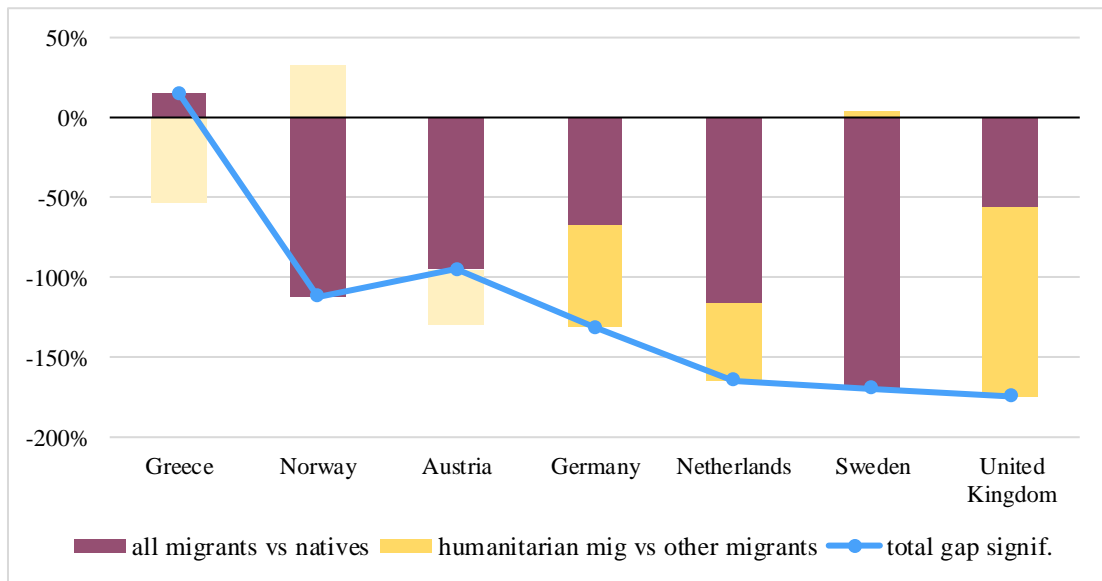
Summing up the gaps identified in the two stages above, I estimated the difference between the humanitarian migrants and the natives (Figure 12). As shown in Table 8, differences between natives and all non-EU migrants were significant for all countries except Greece. However, the differences between humanitarian migrants and other types of migrants were significant only in the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. In the figure below, you can see how the total gap becomes deeper in the latter three countries due to the estimations of Stage 2. In the case of Greece, Norway, Austria, and Sweden the difference was not found to be significant<sup>19</sup>, so here Stage 2 was not that influential in deepening or reducing (like in Norway) the overall gap.

As a result of my two-stage estimations, I argue that the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Netherlands, are countries where humanitarian migrants have much lower chance than the natives of being employed. Germany's employment gap is smaller, but also quite close to the top-3 countries. Although it is true that in Figure 12, Austria has a larger gap than Norway, it should be remembered that the differences in the Stage 2 of the analysis between the humanitarian migrants and other migrants were not significant for both countries, and at the Stage 1 there was no difference found between these countries. That is why I argue that the situation in Norway and Austria is quite similar i.e., where humanitarian migrants may have a lower chance of being employed compared to natives, but there is less inequality compared to the other three countries. Greece is a positive outlier with the probability of being employed the same for the two analysed groups.

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<sup>19</sup> The non-statistically significant change in probabilities is marked in lighter yellow than the significant change

Figure 12: Accumulated decrease in probabilities of being employed vs. unemployed for Humanitarian migrants, compared to Natives (only active)



Comparing Figures 11 and 12, I found that the regression analysis leads to almost the same result as the calculation of the simple (not-controlled) difference in employment rates between the two groups in question. The regression analysis decreased the relative employment gap in Austria and deepened it in the case of the Netherlands, which allowed a clearer distinction to be drawn between the groups in more equal and less equal countries.

#### Summary of the employment analysis

The two analyses above were performed using two distinct ways of operationalizing the concept of an employment gap. The first analysis looked at the working age population as a whole, including idle individuals, while the second, excluded these inactive ones. The findings regarding the gap between humanitarian migrants and natives across the countries turned out to be distinct too: the first analysis Identified the Netherlands and the UK as having the most unequal chances for employment of humanitarian migrants; while the second analysis Replicated this finding and further revealed that Germany and Sweden were also doing badly for this parameter. Greece, Norway and Austria were the countries with consistently more equality in the employment chances of humanitarian migrants and natives. However, it is important to note that a situation of more equal employment chances, does not always mean equally high employment rates. There are differences in the employment rates across all three of these countries. Figure 9 shows the employment levels of all natives are 86% in Norway, 78% in Austria and 68% in Greece, while the employment rates of the *active* native-born population (see Fig. 11) are more similar between the countries: at 98% in Norway, 97% in Austria, and 93% in Greece. Hence the equality in the

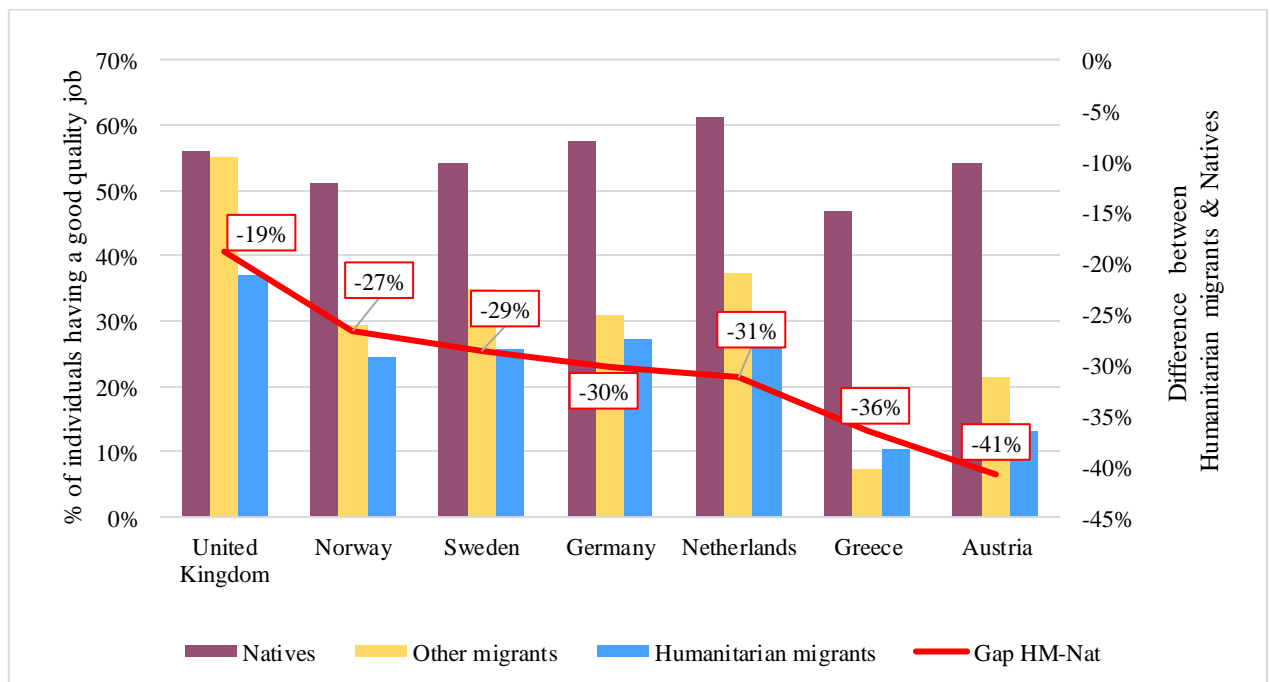
chance of employment between humanitarian migrants and natives is achieved at a lower level in Greece, compared to Norway and Austria.

An analysis of economic integration cannot be considered complete without an understanding of the type of jobs humanitarian migrants and the natives are most likely to do in the countries of interest. The next section gives the results on the differences in the quality of jobs.

*c. Quality of jobs gap*

Quality of jobs is only analysed for the employed population. As described in the methodological section of this chapter, the scale of International Standard Categorisation of Occupations was divided in half: the occupations with a score below 500 were considered to be better quality jobs, which usually require a higher level of education and are better paid. Those with a score of 500 and higher were considered lower quality jobs in my analysis, requiring less qualifications and poorer pay. Figure 13 shows the percentage of natives, other migrants, and humanitarian migrants who were employed in a good quality job. As you see, overall, fewer humanitarian migrants were employed in good jobs compared to the natives and other types of migrants. The largest difference was observed in Austria and Greece (gap of -40%), followed by the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and Norway, where the difference was around -30%. The United Kingdom stands out with the smallest gap, which was -19%.

*Figure 13: Percentage having a quality job & difference between Humanitarian migrants and Natives*



Next, I conduct the two-stage logit regression analysis with control variables, in the same manner as in previous sections. Higher level of education is a very important precondition for getting a higher-skilled job, so I decided to take men with tertiary education as a reference category.

Table 10 shows that in all countries except the UK, the chances of having a good job were lower for the highly educated migrants. For migrants who had a secondary level of education, the probability was even lower (-250%). The interaction terms of the regression tables helps to identify clusters of countries that are similar to each other and different from all the rest. The largest negative gap was observed in Greece, where migrants are 239% less likely to be employed in good quality jobs than natives. Austria and Sweden display the gaps in the probabilities of -157% and -134% in the second cluster. They are followed by Germany, Norway and the Netherlands - which form the 3<sup>d</sup> cluster - where migrants are nearly 100% less likely to be employed in a good job. The 4<sup>th</sup> cluster is the UK, where no statistically significant difference was found in the chance of getting a good job among migrants and the natives. Furthermore, the control variables demonstrated how women are more likely to be employed in higher-skilled jobs than men, and older people have a slightly improved chance of working in a better job.

Table 10: Stage 1 All non-EU migrants compared to Natives. Quality of jobs

Reference country -> higher-skilled job = 1; lower- skilled job = 0	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
All migrants	-1,009***	(0,13)	-1,572***	(0,10)	-1,144***	(0,07)	-2,390***	(0,09)	-1,104***	(0,06)	-1,336***	(0,07)	-0,09	(0,05)
Austria	0,516***	(0,03)	0,00 (.)		0,03 (0,02)		0,492***	(0,02)	-0,118***	(0,02)	0,271***	(0,02)	0,230***	(0,02)
Germany	0,484***	(0,03)	-0,03 (0,02)		0,00 (.)		0,459***	(0,02)	-0,151***	(0,02)	0,238***	(0,02)	0,198***	(0,02)
Greece	0,02 (0,02)		-0,492***	(0,02)	-0,459***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		-0,610***	(0,02)	-0,221***	(0,02)	-0,262***	(0,02)
Netherlands	0,634***	(0,02)	0,118***	(0,02)	0,151***	(0,02)	0,610***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		0,389***	(0,02)	0,348***	(0,01)
Norway	0,00 (.)		-0,516***	(0,03)	-0,484***	(0,03)	-0,02 (0,02)		-0,634***	(0,02)	-0,245***	(0,02)	-0,286***	(0,02)
Sweden	0,245***	(0,02)	-0,271***	(0,02)	-0,238***	(0,02)	0,221***	(0,02)	-0,389***	(0,02)	0,00 (.)		-0,0406*	(0,02)
United Kingdom	0,286***	(0,02)	-0,230***	(0,02)	-0,198***	(0,02)	0,262***	(0,02)	-0,348***	(0,01)	0,0406*	(0,02)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Interaction</b>														
All migrants x Austria	-0,563***	(0,16)	0,00 (.)		-0,427***	(0,12)	0,818***	(0,14)	-0,468***	(0,11)	-0,24 (0,12)		-1,478***	(0,11)
All migrants x Germany	-0,14 (0,14)		0,427***	(0,12)	0,00 (.)		1,245***	(0,11)	-0,04 (0,09)		0,192* (0,10)		-1,050***	(0,08)
All migrants x Greece	-1,381***	(0,16)	-0,818***	(0,14)	-1,245***	(0,11)	0,00 (.)		-1,286***	(0,11)	-1,053***	(0,12)	-2,295***	(0,11)
All migrants x Netherlands	-0,09 (0,14)		0,468***	(0,11)	0,04 (0,09)		1,286***	(0,11)	0,00 (.)		0,233* (0,09)		-1,010***	(0,07)
All migrants x Norway	0,00 (.)		0,563***	(0,16)	0,14 (0,14)		1,381***	(0,16)	0,09 (0,14)		0,327* (0,15)		-0,915***	(0,14)
All migrants x Sweden	-0,327* (0,15)		0,24 (0,12)		-0,192* (0,10)		1,053***	(0,12)	-0,233* (0,09)		0,00 (.)		-1,242***	(0,09)
All migrants x United Kingdom	0,915***	(0,14)	1,478***	(0,11)	1,050***	(0,08)	2,295***	(0,11)	1,010***	(0,07)	1,242***	(0,09)	0,00 (.)	
<b>Control variables</b>														
secondary education	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)	-2,472***	(0,01)
Female	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)	0,470***	(0,01)
Age	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)	0,0167***	(0,00)
Constant	0,885***	(0,03)	1,402***	(0,03)	1,369***	(0,03)	0,909***	(0,03)	1,519***	(0,02)	1,131***	(0,02)	1,171***	(0,02)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Table 11 gives the results from the Stage 2 of the analysis, revealing that the chances of humanitarian migrants and all other migrants were quite similar across the countries. Only in Sweden and the Netherlands were probabilities for humanitarian migrants lower, with 36-37%, compared to those of other migrants. The differences for the other countries were not statistically significant. It is important to remember that employment chances for the migrants who only had a secondary level of education were much lower (-204%) than those with a tertiary education. Moreover, those who stated that their proficiency in the host country's language needed to be

improved were less likely to work in good jobs. In line with the previous analysis, female migrants, and migrants who have been residing longer in the receiving country, are more likely to have better jobs.

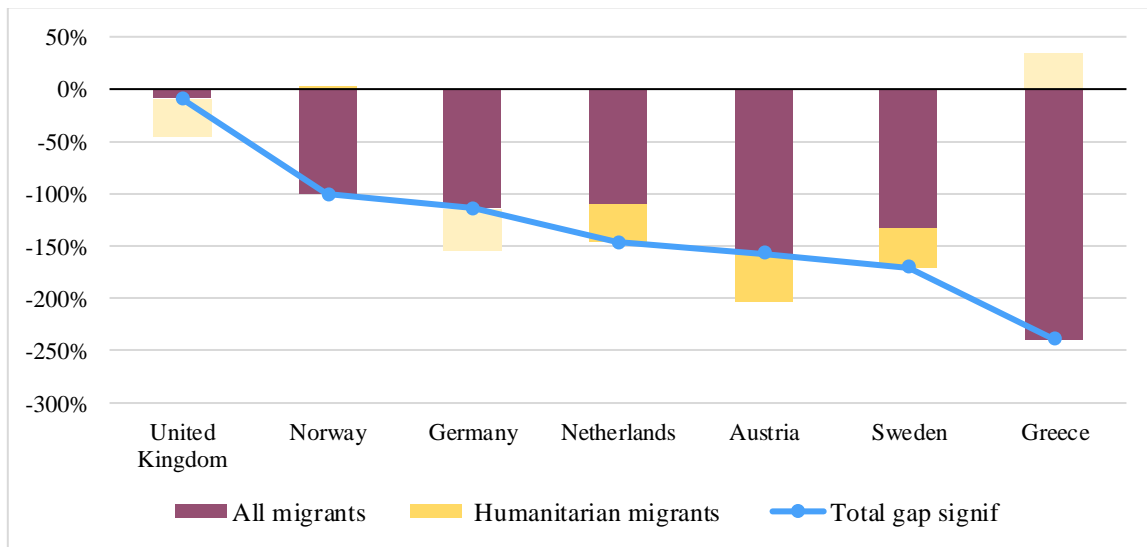
Table 11: Stage 2 Humanitarian migrants compared to all Other migrants. Quality of jobs

Reference country -> higher-skilled job = 1; lower- skilled job = 0	Norway		Austria		Germany		Greece		Netherlands		Sweden		United Kingdom	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Humanitarian migrants	0,04	(0,32)	-0,46	(0,29)	-0,40	(0,21)	0,34	(0,31)	-0,362*	(0,16)	-0,372*	(0,15)	-0,36	(0,21)
Austria	-0,23	(0,17)	0,00	(.)	-0,541***	(0,12)	1,121***	(0,14)	-0,607***	(0,12)	-0,274*	(0,13)	-1,349***	(0,12)
Germany	0,310*	(0,15)	0,541***	(0,12)	0,00	(.)	1,662***	(0,11)	-0,07	(0,09)	0,266**	(0,10)	-0,808***	(0,09)
Greece	-1,352***	(0,16)	-1,121***	(0,14)	-1,662***	(0,11)	0,00	(.)	-1,728***	(0,11)	-1,396***	(0,12)	-2,470***	(0,11)
Netherlands	0,376**	(0,14)	0,607***	(0,12)	0,07	(0,09)	1,728***	(0,11)	0,00	(.)	0,332***	(0,10)	-0,742***	(0,09)
Norway	0,00	(.)	0,23	(0,17)	-0,310*	(0,15)	1,352***	(0,16)	-0,376**	(0,14)	-0,04	(0,15)	-1,118***	(0,14)
Sweden	0,04	(0,15)	0,274*	(0,13)	-0,266**	(0,10)	1,396***	(0,12)	-0,332***	(0,10)	0,00	(.)	-1,074***	(0,10)
United Kingdom	1,118***	(0,14)	1,349***	(0,12)	0,808***	(0,09)	2,470***	(0,11)	0,742***	(0,09)	1,074***	(0,10)	0,00	(.)
<b>Interaction</b>														
humanitarian x Austria	-0,49	(0,43)	0,00	(.)	-0,06	(0,36)	-0,80	(0,43)	-0,09	(0,33)	-0,08	(0,32)	-0,09	(0,36)
humanitarian x Germany	-0,44	(0,38)	0,06	(0,36)	0,00	(.)	-0,739*	(0,38)	-0,04	(0,26)	-0,03	(0,25)	-0,04	(0,30)
humanitarian x Greece	0,30	(0,45)	0,80	(0,43)	0,739*	(0,38)	0,00	(.)	0,702*	(0,35)	0,712*	(0,35)	0,70	(0,38)
humanitarian x Netherlands	-0,40	(0,35)	0,09	(0,33)	0,04	(0,26)	-0,702*	(0,35)	0,00	(.)	0,01	(0,21)	0,00	(0,26)
humanitarian x Norway	0,00	(.)	0,49	(0,43)	0,44	(0,38)	-0,30	(0,45)	0,40	(0,35)	0,41	(0,35)	0,40	(0,38)
humanitarian x Sweden	-0,41	(0,35)	0,08	(0,32)	0,03	(0,25)	-0,712*	(0,35)	-0,01	(0,21)	0,00	(.)	-0,01	(0,26)
humanitarian x United Kingdom	-0,40	(0,38)	0,09	(0,36)	0,04	(0,30)	-0,70	(0,38)	0,00	(0,26)	0,01	(0,26)	0,00	(.)
<b>Control variables</b>														
secondary education	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)	-2,045***	(0,06)
Female	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)	0,382***	(0,05)
Age	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)	0,00	(0,00)
Language needs improvement?														
Yes	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)	-0,722***	(0,08)
Don't know	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)	-0,187*	(0,08)
Years of residence in country	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)	0,0241***	(0,01)
Constant	0,386*	(0,17)	0,16	(0,15)	0,696***	(0,14)	-0,966***	(0,15)	0,762***	(0,13)	0,429**	(0,14)	1,504***	(0,12)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Figure 14 presents the difference in probabilities of working in a better job between humanitarian migrants and the natives of each country. The total gap is estimated by summing up the b-coefficients from the first and the second stage of regression analysis. The blue line “Total gap signif.” is calculated by only summing up statistically significant differences, while the red line “total gap all” shows the sum of all estimated gaps, even where many of the Stage 2 differences were not significant.

Figure 14: Accumulated decrease in probabilities of having a better job vs. having a worse job for Humanitarian migrants, compared to Natives.



This chart allowed me to conclude that the United Kingdom and Norway are two countries where highly-educated humanitarian migrants are less disadvantaged than in other countries. While in every country the natives were more likely to get better jobs, in Greece, Sweden and Austria, the inequality of the chances were particularly profound. Germany and the Netherlands revealed similar probability gaps for Stage 1 but not for Stage 2, with the Netherlands revealing a statistically significant difference between humanitarian and other migrants, and Germany showing an insignificant difference. Thus Stage 2 ‘deepens’ the inequality of humanitarian migrants and natives in the Netherlands, but not in Germany. Hence, I conclude that Germany’s difference mean that more closely resembles the situation in Norway than that of the Netherlands. The regression analysis (Fig.14) suggested a different ranking of countries compared to the one in the Figure 13, which showed the differences per population category in the percentage of those employed in good jobs. The countries with the smallest probability gap were the same in both figures (i.e., the UK and Norway), but the countries with the largest gaps were different across the two figures. Specifically, Sweden changed its ranking, revealing a larger gap than in Figure 13, while the Netherlands and Germany showed a smaller gap.

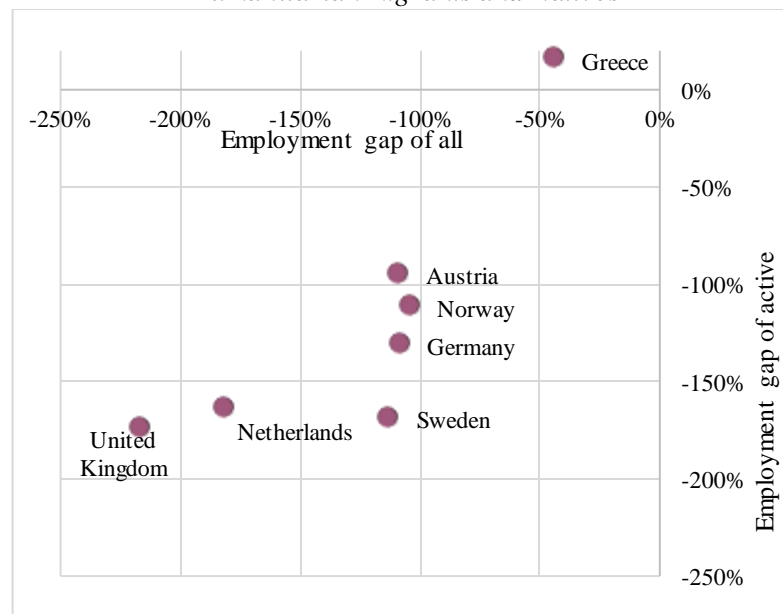
It is important to note that I am not comparing the *absolute difference* of percentages in Figure 13 with the differences of probabilities in Figure 14 for each country. My observations are based on the ranking of the countries comparative to each other, which is based on two distinct ways of estimation. I argue that the ranking produced by the two-step logit regression analysis is more correct because it accounts for differences caused by individual factors, particularly the education level.



*d. Summary of Economic Integration*  
**Employment**

The Figure 15 maps the countries according to differences in the employment chances of humanitarian migrants vis-à-vis the natives as calculated in previous sections of this chapter. On the horizontal axis you can see probability estimates based on the whole population of working age (from Fig. 10). On the vertical axis, estimates (from Fig.12) calculated for the active population are displayed. The two estimates of the gaps in employment chances are similar but not identical. If both were the same, the countries would be arranged on a straight diagonal line starting at zero. As we can see, this is not the case. The countries in the upper right corner have the smallest difference in probability of employment between the humanitarian migrants and natives. On the contrary, the countries located in the bottom-left corner revealed the largest gap in the chances of becoming employed between the two population categories.

*Figure 15: Comparison of the employment gap between Humanitarian migrants and Natives*



Several clusters can be distinguished on the basis of this two-dimensional map:

- 1) The UK and the Netherlands with the highest difference below -150% on both axes;
- 2) Austria, Germany and Norway, which cluster between -100% and -150% on both axes
- 3) Sweden, which is in positioned between clusters 1 and 2, has the smallest difference in the chances of employment overall, and a larger gap for the employment of active individuals.
- 4) Greece, with the smallest calculated difference in employment chances on both axes.

Next, I show how the existing gap in employment chance relates to the difference in the probability of having a good quality job. The Figure 16 below maps the two aspects of economic integration. The quality of jobs gap is presented on the vertical axes and employment gaps are on the horizontal axes.

Figure 16: Two dimensions of economic integration



Of the analysed countries, there are no countries where the integration of humanitarian migrants can be seen as having been entirely successful, as indicated by the empty upper right hand corner. Greece and the UK were cases where a trade-off between the employment chance and quality of job was made: in the UK the employment gap was the most unequal, with the chances of getting a good job the same for the humanitarian migrants and the natives, on the contrary, in Greece, the chance of employment was almost the same between humanitarian migrants and the natives, but the humanitarian migrants had a much lower chance of getting a good job, compared to native Greeks.

The other countries are located in the middle of the plot/figure and show intermediate levels of integration for both variables. Norway is the most closely location to the upper-right corner, meaning that there is moderate inequality in terms of employment chances and the quality of jobs. Germany is located next to Norway, revealing a slightly larger employment and quality of jobs gap. Austria has a larger difference in the chances of getting a good job than Norway and Germany, but a similar gap in employment chances. The Netherlands are further to the left from Norway, Germany and Austria – indicating larger employment inequality, and a quality of jobs gap at a similar level to Austria. Sweden has more pronounced inequality in terms of quality of jobs compared to most of the countries (y-axis), but with regard to the employment chances (x-axis) the conclusion is not straightforward; when the employment gap is estimated on the sample of all population (Fig.16 left), the difference in Sweden is close to the one in Austria, but when the gap

calculated only for active population (Fig 16 right) the difference in Sweden becomes more pronounced and similar to the Netherlands and the UK,

Having described all of this, it can be seen that there is no “ideal example” of integration and equality in the labour market for humanitarian migrants. On the one hand, there are two extremely unbalanced cases - the UK and Greece - where there is either a minimal employment gap or the small difference in quality of jobs. On the other hand, Norway represents the most balanced case of integration, where the two dimensions come the closest together. The other countries all fall somewhere in between.

To proceed with the analysis of conditions that may produce the differences between the levels of integration in the countries, I needed to translate the calculated differences in probabilities into fuzzy scores of membership in the conceptually defined sets<sup>20</sup>.

### **3. Calibration logic**

This last stage is necessary to transform the statistically estimated results of labour market integration into a form suitable for the qualitative comparative analysis. The aim of this entire project was to determine: Which combinations of conditions are necessary and sufficient for better economic integration of humanitarian migrants? However, what it means to have ‘better economic integration’ can be defined in multiple ways.

In the previous sections I tried to understand more about the levels of integration of humanitarian migrants in the selected countries. I asked: Are there countries where both the employment chances and quality of jobs are rather equal for humanitarian migrant and the natives? The data revealed that there is no country with excellent integration of humanitarian migrants on both parameters. There are countries, however, where either one or the other indicator shows more equality between the population groups. In this situation it does not make sense to talk about a perfect scenario of successful economic integration. Rather, it is more reasonable to distinguish between the countries where the inequalities in the labour market performance are less pronounced and those, where those gaps are more pronounced.

One can think of many ways to define ‘less pronounced inequality’ in terms of labour market performance, which means better economic integration of humanitarian migrants. It is a challenge to determine at what point the ‘less pronounced inequality’ starts and where it ends. I provide here my way of addressing this challenge, without claiming that this is the only possible variant.

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<sup>20</sup> Explanation for the terms ‘fuzzy scores’ and ‘conceptual sets’ are presented in the Chapter II Methodological Commentary.

As I stick to the idea that economic integration needs to account for both employment chances and quality of jobs, I construct two conceptual sets:

- 1) Set of countries with a smaller employment gap (using the two ways of estimating the differences: employment of all and employment of active).
- 2) Set of countries with a smaller gap in quality of jobs.

Below I present the process of translation of the probability estimates into QCA fuzzy scores for each outcome. The fuzzy scores range between 0 and 1, where 0 means complete exclusion from the conceptual set and 1 means complete inclusion in the set (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009). The use of fuzzy scores is reasonable in this case because the two sets are based on difference in statistically calculated probabilities. That difference varies in size, and the fuzzy scores grasp the nuances of difference better than crisp scores. The meaning the fuzzy-set membership scores has been verbally described by Schneider and Wagemann (2013, p. 20) as follows :

*Table 12: Verbal description of fuzzy-set membership scores*

Fuzzy score	The element (i.e. country) is ....
1	Fully in
0,9	Almost fully in
0,8	Mostly in
0,6	More in that out
0,5	Crossover: neither in not out
0,4	More out than in
0,2	Mostly out
0,1	Almost fully out
0,0	Fully out

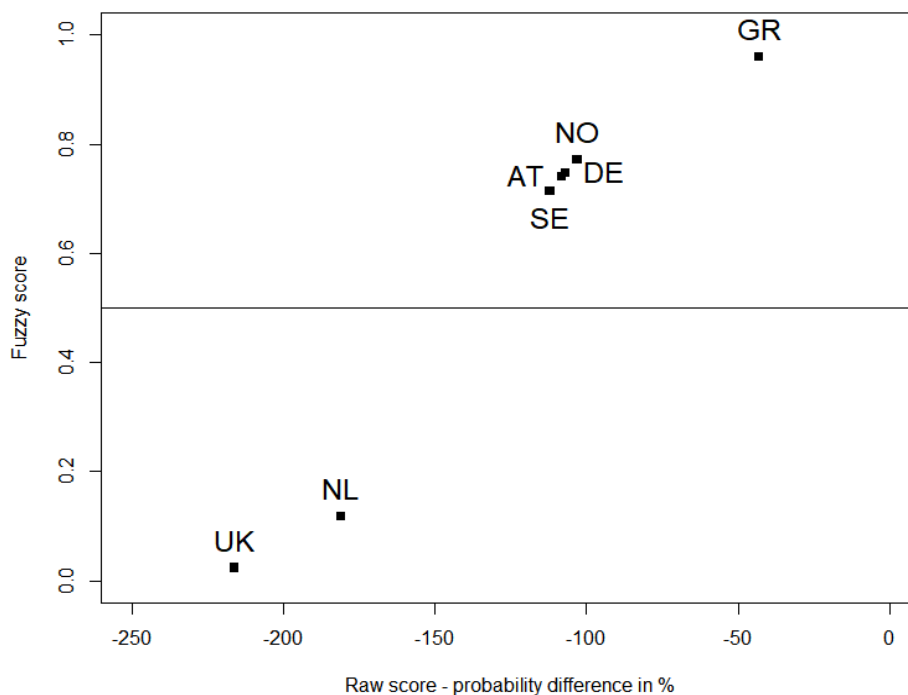
*a. Employment*

In order to define a set, it is required that three qualitative anchors are assigned. These are the points of inclusion and exclusion into the conceptual set of “countries with the smaller gap in employment chances”. Theoretically, the smallest possible gap is 0, which indicates no significant difference between the groups’ chances of employment. The point at which the gap is largest has not been theoretically defined in the literature, and empirical studies have not compared the employment integration of humanitarian migrants as I did.

First, the *employment gap of all* is taken as the base outcome variable. Following the distribution of probability differences, which ranged from -216% to -43% (see Fig. 10), I conclude that a gap smaller than -50% in probability terms can be regarded as small. Therefore the values above this point will be assigned the fuzzy score of 1, meaning full membership in the set. The cross-over point of 0.5 – neither in, nor out of the set is set at -140%, and the full non-membership point is

set at -200% of difference. Using the R-package QCA (Dusa, 2017) and SetMethods (Medzihorsky, Oana, Quaranta, & Schneider, 2017), I calculated the fuzzy scores, which you can see on the graph below. In Figure 17 you can see the estimated probability differences between humanitarian migrants and the natives (x-axis) and the assigned fuzzy scores of membership in the set “smaller gap in employment chances”. The horizontal line marks the 0.5 cross-over point, with countries above that line being considered as belonging to the set, and those below the line, considered to be out of the set. The difference in the degrees of belonging to the set is also visible. For example, Greece is *fully in* the set, while Norway, Sweden, Germany, Austria and Sweden are *mostly in* the set. On the contrary, the UK is *almost fully out* of the set and the Netherlands are *more out than in* the set.

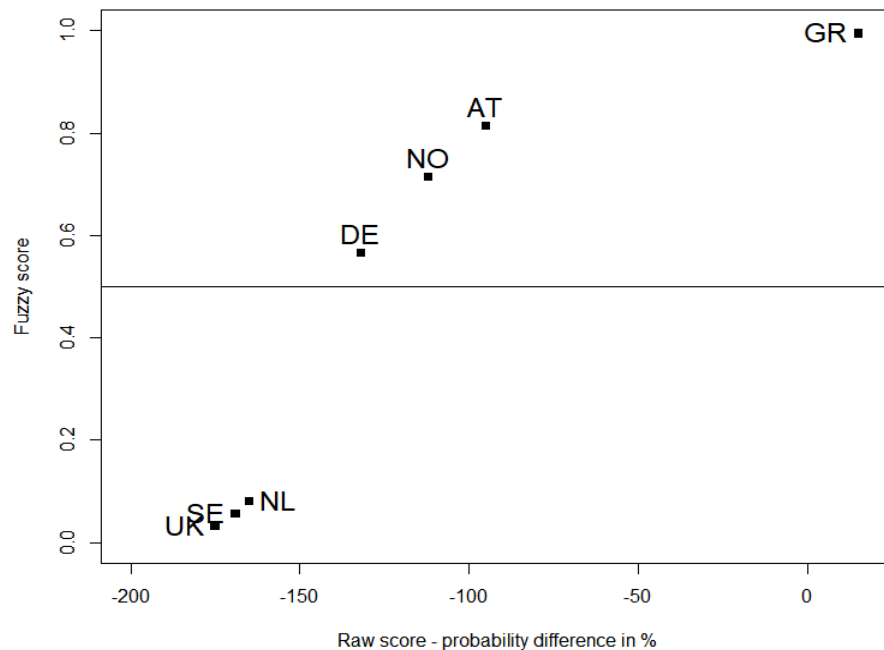
Figure 17: Calibration. Employment of all



Second, the *employment gap of active population* is another aspect of labour market integration. The size of the probability gaps here ranges from +15% (insignificant) to -170%, which is different than in the previous variable (employment gap of all). This is why different anchors need to be assigned to define the membership in this conceptual set. The value representing full membership in the set “smaller gap in employment chances” can remain the same at -50%, and the cross-over point is set at a -140% difference, because this is where passes the point of statistical differentiation between Germany and the Netherlands (Fig. 12). The full non-membership in this version of the set “smaller gap in employment chances” is starting at -170% of difference.

In Figure 18 the result of the automated fuzzy-scoring using the anchors specified above is given. The graph clearly shows that Greece is fully in the set of “smaller gap in employment chances”, while Norway and Austria are mostly in but not fully in that set. Germany is mostly in than out, however the estimated probability gap is -132%, which is quite close to the cross-over point. All other countries are out of this set, with United Kingdom being fully out of the set, and the Netherlands and Sweden being almost fully out.

Figure 18: Calibration. Employment of active



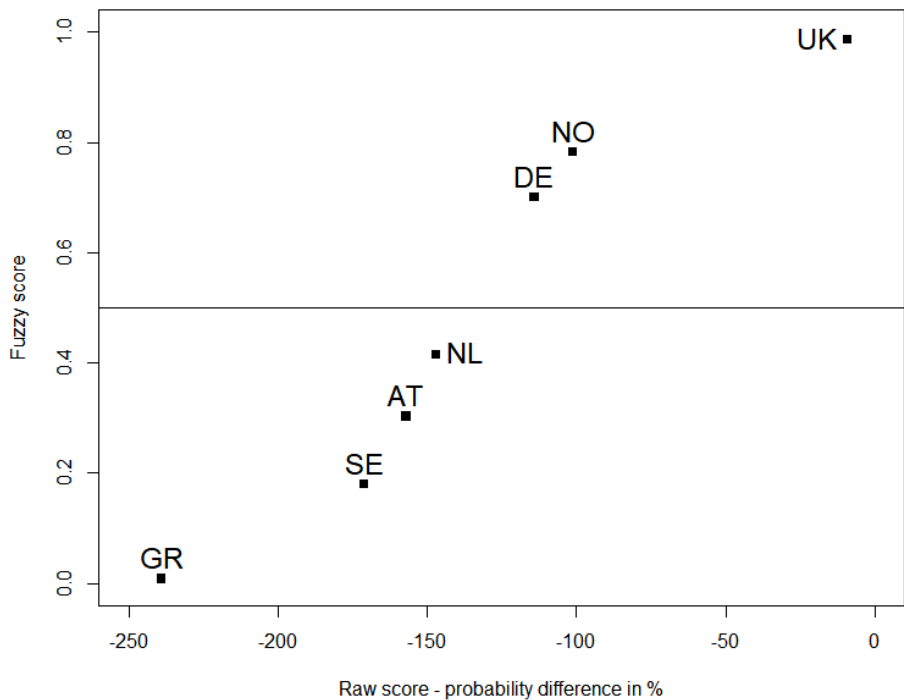
Comparing Figure 17 and 18, the reader can see that depending on the base variable, the set of “countries with a smaller gap in employment chances” has been defined differently. The main difference is that in the first version Sweden is mostly in the set, while in the second version it is almost fully out. In addition, in the Figure 17 Germany’s degree of belonging to the set is greater than in the Figure 18.

*b. Quality of jobs*

Another conceptual set will be constructed on the basis of the estimated differences in the probabilities of having a good job (see Fig. 14), that range from -9% to -239%. The point of full membership in “the set of countries with a smaller gap in quality of jobs” between humanitarian migrants and the natives is -50%, and the cross-over point is set at -140% because it corresponds to the point where the two clusters of the countries are statistically distinct from each other. The gap of -200% signifies full non-membership in this set. Figure 19 shows how the calculated estimates of difference (x-axis) are translated into fuzzy scores (y-axis).

The United Kingdom is categorized as the country which revealed the smallest difference in the chances of being employed in a good quality job for humanitarian migrants compared to natives.

Figure 19: Calibration. Quality of jobs

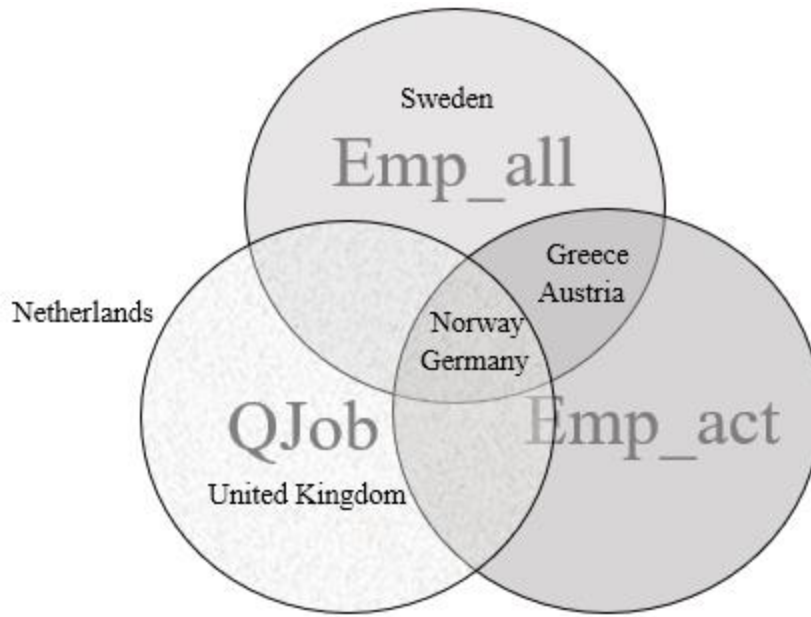


Norway and Germany are mostly but not fully in this set. The Netherlands is more out than in the set, and Sweden and Austria are mostly out of the set, while Greece is fully out, with the difference between the humanitarian migrants and the natives' chances of getting a good quality job definitely not being small.

On the diagram below, you can see all the three sets presented in the form of intersecting circles. Emp\_all is a set based on the employment chances of all (Fig. 17), Emp\_act – is a set based on the variable employment chances for active (Fig. 18) and Qjob – is a set based on the variable quality of jobs (Fig. 19). The countries placed inside them are members of those sets.

You can see that only Norway and Germany are members of all three conceptual sets, while the Netherlands is not a member of any set. It is not possible to argue that economic integration of humanitarian migrants has been fully achieved in any of these countries. However, it seems quite reasonable to argue that integration in Germany and Norway is more balanced than in other countries, in terms of employment chances and quality of jobs.

Figure 20: Intersection of sets for the outcome & membership of the countries within them



## Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the process of operationalization of the outcome of interest, which was the successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. Labour market performance of humanitarian migrants was compared to that of the natives in 7 European countries with the aim of determining in which countries were smaller differences in labour market indicators between these groups observed. In previous literature labour market integration was studied through various indicators, such as comparison of employment rates, unemployment rates, levels of idleness and welfare receipt. This analysis was based on two main aspects: employment and quality of jobs. The two-stage multivariate logit regression analysis was used in order to estimate the difference in probabilities of being employed or having a good job between humanitarian migrants and the natives, while simultaneously controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. The results showed that logit regression analysis produces a different ranking of the countries than simple comparison of the percentage rates, because the latter did not account for the influence of the individual characteristics of natives and migrants on their labour market performance.

The results showed that each indicator leads to a different understanding of where humanitarian migrants have achieved successful economic integration. By looking at the gap in employment chances of all the population, including the idle, the most equal country is Greece, followed by Norway, Austria, Germany and Sweden, while the Netherlands, while in the UK and the Netherlands there is a greater disparity between humanitarian migrants and natives. If we look at



the gap in employment chances for the active population, Greece is again the leader in the equality of chances, with Austria, Norway and Germany having larger disparities, while Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands reveal a larger probability gap of -150% for humanitarian migrants. Finally, with respect to the quality of jobs, it looks like the UK is a positive outlier, having the most equal chances of being in a good job for humanitarian migrants and the natives. Norway and Germany had probability gaps of below 140%, with the rest of the countries displaying even more pronounced inequality. In other words, I found that there is no country with the best-case scenario of economic integration, which is a situation where both the chances of employment and chances of working in a good job are equal for humanitarian migrants and natives.

For the purposes of the qualitative comparative analysis of the policies, which will follow in the next chapter, I decided to form a conceptual set of countries where humanitarian migrants seemed to have achieved a balanced economic integration. This means an intersection of the following sets: (1) smaller employment gap for all, (2) smaller employment gap for active, (3) smaller gap in quality of jobs. Countries that appeared to be members of all three sets, in this case Norway and Germany, were defined as the countries with balanced integration. However, none of these countries boast a full membership score in this conceptual set, because they still have a certain level of inequality for the humanitarian migrants for all three of the base variables.

## IV. POLICY ANALYSIS

### Introduction

In the last chapter the operationalization of the outcome – balanced labour market integration – was presented. This chapter aims to identify policy configurations that assisted a positive outcome, and those that hindered it. From the literature we know that many policy related aspects shape the course of economic integration, but there is still not much understanding on how the co-presence of certain policies influences outcomes. Policies have the power to incentivise economic participation or discourage it. And, it would be interesting to explore how the balance between incentives and sanctions shapes labour market integration. By employing a systematic policy comparison I first try to answer the following question: What are the differences in various policy areas between the seven selected countries? Then, by matching those different policy compositions to the observed outcome – balanced economic integration – I identify the single policy aspect crucial for this positive outcome, as well as the *policy configurations* (co-presence of the policies) explain the occurrence or absence of balanced integration. This analysis is driven by theoretically informed hypotheses about the combination of the policy conditions positively related to both dimensions of economic integration – the employment rates and the quality of jobs.

For each policy aspect the polar ideal types are conceptualized regarding the four main policy areas: access to official labour market, welfare provision, active labour market policies and language training. These ideal types (which in QCA terminology are called ‘conceptual sets’) specify the extreme points: easy – hard access to the labour market; generous – scarce welfare provision; strong – weak active labour market policies; strong – weak language training support. The countries are then fitted into those ideal types based on information obtained through the policy data collection.

The chapter proceeds as follows: First, I explain the method of policy data collection; second, I present the theoretical hypothesis; and third, the relevant policy areas are described in each country and formal scores of membership in the conceptual sets are justified. Then, qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is performed and the results are interpreted. Lastly, the conclusions are drawn.

### 1. Systematic policy data collection

Facing a lack of summarized and comparable policy data, I developed a template with specific questions that provided me with a detailed overview of the policy conditions active during the time frame of analysis (from the early 1990s to 2008). The existing database on integration policies, the MIPEX, was not suitable for my purposes. First, because the MIPEX appeared in the year 2004, which means it leaves uncovered the period from 1990 till 2003. Second reason for not using

MIPEX is because it summarises policies relevant for the integration of migrants in general, while my interest specifically lies in policies relevant for *humanitarian* migrants: asylum seekers, refugees, holders of subsidiary and temporary protection.

The template consisted of the five topics covering the policy areas relevant for the analysis. They were chosen on the basis of the literature review in chapter 1. Within each policy area, various questions were asked to provide details on the particulars of the policy. The complete policy analysis template is presented in Annex 2.

Topic 1: Access to secure residence status explored policy conditions shaping the transition from the status of asylum applicant until naturalization as a citizen of the host country. The details were provided through such subtopics as the length of application procedure, typology of various protection statuses, and for how long were they granted for, requirements for naturalization, and the related costs for the migrants.

Topic 2: Access to the official labour market aimed to investigate state regulations concerning the access of humanitarian migrants to official employment. The subtopics looked into details of the situation for individuals with the following statuses: asylum seekers, recognized refugees, and those with alternative protection (subsidiary and temporary). I inquired whether the holders of these statuses were allowed to take on official employment, and if so, what kind of employment, if there were any restrictions on duration of employment or type of occupation, whether an extra working permit was required, and if those procedures were free of charge or not.

Topic 3: Access to welfare benefits includes information on the availability and generosity of welfare benefits and income support for humanitarian migrants in the host countries. I explored how much livelihood support asylum seekers and recognized refugees were entitled to, state provided housing arrangements, costs of housing support, unemployment benefits, and income support. To achieve comparability of amounts across the countries, I used Purchasing Power Parity currency conversion rates. The estimated monetary support per month was not the only parameter that I used to assess the generosity of welfare provision with other factors also taken into consideration.

Topic 4: Access to language training aimed to obtain information on the scope and availability of support offered to humanitarian migrants to help them learn the language of the host country. I explored if the receiving state had any free language courses for refugees and asylum seekers, how many hours were provided, if these courses were obligatory or not, and who implemented the training, NGOs or state/municipal agencies. Also, I attempted to gather evidence on whether the language provisions were sufficient for the demand.

Topic 5: Active Labour Market Policies covers the evidence regarding employment advice and counselling programmes, including some characteristics of those measures such as if they were generic or individually tailored, presence of any coercion to register and actively seek a job, and vocational arrangements with businesses and state organizations.

Topic 6: Recognition of foreign degrees and qualifications was also included in the template because qualifications are very important for the employers in the European labour markets. Efforts of the host state to recognize the capacities and knowledge of the humanitarian migrants may be very influential in bringing these individuals back into the occupations they used to have in their countries of origin and gives value to their experiences. However, it was found that most of the countries did not have any programmes of recognition in the 1990s, or this information was not publicly available via Internet and Libraries. Some scattered evidence was collected, but this was not detailed enough to allow any meaningful comparison across the countries. Hence, this policy area was excluded from my analysis.

Topics 1 to 6 were explored by a team of research assistants and myself. An Excel template with detailed questions on each topic (Annex 2) was divided into three time periods: the early 1990s, the late 1990s, and the 2000s. This was done to ensure that equal attention was given to the entire 18 year timeframe of analysis. Each assistant received one Excel template per country and were asked to search for answers to the templates guiding questions in the documents available online and offline. The process of data collection took place from August of 2016 and was mostly finished by April 2017, bar some follow-up clarifications in the summer months of 2017. Each country's data collection process took 1 month, and was managed by 2 assistants who each looked at different topics, or 2 or more months if one assistant searched for the whole list of topics in one country. We experienced a lot of difficulties finding data for Greece which is why the period of that data collection effort was extended.

The search started with the identification of the relevant laws and policy documents. The legal databases of the analysed countries are publicly available online. Utilising these laws regulating each policy area, the following terms were searched for in order to address the question of the policy template: *immigration and asylum; citizenship; social assistance; welfare; active labour market policies; education*. If the laws were not specific enough, other sources such as governmental publications, reports, and peer-reviewed articles from academic journals were searched for answers. In the case that the only available source of information was a newspaper, this was also accepted. To search for the academic documents, the university library's offline and digital catalogues were used. You can see a summary of the data collection period and the legal

databases and university libraries used to search for the electronic and offline documents in Table 13 below.

*Table 13: Data collection time table & sources*

Country	Period of collection	Legal databases	University library databases
The Netherlands	August – October 2016; March 2017	<a href="http://www.st-ab.nl">http://www.st-ab.nl</a> , <a href="http://wetten.overheid.nl">http://wetten.overheid.nl</a>	University of Amsterdam, University of Milan, University of Oxford, University of Turin
Sweden	August – October 2016	<a href="http://www.riksdagen.se">http://www.riksdagen.se</a>	University of Denver; University of Milan; University of Turin; University of Oxford
Norway	November – March 2016; April 2017	<a href="https://udiregelverk.no">https://udiregelverk.no</a> , <a href="https://lovdata.no">https://lovdata.no</a>	University of Denver; University of Amsterdam
Greece	August – September 2016; December 2016 – January 2017; August 2017	-	Sabancı University in Istanbul; University of Amsterdam
The United Kingdom	January – March 2017	<a href="http://www.legislation.gov.uk">http://www.legislation.gov.uk</a>	University of Milan, University of Oxford, University of Turin
Germany	March 2017	<a href="http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/">http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/</a>	Free University of Berlin; Sciences Po Paris
Austria	March 2017 – April 2017	<a href="https://www.ris.bka.gv.at">https://www.ris.bka.gv.at</a>	University of Copenhagen; Vienna University of Economics and Business; University of Milan

Since many documents were written in the language of the corresponding country, the assistants were asked to find the right information and write a summary in English in the Excel template, and then citing the relevant documents. If the information for some of the questions was not possible to find in the official policy and legal documents, the researcher browsed through academic literature, articles, books and reports of NGOs found through Google search in the period August 2016 to April 2017. The full list of policy sources with names translated into English is provided in Annex 3. At the end of the data collection, the [DEMIG POLICY](#) database (2015)<sup>21</sup> was used to cross-check if all important policy changes were recorded in the template.

In some cases, the assistants failed to find evidence of the situation with regards to some policy, especially for the early 1990s where the sources were not reliable or did not provide precise information on specific matters of interest. In these cases, I followed up by contacting the officials of institutions where the required information was supposed to be found, but in some cases I was not granted access to it. This constitutes one of the limitations of my research.

<sup>21</sup> DEMIG POLICY tracked more than 6,500 migration policy changes enacted by 45 countries around the world, which were mostly in the 1945-2013 period. The policy measures are coded according to the policy area and migrant group targeted, as well as the change in restrictiveness they introduce in the existing legal system. The dataset allows for both quantitative and qualitative research on the long-term evolution and effectiveness of migration policies.

All the information is stored in the Excel files in the data repository and can be accessed online. In this manuscript the tables are presented in Annex 4. The fields where the information access was not possible are marked as “no info” in the completed Excel templates. Naturally these fields can be updated in the case that new information is retrieved in the future. The tables contain information on more topics than will be used in the analysis of this chapter. So this dataset has potential for other research too.

## 2. Theory based hypothesis

The researchers investigating the topic of economic integration of refugees and humanitarian migrants made a number of claims in previous studies, as detailed in Chapter I, which were:

- Earlier and easier access to the labour market is very important for successful integration of humanitarian migrants into employment (Bakker et al., 2014; Bloch, 2008; Vrečer, 2010; Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).
- Generous welfare provision on one hand can undermine the willingness of refugees to work (Hagelund, 2005), and on the other hand it can give time to people to gain language and additional skills and be employed in better jobs (Rosholm & Vejlin, 2010).
- Active labour market policies have been employed by many governments with the purpose of facilitating labour market integration (Heinesen, Husted, & Rosholm, 2013; Phillimore et al., 2006; Valenta & Bunar, 2010).
- Language is also a very important factor in employment of refugees (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Smith, 2013), so state support in language learning may be helpful for refugees in finding jobs, especially for those that are higher-skilled.

I argue that policy measures interact with each other forming a complex environment and, thus, instead of analysing one single policy’s impact on the behaviour of people, I suggest to look at the combination of policies in place. One configuration of policy environment may be more favourable for facilitation of economic integration of humanitarian migrants, than another policy configuration. Consequently, on the basis these claims stated above and findings from previous research (see Chapter I), I derived the following configurational *hypothesis* on the composition of policies for the four abovementioned areas:

For successful integration of humanitarian migrants, the policy needs to provide easy access to the labour market during the early stages of migration, which should also be combined with strong measures for increasing labour market participation of refugees, as well as comprehensive and free

language training support. At the same time, relatively generous welfare should also be provided so that humanitarian migrants can take the time to adapt to the labour market reality in the new country, learn new skills or validate those that they already have, and learn the language in order to be able to secure better quality jobs.

In the following section I describe the policy situation in each country and conduct a comparative analysis to confirm or disprove my hypothesis.

### **3. Description of conditions**

In this section a comparative overview of the four policy conditions across the countries is presented. To run the QCA analysis, each relevant policy aspect is described, and conclusions, derived from the qualitative information, are formalized through membership scores for the theoretically defined conceptual sets. To formalize the comparison and test the configurational hypothesis the fuzzy-set logic is used. Rihoux and Ragin argue “Such a scheme is especially useful in situations where researchers have a substantial amount of information about cases but the nature of the evidence is not identical across cases” (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009, p. 90), which, as the reader will see, is a fitting description of my policy data.

#### *a. Duration of asylum procedures*

Most of the countries grant less social and economic rights to asylum seekers, in comparison to residents with a more stable status and citizens. As I describe later, access to the official labour market and welfare benefits are usually conditional on a person’s legal status and the time elapsed since the migrants’ arrival and/or settlement in a country. It has been extremely difficult to find the information on the actual duration of the asylum procedures in the 1990-2008 period as this topic has not been researched much. There are barely any official records that can help identify how much time, on average, the process took from the initial asylum application until the first decision. Of course, this also depends on the amount of applications in a particular period and numbers of front-line workers employed to process the applications. The situation across countries was diverse.

In Austria, the processing times seemed to be rather long. The scant evidence shows that from 2007, more than 11 000 asylum applicants had already waited more than 3 years for a decision, and nearly 200 had waited longer than 10 years (UNHCR in Kaufmann, 2009). In Germany, the application process took, on average, 11 months in 1992 (Nuscheler, 1995, p. 143) and 22 months in 2005 (BAMF, 2005, p. 57). In the Netherlands there were two types of procedure; A fast 48-hour rejection of unfounded applications after the first interview, which usually took place within

several hours or the days after arrival of the asylum seeker, with a longer procedure only available for those claims were deemed plausible. Doornhein & Dijkhoff (1993) note that the length of the procedure differed for each case depending on many factors. Between 1990 and 1992, the duration was between 6 to 17 months on average (Doornhein & Dijkhoff, 1993, tab.36, p. 75). At the end of the 1990s' there was a policy imperative to shorten the time of procedures and set a deadline for the second interview to take place within 4 weeks, however, these attempts to improve the situation only had limited success (Kuijjer & Steenbergen, 1999, p. 192). Most of the applications at that time were upon decided within a 2 year period. Length of stay in the central accommodation centres for asylum seekers can give a partial idea of the length of the status determination procedures. For example, of those who left the centre in 1997, 27% lived there for longer than 1,5 years (Mattheijer, 2000). This allows to infer that their claims were in process through out those 1,5 years and even longer.

In Norway, there were policy regulated time-limits for the processing of the asylum applications, with the internal goal in the 1990s being 3 months (SOPEMI, 1990, p. 13; UDI 1998, p. 9), while the official limit was 15 months (Regulation on Immigration, 1990). If an application was not assessed by that deadline, a residence permit was granted to the asylum seeker (Regulation on Immigration, 1990). In practice, the asylum process took, on average, between 4 to 8 months (UDI, 1996; Statskonsult, 2000). In Sweden, the official goal was 6 months, however, in practice, the research points to varying times between 6 to 14 months for the analysed time period. Evidence from the United Kingdom is very limited, but some researchers emphasise that consideration of asylum claims was taking a very long time, however, no exact indications were found in regard to the 1990s. It is known that by 2002, 80% of applications were processed within 6 months (Parliamentary Debate House of Lords, 2002). In addition, Stevens (2004) found that in 2003 the average time to process a claim had been reduced to 5 months. In Greece, the processing times seem to be very long. The law required that the asylum applicants should be interviewed within a 3 month period after their claim had been submitted (Kapodistriako Panepisthmio, 2005). However, before 2013, all the cases were processed by the police (Magliveras, 2011), and, as one of the informants pointed out, this was not one of their priorities (Kakosimou, 2017), resulting in a long process which, in many cases, took from 1 to 7 years (UNHCR, 2014).

The table below gives summary of the rough estimates for the number of months taken to process asylum claims in the selected countries.



Table 14: Approximate times of asylum claims processing 1990-2008

Application processing Country:	AT	DE	NL	NO	SE	UK	GR
average months 1990-1994	36-84	11	6-17 18-24	6	6-10	very long?	n/a
average months 1995-2000	36-84	n/a	(max) 18-24	4-8	7	n/a	n/a
average months 2000-2008	36-84	22	(max)	7	8-14	5 months	max 7 years

*b. Access to the labour market*

I will start with conceptualization of the *ideal types* i.e., theoretical situations, shaped by policies. The “Easiest access to the labour market” is defined as a condition where, throughout the entire transition from the status of asylum seeker to that of recognized refugee or holder of another protected status, an individual did not encounter any policy induced obstacles to official employment in the host country. The opposite ideal type “Hardest access to the labour market”, is conceptualized as a condition where, throughout the entire transition of asylum seeker status to a recognized status, individuals were not allowed to work or/and faced multiple obstacles to employment.

Policy induced obstacles are understood as: the banning of paid employment; imposing sanctions on employers, who employ illegal workers; requirements to get a work permit of a limited duration; restriction of the time that a person can be employed; and restriction of occupation types.

<b>Ideal type of the HARDEST access to labour market</b>	<b>Ideal type of the EASIEST access to labour market</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asylum seekers are not allowed to work</li> <li>• Recognized refugees are not allowed to work</li> <li>• Holders of other protection statuses are not allowed to work</li> <li>• Individuals are required to apply for an additional work permit to be allowed to work</li> <li>• Acquisition of the work permit takes a lot of time and is a costly procedure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asylum seekers are allowed to work immediately</li> <li>• Recognized refugees and holders of other protection statuses are allowed to work immediately in any jobs</li> <li>• None of the categories need any additional work permit (other documentation)</li> </ul>

The collected data (see Annex 4) revealed that, in the period between 1990 and 2008, refugees had the same employment rights in all of the analysed countries, as citizens they could work without any limitations once they received recognition of their status. However, the situation of asylum

seekers and holders of other protection statuses was less favourable, and the access to official employment was limited by a number of legal barriers.

**Austria.** In the early 1990s asylum seekers with special work permits were allowed to be employed for a period of up to one year, but only if there were shortages in the workforce of some sectors. This permit often applied to seasonal work (AuslBG 1975 §4). In the late 1990s, the time limit on employment was reduced to 6 months (Foreigner Act 1997 [Fremdengesetz 1997. No 75], § 9). Some small jobs, such as newspaper and advertisement distribution, were allowed without permits (Schumacher, 2003; FrG 1997, FrG 2. Novelle 126/2002). Since 1997, only foreigners with special work related integration characteristics, foreign “key employees” (mostly well-educated foreigners), particularly well qualified workers in the health sector, seasonal workers, intra-corporate transfer employees, and workers whose employment was in favour of the supracorporate macroeconomic interests of Austria, were allowed to get work permits (AuslBG-Novelle 1997). This created additional challenges for the employment of asylum seekers. This worsened after 2002, as asylum seekers were removed from the category of the foreign workers to be given work permits (Schumacher, 2003; FrG 1997/75; FrG 2. Novelle 126/2002).

There is no evidence that in the 1990s the holders of subsidiary protection (*Befristete Aufenthaltsgenehmigung*) had any restrictions in accessing the labour market. In early 2000s they were exempted from the Foreigners Employment Act - Amendment (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz - Novelle 2002 §1, 2a), allowing them to work without additional work permits. With the amendment of the Act in 2005 (§ 1 Abs. 2 lit. A), holders of subsidiary protection were allowed to work after a waiting time of 1 year (Gächter 2008, p. 15).

With the Residence Law of 1993 (Aufenthaltsgesetz BGBl. Nr. 466/1992), holders of temporary protection status were issued some work permits, within a foreign employee quota (8%). However, in July 1993, more than a year after the arrival of the first refugees, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs decided to issue a modest number of work permits to the de-facto refugees of the Bosnian War (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, 1993). Unfortunately, these expellees were given the lowest priority; i.e., “after nationals (including EU citizens and Convention refugees) and migrant workers, who had already lived in Austria for a longer period of time” (Franz 2003, p. 14)).

**Germany.** In the period 1991-1997, asylum seekers were allowed to work after a 3-4 month waiting period had elapsed. They were not allowed to work during their stay in the initial reception centres, except if they were working in the camps (Klusmeyer, 2009, p. 176). However, asylum seekers who entered Germany after the 15th May in 1997, were not allowed to work at all

(Deutscher Bundestag, 2000). From 2001 onwards, they were once again allowed to work after 1 year waiting period (ArGV §3; Federal Government Germany, 2002, p. 87; Unabhängige Kommission "Zuwanderung", 2001, p. 61; Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2006, p. 34). Some asylum seekers, who were not recognized as convention refugees, received a "*Duldung*" - temporary residence permit. In the early 1990s they were allowed to work in some federal states but not others, and were "forced to rely on social assistance" (European Parliament, 2000, p. 88). In the period 1997-2002, there was a tightening of the rules and humanitarian migrants with temporary permits were not allowed to work (Deutscher Bundestag, 2000). The situation changed again in 2003, allowing holders of *Duldung* to be legally employed after 1 year of waiting. However, their work permit was dependent on the labour market situation and the right to work could be withdrawn as a penalty measure (Schimany, 2014, p. 225).

**Netherlands.** In the early 1990s asylum seekers were generally not allowed to work during the asylum procedure (Doornhein & Dijkhoff, 1995, p.34). However, in some municipalities, they were given work for a symbolic fee (Volkskrant, 1995). The Aliens Employment Act of 1995 (Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen, 1995), determined that asylum seekers who were still in the asylum procedure, should officially be allowed to work but only with an employment permit. This permit was only issued if no other employee (Dutch or EU citizen) can be found. This needed to be proven by the employers. This was highly unlikely to happen, and occurred only in rare cases (Mattheijer, 2000, p. 37). In 1998 individuals under the asylum procedure were permitted to work 12 weeks per year. They were allowed to take up only jobs which were of a seasonal, temporary nature (Klaver & Odé, 2002; 2003, p. 23; referring to Aliens Employment Act as of 1998 (Wet Arbeid en Vreemdelingen). The employer was required to request an employment permit "tewerkstellingsvergunning". Klaver and Odé (2002, 2003, p. 23) note that this notably increased the administrative effort for the employer and could therefore impede the goodwill of employers to hire asylum seekers. Many of the jobs asylum seekers got were low-skilled and low-paid (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p.23). Moreover, in the scenario that asylum seekers were employed, they had to contribute a considerable amount of their salary to the accommodation centre where they resided. Labour market participation of refugees remained low in this period due to these and other restrictions. Moreover, those working possibilities hardly shortened the period of inactivity of asylum seekers at all (Klaver & Odé, 2002). In 2002, the amendment of the 1998 Aliens Employment Act, which regulated the labour market access of asylum seekers, permitted them to take on non-temporary or seasonal employment (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 23).

Individuals who were not recognized as convention refugees but, instead, received another protection status, were restricted from taking on employment. Yugoslav refugees with temporary

residence permits (TROO) had no permission to work in the period 1992-1994. Individuals who received “*gedoogden*” (tolerated) status had to wait 2 years before they could be employed. Between 1994 and 1995, the holders of a conditional residence permit (VVTV) were permitted to start working in the 3<sup>d</sup> year of residence (Mattheijer, 2000, p. 25). The 1995 Act on Foreign Employment (Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen), stated that VVTV-holders could do seasonal work with work permits for the first 2 years after receiving the status and from the third year on they could be employed in all kind of jobs (Mattheijer, 2000, p. 37, 42; Kuijjer & Steenbergen, 1999; C24-2 Uitvoeringsregels Wet arbeid vreemdelingen, 1995).

In the 2000s the regulation changed again: the recognized refugees were given a temporary residence permit for the first 3 years, which gave them the right to access official employment, but only when the employer had a work permit. After the 3 years had elapsed, refugees could get permanent residency, and from then on, did not need a work permit to be employed (Holterman, 2002, p. 221). Administrative procedures for employers to get the work permit to employ foreigners were rather complicated, as some point out in the literature (Klaver & Odé, 2003; Mattheijer, 2000). This impeded the willingness of employers to hire refugees during their first 3 years of residency in the Netherlands.

**Norway.** In the early 1990s asylum seekers were allowed to be employed if they had been living in Norway for at least 4 months, there was no doubt of their identity, and if they were unlikely to be sent to another country or leave Norway (Immigration Act 1988; 2008; Foreigners Act 1990; 2008). In 1996 the law was amended so that for cases where the process took longer than 4 months, even those asylum seekers who might be rejected, could qualify for a temporary work permit. However, this was contingent on proving that they had a job offer (Valenta & Thorshaug, 2011, p. 39). Persons with an alternative protection status also did not face any legal restrictions and could be officially employed after receiving their status, with the same rights as refugees and citizens (Immigration Act 1988; 2008). Since 1989, foreigners who were already in the country (students, asylum seekers, refugees, etc.) as well as unemployed Norwegians, were supposed to be given priority over foreigners on temporary visas (Ostby, 1990, p. 33).

**Sweden.** In 1992, an amendment to the Immigration law of 1989, stated that asylum seekers were exempt from work permit requirements if the consideration process had lasted longer than 4 months (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, SOU 2009:19, p. 65; Aliens Ordinance 1989: 547). In 2005, those asylum seekers whose asylum application was not considered fabricated, who processed their national identity documents, and whose application was being processed in Sweden, were exempted from the requirement of work permit and once they got that exemption could work freely (Aliens Act, 2005: 716). Temporary protection status did not exist until 1994,

and once created, the holders of it were allowed to work as soon as they received that status. In Sweden, the regulation against ethnic discrimination on the labour market has existed since 1994 (Graham & Soinen, 1998). Since 1997, when Sweden joined the EU, those persons who did not have a work permit were deprioritised in the labour market, because Swedish national and EU-citizens had to be considered first for job offers. But, in fact, this regulation only affected those asylum seekers who had problems with their documents, as mentioned above, or those in the first 4 months of their application process.

**United Kingdom.** In the 1990s asylum seeker could apply for a work permit after at least 6 months of waiting for a decision on their application. In 2002, this right was curtailed because 80% of the asylum applications were decided within a period of 6 months, thus functioning as a measure to prevent the abuse of asylum system (Gower, 2016; [Parliamentary Debate in the House of Lords, 2002](#)). In 2005, the rule changed again, so that in cases where the asylum process took longer than 12 months, asylum seekers were allowed to request a work permit. This amendment was linked to the fact that the UK government had to comply with the 2003 European Directive on Reception Conditions for asylum seekers (Gower, 2016). Persons with Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR), an alternative status to Convention refugee status, were also granted to the right to work immediately upon the issue of this status. In the 2000s, holders of the humanitarian protection status and Discretionary Leave to Remain<sup>22</sup> were also allowed to work (Stevens, 2000).

Even though in some cases, asylum seekers, refugees, and holders of alternative protection statuses had permission to work, employers did not have clear understanding that these individuals were permitted to work. Furthermore, given the fact that employers were penalised by law if they employed a foreigner without the right documents, they preferred not to risk breaking the law, and did not readily employ refugees or asylum seeking individuals (Schellekens, 2001, p.19).

**Greece.** Asylum seekers could work immediately after they had submitted their application and got a “pink card”, which was a temporary permit to stay in the country while their application was being processed (Law 1975/1991). However, evidence from practitioners shows that, often, asylum seekers were queuing for days in front of police station without being able to submit their application. This resulted in the majority of them starting work without any documents in illegal labour market (Kakosimou, 2017). In respect to the early 1990s, there was no information on whether Greece had any alternative protection statuses. It was only in 1998 that Presidential Decree 189/1998 (art.4), stated that humanitarian refugees with a temporary residence permit and asylum applicants that were not being accommodated in any state residence, were allowed to work

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<sup>22</sup> Which substituted ELR

temporarily in order to meet their needs. These individuals had to apply for a work permit, and if job market research showed that there was no interest in the specific occupation from Greek citizens, EU citizens, recognized refugees and persons of Greek descent, then a temporary work permit could be granted for free (Presidential Decree 189/1998 (art.4)). According to specialists in the field, in practice, this was rarely implemented (Kakosimou, 2017). In 2001, the Law 2910/2001 provided the holders of a humanitarian temporary residence permit a certification giving access to the labour market, which replaced the old procedure of applying for a work permit.

According to the Presidential Decree 189/1998 (Προεδρικό διάταγμα Π.Δ.189/1998) art. 1, every recognized refugee who had a residence permit, could receive a work permit that was valid for long as their residence permit was valid. In order to receive the work permit, a refugee needed to submit the same documents as any Greek national, in addition to proof of refugee status, a declaration of absence of infectious diseases, and a declaration by the employer that he intends to employ them (this was not necessary if the refugee was changing employers frequently due to the type of occupation). In 2005, the Law 3386/2005 (art. 44, para.6) granted recognized refugees the unconditional right to work and considered them part of the national work force.

To summarize, the two aspects discussed above are closely related. In many cases, the duration of asylum procedures prevented individuals from entering the labour market. Of course, it is unrealistic to think that all asylum seekers will eventually get recognized. In fact, most of asylum seekers did not get recognition or a protected status. Recognition rates in the period 1990-2008 (including refugee status and other forms of protection), varied across the seven countries, but on average were around 28% (own calculations, based on the UNHCR statistical year book reports). Nevertheless, there are grounds to assume that the respondents of the EU-LFS survey analysed in the previous chapter, most likely fell under a “best case scenario”, transiting from asylum seeker to a protected status, since they were the ones who went on to live in the host countries. Irregular migrants are not so willing to answer any polls because they usually avoid contact with any kind of officials.

Now I will try to put together the information from both policy aspects. Definitely, the data reveals a rather dynamic policy picture, with legislation changing in many countries throughout the years, and the rules for accessing the labour market for asylum seekers and humanitarian status holders also were changing many times. Despite this difficulty, I attempt to draw some conclusions on several of the differences and similarities between the countries.

First of all, in Norway, there was an administrative time limit for the processing of asylum applications. And, the evidence suggests that the actual asylum process lasted the smallest number

of months in comparison to the other countries. In addition, after a rather short period of time – 4 months – an asylum seeker could get a work permit, which was only conditional on the validity of their identity and submitted application, and not on the labour market demands. Moreover, humanitarian migrants also got full access to the labour market as refugees and citizens. This situation is the closest to the ideal type “Easiest access to the labour market”, which is why in terms of fuzzy-set membership, I argue that Norway can be ascribed the score of 0,9 - *almost fully* a member of the set “Easy access to the labour market”.

Sweden also had the internal goal of assessing applications within 6 months, but it seems that the usual time period for the applications’ assessment were longer – between 6 and 14 months – which was the second shortest time after Norway. Labour market access was also comparable to the Norwegian regulations; after 4 months of the asylum process had elapsed, asylum claimants were allowed to work in the Swedish labour market without limitations. Moreover, in 2005, asylum seekers received free access to work immediately if conditions related to their identity and plausibility of the claim were met. This allows me to conclude that Sweden can be ascribed a fuzzy score of 0,9, representing *almost full* membership in the set “Easy access to the labour market”.

In other countries, the asylum process lasted longer and asylum seekers faced more barriers to legal entry into the labour market. Greece is perhaps the most contradictory case, on the one hand, the application processing times seemed to be extremely long, but no exact data was found. On the other hand, asylum seekers who managed to file their claim received a temporary working permit granting them the right to work in the country. In addition, irregular labour was quite popular and they did not face much persecution from the state, so for many asylum seekers, their status was not linked to their official work availability as they were often employed in the shadow economy. Hence, Greece can also be described as a country with easy access to the labour market, even though the procedures were very different to those of the Scandinavian countries. That is why the fuzzy score of 0,8 can be ascribed to this case, meaning that the country is *mostly* a member of that conceptual set.

In Germany, asylum processing times were rather long, even considering the incomplete data. Asylum seekers could get a permit to work after 3-4 months of waiting for a decision, but in the late 1990s those rights were curtailed, and this population’s access to work was largely restricted. In addition, holders of humanitarian protection statuses were also rather restricted in their employment rights. This allowed me to conclude that Germany does not belong to the theoretical set “easy access to the labour market” and can be ascribed a fuzzy score of 0,3 i.e. ‘mostly out’. In the Netherlands, the asylum application procedures were also not that fast. There is no clear evidence of the exact processing times of applications after 1992, but most decisions were made

in less than 2 years. The labour market access was restrictive for the asylum seekers, through employer work permits, deprioritisation, and restriction of the job types they can take. Other non-recognized refugees, who received alternative statuses and temporary protection, also faced limitations of access to work. Thus, the Netherlands is also mostly out of the set “easy access to the labour market” and gets the score 0,2.

Similarly, in Austria, the application processing times are not precisely known, but scattered evidence shows that it took a long time, often reaching 3 to 7 years. Asylum seekers, holders of temporary protection status, and the de-facto refugees from Bosnia, faced various restriction of access to regular employment. Their work permits were limited to the demands of the labour market, the duration of employment was restricted, and the waiting time before being allowed to work was up to 1 year. Hence, Austria is also largely out of the set “easy access to the labour market” and is ascribed the fuzzy score of 0,3.

Lastly, in the United Kingdom the duration of asylum claim processing is unknown in the early 1990s, and until 2002, asylum seekers were allowed to request a work permit if their claim was not processed within 6 months. Between 2002 and 2005, asylum claimants did not have access to the labour market during the status determination procedure, but this period usually lasted around 5-6 months, which was not as long as in the other countries. Furthermore, the holders of an alternative protection status had the same labour market access as recognized refugees and UK citizens. This is why this country falls *more in, than out* of the set “easy access to the labour market” with the fuzzy score of 0,6.

### *c. Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP)*

Active labour market policies are defined as special measures that aim to increase participation of a population in the labour market, and can be directed at the country’s citizens in general, or specific groups, such as youth, as well as targeting refugees and humanitarian migrants. In this section I give an overview of whether the analysed countries had any of the active labour market policies developed specially for humanitarian migrants, and try to conclude on their comprehensiveness and effectiveness. The ideal types related to this policy area are defined as follows:



Ideal type of INEXISTENT ALMP	Ideal type of STRONG ALMP
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Special employment support for asylum seekers and migrants with humanitarian protection is not provided by state nor NGOs</li> <li>• Job search agencies for the general population are not accessible for humanitarian migrants and not effective for native population</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence of specially designed programmes for labour market integration for hum. migrants</li> <li>• Humanitarian migrants can participate in job search agencies available to for the nationals of the host country</li> <li>• It is obligatory to be registered as a job-seeker in order to receive welfare benefits</li> <li>• NGOs and government are actively promoting job placements, public-private contract agreements with employers.</li> </ul>

In many cases, the policy data on this topic was not readily accessible, especially for the early 1990s. However, together with my research assistants, we provided the most complete overview of this policy field possible given the time constraints.

**Austria.** In the 1990s humanitarian migrants could utilise the job search centres available to the general public, but first in line were Convention refugees, while Bosnian war refugees, who mainly had temporary residence statuses, gained work only in 1995 (MEDAM, 2016). In the 2000s the Austrian Integration Fund (Österreichische Integrationsfonds (ÖIF)) was offering recognized refugees assistance in finding jobs. The institution was established by UNHCR and The Ministry of the Interior in 1956 and was the leading institution in terms of integration of refugees in Austria (European Migration Network 2009, p. 61). It is possible that the Austrian Integration Fund was also active in this area before the 2000s, but it was not stated explicitly in the accessible sources. The employment advice was accessible through state funded integration centres and NGOs, such as Caritas. There were different organizations depending on the region (Migration im Österreich 2004, p. 302). In the 2000s it was also obligatory to register at unemployment centre in order to receive welfare benefits (EMN AT Annual Policy Report, 2003-2004, p. 36):

**Germany.** Information was quite scarce in regard to specialized employment initiatives in the 1990s. It appears that there were no special laws or policies related to the employment activation of refugees. On the contrary, the evidence from the interview of a representative of the Federal Employment Agency (Brücker, 2016), allows for the conclusion that there were many institutional barriers and humanitarian migrants were intentionally prevented from entering the labour market: “The state did not invest in their integration, neither in language classes, nor in education or vocational trainings” (Brücker, 2016). In the 2000s, the law still did not provide special programmes for refugees, but they had access to the common courses and trainings available for Germans. The legal basis for this was the Employment Promotion (Sozialgesetzbuch III (SGB III) [Social

Security Code III]) that came into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1998 and remained in place until 2010. It stated that recognized refugees can have access to:

- vocational preparation courses for young people, § 61 SGB III
- special vocational training for people with learning disabilities, § 242 SGB III (conditional access - only when they are likely to stay in Germany after finishing the three-year training)
- professional development courses, §§ 77 SGB III
- job-creation measures, §§ 260 SGB III

The employment assistance was largely provided by special centres run by the Federal Employment Agency and the municipalities, called "ARGE" (Arbeitsgemeinschaft SGB II)<sup>23</sup>. It was also obligatory to register as a job seeker in order to be eligible for welfare support. If the beneficiary did not cooperate (did not apply for jobs and take part in trainings), benefits could be cut off (§ 66 para 1 Sozialgesetzbuch I - General Section - (engl. SGB I, Social Security Code I)). De-facto refugees with a *Duldung* status could benefit from SGB III after 15 months stay in Germany (see § 59 para. 2 SGB III).

The very first "Integration Summit" only took place in 2006, gathering politicians from all levels as well as representatives from the civil society. This summit later led to the adoption of a "National Integration Plan" in 2007 (Die [Bundesregierung](#), 2007), which among other aspects, highlighted the importance of improving the position of migrants in the labour market.

**The Netherlands.** In the early 1990s there were no specific measures for refugees or humanitarian migrants. The focus was on fostering the participation of 'allochtones' (individuals who themselves or their parents have origins outside the Netherlands) in education and employment. The minority policy was in force from 1983 until the early 1990s and included advice and job-placement activities (Ginjaar-Maas et al., 1994, p. 16). Besides, general job agency services and support were accessible to ethnic minorities (Ginjaar-Maas et al., 1994). At that point in time, there was a lot of local variation due to decentralised nature of the integration policies. Municipalities could decide the integration trajectory on their own (see van Valk 1995; Ginjaar-Maas et al., 1994, p. 17). Interestingly, the theme of labour market participation was only partially raised in the integration programmes for newcomers (de Valk, 1995, p. 20). In the second half of the 1990s, the Civic Integration Scheme (Inburgering) was launched (1996-1997 Introduction Period; 1998 Civic Integration Act (WIN)), which included several measures: (a) "job orientation" in the educational part of the program; (b) accompaniment of the trajectory by an advisor who also assists in

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<sup>23</sup> Since 2010 they have been called "Job Centers".

maintaining contact with the employment office (CWI); (c) a "work intake" (beginning of integration trajectory) or "qualification intake" (6 weeks after finishing trajectory) generally conducted by the Employment services (CWI) to determine the "distance to the labour market" and to give advice on trajectory, further education and labour market advice; (d) transition support for further education or labour market advice (Employment Office CWI), referral to voluntary work or a welfare organisation (after finishing the Civic Integration Trajectory) (Brink et al. 2002, p. 3-4; Mattheijer, 2000, p. 36; Driourichie, 2007; p. 98). These measures targeted recognised refugees (A-status and VTV-status), who had recently received their permit, as well as the holders of the temporary protection status (VVTV). Since the service provision was scarce, the municipalities could select those most in need of integration, who often were refugees (Weening & Visser, 1998 in Mattheijer, 2000). However, the 1998 Civic Integration Newcomers Act (WIN) excluded persons under temporary protection (VVTV) from the target group of these integration measures. The 'oldcomers'<sup>24</sup> who received their permit before the introduction of the law still had limited access to the provisions, but did not belong to the main-target group (Mattheijer, 2000; Odé et al., 2000). Also, recognized refugees who are still living in asylum accommodation had limited access to the Civic Integration programs due to the nature of the financing scheme of the WIN.

Besides the Civic Integration programmes, there were a great number of national and local initiatives which directly or indirectly aimed to foster an influx of refugees in the labour market after the Civic Integration Trajectory (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 26). They included measures under the Adult and Vocational Education Act (WEB; Wet Educatie en Beroepsonderwijs) or existence of special employment consultants for refugees at a local employment office in Amsterdam, as well as the initiatives of the UAF and VluchtelingenWerk, who started their own employment agencies, with "Job Support" specifically aimed at highly educated refugees and "Emplooi" in place for refugees with specific difficulties in finding a job (Mattheijer, 2000, p. 38 referring to VVN, 1997b).

In the early 2000s, the SUWI (Work and Income implementation Structure Act) (2001), gave municipalities more responsibility and discretionary space in the application of instruments aimed at the sustainable placement of persons looking for work and in the area of social activation. Such as Schooling and Activation budget (Scholings en Activeringsbudget WIW) for "reintegration trajectories" aimed at all persons looking for work under the condition that they were registered with the employment agency (Centre for Work and Income). Then appeared some subsidised

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<sup>24</sup> 'oldcomers' - is a literal translation from Dutch, means the opposite of the newcomers. The service provision differed for these two groups.

employment arrangements set in the Jobseekers Deployment Act (WIW; Wet Inschakeling Werkzoekenden) of 1998 and aimed at reducing long term unemployment. Lastly, the EQUAL-program of 2000-2006 involved: several initiatives to improve labour market participation of ethnic minorities; some projects targeted specifically at refugees; and some projects which considered opportunities in the areas of education and work for asylum seekers (co-financing of public and private) (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 32).

Klaver and Odé (2003) point out that many initiatives in the 2000s also targeted better employment participation of refugees in the labour market, as well as further education, with some municipalities announcing specific programs to encourage the labour market influx of refugees. One specific measure, targeted at refugees in particular, was the "Plan of Action for Higher Educated Refugees" (2002 ff.; project is coordinated by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (SZW) (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 34; see Dessain & Hello, 2006), which included the creation of professional dossiers during the asylum procedures. Additionally, there was a pilot project by the COA (Central Organ for Asylum Seekers), which entailed offering Civic Integration to recognized refugees who were still living in the Central Accommodation and who fell out of the earlier Civic Integration target group. This included the creation of dossiers and portfolios and educational elements (for details see Dessain & Hello, 2006, p. 24; Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 23). Moreover, the International Diploma Evaluation (IDW) became part of the investigation prior to the Civic Integration Trajectory and the CWI (Employment Agency) taking responsibility for these issues, which may have led to a more detailed diploma recognition process (Klaver & Odé, 2003, p. 34).

**Norway.** Prior the 1990s the predominant idea was that foreigners had to first acquire a usable knowledge of Norwegian and then take part in ordinary vocational education schemes for adults. Some measures of immigrant oriented labour market services were also functioning – they had “vocationally slanted language teaching, tailored courses and placements in ordinary working life” (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 167). In the 1990s two important documents appeared that shaped a change in focus towards economic integration and anti-discrimination: first, the Governmental proposal on refugee policy (Stortingsmelding 17: 1994/5) and second, the Governmental proposal on immigration and multicultural Norway (Stortingsmelding 17: 1996/7). Here, equal treatment of immigrants and native Norwegians in terms of social and economic rights, participation, duties and opportunities was prioritised, however, some researchers highlight quite strong elements of coercion in the introduction programme for refugees (Valenta & Bunar, 2010).

The main provider of the courses was the employment agency AETAT, and in order to receive benefits, humanitarian migrants had to register and participate in the AETAT programmes. The

measures varied across the municipalities, but all included theoretical and practical components that aimed to increase the employment viability of participants (Norwegian and social studies for foreigners: Guidelines and Information, 1992, p. 19). Besides these specialized programmes, general employment agency courses were also available. In the mid-1990s, the employment agency AETAT offered the course “Aetat Intro” as a supplemental course to the fusion course. This course combined the teaching of theoretical and practical language skills to help prepare refugees become a job seeker in Norway (Interdepartmental working group, 2000, p.8)

In the 2000s, new type of individually tailored programmes was included in the Introductory Programme. Special courses combined theoretical language, practical language and temporary job placements or internships. The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration was partly responsible for the program, so that individuals received tailored one-on-one help from an employment officer.

**Sweden.** Since the mid-1970s the Swedish immigration policy has been based on the principles of equity, freedom of choice and cooperation (Valenta & Bunar, 2010). Employment advice for refugees was available in Sweden through the National Employment Agency (SFS 1987:406) as part of the introduction to society initiative. Humanitarian migrants had to register with the Agency as soon as their permit had been granted. The participation of municipalities and immigrants in those programmes was voluntary. An individual plan was established for each refugee participating in the programme, which included additional professional training, job placements, employer outreach, and subsidies for the employer. The national government provided general recommendations to municipalities on how they should assist refugees in economic integration, and it was up to them to design the exact plans (Valenta & Bunar, 2010). Although participation in the employment integration activities was not obligatory, having a paid job was necessary if the humanitarian migrant wanted to get permanent residency once their 3 year residence permit had expired. As a consequence, refugees were incentivised to make an effort to find a job within first 3 years after the residency was granted.

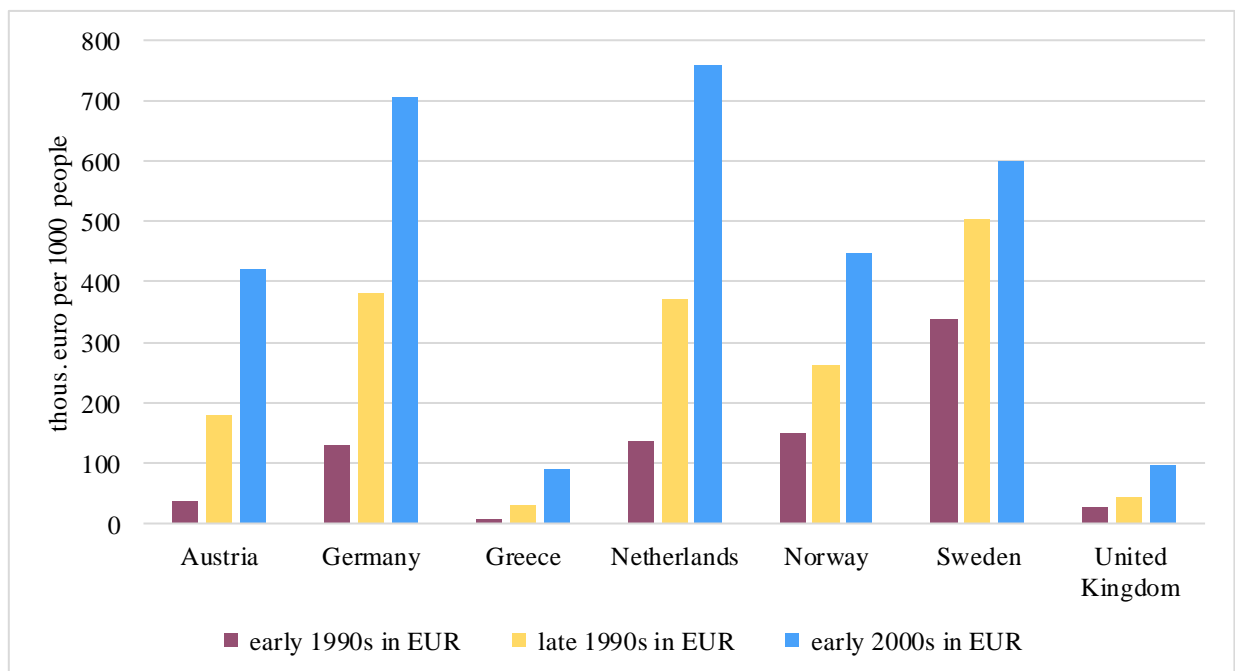
**United Kingdom.** There is no conclusive evidence that there was support for humanitarian migrants in term of employment in the 1990s. Even if some initiatives existed, they were not specifically aiming at migrants or refugees. In the 2000s, the situation started to change, with more non-governmental organizations that were often state funded, providing job search advice and employability services. Those initiatives were often low-scale and operated at local level (Phillimore 2006). Job Centre Plus was available for refugees seeking employment advice. Bigger projects operating in the UK in the early 2000s were the Learning and Integration Project (London), Olmec (London), Refugees into Jobs (London), and The Bridges Project (Glasgow).

Also, some volunteering opportunities were offered by certain UK organizations (Phillimore, 2006, pp.49-50).

**Greece.** In the 1990s there were very few refugees in the country and no accounts of any programmes facilitating their employment. In the 2000s, there were only some initiatives of private organizations that were willing to hire qualified refugees, or assist them with preparing their resume and looking for a job within Greece. Usually these were NGOs like the Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality & Diversity while and others, such as National Organization for Unemployed (OEAD), were responsible of holding seminars and assisting unemployed nationals and third country nationals in finding a job. But, due to the high rates of unemployment in the last decade, there were no any specific seminars for refugees and asylum seekers oriented to help them in finding employment.

Another way to get an estimation of the state’s investments in active labour market policies is to look at their expenditure. On the chart below, you can see the average annual total expenditure on job placement and related services; training; employment incentives; sheltered and supported employment; rehabilitation and full unemployment benefits. But these numbers are for the total population, and how much was spent on the ALMP for refugees and humanitarian migrants is not known.

Figure 21: Annual avg. Expenditure on Labour Market Policies per thousand of population. 1990-2008



Source: own calculations based on OECD [data](#) “Public expenditure and participant stocks on Labour Market Policies” and United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017). *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision, DVD Edition*.

The scope and effectiveness of the Active Labour Market policies for humanitarian migrants and refugees are very difficult to compare as the nature of the data is rather diverse. Nevertheless, I will try to draw conclusions on which countries were closest to the ideal type “Strong ALMP support”, and which were the furthest away. Considering the existence of structured individualized and state-run programmes for labour market integration of humanitarian migrants, their obligatory nature and rather high general expenditure in the area (Fig.21), Norway could be assigned *full membership* in this conceptual set (fuzzy score = 1). Sweden had comparable policies, but the participation of refugees and municipalities in these programmes was voluntary – so the element of coercion was absent, which could have resulted in less effectiveness of these measures to bring this population into work (Valenta & Bunar, 2010). The Netherlands also showed a high level of expenditure on the active labour market policies. Throughout the years they had a varied list of diverse programmes for job search facilitation and training, which were organized by municipalities with the support of the state funding. It is not known if such initiatives were available in all municipalities where refugees lived and if they were effective. The humanitarian migrants were not obliged to follow those programmes or take advice. Hence, Sweden and the Netherlands receive the fuzzy score of 0,8 – mostly in the set “Strong ALMP support”.

In Germany refugees could get access to the regular measures for employment activation, which were available for all the locals. But the receipt of welfare benefits was conditional to registration and active job search. The expenditure on ALMP was similar to the one in the Netherlands. Thus, it seems reasonable to assign a score of 0,6 – *more in that out* of our theoretical set. In Austria, the employment support for refugees became prominent only in the 2000s: from that period on there is evidence of state funded programmes run by public educational institutions and through the Caritas network. The expenditure on general ALMP measures was slightly less than in the previously mentioned countries. Hence, given the lack of programmes in the 1990s, in the whole period of analysis, Austria receives the fuzzy score of 0,4 – *more out than in* the defined set.

Both the UK and Greece did not reveal extensive public expenditure on active labour market policies for the whole population (Fig.14) nor did the information obtained through policy analysis indicate that the support of refugees in their job search efforts was in any way systematic and full. That is why I deemed it reasonable to assign a low fuzzy score values of 0,2 and 0,1 respectively, indicating that these countries are *largely out* of the conceptual set “Strong ALMP support”.

*d. Welfare policies*

Welfare provision in some country is dependent on the participation in the employment activation programmes or integration programmes for immigrants. Generous welfare support has sometimes been linked to the “risk of welfare dependency” among immigrants (Breidahl, 2017). On the other hand, there is also evidence that some welfare support is needed for refugees in order to give them time to learn the language and improve their educational level, thus gaining better jobs prospects (Rosholm & Vejlin, 2010).

The theoretical ideal types of welfare provision can be conceptualised as follows:

<b>Ideal type of scarce &amp; hardly available welfare benefits</b>	<b>Ideal type of generous &amp; easily available welfare benefits</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asylum seekers do not get any cash allowance, neither food nor shelter are provided</li> <li>• Refugees do not get any subsidies, benefits or cash transfers from the receiving state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asylum seekers get generous allowance (cash payments)</li> <li>• Asylum seekers get free housing</li> <li>• Refugees and other protected individuals get generous welfare benefits (unconditionally)</li> </ul>

I will now demonstrate the scope of welfare provision for asylum seekers and humanitarian migrants in the seven countries.

**Austria.** Before 2004 the asylum seekers' access to benefits was highly selective and they could be excluded from basic welfare support for various reasons, including being of a certain nationality. It appears that “about two-thirds of asylum seekers were not eligible for benefits under the federal asylum supervision” (Peintinger, 2012, p. 22). In the 1990s, adult asylum seekers received 400 Schilling (29,07 EUR) per month. The allowance was only given to those asylum seekers who did not have any other income or possession of material wealth such as a vehicle (BGBl.Nr. 31/1992, § 7) In the mid-1990s this amount slightly increased to 530 schillings (BGBl. II Nr. 180/1998). Then, in the 2000s, the asylum seekers started to receive around 40 € per month (Migration im Österreichischen Roten Kreuz 2004, p. 79). A few were also provided with a place to live (BGBl. Nr. 31/1992, §2, §3). Out of the rest, those who were denied the chance to stay in state-run facilities due to a lack of places were offered emergency housing by the Austrian Red Cross and several NGOs (Priewasser, 2007, p. 35). In addition, these individuals were eligible to receive up to 180€ per adult for food and 150 € per year to buy clothes (Art. 15a B-VG, article 9). In the mid-2000s there was far fewer accommodation possibilities than the number of asylum seekers in Austria (Migration im Österreichischen Roten Kreuz, 2004, p. 282).



Recognized refugees were eligible for the general welfare benefit, as Austrian citizens, which varied depending on the region. For this reference, I took the states of Vienna and Oberösterreich, which were the first and third states most populated by refugees across the regions of Austria. In the 1990s the amount of benefit 1 person could receive ranged from 316 € to 464 €<sup>25</sup> per month (LGBL Nr. 100/1992 44; LGBL Nr. 1/1992, § 1, art.1 a; LGBL Nr. 44/1997, art. 1, 1; LGBL Nr. 118/1998 80, § 1, article 1, 1). In the early 2000s, refugees received a similar amount of financial aid in the first 4 months after receiving a recognized status to that of asylum seekers. Later, they became eligible to collect the same amount as Austrian citizens (Migration im Österreichischen Roten Kreuz 2004, p. 58-59), which, back then amounted to 401€ per month (Vienna) (LGBL für Wien Nr. 27/2004, article 1, 1).

Besides these benefits, refugees could also claim a general housing benefit to pay the rent. The amounts in the early 1990s were around 165 € to 145 € per month (LGBL Nr. 1/1992, article 1, 3; LGBL Nr. 55/1991 20, §2); and in the late 1990s were 181,68 € to 226,45 € per month (LGBL Nr. 44/1997, article 1, 4; LGBL Nr. 55/1997, § 1, 1). By the early 2000s, the *maximum* housing subsidy in Vienna was 264,07 € and 182€ per month in Oberösterreich for 3 to 4 people living in a 70m<sup>2</sup> apartment (LGBL für Wien Nr. 27/2004, article 1; LGBL Nr. 22/2003, § 2, 3).

Temporary protection status was introduced in 1993, and was granted to many Bosnian war refugees, who did not have access to the official labour market until 1995. Although there was no legal basis for providing them with financial support, central and local governments set up a care and maintenance scheme that granted Bosnian refugees between 1,500 (109 €) and 5,000 Austrian Schillings (363 €) a month per person, depending on the type of accommodation they lived in. Those settled in organised accommodation received only 100 Schillings (7 €) each month as pocket money (MEDAM, 2016).

**Germany.** Asylum seekers received some cash allowance based on two legal acts. Before the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1993, financial aid was based on § 120 para. 2 Bundessozialhilfegesetz (BSHG, engl. Federal Social Assistance Act), which provided no specific sum for social assistance benefits, and could also be given in kind and reduced to the bare minimum. After the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1993, the allowance was based on the Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz (AsylbLG, engl. Asylum Seekers Benefits Act) regulation, which was active up to 2012. According to that last law, the asylum seekers staying in reception centres received food, housing, heating, clothes, sanitary articles and medical aid in kind, or in the form of vouchers. In addition, adult persons received 80 German marks (40,90 €) per month (§ 3 para. 1 AsylbLG). The asylum seekers staying in other facilities

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<sup>25</sup> Converting from shilling

like state-run shared accommodation (Gemeinschaftsunterkunft) were entitled to get cash payments. Besides the payments listed above (§ 3 para. 1 AsylbLG), they could also receive: 360 German marks (184,07 €) per month as heads of households, plus 220 German marks (112,48 €)/month for a child of less than 7 years old; and 310 German marks (158,50 €) per month for another member of the household. Housing, heating and household goods are paid additionally (§ 3 para. 2 AsylbLG).

Recognized refugees in Germany were entitled to the same kind of benefits as nationals, with regards medical care and assistance for expecting mothers and nursing assistance (§ 120 para. 1 BSHG). Also, general social assistance benefits as well assistance in situations with special needs were guaranteed (§ 1 BSHG). The Bundessozialhilfegesetz (BSHG, engl. Federal Social Assistance Act) ceased to be in force on 31 Dec 2004. Starting from 1 Jan 2005, benefits were paid according to Sozialgesetzbuch II (SGB II, engl. Social Security Code II) affording basic unemployment benefits for job seekers or Sozialgesetzbuch XII (SGB XII, Social Security Code XII) affording basic social assistance for those incapable of working and pensioners.

The Federal Social Assistance Act (BSHG) referred to standard rates, which were to be specified in regulations of the government (§ 22 para. 2 BSHG). The exact amount of the standard rates were then to be set by the regional authorities (§ 22 para. 3 BSHG). As estimated on the basis of 3 Federal states with the highest number of inhabitants, a single household of refugee received on average 498,83 € per month in 1991-1994 and 528,66 € per month in 1995-1998 (Deutscher Bundestag, 1999). From 1 January of 2005, a specific regulation about standard rates came into force (Regelsatzverordnung (RSV)), which set the standard rates between 2005 and 2007 at the level of 345 EUR/month in West Germany and 331 EUR/month in the East Germany per single person (Hartz IV Regelsatz, 2005).

**Netherlands.** Since 1987 according to *Regeling Opvang Asielzoekers* (Rules for reception/accommodation asylum seekers/ROA Regulation) the asylum seekers received 445 Dutch Guilders (~201,93 €) per month for food, clothes and personal spending (Mattheijer, 2000, p. 23). In the middle of the 1990s the amount of welfare per person depended on the type of accommodation that the asylum seekers lived in. A single person residing in accommodation, where no free meals were included received approximately 368,40 € per month. Those who lived in a facility where meals were provided from 1 to 3 times per day received between 265 € and 150 € per month (RVA, 2005). In addition, asylum seekers received a one-time payment for clothes (RVA, 1997). The families with several children received more money than singles (Volkskrant, 1997, 1 January). In the early 2000s, there were some cuts on welfare support. Individuals residing in accommodation without free meals got around 246 € per month, while those who had 1 meal a

day were paid 144 € a month, and those with all meals covered received 76 euros a month ([RVA](#), 2005)

Recognized refugees in the Netherlands also had quite substantial social support. In the 1990s they received general welfare benefits under the law Wet Werk en Bijstand (WWB). According to Regioplan policy research institute (NRC, 1994), 89% of recognized refugees in the Netherlands were on welfare support 3 months after they received a refugee status, with 77% of them still dependant on welfare after 2 years. Until 1996, the amount of welfare support was around 1803 Dutch guilders (818€) per month for couples, plus some extra child support. While single people above 23 years old received approximately 1262 guilders (572€) ([Trouw](#), 1995, January). In the 1996, a new regulation came into force (Algemene Bijstandswet (ABW)), and as a result of that change in 1999 a single person received approximately 480€ monthly. During the beginning of the 2000s, the monthly amount for a single person was approximately 569€ - 574€ (2006) (Regeling Wijzing Bedragen Abw, 1996; [Work and Assistance Act](#) (WWB)). Housing facilities were not free for refugees and persons with other protection statuses, and they had to pay for housing from their general welfare subsidies.

**Norway.** Asylum seekers were usually housed in reception centres and received some money for personal expenses. I was unable to retrieve information regarding the exact amount of money they were given in the early 1990s. But in 1999, the report stated that those who lived in reception centres with shared facilities got up to 900 Norwegian Kroners (NOK) (~108€<sup>26</sup>) per month, with single parents additionally receiving up to 300 NOK (~36€) per month. Those who lived in accommodation and had to cook for themselves received up to 2,500 NOK (~300€) per month (UDI, 1999). The sums of money in the early 2000s are not known. If asylum seekers did not want to live in the reception centre they were deprived of the subsidies.

Refugees and persons with other protection statuses shared equal rights with the citizens of Norway once they received their status. Hence, they fell under general welfare provision schemes. In the early 1990s the average welfare benefit for a family was 5700 NOK (~684€), a one person family was entitled to 4800 NOK, and two person family received around 6000 NOK (Lofthus & Osmunddalen, 1998/7, p. 17-18). In the late 1990s, individuals of foreign nationality received on average 7800 NOK (~900€) per month in social benefits (SSB SA & Child Welfare, 1998, pp 14). In the early 2000s, an introductory benefit was introduced. This was full time and lasted 2 years, with foreigners who participated in the programme receiving around 10,000 NOK per month (ECRE, 2003, pp 125), and those below 25 years of age receiving two thirds of that amount (FAFO,

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<sup>26</sup> Annual conversion rates are from OFX web-site <https://goo.gl/LdTzVA>

2007, pp 4). Besides these benefits, refugees were also entitled to housing support at the same level as nationals.

**Sweden.** In the early 1990s the law (1988:153) was active in providing asylum seekers with free housing, as well as a daily allowance and special allowance. Free housing was provided only in state-run facilities (1988:153). The asylum seekers had to apply for the allowance and at the time they were eligible if “the asylum seeker is (1) living in a state run residential facility; (2) is living in a County which has an agreement with the State Immigrant Office (SIV) about accepting asylum seekers and where the asylum seeker has been placed by SIV; (3) is temporarily in a County waiting to be placed somewhere by SIV; (4) is living in a County where the asylum seeker has strong family bonds or other reasons for staying” (1988:153 para 2). The daily allowance covered costs for clothing and shoes, groceries, activities, hygiene articles, newspapers and phone usage etc. When food was provided in the state run residence, the allowance was reduced accordingly. The amount of allowance was calculated as percentage of the basic amount of general insurance determined yearly as according to the 1962 law. Single asylum seekers who had to cook for themselves got 74%, while those with provided catering got 25%, those who lived together and had to buy food for themselves received 63%, and those who did not have to buy their own food got 20% (1993:1683). As an approximate calculation on the basis of the price base ([SCB, 2017](#)), they received 2 037 SEK (~230€<sup>27</sup>) (excl. meals) and 688 SEK (~77€) (incl. meals) per month. A special allowance was provided to cover costs for special needs such as winter clothing, glasses, dietary supplements, medicine, emergency dental care, handicap medical equipment, equipment for new-borns, and other equipment needed for their living situation. This could also cover local trips if they were found to be especially pertinent (1988:156, para 5). If asylum seekers were working, they had to report their income to the SIV and their allowance was adjusted (1988:153). In the second half of the 1990s, the average monthly amount was between 756 SEK (incl. meals) and 2 236 SEK (excl. meals) (Lag 1994: 137; Förordning 1994:361), and in the period 2000 - 2008, asylum seekers received 815,36 SEK (incl. meals) and 2413,48 SEK (excl. meals).

Law 1992:1068 allowed counties to provide an introductory allowance amount to refugees instead of Social Assistance if they participated in the introduction program, which was individually tailored in each county for each refugee. It usually included taking a Swedish language course and a guidance in job application. The county government or local government then received compensation from the state for the cost of the introduction program allowance. The length of the program was generally 2 years, but compensation from the state to the county was supposed to

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<sup>27</sup> Exchange rates of 1999 from <https://www.oFX.com/en-au/forex-news/historical-exchange-rates/yearly-average-rates/>

cover up to 3 years. To this introductory assistance, other types of benefits may be added such as housing assistance and child assistance. The introductory assistance was determined by the county government and may decrease with more income (Nielson, 2005). As there was no clear data on the amount of social assistance available for refugees, I calculated approximate amounts based on the standard amount of social assistance for citizens (Statistics on Social Assistance, 2015). In the early 1990s the average amount was approximately 6454 SEK per month, in the late 1990s - 6715 SEK, and in the early 2000s it was 7321 SEK (~800€<sup>28</sup>). Besides these, housing benefits were also available for unemployed and low-income individuals, especially for those with children who could receive an additional 4875 SEK to 9000 SEK per month in the mid-1990s (Riksforsäkringsverket 2001:14 pp 13).

**United Kingdom.** Before 1993 both refugees and asylum seekers were entitled to social security benefits at the same level as British citizens and others with Leave to Remain. They had access to local authority housing, income support, education and healthcare, that is, most of the rights laid out in the 1951 Convention (Schuster & Solomos, 2001). For in-port asylum applicants, 90% of the income support accorded to citizens was available (Kissoon, 2010). This would amount to 30-40 GBP<sup>29</sup> per week, which in real value (RPI 2012) was equivalent to 60-70 GBP per week (Rutherford, 2013), or 270 – 360<sup>30</sup> GBP per month. Local authorities had a duty to provide care for the destitute under the National Assistance Act of 1948 and to children and families under the Children Act, 1989. Asylum seekers were provided with emergency accommodation, which was usually of poor quality and often outside of major cities, such as London (Hek, 2005).

The 1996 Act removed entitlement to social security benefits for those who had made their asylum application in-country rather than at the port of entry and for those who were appealing against a Home Office decision on their case (Bloch, 2000). Thus in-port asylum applicants were entitled to 70% of the standard income support, which amounted to 30-35 GBP per week. In the early 2000s, only those asylum seekers who did not have other means of survival were eligible to receive 70% of the income support – around 130-180 GBP per month – provided through vouchers that were only redeemable at certain shops, plus additional money given per child for families. Applicants were housed on no-choice basis, with no link to their ethnic communities, and usually in the socially deprived areas where housing was typically available (Turner, 2015).

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<sup>28</sup> Conversion rate 0,1095 of 2004 <https://www.ofx.com/en-au/forex-news/historical-exchange-rates/yearly-average-rates/>

<sup>29</sup> Own calculations on the basis of the data on income support from Office for National Statistics, UK (ONS, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Calculated as week\*4,5= month.

Recognized refugees and holders of other protection statuses, such as Exceptional Leave to Remain, were entitled to the same level of support as citizens and could receive income support if they are not working or searching for jobs, and unemployment benefits if they were searching for jobs (ref). This ranged from 35 GBP a week in the early 1990s, to 60 GBP a week in 2008. However, in the real prices of 2012, this was approximately the same amount of money; i.e. 73-74 GBP per week or 328 GBP per month (Rutherford, 2013).

**Greece.** Based on the reports of the Greek Council for Refugees (GCR) which started in 1989, some monthly allowance were given to a few families either in the form of emergency funding or in the form of housing and food. The housing and food came from a collaboration between the Ministry of Public Order and the GCR. According to Presidential Decree 266/1999, there had been a refugee shelter and social integration centre opened in the region of Lavrio in Atikistate, but a great shortage of available places was reported (Skordas & Sitaropoulos, 2004). The housing capacity of this shelter was for a mere 300 people, so majority of asylum seekers were homeless. Since welfare was very scarce, the asylum seekers were allowed to work immediately after receiving their ‘pink card’ (K. there was also a disability benefit available, but it was difficult to claim for both Greek citizens and asylum seekers). According to Article 9 of Law 1545/1985 the State Organization for the Employment of Labour Force (OAEΔ), could provide emergency financial allowance to Greek refugees that has permanently emigrated to Greece. The terms and conditions for distributing this allowance, as well as the exact amount were determined by the Ministry of Labour after the proposal had been announced by the administrative council of the Organization. The exact amount of those emergency allowances is not known. There is also evidence of a regulation whereby, if a person (for instance a refugee), had legally worked for 2 years in a low-skilled difficult job, they could get a subsidy from the government to purchase a house – which was a loan that could be paid back without interest (Kakosimou, 2017). All in all, the welfare provision in Greece was very limited.

To compare the welfare provision for asylum seekers and refugees in all seven countries in different times, I used Purchasing Power Parities (PPPs), which are “the rates of currency conversion that equalise the purchasing power of different currencies by eliminating the differences in price levels between countries” (OECD data, 2017). The average amount of allowance paid to the beneficiaries was converted into US-dollars and reflects the purchasing power of those amounts in comparison.

Table 15: Average welfare support per month, in USD conv. to local currency via PPPs in 1990-2008

1990-2008	AT	DE	NL	NO	SE	UK	GR
<b>For refugees and other protection</b>	423	481	752	806	724	272	n/a
<b>Asylum seekers (incl. meals)</b>	39	43	192	93	80	n/a	n/a
<b>Asylum seekers (excl. meals)</b>	246	195	301	260	235	195	n/a

The data presented in Table 15 is an approximation, because depending on the family composition, type of accommodation and eligibility, the amount of money received by asylum seekers and refugees varied. This is still a useful simplification for understanding how different the amounts were in each country.

Based on these findings, I conclude that the welfare support for refugees and asylum seekers was the most generous in Norway, The Netherlands and Sweden. However, in Sweden welfare receipt was conditional on residency in an allocated municipality, unless there were special circumstances, e.g. family ties. If an asylum seeker worked in the Netherlands, they had to contribute a part of their salary to the centre where they lived. In any case, these three countries are the closest to the ideal type “Generous and easily accessible welfare support”, which is why fuzzy scores of 1,0 (NO), 0,9 (NL) and 0,8 (SE) can be assigned to these cases.

The welfare support in Austria, Germany, Greece, and the United Kingdom was not generous or easily accessible. In Greece it was nearly absent – which is why Greece gets a score of 0,0 – *not a member* of the set. In the UK, a large proportion of asylum seekers were not eligible for any financial support during the asylum process, and like in Austria, only those without any means of survival could get some money. Overall, it is reasonable to assign the following fuzzy scores: Germany and Austria – 0,4 *more out than in the set*, the UK – 0,2 – *mostly out of the set* “generous and easy welfare support”.

#### *e. Language training*

When asylum seekers and refugees arrive at the host country, they often do not have knowledge of the local language. Language is one of the most necessary skills for a migrant to acquire in order to increase their employment chances, and it is also very important in expanding social networks, which facilitate employment and to be able to compete for better jobs. Some countries had regulations that featured high levels of coercion for “pushing” humanitarian migrants to learn the language of the country, other states had a *laissez-faire* approach, leaving this area out of regulations. My expectation is that obligatory and extensive language learning should positively influence the humanitarian migrants’ chances of employment on a longer run.

The ideal types for this policy aspect can be formulated as follows:

Ideal type of NO language support	Ideal type of STRONG language support
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No language support is provided by state organizations</li> <li>• Humanitarian migrants have to rely on their own efforts to learn the language of the host country</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Free language classes are available to asylum seekers and protected persons</li> <li>• Free language classes are obligatory</li> <li>• There are a <b>lot of hours</b> programmed for obligatory language training</li> <li>• Language training is job oriented</li> </ul>

In **Austria**, taking care of language training only started in the late 1990s with the introduction of the Fremdenengesetz 1997 (FrG, § 51, 3). Participation became mandatory for those refugees who arrived after 1998. It was mainly coordinated by the Austrian Integration Fund, who certified and appointed educational institutions to execute the courses in the federal states, for example *Volkshochschule* (eng. adult education schools). The language learning was not for free in such centres, but since 2003, 50% of the fees were refunded if the integration exam (language level A2) was passed within 18 months after a legal status was issued and a 25% refund if the exam was passed after 18th months but before 24 months (BGBl. I Nr. 126/2002, § 50a).

In **Germany** during the early 1990s, there were no official language classes offered to refugees. In 1998, 6 months of language classes were offered for recognized refugees (SGB III, §§ 419, 420). The classes were not obligatory and not free, but the beneficiaries could get a refund from the state. In 2005, the obligatory Integration course were introduced, which included courses on the German language, legal system, culture and history, and lasted about 630 hours (§ 10 Integrationskursverordnung (IntVO, engl. Integration Course Regulation)). For that course refugees paid 1 euro per hour, however, if a refugee relied on social assistance, it was paid by the state (§ 9 para. 1 Integrationskursverordnung (IntVO)).

In the **Netherlands** the central government supported many local projects for Dutch language training from 1989 onwards (Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 1998-1999, 26 426, nrs. 1-2, p. 29). However, there were long waiting lists in the beginning of the 1990s (Driouchi, 2007), which the minister of education attempted to reduce. Therefore from 1993 – 1995, more language programmes were funded in municipalities with a high foreign population. There was quite a lot of variation in terms of the hours and the scope of those programmes on a local level (de Valk, 1995, p. 20). They were mostly provided by public institutions until 2007. In the mid-1990s Civic Integration Programmes were developed which also included language courses. These programmes were usually free, but subject to financial sanctions if the beneficiaries did not pass



the exam (Staatsblad 1998, 261, Art 18, p. 9). Under the civic integration scheme, the amount of hours of language tuition was 500h in 1996-1997 and 600h from 1998 onwards (Twede Kamer, Vergaderjaar 1998-1999, 26426). Regarding the asylum seekers access, the RVA 1997, art 5 (2) set out that in the asylum seeker centres (AZC) there should be day-structuring activities, including language classes and societal orientation, however, it is not clear whether this was implemented or not.

In **Norway** language programmes were provided throughout the period 1990-2008. Once permits had been granted, refugees were provided free Norwegian language and social studies education. They received 500 hours of tutelage, with an additional 250 hours that could be granted under special circumstances (Kirke-, Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet [Church, Education, and Research Ministry, 1992, p. 5-6). The individual municipalities, with assistance from the regional UDI (Immigration Office), were responsible for the classes. As Brochmann and Hagelund(2012) state “Admittedly, by referring to the law on social services, local authorities could require participation in instruction and qualification as a ‘quid pro quo’ for economic benefits, but a minority of municipalities made such requirements, and those that did require participation did not necessarily follow-up with sanctions in practice” (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p.180). In 1996-1997, asylum seekers were also offered the option of studying the Norwegian language for free, previously only available to recognized refugees (UDI, 2002, p. 8). In 2005, the participation in the introduction programme became obligatory for all Norwegian municipalities and the refugees who resided there. The conditions were that 300 hours of language and social studies training must be completed within a period of 3 years. If needed, up to 2700 hours of further instruction must be provided by the municipalities, which must be completed within 5 years (IMDi, 2010, p. 11).

In **Sweden** language tuition was also provided. In the early 1990s the courses were for a four-week period with 15 hours per week (1985:1100, § 8) and the course plan was determined by the Swedish Government. In the second half of the 1990s, refugees received approximately 525 hours of tuition depending on how well they grasped the subject matter (1994:895, § 7). The Amendment of 2006 gave the opportunity to combine the language tuition with gainful employment (2006:396, § 4c). The communities where the individuals resided were responsible for providing these Swedish language classes (1985:1100, § 3). The communities had to actively reach out to those in the county who had a right to take the classes and to encourage their participation, which was not obligatory. The principal, who was responsible for language courses in the county, had to collaborate with the National Employment Agency to provide the student with the opportunity to practice the Swedish language in the labour market, and to ensure that the language learning was

combined with labour market orientation, validation, internship, or other education (1995:1100, § 4b). Participation in such classes was voluntary.

In the **UK** there was not much state involvement in the provision of language training for refugees. Scattered evidence from literature and other documents allows me to infer that language provision was not really supported by the state, which had a "hands-off" approach. This meant that a few immigrant or refugee supporting NGOs provided language training instead, but their number and coverage of the demand could not be assessed precisely. In the early 1990s, English as Second Language (ESOL) classes were included under the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit. These classes were managed and received some statutory funding from the Further Education Funding Council (Simpson & Whiteside, 2015). This funding was used 1998 for ESOL classes of the arrived immigrants and refugees ([NALDIC](#), 2017). After 2000 the provision of the language training doubled compared to previous years (Home Office, 2004). Organizations involved in the provision of the English language classes were: adult and further education colleges, basic Employability Training, work based training for adults (professional education with English). However, the evidence suggests it was not enough: "Current provision against the demand for language learning provision was inadequate to meet the needs of second language speakers" (Schellekens, 2001). The state remained barely involved in this task, and most of the language tutoring was given by NGOs, and was of small scale.

In **Greece** the state also did not participate in the language training of refugees, with the few support mechanisms in existence provided by volunteers and non-governmental organizations. In fact, it was only in the 2000s that there was some indication of the related activities. The NGOs such as the Intercultural centre "PYXIDA", the "New Start" programme (Greek Refugee Council, 2004) and Steki Metanastwn (2017), offered classes, often taught by volunteers, to recognized refugees

To conclude, Norway is the closest fit to the positive ideal type "Strong language training", because, not only did it have the highest language learning hours of all countries, the tuition was also for free, and obligatory classes were also available for asylum seekers, which, most likely, enhanced their progress and tackled the linguistic isolation of individuals. Hence, I ascribe the score of 1 to Norway.

Sweden, also had quite extensive language tuition but it was not as centralized as in Norway and not obligatory – that is why the fuzzy score of 0,8 is assigned – meaning mostly in the set strong language provision. The Netherlands had limited language training in the early 1990s, gradually increasing availability and the degree of coercion when the civic integration courses became

obligatory for the newcomers in the late 1990s. Thus, the Netherlands also gets a fuzzy score of 0,8. In Austria, language tuition for refugees appeared only in 1998 and was not free, with the amount of hours unknown was provided only up to level A2 (elementary). In Germany the first language courses for refugees occurred in the 1998 and were also neither obligatory nor free, lasted a maximum of 6 months, and the number of hours was unknown. The obligatory integration courses with 650h of language and cultural education only appeared in 2005. Asylum seekers did not receive any training in these countries. While this situation is not ideal, both countries still can be regarded as belonging more to the set of “strong language support”, rather than not, with fuzzy scores of 0,6.

In the UK, the language provision remained largely the task of NGOs and Charities, which were sometimes supported by government’s funding, but mostly relied on public donations. Participation was not obligatory and it seems that the provision was not sufficient for the demand. This is why the UK falls out of the set – with the score of 0,3. Neither can Greece be considered to have “strong language support” for refugees, as only scant support was provided by NGOs and the humanitarian migrants were not obliged to follow any special programmes. The fuzzy score for this country is 0,1.

#### 4. Qualitative Comparative Analysis

##### a. Dataset for the QCA

Now the completed QCA data table will be introduced. The Table 16 is comprised of the fuzzy scores for each *policy conditions* I attempted to justify in the previous sections, and the *outcome* of the “Balanced integration”, which was defined in the previous Chapter III.

Table 16: Data table of fuzzy scores for QCA

Countries	abr.	Policy conditions				Outcome
		EASY_LM	ALMP	GENEROUS	LANG	INTEGR
Austria	AT	0,3	0,4	0,4	0,6	0,3
Germany	DE	0,3	0,6	0,4	0,6	0,6
Greece	GR	0,8	0,1	0	0,1	0,0
The Netherlands	NL	0,2	0,8	0,9	0,8	0,1
Norway	NO	0,9	1	1	1	0,7
Sweden	SE	0,9	0,8	0,8	0,9	0,1
The United Kingdom	UK	0,6	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,0

To explain the names of the conditions, EASY\_LM<sup>31</sup> corresponds to the set “Easy access to the labour market”, ALMP represents the set “Strong Active Labour Market Policies”, GENEROUS means the set “Generous and easily accessible welfare provision”, and LANG represents the set “Strong Language support”. Once again, I would like to reiterate, that it is important to understand that the scores above 0,5 mean that the country is a member of a conceptual set of policy conditions, and a score below 0,5 means that the country is out of that set.

Now I will conduct the analysis using the software R Packages QCA (Dusa, 2017) and Set-Methods (Medzihorsky et al., 2017). I am going to analyse how the presence and absence of policy conditions can ‘explain the occurrence of balanced integration.

*b. Explaining balanced integration*

The first step of analysis is called – analysis of necessity – which aims to identify a condition **without** which the balanced integration **would not happen**. The results are presented in Table 18. The first column shows the analysed conditions and the three other columns show parameters of fit for: consistency, coverage and relevance of necessity.

A consistency score close to 1 means that the condition is necessary, in other words, that the outcome is a subset of the condition, and the condition is a superset of the outcome. Using the command “superSubset” (Package QCA2.6), I identified all the conditions and their combinations that were necessary for the outcome. In Table 17 you can see that Strong ALMP and Strong Language support, as well as their conjunction, are necessary for the balanced integration to occur. This means that both of these conditions can be joined in the super condition “Integration Support”. In fact, often in the countries they were the two aspects of the integration process which could occur separately or together.

*Table 17: Analysis of necessity – positive outcome – balanced integration*

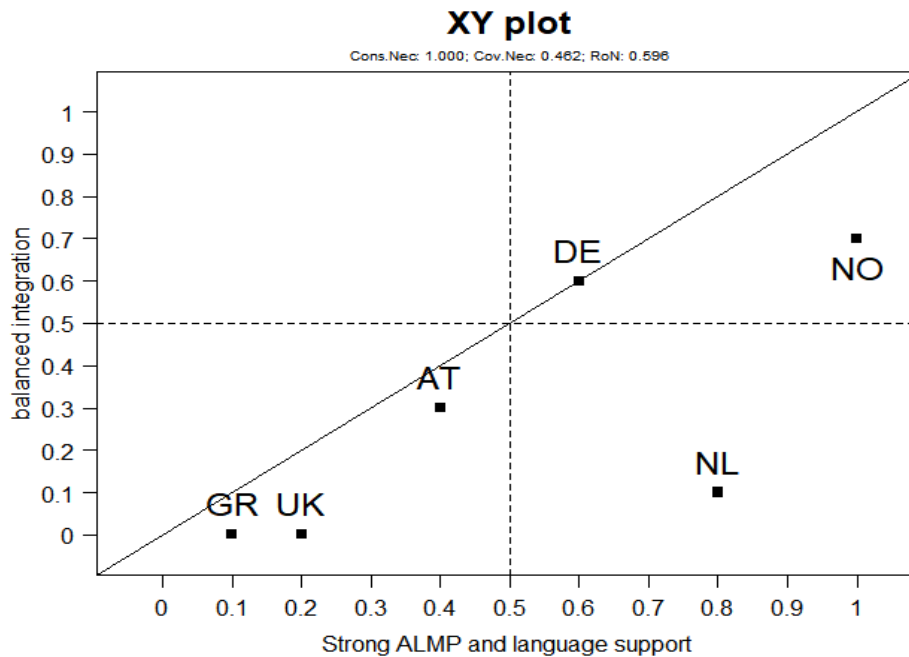
<b>Conditions</b>	<b>Cons. Nec</b>	<b>Cov. Nec</b>	<b>RoN</b>
1 ALMP	1.000	0.596	0.462
2 LANG	1.000	0.519	0.419
3 ALMP*LANG	1.000	0.596	0.462

In the Figure 22 below I give a graphical representation of the *necessity* relationship. The subset relation is visible because all the countries are positioned below or on the diagonal line, meaning that scores for membership of the conjunction of conditions (ALMP\*LANG) are smaller than those of the outcome.

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<sup>31</sup> Conventional QCA notation: UPPER CASE means presence of the condition or outcome, lower case means absence of the condition and the outcome.

Figure 22: Results of necessity analysis



Now I proceed with the analysis of sufficiency which aims to identify the combinations of conditions that are subsets of the outcome.

The truth table (Tab.18) presents all possible combinations of conditions which equals to  $2^k$ , where  $k$  is the number of conditions (Ragin, 2000). The first three columns show presence or absence of each policy condition, where 0 is absence and 1 is presence. Column "OUT" shows whether this combination can be seen as sufficient for the outcome to occur. This is determined by the Consistency inclusion cut-off, which you can see in the column "Incl." The consistency threshold in fuzzy-subset relations shows the "degree in which one set is contained within another." Thus, all the fuzzy scores of the conditions should be equal to or lower than those of the outcome (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009, p. 108).

Table 18: Truth table 1. Analysis of sufficiency for positive outcome

#	EASY_LM	SUPPORT	GENEROUS	OUT(sufficient)	n	Incl.	PRI	cases
3	0	1	0	1	1	0,733	0,333	DE
8	1	1	1	0	2	0,556	0,250	NO, SE
1	0	0	0	0	1	0,500	-	AT
4	0	1	1	0	1	0,500	-	NL
5	1	0	0	0	2	0,348	-	GR,UK
2	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	?
6	1	0	1	?	0	-	-	?
7	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	?

In this table the threshold was set at 0,7, which rather low. Usually, in QCA analysis it is recommended to use a threshold above 0,75. But given the uncertainty of the data, and a low fuzzy

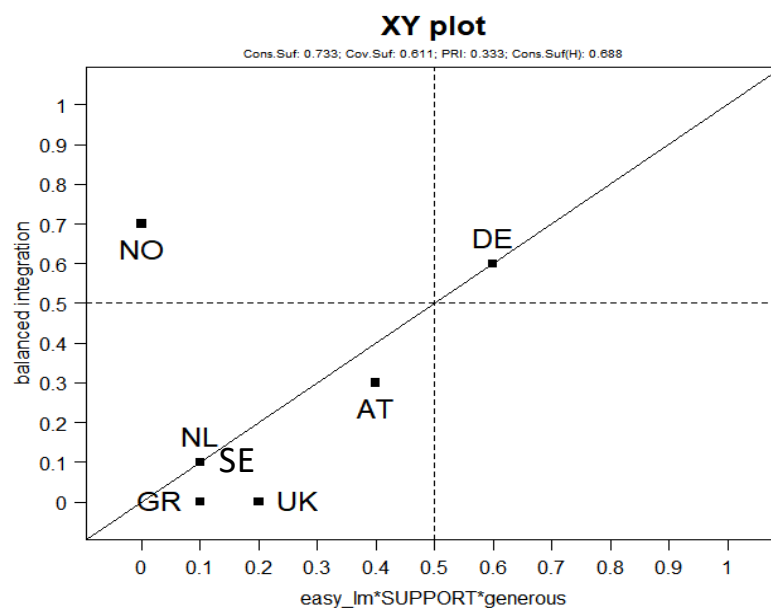
score (0,6) for Germany as a country representing the case of ‘balanced integration’, I deemed it acceptable to use such a low threshold, and consider combination #3 as *sufficient*.

The rows with question marks in the last column are *logical reminders*. These are the possible combinations of conditions that have not been observed in reality in my cases. This shows the limited diversity of my cases. In the future, it would be recommended to evaluate the humanitarian migrants’ integration in a bigger number of countries, with the intention that these logical possibilities will be represented by real cases.

The next step was to conduct a logical minimization using Quine-McCluskey algorithm. As a result, I get a “path” that leads to balanced integration in Germany. The expression below should be read as: by having no easy access to the labour market and not very generous welfare, combined with strong integration support in terms of language training and employment advice, humanitarian migrants should be able to achieve a balanced economic integration. Its graphical representation is given in the Figure 23.

Solution:  $\text{easy\_lm} * \text{SUPPORT} * \text{generous} \Rightarrow \text{INTEGR}$ <sup>32</sup>

Figure 23: XY-plot Solution №1 for positive outcome



If the reader remembers, there were two identified countries with balanced integration, Norway was one of these, and it had a higher set membership score than Germany. Why does this country not represent an alternative ‘path to success’?

<sup>32</sup> [\*] stands for logical “AND” - a standard notation of Boolean algebra, used in QCA analysis

In row #8 of the truth table, it can be seen that the same combination of conditions is observed in two countries with opposite outcomes: Norway and Sweden. As I explained in Chapter III, Sweden is not considered a member of the set “balanced integration”, while Norway is mostly a member of that set, thus this row of the truth table is contradictory. This indicates that the three chosen policy conditions are not able to cover all complexities of the difference between Sweden and Norway and explain why the outcome of the economic integration of humanitarian migrants was balanced in one country and not balanced in the other. Previous literature supposes that the main differences leading to better integration of refugees in Norway are related to the stronger element of coercion in its’ integration policies (Valenta & Bunar, 2010).

I will now try to re-conceptualize the condition strong SUPPORT (which included ALMP and Language components), by considering the element of obligatory participation in the integration programmes as the indicator of membership in the new set: “OBLIGINT” – strong and obligatory integration. Which countries implemented obligatory integration courses for humanitarian migrants with strong language training and employment advice? They were the Netherlands (since late 1990s), Germany (since 2005), and Norway (since 2005). Hence, we can assign the fuzzy scores of 0,8 to the Netherlands, and 0,6 to Germany and Norway. All other countries did not have obligatory integration programmes so they will be assigned the membership scores of 0. Austria, also had an obligatory language programme since 1998, but its ALMP support was not as strong as in other countries, so I assigned this case a fuzzy score of 0,4 – more out than in the set “strong obligatory integration”.

As a result of this re-calibration and creation of a new conceptual set, the new QCA data table appears like this (Tab. 19).

*Table 19: New calibrated dataset for QCA analysis*

Countries	abr.	Policy conditions			Outcome
		EASY_LM	OBLIGINT	GENEROUS	INTEGR
Austria	AT	0,3	0,4	0,4	0,3
Germany	DE	0,3	0,6	0,4	0,6
Greece	GR	0,8	0	0	0,0
The Netherlands	NL	0,2	0,8	0,9	0,1
Norway	NO	0,9	0,6	1	0,7
Sweden	SE	0,9	0	0,8	0,1
The United Kingdom	UK	0,6	0	0,2	0,0

Now, I repeat the steps of the analysis.

There were no necessary conditions found in the first step of analysis. The analysis of sufficiency revealed the following combinations of the truth table (Tab. 20).

Table 20: Truth-table 2 Sufficiency analysis for positive outcome

#	EASY_LM	OBLIGINT	GENEROUS	OUT (sufficient)	n	Incl.	PRI	cases
8	1	1	1	1	1	0,929	0,750	NO
3	0	1	0	1	1	0,909	0,667	DE
6	1	0	1	0	1	0,545	0,091	SE
4	0	1	1	0	1	0,529	-	NL
1	0	0	0	0	1	0,500	-	AT
5	1	0	0	0	2	0,348	-	GR,UK
2	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	?
7	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	?

Now the reader can see that there are no contradictory rows and the issue of *limited diversity*<sup>33</sup> became less profound, meaning that only two of all possible combinations were not represented by my chosen cases (#2 and #7). The inclusion cut-offs are quite high, being above 0,9. This means that it is possible to affirm with more confidence that the combination of policy conditions in row #8 and row #3 represent the paths leading towards a balanced integration of humanitarian migrants.

The solution formula<sup>34</sup> after minimization of the Truth-table 2 looks like this:

$$M1: \text{easy\_lm} * \text{OBLIGINT} * \text{generous} + \text{EASY\_LM} * \text{OBLIGINT} * \text{GENEROUS} \Leftrightarrow \text{INTEGR}^{35}$$

Incl.	PRI	cov.r	cov.u	cases
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1	easy_lm*OBLIGINT*generous	0.909	0.667	0.556	0.167	DE
2	EASY_LM*OBLIGINT*GENEROUS	0.929	0.750	0.722	0.333	NO

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M1		0.889	0.714	0.889		
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This indicates that strong obligatory language training and employment support leads to balanced integration either when both other conditions are absent (like in Germany), or when both of them are present (like in Norway). However, a better result is achieved when all of the three conditions, i.e., easy access to the labour market, generous welfare provision, and obligatory linguistic and economic integration courses, are combined. This is because the analysis in Chapter III showed that the labour market situation of humanitarian migrants in Norway is more equal than in Germany.

<sup>33</sup> Limited diversity is a situation when not all possible combinations of conditions are represented by the cases under study.

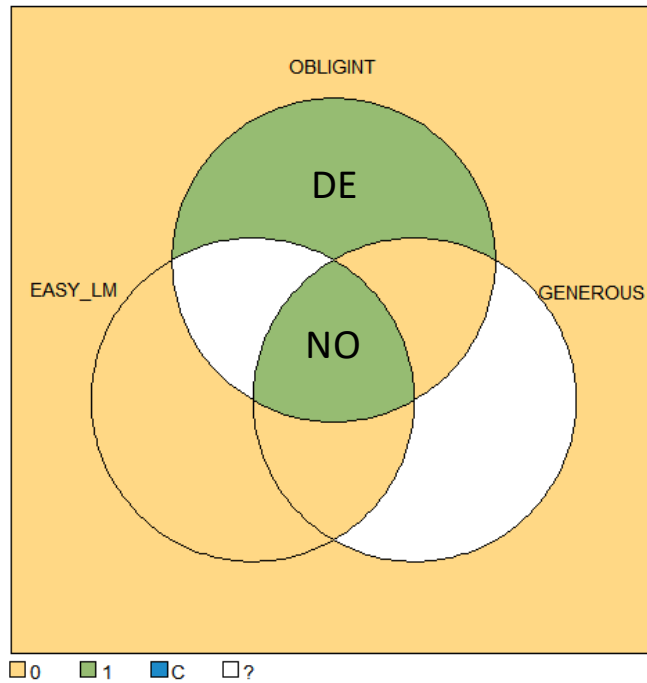
<sup>34</sup> Conservative solution

<sup>35</sup> [\*] stands for logical “AND”; [+ ] stands for logical “OR”, both standard notation of Boolean algebra, used in QCA analysis



In this Venn-diagram (Fig. 24) you can see the overlapping conceptual sets of the three policy conditions. Yellow areas represent a negative outcome (absence of balanced economic integration), while green areas contain cases with a positive outcome (presence of balanced integration). White areas are empty – with no cases displaying such a combination of conditions.

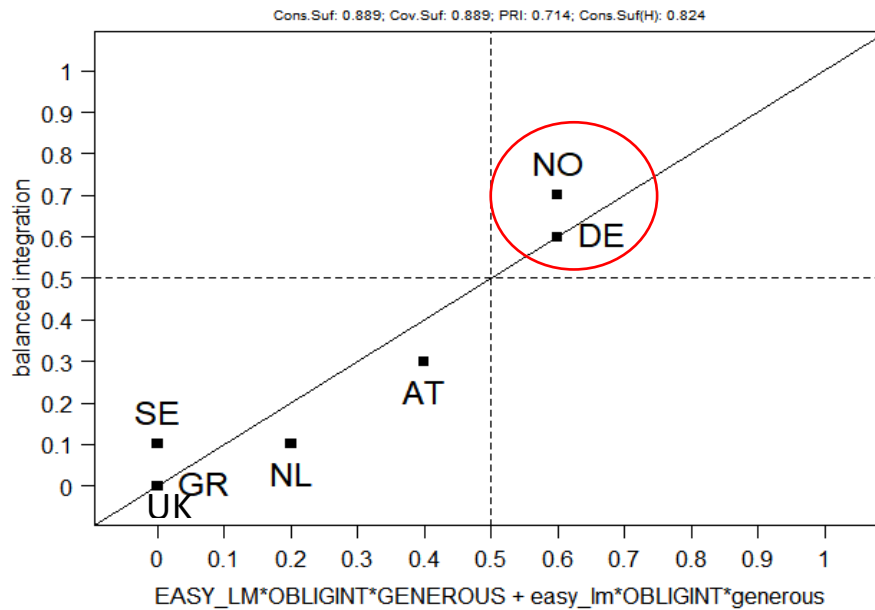
Figure 24: Venn diagram



Another way to present the results of the QCA analysis is the XY-plot below (Fig. 25), which shows fuzzy-membership of the cases in the set of the configurational solution (M1) on the x-axis and in the set of “Balanced integration” on the y-axis.

In this plot you can see that Norway and Germany have membership scores on the x-axis and y-axis above 0.5, meanwhile, all the other countries possess scores below 0,5 for both the solution(x) and the outcome set(y).

Figure 25: XY-plot Solution №2 for positive outcome



In conclusion, the hypothesis about the combination of conditions necessary and sufficient to ensure successful balanced integration of humanitarian migrants was mostly confirmed. The facilitating policy environment should involve all three components:

- 1) Easy access to the labour market for asylum seekers and persons with alternative protection statuses, which offers the possibility for the individuals to become self-sufficient and active members of the new society.
- 2) Strong language training and employment activation programmes, that humanitarian migrants are obliged to follow in order to acquire skills and knowledge crucial for successful communication and navigation in the new environment.
- 3) Generous welfare support, which allows refugees to maintain an adequate standard of living, while they complete the integration programmes, acquiring all necessary documentation to practice their old professions or obtain new skills.

The case of Germany is rather ambiguous, as it is very close to being not a member of the conceptual set ‘balanced integration’. Nevertheless, after careful consideration some conclusions can also be drawn in regard to what this means for Germany. For many years in Germany there was a strong political unwillingness to make the access to the labour market easier for humanitarian migrants. But then the low participation of those population in the labour market was noticed and the state arranged intensive language programmes and gave access to humanitarian migrants to various forms of labour market activation. At a later stage this transformed into obligatory integration programmes, pushing people to obtain the skills required for job searching and

employment. While the welfare support was not as generous as in Norway, its existence provided a certain bare minimum livelihood for asylum seekers and refugees, possibly giving them some time to improve their language skills and complete re-training procedures so that more of them could take on higher status occupations. Of course, this did not result in the “perfect” balanced integration that we saw in the Chapter 3: there are still differences between the natives and the humanitarian migrants which could have been reduced if all three policy conditions were present throughout the whole time period.

*a. Explaining Unbalanced Integration*

In this section, I present the results of the analysis for the negative outcome – absence of balanced integration, and try to determine conditions and combinations that may potentially lead to such an outcome. As the set-theory states, the “knowledge of the causal role of X for Y does not contain information on the causal role of not-X for Y”. QCA methodology states that “depriving effect (Y) of its cause (X) does not necessarily mean that the effect will disappear” (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 81). That is why there is a need to conduct a separate analysis of the causal conditions for the absence of balanced integration.

The first step of analysis did not find any single conditions whose presence or absence were necessary for the absence of balanced integration. The truth table for the negated outcome is displayed below (Table 21). The combinations of the conditions with high consistency are in the rows 5,1,4,6, and the row 5 is represented by two cases (the UK and Greece).

*Table 21: Truth table. Sufficiency analysis for negative outcome*

#	EASY_LM	OBLIGINT	GENEROUS	out (consist.)	n	incl	PRI	cases
5	1	0	0	1	2	1,000	1,000	GR,UK
1	0	0	0	1	1	1,000	1,000	AT
4	0	1	1	1	1	1,000	1,000	NL
6	1	0	1	1	1	0,955	0,909	SE
3	0	1	0	0	1	0,818	0,333	DE
8	1	1	1	0	1	0,786	0,250	NO
2	0	0	1	?	0	-	-	?
7	1	1	0	?	0	-	-	?

However, row #3 also has quite high consistency level at 0,818, which means that there might be a situation in which having only Obligatory and strong language and employment integration programmes, without giving the humanitarian migrants easy access to the labour market and generous welfare can also lead to unbalanced economic integration.

The conservative solution procedure, without inclusion of logical reminders, results in a complex model:

M1: EASY\_LM\*obligint + obligint\*generous + easy\_lm\*OBLIGINT\*GENEROUS  
 <=> integr

Incl PRI cov.r cov.u cases

---

--						
1	EASY_LM*obligint	0.971	0.958	0.654	0.173	GR,UK; SE
2	obligint*generous	1.000	1.000	0.596	0.115	AT; GR,UK
3	easy_lm*OBLIGINT*GENEROUS	1.000	1.000	0.327	0.115	NL

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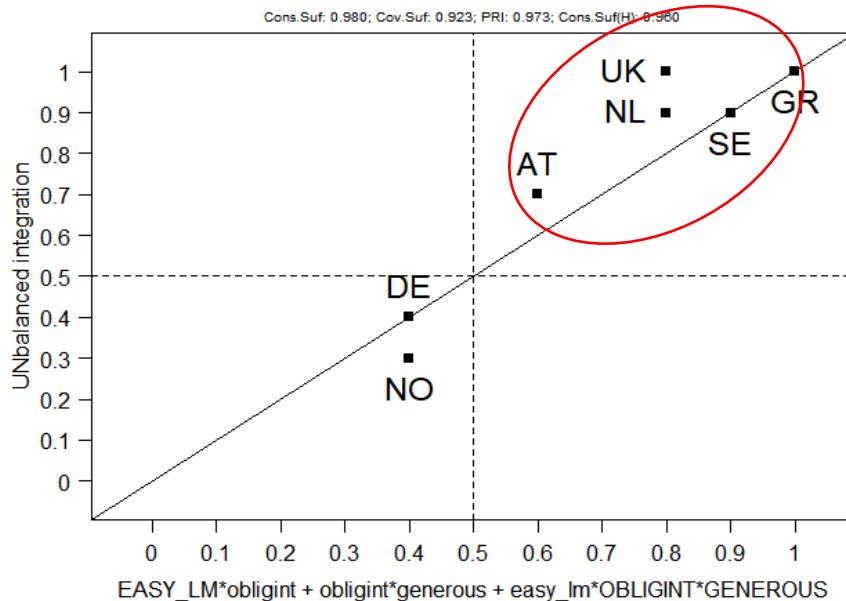
M1		0.980	0.973	0.923	
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Which can be read as following:

- Easy-access-to-labour-market AND not-obligatory-integration
- OR
- not-obligatory-integration AND not-generous-welfare
- OR
- not-easy-access-to-labour-market AND obligatory integration AND Generous welfare
- lead to **unbalanced** labour market integration of humanitarian migrants.

On the XY-plot below (Fig.26) you can see that the countries with unbalanced integration are gathered in the upper-right corner, mostly above the diagonal line – meaning that the three identified causal paths are sufficient for a negative outcome. Thus, it is reasonable to argue that there are multiple policy configurations, which are not successful in bringing about balanced integration.

Figure 26: XY-plot solution for negative outcome



What are the mechanisms behind these connections of policy conditions and the integration result?

In the case of the Netherlands, the big difference in labour market performance between the natives and the humanitarian migrants can be explained by the fact that the country had rather restrictive policies for regulating access to the labour market for all humanitarian migrants except recognized refugees (which were the minority). At the same time, the Netherlands had rather generous welfare provision, which in combination, could serve as a demotivator for the individuals to enter the labour market. If the welfare is so very generous so that individuals do not need to work to provide a their living, and, at the same time, they face institutional obstacles for employment, their active participation in the labour market is discouraged, even if there is an obligation to follow the language courses and take advice to find employment.

In Greece, the opposing situation is observed: policy conditions allowed humanitarian migrants to work easily in the regular and irregular market, but did not support them in their job search or language training, and without providing any welfare that gives them time for those skill acquisition needed to perform a higher skilled jobs. Consequently, the humanitarian migrants end up in a situation of rather equal employment rates with the native population – because they had to work in order to feed themselves but the type of job that they are doing was much lower skilled and less paid than that of the natives since they took on any jobs that would bring them some income. That is why such policy composition lead to unbalanced labour market integration.

In Austria, the policy conditions of linguistic and employment support, and welfare provision were not completely absent as in Greece, but neither was the free access to the labour market granted. The humanitarian migrants were restricted in many ways from employment in the host country, however the state did provide a limited livelihood for those who were not allowed to work and did not have their own income – in order not to let them die of hunger. In the middle of the 1990s integration measures including language and job search support started to emerge, which increased their labour market participation. However, the scale of those measures and the related costs were not favourable enough to lead to a better outcome. The reader can, however, see that Austria has the lowest fuzzy score of membership in the set “unbalanced integration” among all other countries with negative result. What does this mean? This means that it does not entirely belong to that conceptual set. The situation of humanitarian migrants in this country was not as unbalanced and unequal as in other countries, but the differences occurring there are not insignificant enough to include it in the (positive) set of the countries with **balanced integration**. Removing barriers for earlier access to the labour market and providing more support in cultural and linguistic integration could have improved the economic performance of refugees in Austria.

Let me now consider Sweden, a country that has long been seen as the place with most favourable conditions for refugees. The results of my labour market integration analysis showed that

humanitarian migrants in this country experience higher unemployment risks compared to the natives and have significantly less chances of working in good jobs, even if they have a high level of education. The policy composition in Sweden is quite similar to the one in Norway but, as some researchers highlighted (Valenta & Bunar, 2010), it lacks the element of coercion for both the municipalities and participation in the language and employment integration programmes for the humanitarian migrants. In combination with a generous welfare provision that discouraged labour market participation and did not push the individuals, who did not have the will or opportunity to learn Swedish (if they lived in the municipalities where those programmes were not provided), to become economically active, because it required more effort, and it was considered easier to keep relying on the generous welfare.

The last example is the United Kingdom where the characteristics of unbalanced integration are rather different from other countries: the humanitarian migrants experienced large inequalities in their chances of being employed in general, but small differences in the probabilities of being employed in good jobs compared to the natives. It seems that there is a higher appreciation of qualified and higher skilled humanitarian migrants who probably already know English, so that they can secure work permits easily and become employed in better quality jobs at the same rate as the natives. In contrast, it was difficult for the low-skilled humanitarian migrants to enter the job market as they did not have extensive support for language learning in order to be able to secure employment, and were also likely to be refused a working permit if their asylum claim was not reviewed fast.

*c. Influence of other institutional factors*

**Types of welfare system**

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter (p.39), the types of welfare systems (Esping-Andersen, 1990) are thought to influence the labour market integration of migrants. It is suggested that in a liberal welfare system immigrants are less prone to unemployment than in the countries with socio-democratic welfare systems (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). However, southern European systems, which are characterized by a large share of the informal economy, may facilitate employment chances but not the quality of employment (Ballarino & Panichella, 2015). Hence, if one focuses only on these propositions and disregards the detailed policy analysis conducted in the chapter above, one could expect to observe greater equality between the natives and humanitarian migrants in the Anglo-Saxon welfare state model (balanced integration). In the Scandinavian and Continental welfare models, the employment gap will be greater because the high level of welfare support ensures that individuals can afford not to work. But, it is expected that less difference will

be found in the quality of jobs: i.e., highly skilled humanitarian migrants have less pressure to find any job and try to find jobs suitable to their qualifications even if it requires more time. The southern European welfare system could be expected to have a small gap in employment chances and a large gap in quality of jobs, thus producing a situation of unbalanced labour market integration.

On the table below, you can see the list of countries grouped by the type of welfare system, and the outcome of labour market integration conceptualized in Chapter III.

*Table 22: Welfare system types and labour market integration*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Welfare State Type</b>	<b>Balanced integration</b>	<b>Employment gap</b>	<b>Quality of jobs gap</b>
Sweden	Scandinavian	no	medium <sup>36</sup>	large
Norway		yes	small	small
The Netherlands	Socio-democratic (corporatist)	no	large	large
Germany		yes	small	small
Austria		no	medium	large
Greece	Southern European with informal labour market	no	small	large
The United Kingdom	Anglo-Saxon (liberal)	no	large	small

This table shows that the same type of welfare system does not lead to the same outcome for the humanitarian migrants' labour market integration. Sweden and Norway both belong to the Scandinavian welfare system type, but they have different outcomes. The same goes for the countries with corporatist welfare type – contrary to Germany, the Netherlands and Austria both revealed a lack of balanced integration, displaying large gaps in terms of quality of jobs, contrary to the expectation above regarding the Scandinavian and corporatist welfare systems. My policy analysis showed that there were many differences in the policy configurations in the countries with the same type of welfare system. Therefore, the causal link between these configurations and the outcome of labour market integration can be affirmed with greater confidence.

In the case of Greece, expectations derived from the type of its welfare system were confirmed. The large share of the informal economy and scarce welfare support for humanitarian migrants, together with a lack of integration policies, resulted in unbalanced labour market integration. However, it would be helpful to conduct a comparison with another southern-European country with similar type of welfare and labour market structure.

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<sup>36</sup> To clarify what is deemed small, medium and large please refer to the Figures 15 - 19 (Chapter III, section 2d.)

The United Kingdom with its liberal welfare system, did not fully confirm the expectation that the labour market situation of humanitarian migrants would be more equal with the natives than in other welfare system types. In fact, only the difference in terms of the quality of jobs was small, while the chances of employment were much lower for humanitarian migrants than for natives. As described in this chapter, the policy configuration in the UK was rather restrictive and did not provide sufficient support for language learning or employment facilitation. That said, the case of only one country with a liberal welfare system can only provide limited evidence on how this policy configuration influences labour market integration in a liberal system. For the future research it would be useful to compare the UK with a similar case study.

To conclude, this section discussed the possibility of explaining the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants on the basis of the welfare system. Although I would not state that there is absolutely no relationship between these two aspects, it is clear that type of welfare system is a context in which more specific policy instruments operate. Thus, I would argue that the differences in policy configurations offer a better explanation than types of welfare systems for why some countries achieve the balanced integration of humanitarian migrants and others do not.

### **Economic situation**

To discuss the influence of economic factors on the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants, I have put together this table. It is based on the IMF statistical data, on share of unemployment, GDP and number of employed population. I do not aim here at testing of economic theories on integration, I merely want to illustrate that the relation between the economic situation in the countries and the outcome of balanced integration is not so straight forward as many assume.

*Table 23: Economic indicators*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Unemployment % of all labour force, 2008</b>	<b>GDP based on PPP per capita GDP</b>	<b>balanced integration</b>
Norway	2,50	55 199	yes
Germany	7,43	35 552	yes
The Netherlands	2,81	40 434	no
Austria	4,18	39 647	no
The United Kingdom	5,40	36 571	no
Sweden	6,62	37 526	no
Greece	7,70	30 661	no

*Source: IMF statistics 2008 <https://goo.gl/EdNSGU> (IMF, 2008)*

First of all, it is commonly believed that small unemployment rate may lead to better labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. In the first column the reader can see, that Norway, the



Netherlands and Austria have the smallest unemployment rates in 2008, but only Norway displays the positive outcome of balanced integration. On the contrary, Germany has higher unemployment rate and is the only country with balanced integration among Greece, Sweden and the UK, which have similar rates.

Examining the GDP per capita indicator, we can notice that Norway is high above the others in terms of wealth and reveals balanced integration outcome. Germany is ranked at the end of this spectrum, being close to the United Kingdom and Sweden, and still shows balanced integration. In fact, all country's in the selection except Norway had GDP per capita between 30 and 40 thousand dollars, which may not be a significant difference in comparison to the rest of the world, as all of these countries are in the TOP-50 in the world.

### Number of humanitarian migrants

Table 24: Relative size of recognized refugee population

Country	Total population, 2008	Total number of recognized humanitarian migrants (refugees + altern. protection) 1989-2007	share of recognized as % of total pop.	Employed population, 2008	share of recognized as % of employed pop.	Balanced integration
Norway	4 771 409	41 324	0,87%	2 559 000	1,6%	yes
Germany	81 130 944	225 747	0,28%	40 173 000	0,6%	yes
Sweden	9 236 890	207 746	2,25%	4 315 000	4,8%	no
The Netherlands	16 568 734	151 103	0,91%	8 454 000	1,8%	no
Austria	8 338 453	45 400	0,54%	3 415 000	1,3%	no
The United Kingdom	62 076 221	292 014	0,47%	29 483 000	1,0%	no
Greece	11 419 647	3 480	0,03%	4 570 000	0,1%	no

Source: own calculations based on UNHCR statistical year books 1989-2007; IMF statistics 2008 (IMF, 2008) <https://goo.gl/EdNSGU>, and UN statistics on population (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017)

The number of accepted humanitarian migrants in the studied period of time may also influence the outcome of economic integration. In the table above, you can see that Sweden recognized the largest number of humanitarian migrants relative to its total and working population. Netherlands and Norway welcomed a bit smaller numbers, but still more than other countries. While in Greece, Germany and the United Kingdom the relative share of recognized refugees and persons with alternative statuses was smaller, less than 1% of working population in 2008. Smaller number of recognized refugees could be easier to integrate into the labour market, but the countries like United Kingdom and Greece, show that it does not guarantee balanced integration. Germany, and the UK had quite similar economic situation in October 2008, similar GDP and the UK had a bit less unemployment than Germany, and they both recognized a very small share of refugee

population (in relative terms). Nevertheless, the outcome of the labour market integration is different in the two countries.

On the contrary, the higher relative size of recognized refugee population does not automatically lead to a lack of balanced integration. If we compare profiles of the Netherlands and Norway, they are very similar: both countries have high level of wealth (GDP per capita) and low unemployment rates, and accepted around 1,6 – 1,8 % of their countries' working population as refugees. However, still these two countries have different integration outcome – in Norway balanced integration is present, while in the Netherlands it is not.

The abovementioned analysis, although not exhaustive, allows me to conclude that the role of policy configurations seems to be rather prominent in shaping the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants. While economic situation and the number of humanitarian migrants cannot provide the ultimate explanation for the differences in the outcome.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter looked into the policy conditions, which may account for the different outcomes of labour market integration for humanitarian migrants. The data collection was conducted through the standardized template, which covered 5 main policy areas: instability and stability of residency status, access to the labour market, active labour market policies, welfare policies and language training support. The nature of the collected data was very diverse, it included legal sources, policy reports produced by the governmental and non-governmental organization, academic literature, statistical data and some newspaper articles. The gathered information covered the period of time from 1990s till 2008. Not in all countries it was possible to gather all the information that I was interested in, because in the 1990s many documents were not digitalized and because these topics were not in the focus of research, so some information was not possible to retrieve. Nevertheless, rich and detailed data was useful to get an understanding about the differences in the policy composition in those countries throughout the whole period of the analysis.

The analysis has primarily focused on 4 aspects: access to the labour market, welfare provision and support in language learning and employment. The aim was to test the hypothesis, that for the balanced economic integration of humanitarian migrants all three aspects should be present in a country for a long period of time and in a way favourable way. In other words, it meant that the humanitarian migrants should not experience regulatory barriers to participation in the official labour market, they need active and strong support in terms of host country's language learning and employment advice and job search and good welfare support, that people can take time learning the needed skills in order to enter better-quality jobs, appropriate to their qualifications.

The task of systematic comparison was tackled by development of theoretically informed ideal types of policy shaped conditions in each policy area through a technique of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). Each country was ascribed a score of membership in those ideal types, or conceptual sets, which formalized the comparison of the seven countries without losing the bigger picture in the richness of details.

The results showed that providing strong and free support in language learning together with the employability initiatives beyond a mere advice about job searching, is crucial to achieve a balanced economic integration. However, that factor alone does not explain why some countries with such type of support did not manage to achieve a more equal labour market performance of humanitarian migrants. What seem to manage to give exhaustive explanation for both cases of balanced integration is the obligatory nature of those language courses and labour market activation efforts. When those measures are combined with a relatively easy and early accessibility of the official labour market for the humanitarian migrants and with rather generous welfare support, it seems to lead to a more equal labour market performance of humanitarian migrants in terms of employment rates and quality of jobs, when compared to the natives.

The unbalanced economic integration and, in fact, lack of economic integration tends to occur for various reasons, and that leads to different “types” of unbalanced integration: 1) when the humanitarian migrants are employed with equal chances as the natives but have much worse quality of the jobs; 2) when both quality and employment rates are much below those of the natives; 3) when the employment rates suffer but the quality of jobs of those who managed to get employed is comparable to that of the natives (the United Kingdom). The first type, like in Austria and Greece, occurs because there was not enough support in language and labour market integration and welfare support was either absent or very restricted. The second type, which occurred in the Netherlands, is caused by restrictive rules of accessing the labour market combined with the obligation to follow the integration courses and provision of generous welfare. In Sweden the lack of obligation to enter the civic integration programmes, combined with the generous welfare support, seem to create the situation of higher unemployment chances and worse quality of jobs for the humanitarian migrants. While in the UK, the policy setup seems to have favoured higher skilled humanitarian migrants, who without much support from the state were able to acquire needed working permits and enter jobs of comparable quality with the natives, while the lower skilled ones faced higher challenges without adequate language support and employment activation measures, stayed relying on the available welfare benefits.

## CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the research problem at the core of this dissertation was to understand, why in some countries the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants was more successful than in others. This study focused on the examination of policy factors influencing this process and creating favourable or unfavourable conditions in the country of asylum. I explored this topic on the example of 7 European countries in the period from 1990 till 2008: Sweden, Norway, Germany, Austria, Greece, the Netherlands and the UK, following diversity-oriented research design.

The aims outlined in the Introduction, were fulfilled:

- 1) The policies and the levels of labour market integration were systematically compared across countries.
- 2) There were identified the two policy configurations that seem to facilitate labour market integration of humanitarian migrants and the three other policy configurations, which tend to lead to worse integration outcomes.
- 3) The approach of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) was tried and its use for comparative migration studies has been offered for the public discussion.
- 4) While the policy recommendations will be provided in this section, at the end of the conclusion.

In the first chapter I concluded that current research about the policy influence on labour market integration of humanitarian migrants has important gaps: lack of comparative research, abundance of single country-cases studies, which makes it hard to generalize their findings, lack of structured analysis of policy implications in various areas, or the presence of the narrow focus on one policy tool, which is analysed separately from all other related policies. Thus, with my research I wanted to address these gaps and developed a research design that is able to encompass the complexity of policy conditions in a structured way, allowing for cross-country comparison.

In the same chapter I discussed the ways to define the researched groups of population in the previous literature and concluded that the meaning of the term “refugees” can be very diverse and often means various groups of people with different legal statuses. So, in order to avoid confusion I argued that in my study it would be more appropriate to use the term humanitarian migrants – defined as those who migrated for the reasons of international protection. These individuals may have different types of protection statuses, which in the host countries often determine the amount of rights they have. That is why I examined the policies related to all legal statuses of humanitarian

migrants: asylum seekers, holders of subsidiary protection statuses and recognized refugees. Moreover, I argue that the understanding of labour market integration of humanitarian migrants does not make sense without a reference category – the natives, whose levels of economic performance represent a benchmark to evaluate the integration success of migrants. This stems from the conceptual definition of integration – a process that is considered accomplished, when the equality in the public outcomes (housing, health, **employment** and education) is achieved between migrants and natives.

Policies are understood as institutional or structural factors, shaping the course of labour market integration together with the individual characteristics of the integrating population. Many policy areas are relevant for this study, as they are potentially able to exert influence on various domains of integration – its foundation, facilitators, social connections, and markers and means of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). I deem important to examine the policy environment holistically, because the influence of one policy aspect is always mediated by others. No policy acts in isolation, that is why in my approach I looked at the combination of policy aspects - on the residence statuses, on access to official labour market, on access to welfare benefits, on availability and structure of active labour market policies and language training for humanitarian migrants.

The results of application of this theoretical framework were presented in the chapters III and IV. First, the labour market integration in the 7 analysed countries was estimated. The logistic regression analysis of three indicators showed that none of the countries can be considered as having a fully successful labour market integration of humanitarian migrants in 2008. The successful integration was theoretically conceptualized as equality of chances of employment and equality of chances to get a good quality job between the humanitarian migrants and the natives, when having socio-demographic characteristics equal. It turned out that none of the countries displays the equality of chances on both indicators. However, there are countries that reveal a more equal situation on both indicators in comparison to other countries – these two countries are Germany and Norway. Other countries show either a big (negative) gap in employment chances (for instance the UK), or big gap in chances of getting a good quality job for humanitarian migrants, compared to the natives (i.e. Greece), or reveal that there are large gaps on both those indicators (the Netherlands). Such outcome of labour market integration was called unbalanced and considered less successful, than the case of balanced integration, as in Norway and Germany.

In chapter IV, I attempted to explain the difference in the results of economic integration by looking at the policy composition in the countries. The policy data was collected through a standardized template with the specific questions to describe regulatory, economic and soft instruments (Vedung, 1998) in each policy area: residence status, access to labour market, active

labour market policies, welfare benefits and language training support. The data was collected using digital and non-digital documents (laws, policy documents, academic papers, reports of organizations) and recorded as concise summaries in the Excel tables.

Each policy area formed a basis for two opposing “ideal types” of policy conditions, one theoretically favourable for integration, another – unfavourable. The policy situation in each country was evaluated in terms of “fitness” into the definition of one of the ideal types. So, each country was described through membership scores in those theoretical sets of policy conditions and represented a combination of favourable and unfavourable policy factors, matched with the outcome of labour market integration – balanced or unbalanced.

Then through the QCA technique the combination of those policy conditions were compared and lead to the following findings. For the balanced integration to occur, it is necessary that for an extensive period of time the receiving country provides strong support in job search and language training for humanitarian migrants – there have to be a variety of employability initiatives, job search advice, consultations, individual tailoring of the programmes and availability of vocational training together with extensive provision of cost-free language training. If those measures are provided poorly or absent at all – the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants is unlikely to be balanced. However, those measures alone do not always lead to the positive outcome. Because it seems that to achieve more balanced integration, humanitarian migrants need to be obliged by the state to follow those measures, while at the same time the state grants an early and easy access to the labour market for asylum seekers (i.e. 4 months or less of waiting time after submission of the asylum claim) and does not restrict persons with other protection statuses (subsidiary protection) in entering the labour market. When these two policy conditions are fulfilled, the availability of generous welfare support, which allows humanitarian migrants to maintain a dignifying standard of living during the periods of job search and training, contributes to the achievement of balanced integration.

On the other hands, there are several combinations of policy conditions, which seem to lead to various forms of unbalanced integration. The absence of either easy access to the labour market and/or of strong employment and language training support lead to unbalanced integration. The absence of obligation to follow the employability and language training programmes, while providing generous welfare support and easy access to the labour market also does not seem to promote balanced labour market integration.

Two of possible combinations of policy conditions were not represented in the selected countries. The first combination - not easy labour market access for asylum seekers and persons with

subsidiary protection, combined with the absence of obligatory integration measures and presence of generous welfare provision - would, in line with the theory, lead to the unbalanced labour market integration or even lack of it – because the individuals in such policy environment are pushed towards the path of forced welfare dependency and do not have incentives to actively participate in the labour market, especially as they feel lack of support from the state in that matter.

The second combination of conditions also not observed – easy access to the labour market combined with strong and obligatory integration support in language training and employment, and the absence of generous welfare – may facilitate labour market participation of humanitarian migrants and could possibly lead to balanced integration, but this is something yet to be confirmed by examining the countries where such a combination of conditions took place.

As with any research project, this study is not free of limitations. The first one is directly related to the mentioned non-observed combinations of policy conditions, and concerns the number of country cases under analysis. This research would have higher potential for generalizability if more European countries were analysed in terms of their policy situation and outcome for labour market integration. Moreover, having more countries in the selection would allow me to simultaneously include more than 3 policy conditions in the QCA analysis. Good QCA practice states that there should be no more than one condition every three cases. So, having at least 15 cases would allow me to include 5 policy parameters in the model.

Regarding the operationalization of the outcome of labour market integration, the limitation is that there was no information on the type of residence statuses for the population defined as humanitarian migrants, and it would be very useful to know what kind of residence permits they have held throughout their years of residency in a country. Besides, it would be interesting, as well as useful, to control for the ethnic origin of the migrants, but this was not possible due to small sizes of the sample. Hence, there is a need to have better statistical data with larger samples on the labour market situation of migrants.

The third limitation is that my research team was unable to find consistent and detailed information on some policy aspects – such as recognition of foreign degrees – which is an undoubtedly important policy factor in labour market integration. With some additional research time, there could have been a possibility to gather more evidence, at least for the early 2000s, but it is uncertain that the evidence could be systematized in a way that would allow for meaningful cross-country comparison. Besides this policy aspect, dispersal policies for the humanitarian migrants is also worth testing in regard to its influence on balanced labour market integration.

The findings of my research have several implications for policy makers and researchers. The comparative analysis of policies can be used to provide policy advice for policy makers, particularly if they are interested in developing favourable conditions for labour market integration of humanitarian migrants in their countries. These findings can be used as a guideline for a new EU Agenda on Integration as well as functioning as a reference for the governance of individual member states. Of course, it is understandable that it is not possible to achieve the desired policy environment overnight, especially when the governance system, and welfare state type does not provide the perfect basis for such changes. In any case, my research indicates what would be the goals of policy changes if there is a political goal to integrate humanitarian migrants in the labour market and let them fulfil their potential for the benefit of themselves and the host country.

My research also shows why in some countries the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants is not balanced – it indicates what is missing in the policy design and what can be changed to improve the situation.

Moreover, policy makers may use this research to compare current policies in place in their countries with the state of affairs in the 2008, and thus, forecast how the labour market integration of current refugees might develop in the future if the current conditions remained unchanged.

Academics can also make use of my study in several ways. This research provides a systematic comparative analysis of the labour market integration of humanitarian migrants in 7 European countries. This is important because it shifts the research focus away from single nation state measures of labour market integration success, providing an international perspective that may prevent an overly dramatic or falsely optimistic view of the labour market performance of the humanitarian migrants, which can arise from single case analysis.

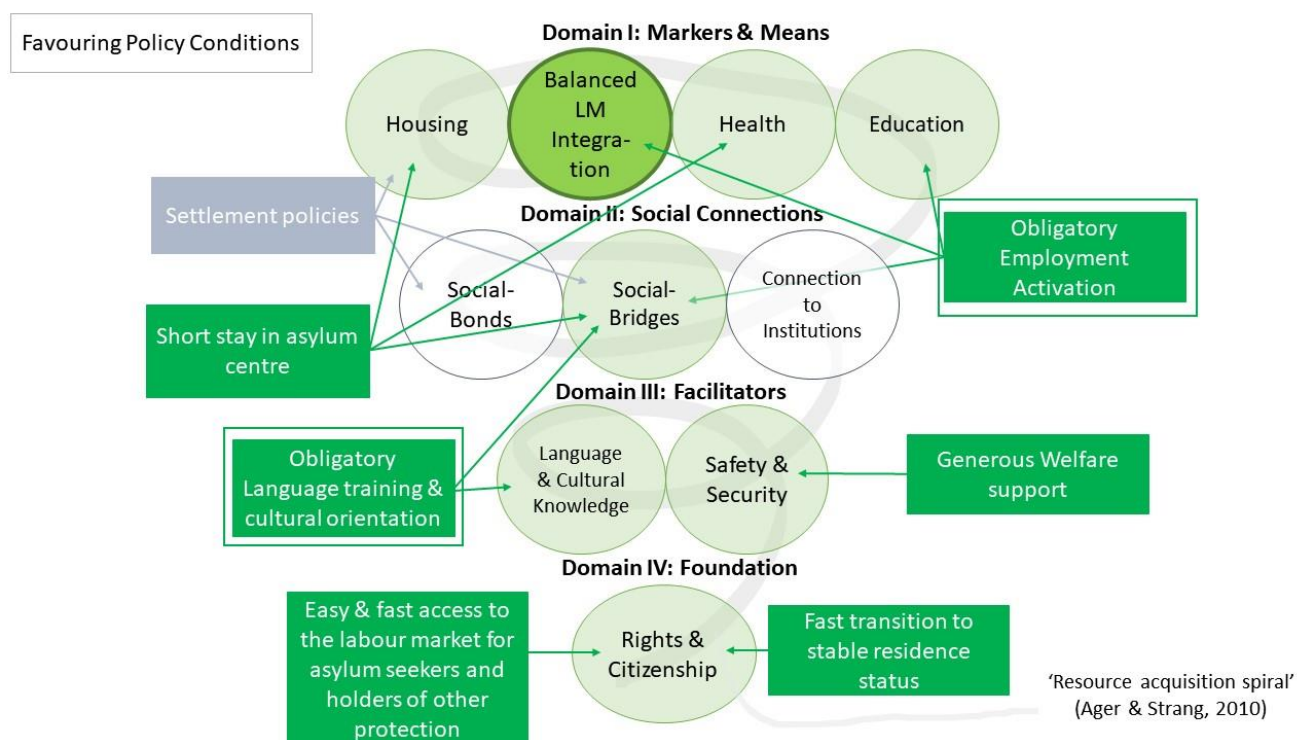
Furthermore, this project resulted in the creation of a policy information database which can be used by researchers to conduct further comparative policy analysis on topics related to humanitarian migrants and their integration in the seven analysed European countries. This database can be expanded by employing the same data collection and systematisation approach to include further analysis time frames, more countries and policy areas. I think it is important to leave a space for the continuous improvement of the database and I would be thankful if other researchers would want to contribute to its development for the benefit of all social scientists interested in migration and integration studies.

On a theoretical level, my research contributed to the framework of refugees' integration by Ager & Strang 2008. In the scheme below, I illustrate how the examined policy areas connected with the dimensions of their integration framework, and lead to balanced labour market integration of



humanitarian migrants. Figure 27 resembles Figure 1 from Chapter I, where the policy areas (in rectangles) and their theoretically explained relations to the dimensions of integration framework (circles), are linked to each other. The bright green rectangles contain a brief description of policies that have positive influence on the integration dimensions (the circles representing these dimensions then also become green). An integrating individual accumulates the advantages in all these fields through a ‘resource acquisition spiral’ and achieves balanced integration. The grey rectangle for “settlement policies” means that this aspect has not been studied in this research project.

Figure 27: Representation of joint findings with the Integration Framework of Ager and Strang



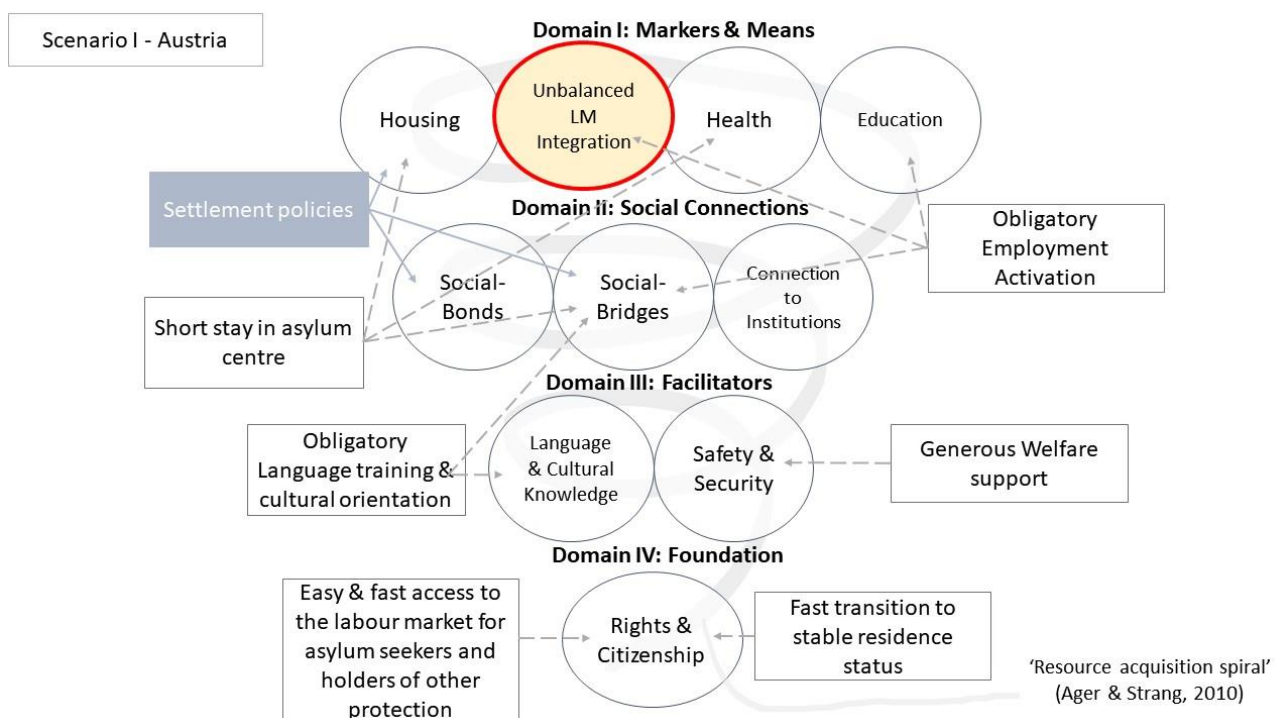
My analysis showed that the crucial policy areas (green with white border) for achievement of balanced labour market integration, address the integration dimensions of three domains: obligatory language training and cultural orientation contributes positively to the language and cultural knowledge of Domain III (Facilitators), and to the connection with the locals and non-ethnic networks located in Domain II (social connections). The obligatory employment activation programmes also contributed to the building of social bridges by connecting migrant job-seekers with employers, thus improving the education and employment aspects of Domain I (Markers and Means). However, to ensure a better result of balanced integration (like in Norway), it is also important to take care of Domain IV (Foundation), which includes granting the right to work and providing access to a stable residence, and lastly, to strengthen the safety and (financial) security of individuals in Domain III (Facilitators) by providing generous welfare support. Thus, through

these ‘resource acquisition spirals’ humanitarian migrants are more likely to achieve balanced labour market integration – meaning equal chances of employment and quality of jobs with the natives.

On the contrary, the failure of policies to support the integration aspects in one or more domains of the integration framework led to unbalanced labour market integration, with the integrating persons experiencing more resistance from the policy environment and risking falling into the spirals of loss.

I will illustrate this concept in the four following schemes, which each represent one of the four scenarios leading to unbalanced integration. You can see here that all the rectangles that were previously bright green are now white (i.e. empty), meaning that these policy conditions were not fulfilled, hence where there is no positive impact on the integration domains where it should have been observed is represented through grey dashed arrows. Figure 28 shows the case of Austria, where the examined policy conditions were either absent or weekly performed. As a result, instead of accumulating resources, refugees accumulated disadvantages and fell into a trap of unbalanced labour market integration.

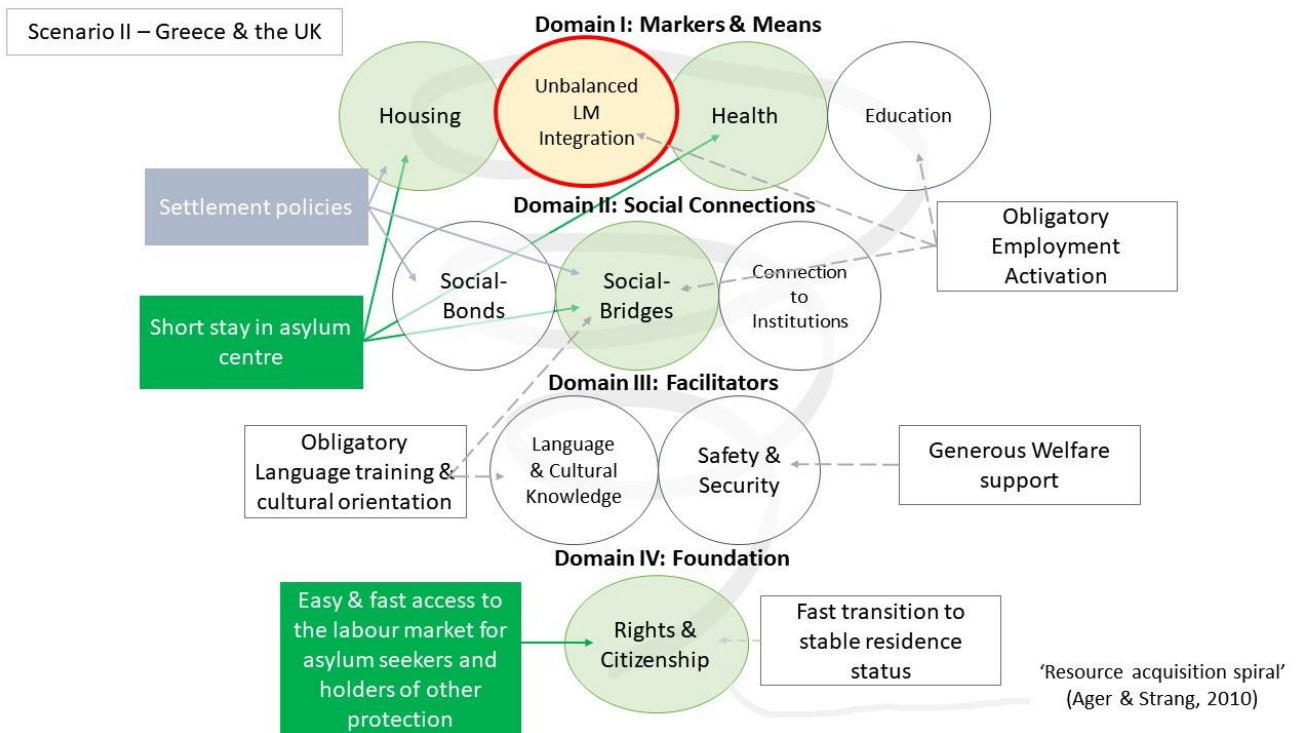
Figure 28: Unbalanced integration - scenario I



In Figure 29 you can see the cases of Greece and the United Kingdom, where short stays in asylum centres (or no stay in asylum centres) had a positive influence on the social connectivity of humanitarian migrants with the natives and other migrants, as well as their (mental) health and

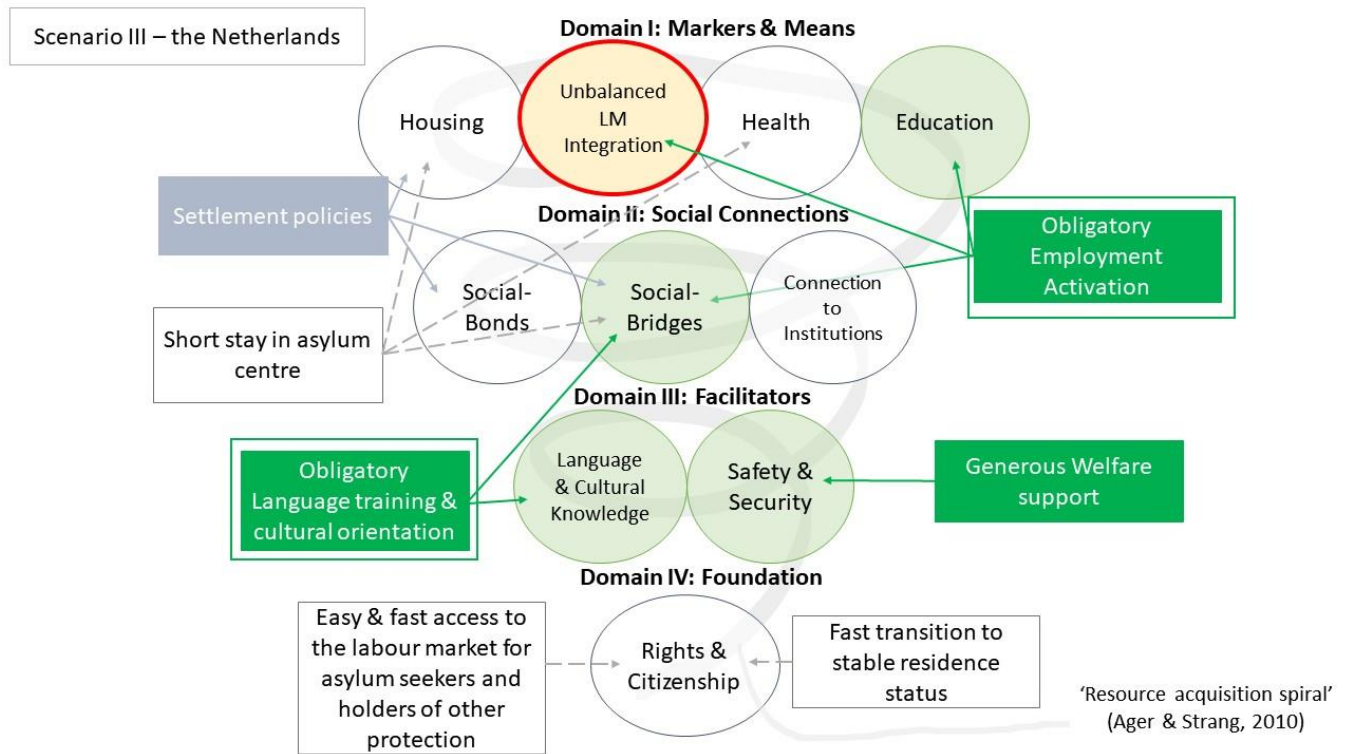
possibility to have an own place instead of common room, like in many asylum centres. The relatively easy and fast access to the labour market in both countries (in Greece though easier than in the UK) contributed to the aspects of Domain IV (Rights and Citizenship). However, most of other areas of integration are ‘empty’, as the welfare support was sparse, the financial security of individuals is undermined, and no structured employment and language training programmes were available, leading to the disadvantages in linguistic and cultural area of Domain III, and that of education in Domain I. Hence, the given policy configuration is not sufficient to facilitate the achievement of balanced integration. However, the type of inequalities in the labour markets of the UK and Greece are different, and they may be the result of very different economic systems and welfare state types.

Figure 29: Unbalanced integration - scenario II



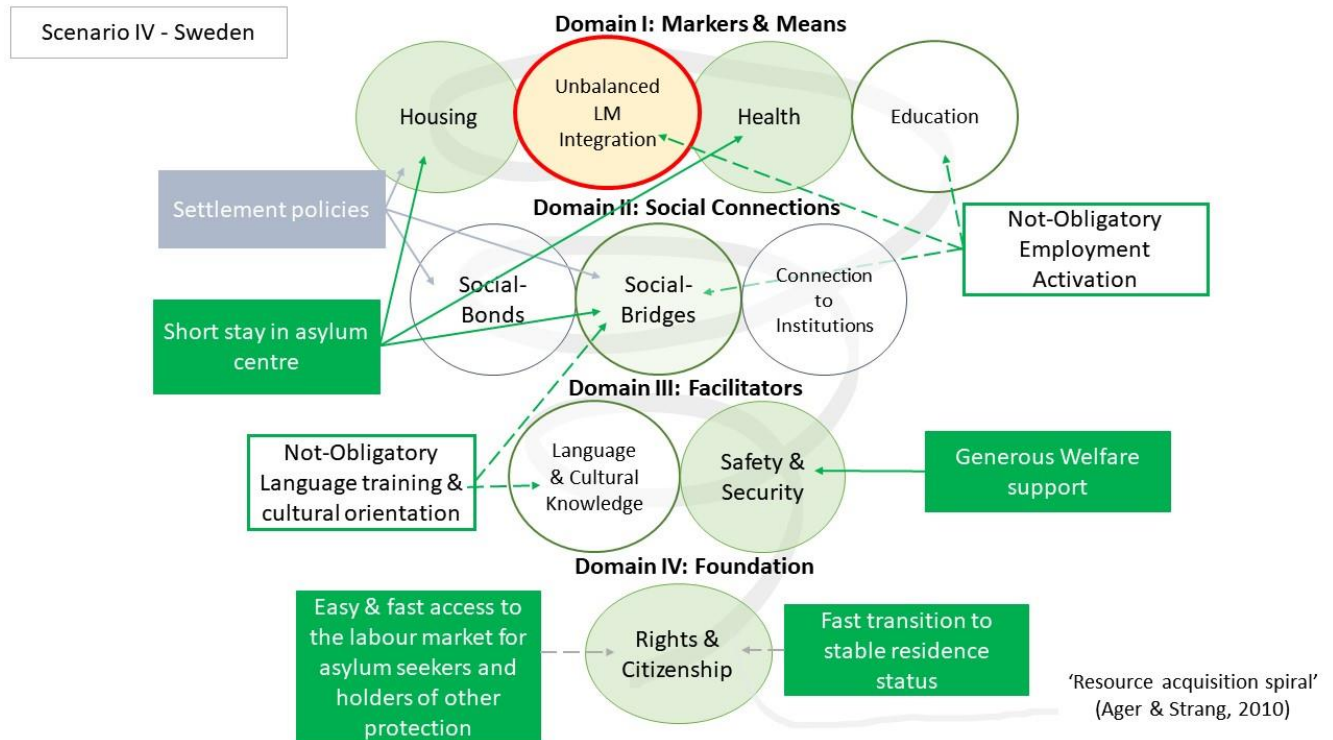
In Figure 30 you can see the third scenario of how such policy configuration led to the unbalanced integration in the Netherlands. Here it is clearly visible that, despite the efforts of the state to oblige humanitarian migrants to integrate linguistically and economically, while providing them generous welfare, balanced integration was not achieved, because its foundation - the fourth domain of integration - was undermined by neither guaranteeing stability of the residency status, nor easy access to the labour market.

Figure 30: Unbalanced integration – scenario III



The last scenario presented in Figure 31 shows the case of Sweden. On the scheme you see a lot of green, however, the crucial policy aspects such as language training and employment activation are only half fulfilled, because Sweden did not impose an obligation neither for municipalities to offer one, nor for the humanitarian migrants to participate in one. Lack of ability to communicate with the native population undermines the social connections of humanitarian migrants, which could allow them reach to other kind of jobs outside their ethnic bubble. In addition, Sweden was the country with the highest relative share of admitted refugees in the period between 1989 and 2007, which may have made it even more difficult to incorporate this population in the country's economy. Therefore, the balanced integration was not reached in this case. There were especially big imbalances in the quality of jobs that humanitarian migrants were employed in.

Figure 31: Unbalanced integration - scenario IV



With this research project I attempted to conduct a structured policy analysis, which has been rarely done up until now in the field of refugee and humanitarian migrant's integration. I hope to contribute to the knowledge body in this field information on more efficient policy conditions for the labour market integration of these populations. Even though my analysis is historical, it provides a good starting point for the evaluation of the current policies. Comparing the policy configurations now with those in the past could give us a basis to predict, what, in a few years' time, might be a plausible result of the labour market integration of current humanitarian migrants. Further research is needed to continue to explore the role of policies in shaping the labour market integration of humanitarian and other migrants. The same methodology can be employed to study more recent times by evaluating the outcome of integration of the basis of the recently released Migration module of the EU-LFS 2014. More country cases could also be studied to confirm or disproof the findings of this research. Moreover, a wider range of policy aspects can be tested on the analysed 7 countries, such as dispersal and settlement policies, recognition of foreign degrees, and the work of NGOs could receive greater attention. The aspect of economics and labour market structure may also be further explored as structural factors, alongside public attitudes to immigrants, in order to confirm whether the differences in anti- or pro-immigrant sentiment across countries can explain their labour market integration outcomes. Moreover, it would be interesting to conduct a study in which a combination of institutional and individual factors can be tested on the micro-data of humanitarian migrants, because that would help us come closer to answering the question of how individual characteristics interact with the policy environment.



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## Annex 1 – Definition of migration categories in all countries

Table I - Definition of migration categories in all countries (except for Germany)

Respondent's country of birth/Old category	New category
National/Native of own country	Native
European Union 15	EU
NMS10 (10 new Member States of 2004)	
NMS3 (3 new Member States of 2007)	
EFTA	
Other Europe	Non-EU
North Africa	
Other Africa	
Near and Middle East	
East Asia	
South and South East Asia	
North America	
Central America (and Caribbean)	
South America	
Australia and Oceania	
Missing	Stateless/ Unknown

Re-categorisation of the country of birth (table I)

Definition of Groups: Natives, Refugees and Other non-EU migrants

- Natives: Born in country + Not Migrated
- Refugees: reason for migration International Protection + Non-EU (region of birth)  
OR  
Reason for migration International Protection + Stateless/ Unknown (region of birth)
- Other Non-EU Migrants: Reason for migration not International Protection + Non-EU (region of birth)  
OR  
Reason for migration not International Protection + Stateless/ Unknown (region of birth)

**Table II** - Definition of migration categories in Germany

1) Variable “Country of birth” contains information only about “National / Native of own Country”, all others are missing. German born = 1, Missing = 0 (not German born)

For those not born in Germany, region of origin is defined approximately on the basis of country of birth of their both parents (table II).

Variable origin for not German born defined following the algorithm:

EU\*EU -> EU

nonEU\*nonEU -> nonEU

If region of both parents is unknown -> origin is Unknown

If both parents are Native (but respondent’s country of birth is not Germany) -> origin is Unknown

	Country of birth of father/mother	New Category “Region of birth”
	National/Native of own country	Native
EU	European Union 15	EU
	NMS10 (10 new Member States of 2004)	
	NMS2 (2 new Member States of 2007)	
	EFTA	
	Other Europe	
Non-EU	North Africa	Non-EU
	Other Africa	
	Near and Middle East	
	East Asia	
	South and South East Asia	
	North America	
	Central America (and Caribbean)	
	South America	
Australia and Oceania		
	Missing	Stateless/Unknown

When regions do NOT match:

If EU\*non-EU -> EU is chosen as origin

Unknown is denied in favour of EU or Non-EU of the known parent’s country of birth

Native is denied in favour of EU or Non-EU of the other parent’s country of birth (see table III)

**Table III** – Respondent’s estimated origin

Respondent’s estimated origin (cross-section)		Father’s region of birth			
		Native	EU	Non-EU	Stateless/Unknown
Mother’s region of birth	Native	Unknown	EU	Non-EU	Unknown
	EU	EU	EU	EU	EU
	Non-EU	Non-EU	EU	Non-EU	Non-EU
	Stateless/Unknown	Unknown	EU	Non-EU	Unknown

1) Observations with origin = EU are deleted

2) Definition of Natives, Refugees, Other non-EU migrants in Germany

- Natives: born in Germany + Not Migrated

- Refugees: Reason for migration International Protection + origin non-EU

OR

Reason for migration International Protection + Origin Stateless/Unknown

- Other Non-EU Migrants: Reason for migration not International Protection + origin non-EU

OR

Reason for migration not International Protection + origin Stateless/Unknown

## Annex 2 – Policy analysis Template

<b>T1</b>	<b>Topic 1: SECURE RESIDENCE STATUS</b>
<b>1.1.</b>	<b>1.1. application process</b>
<b>1</b>	Official duration of the process review of asylum seeker's application and get first decision?
<b>2</b>	How long on avg. the applications were reviewed in reality?
<b>3</b>	In case the asylum claim is rejected, how long did the appeal take?
<b>4</b>	Are there any application fees?
<b>1.2.</b>	<b>1.2. refugee status and other types of protection</b>
<b>1</b>	for how long is refugee status granted? Can it be renewed? Under which conditions?
<b>2</b>	are there other types of humanitarian international protection? Which? [then use this definition as a category in T1.3.; T2.3.]
<b>3</b>	for how long is [other protection status] granted? Can it be renewed? Under which conditions?
<b>4</b>	are there any fees for the renewal of the refugee status (residency card)?
<b>1.3.</b>	<b>1.3. Naturalization</b>
<b>1</b>	After how many years a person is allowed to apply for citizenship?
<b>2</b>	What are the main preconditions to get citizenship?
<b>3</b>	Do refugees have any priority in naturalization (if compared with other migrants)?
<b>4</b>	Are there any fees for the naturalization process? (application, exams etc)
<b>T2</b>	<b>Topic 2: Access to LABOURMARKET</b>
<b>1</b>	Are asylum seekers allowed to work?
<b>1.1.</b>	(ASy) Immediately or how long is waiting time?
<b>2</b>	Are refugees allowed to work?
<b>2.1.</b>	(Ref) Immediately or how long is waiting time?
<b>3</b>	Are people with [other protection status] allowed to work?
<b>3.1.</b>	(OPS) Immediately or how long is waiting time?
<b>4</b>	Do refugees/ asylum seekers/ [OPS] need <b>additional work permit</b> to be employed legally?
<b>5</b>	How much does it cost and how long does it take to get the work permit?
<b>6</b>	Are refugees allowed to set up enterprises or be self-employed?
<b>7</b>	Is there a regulation that positively discriminates <b>natives</b> in the job competition?
<b>T3</b>	<b>Topic 3: Access to WELFARE BENEFITS</b>
<b>1</b>	Do asylum seekers get money?
<b>1.2.</b>	Allowance per day /Asylum seekers
<b>2</b>	Do refugees get money?
<b>2.2.</b>	(if it is a general welfare at a same level as citizens, find and provide details on the amount of money they get - estimate) Allowance per day / Refugees
<b>3</b>	Do people with other types of protection get money?
<b>3.2.</b>	Allowance per day / [Other Protect Status]
<b>4</b>	Are asylum seekers provided state(free) housing
<b>5</b>	Do asylum seekers get allowance for housing? How much?
<b>6</b>	Are refugees provided (free) state housing?
<b>7</b>	Do refugees get cash allowance for housing? How much?

7.1	Are persons with [other protect status] get free housing or a cash allowance to rent a house? If yes, provide details.
8	Is there a dispersal policy: settlement management of ref groups? Are people obliged to reside in certain areas (is there a time limit)? Can refugees choose where to reside What are the conditions to change the place of residence?
<b>T4</b>	<b>Topic 4: LANGUAGE TRAINING</b>
1	Are there free hours of language instruction provided?
1.2.	for refugees
1.3.	for asylum seekers
2	Do refugees/asylum seekers have to pay some amount of money for the courses provided by NGOs or municipality services?
3	Who provides language training?
3.1.	state
3.2.	NGOs
3.3.	Private
4	How many state provided centres in the country? Is it enough for the demand?
5	Are these free language courses obligatory?
<b>T5</b>	<b>Topic 5: Programmes to FACILITATE EMPLOYMENT</b>
1	Is there any employment advice programme specially for refugees?
2	Can Ref. participate in general job search agencies? (for all unemployed people)
3	Who provides employment advice and guidance?
4	Is it obligatory to be registered at an unemployment agency (registry) in order to get social benefits?
5	Which active measures are there for facilitation of refugees' employment (and other statuses). Job placements? Employer outreach?
<b>T6</b>	<b>Topic 6: RECOGNITION OF FOREIGN DEGREES and qualifications ?</b>
1	What is the process of recognition of FD?
2	What is the process to recognize skilled worker's qualifications (below university level)?
3	Which documents are required?
4	How much time does it take to get a degree/qualification recognized?
5	is there any account of how many qualified refugees get their home-countries' degrees recognized?

### **Annex 3 – List of Policy sources (see additional PDF file)**

The list of the sources in Excel format is stored on Harvard data verse. Accessible upon request.

### **Annex 4 – Policy dataset (in additional PDF file)**

The unpublished version of original tables is stored on Harvard data verse. Accessible upon request.