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The breathing space or impact of temporary protection on integration from the perspective of refugees

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Abstract

In July 2016, the Swedish government adopted temporary legislative changes to the asylum regulation in force, significantly limiting the possibilities of being granted a permanent residence permit. The temporary law was presented by the government as an incentive for the immigrants to focus on employment, which in its turn leads to permanent residence. This study exploits the impact of temporary protection on labour market integration and social inclusion from the perspective of refugees and subsidiary protection holders. Applying the ground research methods, the data was collected via the focus group and in-depth face-to-face interviews with both temporary and permanent protection holders. The main conclusion is that temporary residence hinders labour market integration of refugees and subsidiary protection holders in a long-term perspective, potentially leading to higher levels of social exclusion.

Keywords

Sweden, Temporary refugee protection, Durable solutions, Labour market integration, Social inclusion

Contents

1. Introduction

The influx of refugees[1] and subsidiary protection holders[2] in 2015, when more than a million seekers of international protection have arrived in Europe, swiftly started to dominate the headlines and prompt stormy political debate. The response of European host countries was tightening immigration policies and making labour market integration of refugees a condition for receiving a residence permit. Sweden is not an exception. In July 2016, the Swedish government adopted temporary legislative changes to the asylum regulation in force, significantly limiting the possibilities of being granted a residence permit. The temporary law was presented by the government as an incentive for the immigrants to focus on employment, which in its turn leads to permanent residence.[3] The law was prolonged for another two years in 2019.[4]

Current tightening of the immigration policies in European countries is not an exclusive phenomenon as a reaction to the 2015 mass influx, but rather a part of a broader political paradigm shift since the late 1990-s. The shift is characterised by abandoning the idea of integration as a mutual process and instead emphasising immigrants´ obligation to adapt to the host country, thus, gliding from a rights-based approach to asylum towards a responsibility-based one.[5] "Since the late 1990-s, there has been a new insistence that migrants acquire the language of the host country, learn its history, norms and traditions, most conspicuously expressed by the introduction of various types of integration tests at different stages of the integration process – initial entry, renewed residency and naturalisation".[6] Christian Joppke identifies three main characteristics of the current integration policy: (1) lack of public support for 'multicultural' policies; (2) shortcomings and failures that are linked to such policies, especially socio-economic marginalisation of migrants and their children; and (3) a 'new assertiveness' of the liberal state in imposing the liberal minimum on its dissenters.[7] These policy processes have been frequently diagnosed as representing a retreat from multiculturalism towards assimilation.[8]

"The Swedish case mirrors the contemporary European political paradigm shift".[9] Our argument is that the analysis of the Swedish context contributes to a more nuanced account of the current policy trends helping us to understand the ongoing integration policy change throughout Europe. Integration program in Sweden includes three mandatory elements aimed at fastening introduction to the host society, namely language training, civic orientation for acquiring knowledge of institutions, norms and values considered fundamental to the national identity and, finally, individual plan for employment-related activities.[10] It is not a must to participate in the integration program but those who choose to participate receive attached

1 Article 1 of the Refugee Convention 1951 defines a refugee as someone as 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.

2 Subsidiary protection is international protection for persons seeking asylum who do not qualify as refugees. In European law, Directive 2004/83/EC defines the minimum standards for qualifying for subsidiary protection status. The Directive was later added to with Directive 2011/95/EU, which states that uniform, European states for persons eligible for subsidiary protection and the content of the protection granted. In Europe, a person eligible for subsidiary protection status means a third country national or stateless who would face a real risk of suffering serious harm if s/he returned to the country of origin. Serious harm is defined as the risk of: "(a) death penalty or execution; or (b) torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of an applicant in the country of origin; or (c) serious and individual threat to a civilian's life or person by reasons of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict."

3 Law 2016:752 on temporary limitations to the possibility of being granted a residence permit in Sweden. Department of Justice L7.

4 Law 2019:481 on extension of law 2016:752 on temporary limitations to the possibility of being granted a residence permit in Sweden. Department of Justice L7.

5 S. Wright, "Citizenship tests in Europe – editorial introduction", *International Journal on multicultural societies*, 10:1-9, 2008; K. Borevi, "Dimensions of citizenship: European Integration Policies from a Scandinavian perspective. Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia", 2010; S. Goodman, "Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies.", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 2010, 36 (5), 753–772. doi:10.1080/13691831003764300.

6 K. Borevi, "Multiculturalism and welfare state integration: Swedish model path dependency", 2014, 708-723.

7 C. Joppke, "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy", *The British journal of sociology*, 55, 2004, p.243.

8 C. Joppke, "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy", *The British journal of sociology*, 55, 2004, p.243; C. Joppke,"Beyond national models: civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe", *West European Politics,* 2007, 30 (1), 1–22. doi:10.1080/01402380601019613; R. Koopmans, R., et al. "Contested citizenship: immigration and cultural diversity in Europe", Minneapolis, 2005: University of Minnesota Press; H. Entzinger, "The rise and fall of multiculturalism: the case of the Netherlands", p.59-86 in C. Joppke and E. Morawska, (eds.) "Toward assimilation and citizenship: immigrants in liberal nation-states", 2003, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

9 K. Borevi, "Dimensions of citizenship: European Integration Policies from a Scandinavian perspective. Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia", 2010, p.19.

10 J. Larsson, "Integrationen och arbetets marknad: hur jämställdhet, arbete och annat" svenskt" görs av arbetsförmedlare och privata aktörer", Stockholm, 2015: Atlas Akademi.

economic benefits, such as 231 Swedish crowns per day during introduction into the program, when the individual action plan is developed, and 308 Swedish crowns per day for participation in the program.[11] For temporary protection holders, participation also potentially increases their chances to acquire the permanent residence via employment. In this context, residence status becomes a reward in exchange to the efforts which immigrants put into their integration. Consequently, the right to permanent protection is conditional and performance based.

Taking into consideration the heated debate on the topic, it is surprising that the evidence-based research, studying the causality and effects of temporary permits on motivating social and labour market integration, is rather limited. The body of literature analysing migrants´ perspective on integration related to residence status shines with its absence.[12] The lack of the refugee voice in the political and academic debate is deeply-rooted in general culture of disbelief towards them in the Western liberal democracies.[13] The current humanitarian and media discourses tend to privilege a one-dimensional representation of refugee which relies heavily on infantilized victimhood and vulnerability.[14] As a result, the migrant is often perceived as agency-less object of the integration policy rather than an active agent of the reforms directly influencing their lives and future.[15]

This paper addresses the above gap regarding effects of temporary permits on motivating social inclusion and labour market integration from the perspective of refugees, as active agents of their own integration, by answering the following question: *"What is the effect of the temporary residence permit on the social inclusion and labour market integration from the perspective of refugees and subsidiary protection holders in Sweden?"*

To provide a coherent answer to the main research question, a clear definition of the concept of "integration" is required to frame the analysis. This concept is applied broadly under the umbrella of Refugee and Forced Migration studies; however, a unified formal definition is still lacking.[16] This sentiment is confirmed by several researchers, among others Castles et al. stating: "There is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated".[17] This paper chooses to apply the conceptual framework of ten core domains by Ager and Strang as a foundation for analysis of the empirical findings. The framework was chosen as opposed to other conceptual foundations for analysis due to two reasons. First, this framework is relevant in the context of this research due to its broad and operational definition "…seeking to provide a coherent conceptual structure for considering, from a normative perspective, what constitutes the key components of integration "[18] The model´s key domains are related to four overall themes: "…achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the local environment."[19] Although the goal of identifying potential 'indicators' with respect to such domains is significant for development of the framework, its main focus is on the domains themselves as a means to facilitate discussion regarding perceptions of integration that is accessible to policymakers, researchers, service providers and refugees themselves. Consequently, it serves as 'middle-range theory', seeking to provide a coherent conceptual structure for considering, from a

11 Law 2017:820 on integration program for some migrants in Sweden.

12 N. Blomqvist, P. Skogman Thoursie and B. Tyrefors, "Restricting Residence Permits: Short-Run Evidence from A Swedish Reform", Working Paper, 2018; B. Larsen, M. Kilstrom, and E. Olme, "Should I Stay or Must I Go: Temporary Protection and Refugee Outcomes," Working Paper, 2018, Copenhagen Business School, 1-2018.

13 N. Sigona, "The politics of refugee voices: representations, narratives, and memories", p. 369-82 in E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K.Long and N. Sigona (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies, 2014, Oxford.

14 L. Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism and Dehistoricisation". P. 223-54 in K.F. Olwig and K.Hastrup (eds.), Sitting Culture. The Shifting Anthropological Object. London, 1997: Routledge.

15 N. Sigona, "The politics of refugee voices: representations, narratives, and memories", p. 369-82 in E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K.Long and N. Sigona (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies, 2014, Oxford.

16 L. Hovil, "Local integration", p.489 in E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K.Long and N. Sigona (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies, 2014, Oxford.

17 S. Castles, M. Korac, E. Vasta and S. Vertovec, "Integration: Mapping the Field", Report of a project carried out by the Centre for Migration and Policy Research and Refugee Studies Centre, 2001, University of Oxford, p.112.

18 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press, p.167.

19 Ibid, p.166.

normative perspective, what constitutes the key components of integration.[20] Secondly, the model articulates the refugee voices in relation to integration policies,[21] which correlates with the methodology of this research, looking at the integration from the perspective of the active individual agency rather than object of integration. A focus of this research is on labour market and social integration, which limits its scope to two domains. More precisely, the study looks at regarding effects of temporary permits on motivation of refugees and subsidiary protection holders to invest in the above areas; as well as their perception of opportunities, or in some cases the lack of those, within the chosen domains.

20 Ibid, p.167.

21 Ibid, p.176.

2. Literature Review

There is a paucity of literature on local integration of refugees and subsidiary protection holders in relation to both social and labour market aspects of it. As Fielden states, "local integration is actually not a forgotten solution, but an undocumented one".[22] More recently, however, the growing body of literature has emerged that focuses on self-settled refugees and their strategies towards local integration, documenting the social, economic and cultural processes of unofficial integration that have been taking place.[23] Much of the literature emphasizes that the extent to which local integration, particularly labour market and social integration (but not exclusively so), takes place despite government and international refugee policy, not because of it.[24] One of the underlying reasons for this might be a tendency to look at refugees as temporary guests rather than future citizens by the host states.[25] Consequently, weaning governments off their temporary inclination and away from short-term, knee-jerk policy and practice where refugees and migrants are concerned can be a hard sell, particularly when they think themselves overwhelmed by numbers and facing a constituency which sees itself seriously disadvantaged by the influx of desperate people at every level – in employment, housing, education, natural resources.[26]

Time is a vital parameter in relation to migration and integration, but this alliance remains largely under-theorised. One line of research in relation to time focuses on psychological effects connected to the temporal uncertainties of residence permits.[27] The common denominator of this research is the argument that exposure to instability, living with a dual uncertainty of time, waiting for what might be long periods of time, longing for an end and, at the same time, fear of the change it might bring, influences migrants´ psychological health in a negative way. The other line of studies looks at the time aspect in relation to labour market integration by comparing outcomes across different nation states.[28] There is a body of evidence that suggests employment is the single most important factor in securing the integration of migrants into society.[29] Assuming that refugees cannot return to their country of origin, and thus face a longer time horizon, they have stronger incentives to invest in country-specific human capital.[30]

Clarifying social inclusion is not an easy undertaking, since the term itself is characterised by ambiguity and lack of consensus. Some define social inclusion as a process when refugees become a part of the society where they are settled while maintaining their culture and identity.[31] Other researchers define it as a two-way change process, which includes both the refugees and already settled community of the country that

22 A. Fielden, "Local integration: An Under-Reported Solution to Protracted Refugee Situations", *New Issues in Refugee Research*. UNHCR Working Paper No. 158, 2008, p.1.

23 K. Jakobsen, L. Landau, "The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration", *New Issues in Refugee Research.* UNHCR Working Paper No. 19, 2003; N. Briant, A. Kennedy, "An Investigation of the Perceived Needs and Priorities Held by African Refugees in an Urban Setting in a First Country of Asylum" *Journal of Refugee Studies* 17 (4), 2004; J. Crisp, "The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees: A Conceptual and Historical Analysis", *New Issues in Refugee Research.* UNHCR Working Paper No.102, 2004.

24 L. Hovil, "Local integration", p. 488-97 in E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K.Long and N. Sigona (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Oxford, 2016.

25 G. Goodwin-Gill, "The Global Compacts and the Future of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies", *International Journal of Refugee Law,* vol.30, No4, 2018, 674-683.

26 Ibid, p. 675

27 S. Cwerner,"The Times of Migration", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 27 (1): 7–36, 2001. doi:10.1080/13691830125283; M. Griffiths, "Out of Time: The Temporal Uncertainties of Refused Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 12, 2014, 1991-2009.

28 R. Koopmans, "Contested citizenship: Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe", U of Minnesota Press. Vol. 25, 2005; I. Kogan, "Labour markets and economic incorporation among recent immigrants in Europe", *Social Forces, 85*, 2006, 697–721; C. Kesler, "Social policy and immigrant joblessness in Britain, Germany and Sweden", *Social Forces*, 85, 2006, 743–770.

29 S. Srinivasan, "An overview of research into refugee groups in Britain during the 1990s", Paper presented at *the 4th International Research and Advisory Panel Conference*, 1994, Oxford; D. Joly, "Haven or Hell: Asylum Policy in Europe", London, 1996, Macmillan; V. Robinson, "The importance of information in the resettlement of refugees in the UK", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 11(2), 1998, p. 146–160; A. Bloch, "Refugees in the Job Market: a Case of Unused Skills in the British Economy" in Bloch, A., Levy, C. (eds.) Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe. Bisingstoke, 1999, Palgrave Macmillan; M. Coussey, "Framework of Integration Policies", Strasbourg, 2000: Council of Europe Publishing; J. Phillimore, L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", *Urban Stud,* 2006 43:1715.

30 E. Cortes, Kalena, "Are Refugees Di□erent from Economic Immigrants? Some Empirical Evidence on the Heterogeneity of Immigrant Groups in the United States", *The Review of Economics and Statistics,* 86(2), 2004, 465–480.

31 K. Valtonen, "Resettlement of Middle Eastern Refugees in Finland: The elusiveness of integration", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 11 (1), 1998, 38-59; K. Valtonen, "From the margin to the mainstream: Conceptualising refugee settlement processes", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 17 (1), 2004, 70-94.

receives them, which requires the reciprocal adaptation.[32] Social inclusion is extended to multiple sectors of social life such as work, education, accommodation and interpersonal relations.[33] The level and quality of it can be influenced by factors such as the condition of exit from the country of origin, legal status, the personal characteristics of the individual and the characteristics of the society that receives them.[34]

The above body of literature provides valuable input for understanding how social inclusion and labour market integration are organised as a means of addressing and finding the durable solutions for refugees in different countries, illustrating challenges and best practices in a comparative perspective. However, the causalities and effects of a residency status on motivating social inclusion and labour market integration have still not been investigated, especially from the perspective of refugees and subsidiary protection holders. The conceptual framework by Ager and Strang helps us to identify such causalities and effects by demonstrating refugees´ perspective on triggers and barriers for successful social inclusion and labour market integration domains according to a set of indicators established in these domains.

Looking at the current state of research, we identified three studies focusing explicitly on the effects of residence permits on local integration.[35] These studies have led to rather mixed conclusions. While Blomqvist et al. find little evidence that the residence permit type affects investment in education and labour market outcomes, the research of Larsen et al. demonstrates that the introduction of temporary residence permits significantly increased the enrolment of refugees in formal education.[36] Jutvik and Robinson argue, on the contrary, that refugees with temporary permissions earn more, are unemployed less and are less likely to spend time on education comparing to those with permanent residence.[37]

All three studies have a pure labour market focus, without consideration of social inclusion perspective, and apply quantitative research methods rooted in statistical analysis. Moreover, they analyse labour market integration from a point of view of individual income-generating activities rather than providing a holistic analysis of the underlying market context within which the economic activity takes place. In their study on refugee economies, Betts et al argue that notwithstanding the historical lines of research on "refugee livelihoods" by Chambers and Conway and "refugee impact" by Campbell, Kuhlman and Whitaker focusing on individual income-generating activities, the contextual perspective is vital to understand the wider structural conditions in which refugees operate as economic agents.[38] Rather than refugees being inherently different from the host community as human beings or economic actors, their different institutional context may mean they face different opportunities and constraints in terms of their participation in markets. Crucially, market distortions created by the institutional context of a market can create both winners and losers. This is because they lead to both opportunities and constraints for market actors.[39]

The main source of secondary research data for this study are written recommendations by public bodies

32 M. Hollands, "Upon closer acquaintance: The impact of direct contact with refugees on Dutch hosts", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 14 (3), 2001, 295-314; M. Korac, "Integration and how we facilitate it: A comparative study of the settlement experiences of refugees in Italy and the Netherlands", Sociology, 37 (1), 2003a, 51-68.

33 K. Valtonen, (1998) "Resettlement of Middle Eastern Refugees in Finland: The elusiveness of integration", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 11 (1), 1998, 38-59; K. Valtonen, "From the margin to the mainstream: Conceptualising refugee settlement processes", Journal of Refugee Studies, 17 (1), 2004, 70-94; S. Castles, M. Korac, E. Vasta., and S. Vertovec, "Integration: Mapping the Field. London, 2002: Home Office, UK; European Communities, "Immigration, asylum and social integration", Luxemburg, 2002: Office for the official publications of the European communities.

34 S. Castles, M. Korac, E. Vasta., and S. Vertovec, "Integration: Mapping the Field. London, 2002: Home Office, UK

35 N. Blomqvist, P. Skogman Thoursie, and B. Tyrefors "Restricting Residence Permits: Short-Run Evidence from A Swedish Reform," Working Paper, 2018; K. Jutvik., D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17; B. Larsen, M. Kilstrom, and E. Olme, "Should I Stay or Must I Go: Temporary Protection and Refugee Outcomes," Working Paper, 2018, Copenhagen Business School, 1-2018.

36 N. Blomqvist, P. Skogman Thoursie and B. Tyrefors, "Restricting Residence Permits: Short-Run Evidence from A Swedish Reform", Working Paper, 2018; B. Larsen, M. Kilstrom, and E. Olme, "Should I Stay or Must I Go: Temporary Protection and Refugee Outcomes," Working Paper, 2018, Copenhagen Business School, 1-2018.

37 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

38 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press; R. Chambers and G. Conway, "Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century", *IDS Discussion Paper 296*. Brighton, 1992: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex; E. Campbell, "Urban refugees in Nairobi: Protection, survival, and integration", *Migration Studies Working Paper Series,* 2005, 23: 2–19; T. Kuhlman, "Burden or Boon? A Study of Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan", Amsterdam, 1990: VU University Press; B. Whitaker, "Refugees in Western Tanzania: The distribution of burdens and benefits among local hosts", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 2002, 15(4): 339–58.

39 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press.

and civil society in Sweden regarding introduction of temporary residency status in 2016. A common point of criticism is a lack of a solid prior need and impact analysis, as the law was introduced under conditions resembling the state of emergency, as well as a potentially negative impact on labour market integration, education and social inclusion.[40] However, there is no systematic evidence that this criticism is valid. The available data, relevant for measuring impact and effects, is still fragmented.

With this in mind, this study takes a somewhat different approach in two ways: 1) by exploring the causalities and effects of the residency status on both labour market integration and social inclusion, 2) by shifting the focus to refugees and subsidiary protection holders as active agents of their integration processes. The main benefit of this approach is to approach the gap regarding effects of temporary permits on motivating social inclusion and labour market integration from the perspective of refugees, as active agents of their own integration.

40 K. Lindahl, (2015) "Stefan Löfven about the refugee crisis: Sweden needs a breathing space", <www.nyheter24.se> accessed 01 October 2019; Anti-discrimination ombudsman, "Written comments by the Anti-discrimination ombudsman on the governmental law proposition on temporary limitation of permanent residence status", Number Ju2016/01307/L7, Stockholm, 2016, <https://www.regeringen.se/494a87/contentassets/cbebce43816043d6bf864dd0e076b722/19_diskrimineringsombudsmannen.pdf> accessed 01 October 2019; Akademiförbundet SSR, "Written comments by Akademiförbundet SSR on the governmental law proposition on temporary limitation of permanent residence status", Stockholm, 2016, <https://akademssr.se/sites/default/files/files/remissvar_tutput.pdf> accessed 01 October 2019; Red Cross, "Written comments by Red Cross on the governmental law proposition on temporary limitation of permanent residence status", Number Ju2016/01307/L7, Stockholm, 2016, <https://www.regeringen.se/494a88/contentassets/cbebce43816043d6bf864dd0e076b722/31_roda-korset.pdf> accessed 01 October 2019; Public Employment Service, "Written comments by Public Employment Services on the governmental law proposition on temporary limitation of permanent residence status", Number Af-2016/0033 0434, Stockholm, 2016:1, <file:///C:/Users/820419-002/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/TempState/Downloads/remissyttrande+ett+nytt+regelverk+for+nyanlanda+invandrare.pdf> accessed 01 October 2019.

3. Methodology

The scarcity of pre-existing research on impact of the residence status on social inclusion and labour market integration from the perspective of refugees predetermines a choice of the inductive approach for this study. The ground research design allows us to develop a hypothesis based on observations of the reality as it "emphasizes the discovery and labelling of the concepts (variables) and the building of models".[41] It is of outmost importance to enter this type of research without prior assumptions about hypothesis in order to construct it together with participants, as it is presumed that "the research purpose may become modified or even radically altered during the research process".[42]

In rough outlines, the inductive methodology of this study comprises four elements: a) documentary analysis and literature review for identifying main themes of the research; b) fieldwork via one focus group and three in-depth interviews; c) secondary analysis and coding of the collected data; d) verification, and development of the hypothesis.

Research began with documentary analysis and literature review of current legislation, legal texts and written recommendations by public bodies and civil society in relation to the change of the legislation towards temporary protection and prior research in Sweden and other countries, as a sounding board for the further analysis.

The preliminary analysis was then further elaborated via the applied fieldwork, the geographical area of which was Uppsala municipality in Sweden. In order to ensure objective and relevant primary data in line with the mechanics of the grounded theory, the field study was divided into two steps. First, the focus group was carried out with the representatives of both temporary and permanent protection holders, two women and seven men. The participants got four areas for discussion with each other via unstructured approach. The goal was to identify their main areas of interest within the following themes: (a) employment, (b) social connection within and between the groups within a community. This approach ensures that participants´ interests are dominant and a researcher has the possibility to explore new directions.[43] The group was rather homogenous and cohesive as all the participants were Syrian refugees, attending the civic orientation course. The participants were recruited via their trainers, who promoted this research at two civic orientation courses and thus ensuring voluntary participation. The research on group dynamics suggests that greater homogeneity is associated with greater cooperation, greater willingness to communicate, and less conflict among group members.[44] The focus group participants knew each other and shared similar living situation, which contributed to atmosphere of trust and openness where they discussed challenges with labour market integration and social inclusion with each other under the observation of the researcher. The focus group material was further utilised for the analysis and as a source for development of questions for in-depth interviews. "A focus group can discuss a wording of a particular question or offer advice on how the whole questionnaire comes off to respondents."[45] For this purpose, the researcher returned to the same participants of the focus group, when the questionnaire was ready, to consult on its content prior to the interviews.

The second step of the fieldwork was to collect additional information in three individual in-depth interviews (two permanent and one temporary protection holder) via more structured approach, when the participants got to answer more specific questions, developed by the researcher based on the focus group material. In this case the researcher´s interest was more dominant, and questionnaire lead the discussion.[46] Individual interviews served as a control group to provide unbiased information under the assumption that the answers in the focus group might have been influenced within particular peer culture and group dynamics. As Bernard states, two methods of focus group and interviews are not interchangeable and pur-

41 H. Bernard, "Research Methods in Anthropology. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", New York, 2003, Fourth edition, p. 492.

42 D. Gray, "Analysing and presenting qualitative data. Doing research in the real world", London, 2011, Sage. Third edition, p.12.

43 L. Morgan, "Focus group interviewing. Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method", Chapter 7, 2001, ISBN 0761919511, p.147.

44 D. Stewart and P. Shamdasani, "Group Dynamics and Focus Group Research. Focus Groups: Theory and Practice", Chapter 2, 2015, ISBN 9781452270982, p.5.

45 H. Bernard, "Research Methods in Anthropology. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", New York, 2003, Fourth edition, p. 233.

46 L. Morgan, "Focus group interviewing. Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method", Chapter 7, 2001, ISBN 0761919511, p.147.

sue different goals. The further produced in-depth cultural understanding within the group as a small unit of the community, while the latter provided more details around the specific topics, which had emerged in the focus group.[47] The recruitment of a male participant to individual interview was done via civic orientation course, triggering snowball effect, and two female participants volunteered through word-of-mouth method, after announcement by a local NGO[48].

The above data sources were the basis for development of the hypothesis, answering the main question of the study in relation to core domains of integration by Ager and Strang.[49] The verification stage of research then involved additional documentary analysis and literature review in combination with consultation with several experts working with the state integration programme in Uppsala, and local NGOs working with refugees. The goal of this final step was to ensure the relevance and conceptual validity of the hypothesis.

The field study involved a few ethical concerns, especially regarding temporary protection holders. There was a risk that participants might consider themselves to be dependent on the researcher in relation to their opportunities to be granted the permanent residence permit. Moreover, they could have had false expectations of assistance from the researcher, leading to twisting the information, on one hand, and possibility of re-traumatisation, on the other. Thus, it was vital to put in place some safeguards to mitigate the risks. First, the ethical approval by the University of London was ensured prior to the study. Second, the recruitment of participants was conducted via an open announcement by the course trainers at the civic orientation course in order to ensure volunteer participation and random selection. The participants were informed at the recruitment stage that the participation was voluntary, and they were at liberty to withdraw at any time or opt out for not answering any question they did not feel comfortable with. Interview files and transcripts were anonymised and subject to restricted access, as a condition of consent. The data on all the participants is aggregated in the table below in order to protect their integrity.

Code	Focus group or face to face interview	Gender	Country of origin	Type of residence
Participant 1	Focus group	Male	Syria	Permanent
Participant 2	Focus group	Male	Syria	Permanent
Participant 3	Focus group	Male	Syria	Permanent
Participant 4	Focus group	Male	Syria	Permanent
Participant 5	Focus group	Male	Syria	Permanent
Participant 6	Focus group	Female	Syria	Temporary
Participant 7	Focus group	Female	Syria	Permanent
Participant 8	Focus group	Male	Syria	Temporary
Participant 9	Focus group	Male	Syria	Temporary
Participant 10	Face to face interview	Female	Egypt	Permanent
Participant 11	Face to face interview	Female	Syria	Permanent
Participant 12	Face to face interview	Male	Syria	Temporary

Table 1. Aggregated data on the participants of the fieldwork.

47 H. Bernard, "Research Methods in Anthropology. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", New York, 2003, Fourth edition, p. 492.

48 NGO is a non-governmental organisation is the organisation that operates independently of any government.

49 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 Conceptual framework of discussion

The conceptual model of integration by Ager and Strang provides a framework for analysis of our empirical results. The key domains of interest for this study are employment and social connection within and between groups within the community, while education, health and language domains are considered solely in relation to the above three domains. Achievement and access across the sector of employment is the main marker and means of local integration in combination with education, housing and health, while social connection is a process to provide a "connective tissue" between foundational principles of citizenship and rights on one hand, and public outcomes in sectors such as employment, education, housing and health, on the other.[50] This paper looks at how the type of residence permit impacts the ability of refugees and subsidiary protection holders to work; as well as their motivation to invest in social inclusion.

This chapter examines results and findings of the fieldwork from the perspective of the conceptual framework of Ager and Strang.[51] It is divided into three main parts. The first part is a discussion on the impact of residency status on labour market integration, rooted in the concept of "refugee economies" by Betts et al.[52] This concept is based on the idea that 'refugeehood' brings with it a particular institutional context, which in its turn shapes the nature of refugees' interaction with markets. This institutional context creates the set of market imperfections and distortions that enable and constrain refugees differently from other populations.[53] There are three sets of distortions, outlined here, namely subsidised employment, complicated procedure for self-employment and standard state integration program itself without consideration of individual competence and prior experience. These distortions impact the temporary protection holders to a higher degree than those with permanent residence, as their permanent protection depends on indefinite term employment. The fact that temporary protection holders choose any type of work before studies, potentially weakens their position on the labour market and social inclusion opportunities in a long term. Time pressure creates the situation of "the survival of the fittest". In turn, a weak position in the labour market potentially contributes to social exclusion.[54]

The second part consists of the overview of the impact of residency status on social inclusion in relation to building social bonds within own group and social bridges between groups in the community. Social inclusion as well as its antipode social exclusion are considered from the perspective of their co-dependency with labour market integration, when loss of employment is a key factor in the increasing levels of social exclusion. There are two issues of concern when considering the relationship between the labour market and social exclusion in this study: unemployment and low-paid or marginal employment, lacking security, a decent wage, training or promotion prospects.[55] The choice of the above four topics was made as a result of coding of participants´ contribution in the focus group according to the principle of the ground research methodology.

The third part gives an overview of key findings of the study.

4.2 Impact of residency status on labour market integration

Employment has consistently been identified as a crucial factor of local integration influencing many relevant issues, including: promoting economic independence, planning for the future, providing opportunity to learn the language of the country and restoring self-esteem, which is in line with the conceptual framework of Ager and Strang and a wildly shared opinion by the participants of this fieldwork together with the belief that working environment is one of few available meeting points for building networks outside the own group, thus contributing to social inclusion.[56] There is a body of evidence that suggests employment

50 Ibid, p. 177.

51 Ibid.

52 A. Betts, L. Bloom, J. Kaplan. and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", Oxford university press, 2017.

53 Ibid, p.46.

54 Ibid.

55 J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006, 43:1715.

56 A. Bloch, "Refugees in the Job Market: a Case of Unused Skills in the British Economy. Bloch, A., Levy, C. (eds.) Refugees, Citizenship and

is the single most important factor in securing the integration of migrants into society.[57]

Another pervasive theme of the fieldwork, common for both temporary and permanent protection holders, is that the desirable type of employment is one of indefinite term rather than a fixed-term one. Under the general rules of the Employment Protection Act and collective agreements in Sweden, a contract of indefinite employment applies until further notice by an employer or an employee. Fixed-term employments are exempt from this rule.[58] Consequently, the former offers stronger stability and security for the employee together with other benefits such as, for example, possibility to take bank loans for buying own residence. However, the chances to get an indefinite term job are perceived as almost non-existent by all respondents, as voiced explicitly by a male refugee with a permanent residence:

- *… the chances (to find a permanent job) for us are equal to squeezing the water out of the wall. It is merely impossible… (Participant 2).*

Both temporary and permanent protection holders would rather work than living in dependency on social welfare not because of limited financial opportunities but also for the feeling of self-esteem and self-respect that comes with employment. Both groups consider social welfare to be a necessary and unavoidable measure at the beginning of the integration program, becoming a hindrance in a long term, as illustrated below:

- *We are not used to live on social benefits. We are used to work and to provide for ourselves. We want to be a part of the society, to be a part of the development (Participant 3).*
- *It is good that social welfare exists so we can provide for the families at the beginning… the negative side is that it limits your development. It is a vicious circle (Participant 10).*

Additionally, the temporary protection holders face several practical implications for finding any job, especially a permanent one, not least because of the time pressure to meet the requirements of the labour market in relation to validation of competences, prior working experience and acquiring the required level of language proficiency. These processes take time on a structural level and there is no fast track for the temporary protection holders, making the task outside of individual power despite the level of their ambition, as illustrated by a subsidiary protection holder with a temporary permit:

- *I have a permit which is valid for one year and two months. No employer will give you an indefinite-term job if there is a chance that you leave in one year, they want guarantees. The other challenge is that there is an official demand on the labour market that you have a language certificate of SAS-level[59], which requires up to three years to acquire… I am expected to get this certificate for one year and two months (Participant 8).*

While indefinite-term employment is a question of a stable future and quality of life for permanent protection holders, those with temporary permits have another dimension for their motivation, namely a pre-condition for granting permanent protection according to the temporary asylum law.[60] Hence, it be-

Social Policy in Europe. Bisingstoke. 1999, Palgrave Macmillan.

57 S. Srinivasan, "An overview of research into refugee groups in Britain during the 1990s", Paper presented at the 4th International Research and Advisory Panel Conference, Oxford, 1994; D. Joly, "Haven or Hell: Asylum Policy in Europe", London, 1996: Macmillan; V. Robinson, "The importance of information in the resettlement of refugees in the UK", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 1998, 11(2), pp. 146–160; A. Bloch, "Refugees in the Job Market: a Case of Unused Skills in the British Economy" in Bloch, A., Levy, C. (eds.) "Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe", Bisingstoke, 1999, Palgrave Macmillan; M. Coussey, "Framework of Integration Policies", Strasbourg, 2000: Council of Europe Publishing; J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715.

58 Swedish Trade Union, "Types of employment on the Swedish labour market", <https://www.unionen.se/in-english/types-employment-swedish-labour-market> accessed 20 February 2020.

59 SAS corresponds to C1 level according to CEFR, Common European Language Framework, which is advanced level of language proficiency.

60 Swedish Migration Agency, "Permanent residence permit if you can support yourself", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/Nyhetsarkiv/2020-01-23-Permanent-residence-permit-if-you-can-support-yourself.html> accessed 01 March 2020; Law 2016:752 on temporary limitations to the possibility of being granted a residence permit in Sweden. Department of Justice L7.

comes a question of survival, which is illustrated here:

- *I cannot come back to Aleppo. I do not want to become a soldier and kill people. It makes me a traitor for my government… I will be executed if I come back... I cannot sleep at nights… I live with a constant anxiety. I must get permanent residence (Participant 12).*

While discussing the hinders to indefinite-term employment, the causes mentioned by a majority of respondents are of structural character, and are subject of labour market distortions, rather than individual lack of motivation or inability to work. In their study on refugee economies, Betts et al. argue that the historical lines of research on "refugee livelihoods" and "refugee impact", focusing on individual income-generating activities and their impact on local economies respectively, lack a holistic analysis of the underlying market context within which the economic activity takes place.[61] The contextual perspective is vital to understand the wider structural conditions in which refugees operate as economic agents rather than seeing their individual income-generating activities in isolation. The regulatory environment of each country, as well as the broader structure of formal and informal institutions, shapes how a particular economy works, and what opportunities and constraints are available to individuals and groups.[62] In this context, we need to look at the broad term of "economy" and how "refugeehood" is related to it.

An 'economy' is generally understood as a system of resource allocation, referring to how societies make choices and use limited resources to produce goods and services.[63] 'Refugeehood' brings with it a particular institutional context, which in turn shapes the nature of refugees' interaction with markets. To be a refugee is to occupy a legal status and position vis-à-vis the state. This institutional context creates the set of market imperfections and distortions that enable and constrain refugees differently from other populations.[64] There are three sets of distortions, crystallised in this study in relation to the Swedish context, namely subsidised employment, complicated procedure for self-employment and standard state integration program without consideration of individual aspirations, prior education or experiences.

4.2.1 Subsidised employment

The first distortion on the way to indefinite-term work, mentioned by approximately two thirds of the respondents, is subsidised employment. Not all types of employment are approved for granting permanent residence. Apart from the fact that the employment must be indefinite-term or valid for at least two years, it may not be subsidized by any kind of governmental grant.[65] While the goal of the state subsidy is to open the labour market for groups who face high rates of joblessness as a step towards permanent employment, the reality looks differently. Many employers find it more economically advantageous to provide temporary agreements, when the part of the salary is paid by the state, rather than to invest in a long-term staff. This creates a loop of temporary jobs for the groups, having a weak position on the labour market as confirmed below by both temporary and permanent protection holders:

- *There is no such thing as permanent job for refugees. Even for us, who have permanent residence permits and have been living in Sweden for more than five years, it is impossible. We are offered temporary jobs via state subsidies. They are interested to employ new people all the time in order to get new subsidies (Participant 5).*
- *I have three jobs now. I also study Swedish at the same time. I work both weekends and weekdays. But*

61 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press. For refugee livelihoods see R. Chambers and G. Conway, "Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century", *IDS Discussion Paper 296,* Brighton, 1992: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. For refugee impact see T. Kuhlman, "Burden or Boon? A Study of Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan", Amsterdam, 1990: VU University Press; B. Whitaker, "Refugees in Western Tanzania: The distribution of burdens and benefits among local hosts", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 2002, 15(4): 339–58; E. Campbell, "Urban refugees in Nairobi: Protection, survival, and integration", *Migration Studies Working Paper Series,* 2005, 23: 2–19.

62 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press, p.40.

63 J. Stiglitz and C. Walsh, "Economics", New York, 2006: W. W. Norton.

64 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press, p.46.

65 Swedish Migration Agency, "Permanent residence permit if you can support yourself", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/Nyhetsarkiv/2020-01-23-Permanent-residence-permit-if-you-can-support-yourself.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

it is not enough. I need a job without subsidies. Now, my employer receives 50 % subsidies to pay me a salary. It is not possible to find a vacancy without subsidies after four years living in Sweden. (Participant 12).

Available research confirms that while subsidies can yield positive effects for some individuals, they can also cause displacement of real jobs and individual lock-in effects. In Sweden, several studies demonstrate that recruitment subsidies have a positive effect only when part of a wider coordinated program.[66] This correlates with the international research, when for example the study by Card et al., which collected data from ninety-seven studies on ALMP's from twenty-six different countries, demonstrating that subsidized employment is relatively ineffective.[67] It needs to be regulated to avoid its misuse when one and the same employer systematically change its staff for getting new subsidies.

4.2.2 Self-employment

Self-employment is another way to be granted permanent residence if the refugee or subsidiary protection holder proves that they can support themselves at the moment of submitting residence application and for at least two years after.[68] Approximately 30 % of respondents of this fieldwork stated that they were self-employed in their countries of origin and see it as the only way for getting permanent employment in Sweden:

- *I cannot wait for finding an employment anymore, I want to start my own business. It feels like the only way out... (Participant 2).*

However, start-ups are perceived as challenging, partly due to such individual barriers as limited language proficiency and poor knowledge of the labour market and legal regulations, and partly due to structural hinders as lack of support during transition from the state integration program, which correlates with studies in other EU countries.[69] Self-employed are not eligible to any financial support when starting own business during participation in the integration program, so they lose their source of income by making this step, as confirmed by a female permanent residence holder, who used to run a hair salon in Egypt:

- *… and I said to my desk officer that it would be very good for me and my kids. I needed 6000 crowns (app. 600 Euro) to start with… I found the place and everything. I think it is good for me to get own income… to stop coming for social welfare. It is good for my kids that I can provide for myself. My desk officer said they cannot support my transition out of social welfare. If I start my business, they cut social welfare… I cannot fulfil my dream as I need to think about my kids (Participant 10).*

The above is especially problematic in relation to family reunification rule, requiring that the refugee has regular work-related income that enables them to support themselves and their family members, so the respondents comment that they choose a safer track to increase a chance to be re-united with their families.[70] Finally, there is another structural hinder specific for temporary protection holders in relation to self-employment. While it is possible for asylum seekers to change track to apply for work permit instead, this opportunity is lacking for entrepreneurs, who are required to leave the country and apply for a work

66 K. Sehlstedt and L. Schröder, "Språngbräda till arbete? En utvärdering av beredskapsarbete, rekryteringsstöd och ungdomsarbete", *EFA-rapport Nr 19*, Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet: Stockholm, 1989; P. Edin and B. Holmlund, "Unemployment, vacancies and labour market programmes: Swedish evidence in Schioppa, Fiorella Padoa (red), "Mismatch and labour mobility", 1991, Cambridge University Press.

67 D. Card, J. Kluve and A. Weber, "Active labour market policy evaluations: a meta-analysis", *The Economic Journal*, November 2010, 120: 452–477.

68 Swedish Migration Agency, "If you have applied for asylum, have received a temporary residence permit, and are self-employed", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Working-in-Sweden/Employed/If-you-are-in-Sweden/Temporary-asylum-permit/Self-employed---asylum.html> Accessed 01 March 2020.

69 R. Konle-Seidl," Peer Review on Integration of Refugees into the Labour Market. Strategies and targeted measures to support integration of refugees into the German labour market" Host country discussion paper – Germany, 2017, DG Employment Social Affairs and Inclusion; Z. Kone, I. Ruiz and C. Vargas-Silva, "Refugees and the UK Labour Market", ECONREF 04 2019. University of Oxford.

70 Swedish Migration Agency, "Family reunification", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/When-you-have-received-a-decision-on-your-asylum-application/If-you-are-allowed-to-stay/Family-reunification.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

permit from abroad.[71]

Even though Ager and Strang do not specifically focus on self-employment for local integration of refugees and migrants, its advantages are well-documented.[72] Immigrants are more likely than natives to hire immigrants as employees, which is especially true for self-employed immigrants from non-European countries.[73] Targeted measures to support refugee start-ups might thus potentially help to enhance employment levels among refugees and subsidiary protection holders at the same time contributing to socio-economic community development.

4.2.3 Employment via state integration program

Existing research suggests that successful local integration of refugees depends on programmes which allow them to find a place in the new society by converting their skills and qualifications, so that they can be used in the new situation.[74] However, refugees often find their previous credentials and degrees obtained in the country of origin unrecognized by the host government. Consequently, under-employment (defined as holding a job which does not require the level of skills or qualifications possessed by the jobholder) is a common factor in the experience of refugees in the labour market.[75]

The third structural distortion, identified by the respondents on the way to labour market integration, is the state integration programme itself; or rather its standardised approach with limited consideration to individual goals and needs as well as prior competences and experiences. Some respondents experience that the proposed "fit for all" activities tend to be either irrelevant or redundant for them; others need more time in one area then another. A mother of five children with permanent residence, describes her situation as follows:

- *I found three places to practice via state subsidies support, but Public Employment Service said no… they said I must participate in the course… but it gives me nothing. I am not developing. I want to work (Participant 10).*

In 2018, Public Employment Service made a shift from rights-based integration program to labour market political program, with the main goal to harmonise it with the one provided to all unemployed.[76] In short, this shift means that the individual is obligated to accept a job offer coming from the Public Employment officer, or the so-called sanction-ladder is triggered, stripping an individual of economic support.[77] Thus, the program gives little consideration to health or social issues connected to pre-flight and flight situations of refugees:

- *I cannot focus on integration as I am all the time thinking about my daughter, whom we were forced to leave behind. She is 18… She lives in Egypt now and married. This is the biggest anxiety which burns my heart (Participant 2).*
- *I came with the war trauma and was operated eight times. I feel better now but I lost my integration time… (Participant 1).*

71 Swedish Migration Agency, "Residence permit for people who have their own business" <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Working-in-Sweden/Self-employment.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

72 M. Hammarstedt and C. Miao, "Self-employed immigrants and their employees: evidence from Swedish employer-employee data" < springerlink.com.> 2019.

73 P. Andersson and E. Wadensjö, "The employees of native and immigrant self-employed. Research in Labour Economics", 29, 2009, 229–250; M. Hammarstedt and C. Miao, "Self-employed immigrants and their employees: evidence from Swedish employer-employee data" < springerlink.com.> 2019.

74 K. Duke, R. Sales and J. Gregory, "Refugee Resettlement in Europe" in Bloch, A. and Levy, C. (eds) Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe. Basingstoke, 1999: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 105–127; A. Bloch, "Labour market participation and conditions of employment: a comparison of minority ethnic groups and refugees in Britain", *Sociological Research Online*, 2004, 9(2).

75 S. Dick, "Responding to protracted refugee situations: A case study of Liberian refugees in Ghana", Geneva, 2002: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit; A. Bloch, "Labour market participation and conditions of employment: a comparison of minority ethnic groups and refugees in Britain", *Sociological Research Online*, 2004, 9(2); G. Porter, K. Hampshire, P. Kyei, M. Adjaloo, G. Rapoo and K. Kilpatrick, "Linkages between livelihood opportunities and refugee–host relations: Learning from the experiences of Liberian camp-based refugees in Ghana", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 2008, 21(2): 230–52.

76 "Proposition 2016/17:175 on a new regulation for newly arrived integration in labour market and society".

77 Swedish Agency for Public Management, "Ett nytt regelverk för etableringsuppdraget – genomförande och effekter för Arbetsförmedlingens verksamhet, 2019:1", <www.statskontoret.se/globalassets/publikationer/2019/201901.pdf> accessed 12 February 2020.

Little consideration is also given to individual capacity to learn the foreign language or adapt to a new situation. The majority in this group are still in disadvantage compared to an average unemployed being in Sweden for about two years, due to limited language skills, lack of network and poor knowledge of the labour market. Again, the difference between permanent and temporary protection holders, is that the latter are under higher pressure of finding a permanent job.

4.2.4 Education as a prerequisite for employment

While motivation for participation in the integration program for permanent protection holders varies between being forced due to economic incentives, on one side, and the belief that the program helps their integration, on the other side, the temporary protection holders are motivated to accept any kind of (preferably permanent) employment. This generates higher employment numbers among temporary protection holders, at least in a short-term perspective as the study of Jutvik and Robinson shows.[78] However, at the same time, they are less likely to spend time in education than are those with permanent residency.[79] Respondents holding temporary protection experience that they have no active choice when it comes to their future careers:

- *I want to become a nurse and this vocational education program takes time as well as the SAS-level of the Swedish language to enter this program. But I must look for a work instead… any work, to ensure my residence permit. I cannot choose the nurse program, as I do not have this time (Participant 12).*
- *I want to study. My ambition is bigger than cleaning all my life. I want to build a future. I started to study at the university in Syria and thought I could breathe out and continue when I came to Sweden. I feel I lost my dream (Participant 6).*

A conceptual framework of Ager and Strang argues that education clearly provides skills and competences in support of subsequent employment enabling people to become more constructive and active members of the society.[80] Migrants that study in their new country, whether it be language training, higher education or a specific labour market certificate are consistently found to have higher incomes in the long term than those migrants that do not study upon arrival to their new country as they develop skills adapted to the local labour market.[81] In their recent study, Jutvik and Robinson come to conclusion that with respect to study grants received, which is their operationalization of time spent in education, they find that permanent residents outperformed temporary residents.[82] This gives the permanent protection holders a potentially stronger position on the labour market in a long run.

4.2.5 Health as a prerequisite for employment

Physical and mental health are key aspects of the operational definition of integration by Ager and Strang alongside employment and education.[83] The participants of this study confirm a clear co-dependency relationship between their well-being and employment, stating that stable future related to permanent employment contributes to less stress and better mental health in the present. Research by Shields and

78 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

79 Ibid.

80 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press, p.172.

81 For language training see B. Chiswick, "Speaking, reading, and earnings among low-skilled immigrants", *Journal of labour economics*, 9, 1991, 149–170; L. Delander, M. Hammarstedt, J. Månsson and E. Nyberg, "Integration of immigrants: The role of language proficiency and experience. Evaluation Review", 2005, 29, 24–41; G. Lemaˆitre, G. and T. Liebig, "Jobs for immigrants: Labour market integration in Australia, Denmark, Germany and Sweden", Vol. 1, 2007, Publications de l'OCDE. For higher education see M. Hammarstedt, "Income from work among immigrants in Sweden. Review of Income and Wealth", 2003, 49, 185–203; L. Alden and M. Hammarstedt, "Utrikes födda på den svenska arbetsmarknaden: en översikt och en internationell jämförelse", 2014, Linnéuniversitet. For labour market see I. Dahlstedt and P. Bevelander, "General versus vocational education and employment integration of immigrants in Sweden", *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 8, 2010, 158–192; M. Hammarstedt and C. Miao, "Self-employed immigrants and their employees: evidence from Swedish employer-employee data", 2019 <springerlink.com>.

82 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

83 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.

Wheatley-Price also demonstrates this connection, stating that the psychological well-being of those refugees who are working is likely to be far greater than those unemployed who, it is argued, will experience significant adverse effects.[84]

The above employment-health relationship automatically activates the other one, namely the connection between respondents´ residency status and health due to the temporal uncertainties related to the time factor. While permanent protection holders are under pressure to ensure the security and stability via the permanent employment, the temporary protection holders have their residence and their future at stake:

- *We (who have a permanent residence) do not live in the same stress. If I get a temporary job, then I take it… nothing to do… and then I look for another job (Participant 3).*

This exposure to uncertainty, incorporated in temporary permits, has a negative impact on respondents´ health, which correlates with the existing research.[85] Temporary protection holders of this study express a higher degree of instability feeling, lack of safety and fear for the future compared to permanent protection holders. This in its turn becomes an additional barrier for participation in the integration program and job-search. Own health and well-being are not prioritised during this period as the focus is employment:

- *I have been having PTSD since I arrived… then it was a long period of waiting for decision (of the Migration Board). I feel I came to a new war (Participant 8).*
- *I have a heart disease and need a surgery. I am not allowed to do physically demanding work, but I have no choice. I work at the restaurant… There is a slight chance of getting permanent work there (Participant 12).*

4.3 Impact of residency status on social inclusion

4.3.1 Social inclusion in the context of labour market integration

Social inclusion is perceived as a defining milestone in the local integration process by the respondents of this fieldwork, whereas its opposite, social exclusion, is defined as one of the main barriers to the labour market integration. This observation of co-dependency between social inclusion and labour market integration correlates with research of Wilson and Power and Wilson in racially segregated areas of US and the UK, arguing that loss of employment is a key factor in the increasing levels of social exclusion.[86]

Social exclusion is a contested term and there is no consensus about the exact factors or agency responsible for it.[87] It has been described as feeling "excluded from the mainstream" and a feeling of "not belonging".[88] Its antipode, social inclusion, is a feeling of belonging and a linking tissue in the process of local integration, defined by ECRE´ as "a long-term two-way process of change, that relates both to the conditions for and the actual participation of refugees in all aspects of life of the country of durable asylum as well as to refugees 'own sense of belonging and membership of European societies."[89] The phrase "two-way" here points to the importance of seeing integration as mutual accommodation, and thus the need to consider means of social connection between refugees and those other members of the communities within which they settle. This also means that refugees should have equal access to housing, healthcare, education and employment. Consequently, this process requires efforts by all parties, including preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the host society, on one hand, and, similar readiness on the part of the host commu-

84 M.A. Shields and S. Wheatley-Price, "The labour market outcomes and psychological well-being of ethnic minority migrants in Britain", 2003, Home Office, Online Report 07/03.

85 S. Cwerner, "The Times of Migration", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2001, 27 (1): 7–36. doi:10.1080/13691830125283; M. Griffits, "Out of Time: The Temporal Uncertainties of Refused Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.* 2014, Vol. 40, No. 12, 1991-2009.

86 W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

87 J. Hills, J. Le Grand. and D. Piachaud (Eds), "Understanding Social Exclusion", Oxford, 2002: Open University Press; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

88 A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

89 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.

nities and public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population of refugees, on the other.

This paper has chosen to study two forms of social inclusion, namely *social bonds* describing connection with family and like-ethnic group and *social bridges* aiming at connection with other communities. The term of social exclusion, on the contrary, is applied to define lacking or deficient bonds according to the experience of the respondents of this study. In the above-mentioned research of Wilson and Power and Wilson in US and the UK, there are two issues of concern when considering the relationship between the labour market and social exclusion: unemployment and low-paid or marginal employment, lacking security, a decent wage, training or promotion prospects.[90] Wilson and Power describe this process as a vicious circle, when the individual loses trust in the system, and at the same time becomes less attractive as a job applicant.[91] The above inter-dependence between labour market integration and social inclusion is described in the context of refugee communities in deprived urban areas, but there are similarities with the situation in Uppsala municipality, which is a geographical area of this research.

4.3.2 Inclusion as social bonds and social bridges

It is common for respondents of this study to perceive the community as a patchwork of distinct groups, two of which are like-ethnic and host. The level of social inclusion is locally measured by a degree of connection or communication between themselves and the members of the host group, as illustrated by these two answers:

- *I feel insecure and unwelcome sometimes. Of course, not with everyone. Sometimes Swedish people come forward to me, speak to me (Participant 6).*
- *I think Swedish people are nice and kind. I do not have much contact with Syrians, just four or five who are my best friends (Participant 12).*

The common answer from most respondents, including temporary and permanent protection holders, is that it is easier to connect with like-ethnic groups. This connection is considered by them to be benefiting labour market integration and leading to a more secure existence, as they provide each other with practical support, share information and networks. The benefits of social bonds are well-documented in the existing body of research and highlighted in the conceptual framework of Ager and Strang.[92] The bond with like-ethnic groups denies neither diversity nor the importance of social bridges with the host community. It rather creates a context within which respondents feel they have sense of belonging. The structure of the framework reinforces a notion that processes supporting the maintenance of ethnic identity (social bonds) in no way logically limits wider integration into society (social bridges).[93]

As in Ager and Strang´s framework, social bridge connection is defined by the participants from the perspective of friendliness and generally understood as a sense of acceptance.[94] This connection is perceived as challenging by both temporary and permanent protection holders. Partly, the reason is personal barriers, as limited knowledge of the Swedish language, anxiety for the relatives left in the war, stress and family issues, as for example, care of the older relatives, as illustrated here:

- *I would like to get the Swedish friends, … but it is difficult with the language… Then I need to take care of my parents. They are not integrated and do not speak the language… It is my responsibility. I cannot prioritise integration (Participant 4).*
- *At the beginning we could not speak the language. We did not even look up at the other people. But now it is easier. Now I feel more welcome (Participant 11).*

90 W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

91 A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics, p. 8.

92 K. Duke, R. Sales and J. Gregory, "Refugee Resettlement in Europe" in Bloch, A. and Levy, C. (eds) "Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe", Basingstoke, 1999: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 105–127; S. Hale, "The Reception and Resettlement of Vietnamese Refugees in Britain" in Robinson, V. (ed.) "The International Refugee Crisis", Basingstoke, 2000: Macmillan, pp. 280–290; A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.

93 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press, p.186.

94 Ibid, p. 180.

On the other side, the reason is a lack of platforms for communication with the host group, as the only Swedes some of the respondents communicate with are their language course teachers. The outcome of limited social bridges is described by some participants in terms of a sense of alienation and a lack of acceptance by a wider community:

- *I am a bit afraid to communicate with Swedes… afraid to be poorly treated. Once I tried to help the older lady with her bags, but she said "no" and looked down at me (Participant 9).*
- *I feel like a guest here. I feel I am different; I am on display (Participant 3).*

There is no difference between temporary and permanent protection holders in their answers concerning building social bonds and social bridges; the differences are rather individual than related to the residency status.

4.4 Key findings

In the light of the contemporary political paradigm shift from right-based protection of refugees and subsidiary protection holders to the responsibility-based one, permanent residence status becomes conditional and granted in exchange to the efforts which migrants put into their integration.[95] The purpose of the state integration program is to speed up labour market integration process and to support refugees in finding employment.[96] However, not every type of employment is valid for being granted permanent residence, as the pre-condition is an indefinite job contract, which may not be subsidized by any kind of governmental grant.[97] Self-employment is another way to be granted permanent residence if the refugees or subsidiary protection holders prove that they can support themselves at the moment of submitting residence application and for at least two years after.[98] The empirical evidence of this study demonstrates that temporary protection holders are under bigger pressure to meet the above requirements compared with those with permanent residence, which confirms the research conclusions by Jutvik and Robinson.[99] The studies discussed in this paper in relation to employment as the single most important factor in securing the integration of migrants into society as well as for providing them with security and higher self-esteem have likewise been reinforced by the empirical evidence of this fieldwork.[100] The other finding is that temporary protection holders express a higher degree of instability feeling, worse health condition, lack of safety and fear for the future compared to permanent protection holders.[101]

Furthermore, some of the findings emerged in this fieldwork are rather new and do not fit with the previous research. The empirical evidence provides a clear pattern of imperfections and distortions in the institutional context, hindering refugees and subsidiary protection holders from getting permanent employ-

95 K. Borevi, "Dimensions of citizenship: European Integration Policies from a Scandinavian perspective. Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia", 2010, p.19.

96 J. Larsson, "Integrationen och arbetets marknad: hur jämställdhet, arbete och annat" svenskt" görs av arbetsförmedlare och privata aktörer", Stockholm, 2015: Atlas Akademi.

97 Swedish Migration Agency, "Permanent residence permit if you can support yourself", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/Nyhetsarkiv/2020-01-23-Permanent-residence-permit-if-you-can-support-yourself.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

98 Swedish Migration Agency, "If you have applied for asylum, have received a temporary residence permit, and are self-employed", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Working-in-Sweden/Employed/If-you-are-in-Sweden/Temporary-asylum-permit/Self-employed---asylum.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

99 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

100 S. Srinivasan, "An overview of research into refugee groups in Britain during the 1990s", Paper presented at the 4th International Research and Advisory Panel Conference, Oxford, 1994; D. Joly, "Haven or Hell: Asylum Policy in Europe" London, 1996: Macmillan; V. Robinson, "The importance of information in the resettlement of refugees in the UK", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 1998, 11(2), pp. 146–160; A. Bloch, "Refugees in the Job Market: a Case of Unused Skills in the British Economy" in Bloch, A., Levy, C. (eds.) "Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe", Bisingstoke. 1999, Palgrave Macmillan; M. Coussey, "Framework of Integration Policies", Strasbourg, 2000: Council of Europe Publishing; M. A. Shields and S. Wheatley-Price,"The labour market outcomes and psychological well-being of ethnic minority migrants in Britain", 2003, Home Office Online Report 07/03; J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715.

101 S. Cwerner, "The Times of Migration" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 2001, 27 (1): 7–36. doi:10.1080/13691830125283; M. Griffits, "Out of Time: The Temporal Uncertainties of Refused Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2014, Vol. 40, No. 12, 1991-2009.

ment or making successful start-ups. They tend to be trapped in a circle of marginal employment via state subsidies, lacking security, a decent wage, training or promotion prospects, which is also illustrated by Phillimore and Goodson.[102] The goal of state subsidies is to be a step towards permanent employment for different disadvantaged groups with long distance to the labour market. Instead, it tends to be misused by many employers in order to make economical profits via short-term contracts. This phenomenon is familiar in Sweden and the EU, as there is a solid body of literature related to it.[103] It is also well-documented that refugees tend to end up in precarious jobs in the host countries.[104] However, the fact that permanent protection status is conditioned by permanent employment adds another dimension to this discussion. The current angle of research on "refugee livelihoods" and "refugee impact", focusing on individual income-generating activities and, consequently, the state integration program as a means for equipping the protection holders with necessary competences and support for entering labour market, is rather one-sided.[105] The framework of Ager and Strang as well considers achievement and access across the sector of employment as the main marker and means of local integration from the perspective of "refugee livelihoods" and "refugee impact".[106] This angle fails to present the holistic picture of the institutional context regulated by the law as well as current labour market imperfections, which cannot be solved by putting higher demands on individual protection holders.

There are several structural hindrances in relation to self-employment, which are especially challenging for temporary protection holders due to the short period of time they should relate to. First, establishing own business takes time for anyone. Moreover, this form of employment is not eligible for the financial support by the state integration program, so the protection holders lose the financial support the same day they start own business. Second, while it is possible for asylum seekers to change track to apply for work permit instead, this opportunity is lacking for entrepreneurs, who are required to leave the country and apply for a work permit from abroad.[107] Consequently, this alternative is not an option for temporary protection holders who have from thirteen months to three years at their disposal.

Another noteworthy finding of this fieldwork is that the state integration program in itself, or rather its standardised "fit for all" approach with limited consideration to individual goals and prior competences, can be an obstacle for temporary protection holders to find permanent employment. The 2018 shift from rights-based integration program to labour market political program means that the individual is obligated to accept any job offer from the Public Employment officer, otherwise the so-called sanction-ladder is triggered, stripping an individual of economic support.[108] Thus, the protection holders are obliged to participate without possibility to say "no" to subsidised employment, and there is no exception for temporary protection holders. Nor is there a fast track for them taking into consideration that their integration plan covers only thirteen months instead of twenty-four to thirty-six months as in case of permanent protection holders. Basically, they need to achieve the same goals with the same means but during a shorter period of time.

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102 J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715.

103 K. Sehlstedt and L. Schröder, "Språngbräda till arbete? En utvärdering av beredskapsarbete, rekryteringsstöd och ungdomsarbete", *EFA-rapport Nr 19*, Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet: Stockholm, 1989; P. Edin and B. Holmlund, "Unemployment, vacancies and labour market programmes: Swedish evidence" in Schioppa, Fiorella Padoa (red), "Mismatch and labour mobility", 1991, Cambridge University Press; D. Card, J. Kluve and A. Weber, "Active labour market policy evaluations: a meta-analysis", *The Economic Journal,* November 2010, 120: 452–477.

104 W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics; J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715.

105 For refugee livelihood see R. Chambers and G. Conway, "Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century", *IDS Discussion Paper 296*, 1992, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. For refugee impact see T. Kuhlman, "Burden or Boon? A Study of Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan", Amsterdam, 1990: VU University Press; B. Whitaker, "Refugees in Western Tanzania: The distribution of burdens and benefits among local hosts", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 2002, 15(4): 339–58; E. Campbell, "Urban refugees in Nairobi: Protection, survival, and integration", *Migration Studies Working Paper Series,* 2005, 23: 2–19.

106 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.

107 Swedish Migration Agency, "Residence permit for people who have their own business", <https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Working-in-Sweden/Self-employment.html> accessed 01 March 2020.

108 Swedish Agency for Public Management, "Ett nytt regelverk för etableringsuppdraget – genomförande och effekter för Arbetsförmedlingens verksamhet", 2019:1. <www.statskontoret.se/globalassets/publikationer/2019/201901.pdf> accessed 12 February 2020.

Another key finding, emerging in a dialogue with protection holders of this fieldwork, is a co-dependency relationship between employment and social inclusion, which is missing in Ager and Strang´s conceptual framework. The empirical data suggests that social exclusion leads to unemployment and low-paid or marginal employment, which is in line with the research by Phillimore and Goodson and other studies.[109]

There is no difference between temporary and permanent protection holders in their answers concerning building social bonds and social bridges; and the differences are rather individual than related to the residency status. However, the residency status might hypothetically influence the social inclusion opportunities in a long-term perspective due to its clear link to employment. Temporary protection holders are more motivated to find any employment as soon as possible in order to secure the permanent residency status.[110] This means that they have potentially higher chances to develop social bridges as employment is one of few available platforms for building contacts with the host society. From the other side, success depends on whether the work restores the sense of control and prospects for the future.[111] Evidence suggests that refugees who are able to locate work very rarely find jobs which meet those criteria. The temporary residence does not provide with opportunity to find the job which meets those criteria as both this study and the existing research demonstrate, which potentially influences social inclusion prospects negatively.[112]

The final finding is that permanent protection holders have a potentially stronger position on the labour market in a long run due to the possibility to study, which temporary protection holders are deprived of, as they need to focus on work. This conclusion is in line with the existing body of research, stating that migrants that study in their new country, whether it be language training, higher education or a specific labour market certificate are consistently found to have higher incomes in the long term than those migrants that do not study upon arrival to their new country as they develop skills adapted to the local labour market.[113]

Whilst it is not the author´s intention to claim that the findings of this survey can be generalised to cover the whole area of Sweden, these contribute to a growing body of evidence that highlights the retreat from multiculturalism and rights-based protection to responsibility-based one, and gives considerable insight into difficulties the refugee and subsidiary protection holders are facing in relation to it.[114] While the study shows high motivation of refugees and subsidiary protection holders to invest in integration in Sweden, the existing imperfections and distortions in the institutional contexts create a number of obstacles, the overcoming of which are outside of an individual´s power.

109 J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715. See also W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

110 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

111 A. Atkinson, "Social exclusion, poverty and unemployment" in A. Atkinson and J. Hills (Eds) "Exclusion, Employment and Opportunity", pp. 1–24. CASE Paper No. 4, 1998, London School of Economics.

112 W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

113 For language training see B. Chiswick, "Speaking, reading, and earnings among low-skilled immigrants", *Journal of labour economics*, 9, 1991, 149–170; L. Delander, M. Hammarstedt, J. Månsson and E. Nyberg, "Integration of immigrants: The role of language proficiency and experience. Evaluation Review", 2005, 29, 24–41; G. Lemaˆitre, G. and T. Liebig, "Jobs for immigrants: Labour market integration in Australia, Denmark, Germany and Sweden", Vol. 1, 2007, Publications de l'OCDE. For higher education see M. Hammarstedt, "Income from work among immigrants in Sweden. Review of Income and Wealth", 2003, 49, 185–203; L. Alden and M. Hammarstedt, "Utrikes födda på den svenska arbetsmarknaden: en översikt och en internationell jämförelse", 2014, Linnéuniversitet. For labour market see I. Dahlstedt and P. Bevelander, "General versus vocational education and employment integration of immigrants in Sweden", *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 8, 2010, 158–192; M. Hammarstedt and C. Miao, "Self-employed immigrants and their employees: evidence from Swedish employer-employee data", 2019 <springerlink.com>.

114 For retreat from multiculturalism see C. Joppke, "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy", *The British journal of sociology,* 2004, 55, 237–257; K. Borevi, "Multiculturalism and welfare state integration: Swedish model path dependency", 2014, 708-723. For shift from rights-based protection to responsibility-based one see S. Wright, "Citizenship tests in Europe – editorial introduction", *International Journal on multicultural societies*, 2008, 10: 1-9; K. Borevi, "Dimensions of citizenship: European Integration Policies from a Scandinavian perspective. Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia", 2010; S. Goodman, "Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 2010, 36 (5), 753–772. doi:10.1080/13691831003764300.

5. Concluding Remarks

The main objective of temporary legislative changes adopted by the Swedish government in 2016 to the asylum regulation in force, significantly limiting the possibilities of being granted a permanent residence, was to create a stronger incentive for the refugees and subsidiary protection holders to focus on employment.[115] A common point of criticism of this shift towards responsibility-based approach is a lack of a solid prior need and impact analysis as the law was introduced under conditions resembling the state of emergency, when the government claimed the necessity to create a breathing-space for the Swedish asylum system.[116] This paper addresses the above gap by providing an impact analysis on effects of temporary permits on social inclusion and labour market integration from the perspective of refugees and subsidiary protection holders, as active agents of their own integration process.

Available research at the international level demonstrates that refugees prefer to work rather than living on social benefits while they are legally entitled to employment.[117] This conclusion is confirmed by the participants of this fieldwork. Yet, evidence clearly demonstrates that refugees and subsidiary protection holders tend to be caught in a loop of temporary jobs, having a weak position on the labour market, as presented in a number of studies.[118] There is a clear pattern of imperfections and distortions in the institutional context, hindering refugees and subsidiary protection holders from getting permanent employment or making successful start-ups. The examples of such distortions, emerging via empirical analysis of this study, are subsidised employment, complicated procedure for self-employment and standard state integration program without consideration of individual aspirations, or fast-track for speeding up labour market integration of temporary protection holders. Weak position on the labour market in its turn potentially contributes to social exclusion.[119] This agrees with the belief by the respondents of this study, who identify employment as one of few available arenas for creating social bridges with the host society.

The above distortions in the institutional context impact the temporary protection holders to a higher degree than those with permanent residence, as their permanent protection depends on indefinite term employment. This study agrees with the analysis by Jutvik and Robinson demonstrating that refugees with temporary residence earn more, unemployed less and are less likely to spend time in education comparing to those with permanent residence.[120] This hypothesis, however, is not straightforward and unproblematic. The fact that temporary protection holders choose any type of work before studies, potentially weakens their position on the labour market and social inclusion opportunities in a long term. Time pressure creates the situation of "the survival of the fittest".

Taken together the empirical evidence presented in the previous chapter supports our a priori reasoning that there is a political paradigm shift in European countries in general and Sweden in particular, characterised by abandoning the idea of integration as a mutual process and instead emphasising immigrants´ obligation to adapt to the host country, thus, gliding from a rights-based approach to asylum towards a responsibility-based one.[121] In Sweden, this shift is leading to tightening of immigration and integration policies, when residence status becomes a reward in exchange to the efforts which immigrants put into their integration. However, we claim that the contemporary focus on individual motivation and income-gen-

115 Law 2016:752 on temporary limitations to the possibility of being granted a residence permit in Sweden. Department of Justice L7.

116 K. Lindahl, "Stefan Löfven about the refugee crisis: Sweden needs a breathing space", <www.nyheter24.se> accessed 01 October 2019.

117 M. Nimmo, "Creating the conditions for refugees to find work", *Report for the Refugee Council,* London, 1999, A Training Research and Development Ltd; F. Aldridge and S. Waddington, "Asylum seekers' skills and qualifications audit pilot project", National Organisation for Adult Learning, Leicester, 2001; European Commission, "Report of the third European Conference on the integration of refugees", Brussels, 2001; J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715.

118 J. Phillimore and L. Goodson, "Problem or opportunity? Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Employment and Social Exclusion in Deprived Urban Areas", Urban Stud, 2006 43:1715. See also W. Wilson, "When work disappears: new implications for race and urban poverty in the Global Economy", 1998, CASE Paper No. 17, London School of Economics; A. Power and W. Wilson, "Social exclusion and the future of cities", 2000, CASE Paper No. 35, London School of Economics.

119 Ibid.

120 K. Jutvik, D. Robinson, "Limited time of secure residence? A study on the short-term effects of temporary and permanent resident permits on labour market participation", 2018, Working paper 2018:17.

121 S. Wright, "Citizenship tests in Europe – editorial introduction", *International Journal on multicultural societies,* 2008, 10: 1-9; K. Borevi, "Dimensions of citizenship: European Integration Policies from a Scandinavian perspective. Diversity, inclusion and citizenship in Scandinavia", 2010; S. Goodman, "Integration requirements for integration's sake? Identifying, categorising and comparing civic integration policies", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2010, 36 (5), 753–772. doi:10.1080/13691831003764300.

erating activities distracts the research and policy from the institutional context, where economic activity takes place. Betts et al. argue that the regulatory environment of each country, as well as the broader structure of formal and informal institutions, shapes how a particular economy works, and what opportunities and constraints are available to individuals and groups.[122] The contextual perspective is vital to understand the wider structural conditions in which refugees operate as economic agents rather than seeing their individual income-generating activities in isolation. This requires making a step from the historical lines of research on "refugee livelihoods" and "refugee impact" towards the concept of "refugee economies".[123] The concept of 'refugee economies' outlined here is important in order to understand the entire market structure relating to refugees rather than reverting simply to instrumental questions relating to 'livelihoods' and 'impacts'. Understanding refugee economies has academic value because it allows us to understand and explain a variety of economic outcomes for refugees. It also has value for policymakers by highlighting the levers through which policy can enable, build upon, and create a positive environment for markets to support refugees more sustainably.[124]

The above-mentioned challenges on the system level might be the indicator that the state sees the refugees as someone benefiting from their status and protection, but only temporarily, as illustrated by Goodwin-Gill, leading to short-term knee-jerk policy and practice.[125] Introduction of temporary residence in Sweden confirms this as its goal was to create "a breathing space" for the state as a consequence of the refugee influx of 2015. This way of approaching integration as one of the durable solutions is problematic in many respects. Of course, at some point in time, a refugee may no longer need protection because the causes of his or her flight no longer exist, but we can never know exactly when that will be; not knowing, we need to plan and to protect indefinitely, for the duration.[126] In a similar way, the movement of people between Member States, both regularly and irregularly, is a constant and migration will continue. Moreover, this is the obligation of the state as a protection-giver according to the international law to create a pre-requisite for successful integration, as one of three recognised durable solutions, by taking active measures for eliminating the obstacles at the system level. Finally, the current international initiative of the Global Refugee Compact underlines the importance of the host states to change the approach from exclusively state-centric and humanitarian to targeted development assistance, which requires a broader view of the political economy that shapes possibilities for refugee self-reliance.

The global compact on refugees is a unique initiative as it highlights the necessity of cooperation between the states and other "relevant stakeholders" in order to provide a basis for predictable and equitable burden- and responsibility-sharing.[127] This multi-stakeholder and partnership approach puts a bigger pressure on the national leadership and arrangements by concerned host countries to coordinate and facilitate the efforts of all relevant stakeholders working to achieve appropriate, accessible and inclusive responses and to foster economic growth for host communities and refugees. In this respect, the markets and the private sector are encouraged to advance standards for ethical conduct in refugee situations, share tools to identify business opportunities in host countries, and develop country-level private sector facilitation platforms where this would add value.[128] Refugees´ competences and experiences need to be recognised and taken into consideration when matching them with the local labour market needs for achieving a long-term win-win impact. Exploring how temporary regime and obligation-approach impact local integration remains an interesting task for the future in order to understand how the Refugee Compact implementation oper-

122 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press, p. 40.

123 For refugee livelihood see R. Chambers and G. Conway, "Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century", *IDS Discussion Paper 296*, 1992, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. For refugee impact see T. Kuhlman, "Burden or Boon? A Study of Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan", Amsterdam, 1990: VU University Press; B. Whitaker, "Refugees in Western Tanzania: The distribution of burdens and benefits among local hosts", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 2002, 15(4): 339–58; E. Campbell, "Urban refugees in Nairobi: Protection, survival, and integration", *Migration Studies Working Paper Series,* 2005, 23: 2–19. For refugee economies see A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press.

124 A. Betts, L. Bloom, L. Kaplan and N. Omata, "Refugee Economies. Forced Displacement and Development", 2017, Oxford university press, p. 47.

125 G. Goodwin-Gill, "The Global Compacts and the Future of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 2018, vol.30, No4, 674-683.

126 Ibid, p.675.

127 United Nations, "Global Compact on Refugees", New York, 2018, <file://lansstyrelsen.se/home/UPP/820419-002/My%20Documents/Skrivbord/Thesis/Existing%20research/global%20compact%20on%20refugees.pdf> Accessed 15 March 2020.

128 Ibid.

ates in relation to the broader institutional contexts.

In conclusion, we want to emphasise some limitations of this study. Our sample is limited in two ways: the number of participants and the geographical area of the fieldwork. This means that we need to be careful about the interpretability of our results. Furthermore, the external validity of our result depends on the institutional setting as well the composition of refugees, which is time dependent. However, the fact that temporary protection regimes may be designed in many ways, makes it rather challenging to compare other settings to the one we are studying in this paper. It would therefore be relevant to compare our results to future studies of temporary regimes in other settings. Finally, this paper describes a variety of outcomes in terms of labour market integration and social inclusion in relation to temporary and permanent residence status, thus abstracting from other elements of the framework by Ager and Strang.[129] Further exploring these two and other elements in different institutional settings combined with a qualitative study with the officials, working with implementation of similar integration programs, remains interesting tasks for the future in order to understand how temporary regime and obligation-approach impact integration, especially in the context of a new era of the Global Refugee Compact.

129 A. Ager, A. Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework", *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 2, 2008, Oxford University Press.