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INTEGRATING NEWLY-ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS INTO THE LABOUR MARKET

Integration is described by many societal stakeholders and by media as one of the major contemporary challenges facing society in Sweden → Highly-skilled new arrivals risk ending up in jobs for which they are over-qualified → Employers play an important role in the integration of new arrivals into the labour market → Low-skilled new arrivals tend to be unable to move on from low-paid, precarious jobs



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Title: Integrating newly-arrived immigrants into the labour market

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SUMMARY

Integration is described by many societal stakeholders and by media as one of the major contemporary challenges facing society in Sweden. In this research overview, we look at one theme concerning integration: becoming established in the labour market, with a focus on newly-arrived immigrants. The research overview describes a range of different perspectives and shows that new arrivals are facing major challenges in the labour market. For example, refugee immigrants and their relatives take the longest to find work in Sweden. Highly-skilled new arrivals also risk ending up in jobs for which they are over-qualified, and they do not have the same opportunities to pursue a career or develop in the same way as their colleagues who were born in Sweden. Low-skilled new arrivals, on the other hand, tend to be unable to move on from low-paid, precarious jobs. Several studies have highlighted these and other challenges associated with the integration of new arrivals into the Swedish labour market and have suggested solutions. But more research is still needed into how integration processes are organised in everyday life and what the consequences are for new arrivals.

1. Introduction

The integration of newly-arrived immigrants is described by many politicians, researchers and media as one of the major contemporary challenges facing society in Sweden. The research area surrounding integration embraces many different perspectives and disciplines. Any attempt to provide a systematic overview of this field must be viewed as one of many possible alternatives. One way of approaching the area of integration is to identify different themes associated with the area, such as the labour market, housing market, politics, health, education, family and media.

We are limiting this overview to labour market issues, as this is where newly arrived immigrants are viewed to be facing the biggest challenges in becoming established. We would, however, like to point out that there are different perceptions of what is meant by being established in the labour market, both in the world of research and among practitioners. In some contexts, it is equated with having a permanent job, in others all kinds of employment are included, including subsidised employment, and sometimes education is also included that is expected to result in employment in the future.

The reasons for this focus are as follows:

- In society, integration is increasingly being equated with establishment in the labour market.
- A growing number of studies are indicating the need for more studies on the establishment of new arrivals in the Swedish labour market (see, for example, Wikström & Sténs, 2019).
- Before the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, unemployment in Sweden was much higher among non-native persons (15.1%) than among native persons (4.4%) (SCB, 2019) despite Sweden then having the EU's highest employment rate – 68.5%, measured in the 20-64 age group (Eurostat, 2019). There is much to indicate that this trend has been reinforced in the wake of the coronavirus crisis.
- In the immigrant group as a whole, it takes the longest time for refugees and their relatives to find a job (Delmi, 2018; Wikström & Sténs, 2019).

In this overview, we use the Swedish Migration Agency's (2016) definition of a new arrival: a person who has been granted a residence permit as a refugee or for other reasons of protection and has been received in a municipality in Sweden. A person is a new arrival for as long as he/she is covered by the Swedish Act on the responsibility for establishment contributions for newly arrived immigrants (2017: 584).

Many studies have highlighted challenges associated with integrating new arrivals into the Swedish labour market (Wikström & Sténs, 2019). By contrast, there is hardly any research into how integration processes are organised in practice, with few exceptions (see, for example, Diedrich,

2013). Practical work on integration is multifaceted, with challenges in a number of different yet mutually related areas. It covers various actors such as public sector, private and non-profit organisations, which in various ways support the establishment of new arrivals in the workplace.

The Swedish state uses its policy on migration and integration to define the framework for who may come to Sweden and under what premises. Labour market policy is becoming increasingly important in this context (Dahlstedt, 2013), as work is increasingly seen as being decisive for successful integration. For example, it defines a framework for which kinds of support measures are to be made available to people who have difficulties in establishing themselves in the labour market. The major challenges emerge when the policy has to be put into practice – when government agencies have to organise their day-to-day operations on the basis of the policy decisions taken and when they have to interact with municipal organisations, non-profit organisations and private companies in order to integrate new arrivals more quickly and effectively.

As work is presented as being central to integration, employers have an important role to play in this context. One decisive factor for integration into the labour market and inclusion at the workplace is how inclined employers are to employ new arrivals and for what kinds of jobs, how they come into contact with new arrivals, what wages they are prepared to pay and whether there is discrimination, not only among employers, but also among their employees and customers.

At the individual level, various obstacles are identified among new arrivals, such as language difficulties, health problems, a lack of contacts in the world of business, a short educational background and little or no experience of working at a workplace in the West. There is a general perception that these obstacles and difficulties can be dealt with and overcome with the aid of support measures and initiatives to prepare new arrivals for the workplace. These may involve, for example, language tuition, guidance, preventive health work, work placements, mentoring programmes and a host of other activities. These can be used to make a new arrival employable (see, for example, Diedrich & Styhre, 2013) or to encourage the workplace to develop a more inclusive approach.

The above challenges are interrelated, and in practice it is difficult to separate them. On the one hand, a change in integration policy or labour market policy may have consequences for both employers and new arrivals. But on the other hand, challenges associated with the group of new arrivals, such as the fact that new arrivals suffer more from health problems, may result in changes in policy.

The purpose of this research overview is to highlight these challenges, as well as opportunities to facilitate integration. The overview refers primarily to Swedish literature in this field, but also includes international studies in cases where it is deemed relevant.

2. Research into integration through work

Research into the integration of new arrivals into the labour market is dominated by two main notions: the notion that a person is integrated when he/she has got a job and the notion that a person is integrated when he/she receives equal treatment at the workplace.

The notion that a person is integrated when he/she has found employment dominates research into integration in many disciplines. A large part of the research identifies factors that affect the opportunities for new arrivals to be integrated into the labour market (see, for example, Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014; Joyce, 2015; Eriksson et al., 2017; Forslund, Liljeberg & Åslund, 2017; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). Research into labour economics deals with, for example, educational attainment, age at immigration and length of stay in Sweden. Some studies point to societal changes, such as technological changes or the state of the economy, as an explanation why non-native persons find it more difficult to establish themselves in the labour market (see, for example, Knocke, 2000; Carlsson, Fumarco & Rooth, 2017). Other studies point to the importance of local conditions for the integration of new arrivals, such as the size of the locality or the structure of the local economy and the labour market (e.g. Bevelander & Lundh, 2007; Hedberg & Tammaru, 2013). Several studies highlight the importance of state aid to facilitate the integration of new arrivals into the labour market (e.g. Schierup & Paulsen, 1994; Behrenz et al., 2015; Boese, 2015; Kamali, 2015; Lundborg & Skedinger, 2016).

However, one common explanation in research for why non-native persons in general and new arrivals in particular do not find work is the significance of ethnic discrimination in connection with recruitment (see Neergaard, 2006; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Bursell, 2012). Employers will often hire people who are similar to themselves (Åslund & Nordström Skans, 2010), so-called homosociality (Holgerson, 2013; Holgerson et al., 2016). This may mean that employers born in Sweden prioritise the hiring of people born in Sweden ahead of new arrivals (Behrenz et al., 2015), although it may also mean that non-native employers prioritise the hiring of people with similar cultural backgrounds (Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015; Frödin & Kjellberg, 2020). Discrimination can also have the effect that new arrivals are over-represented in more precarious, temporary jobs (cf. Shirmohammadi et al., 2018). Research shows that a high level of education makes it easier for new arrivals to find a job (Knocke, 2000; Lundborg, 2013), although they can easily end up in low-skilled occupations and tend to be overqualified for their jobs to a greater extent than those born in Sweden (Eriksson, 2011).

The notion that integration means that everyone receives equal treatment at work and at the workplace has been

prominent in areas such as Human Resource Management (HRM), organisational theory and in studies of diversity management. In this field, integration is often regarded as synonymous with inclusion, and studies highlight to a large extent the situation of new arrivals and the challenges of being accepted on equal terms at the workplace (see e.g. Kamp & Hagedorn-Rasmussen, 2004; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007; Knappert et al., 2018; Romani et al., 2019).

Research here suggests two overarching explanations for new arrivals not being included at the workplace. The first explanation is based on the conditions at the workplace, its structure or context (see, for example, Janssen & Zanoni, 2014). The workplace may have inadequate procedures to ensure equal treatment or have no equal treatment plans and other policy documents at all (Kamp & Hagedorn-Rasmussen, 2004; Van Riemsdijk et al., 2015). It may also be the case that employers have limited knowledge of how differences should, or can, be managed; they may have an inadequate understanding of the challenges that may arise or consider the experiences of newly arrived employees to be insignificant or inaccurate (cf. Dietz et al., 2015). Moreover, new arrivals may also be exposed to ethnic discrimination at the workplace from managers or colleagues acting as gatekeepers (see, for example, Kamp & Hagedorn-Rasmussen, 2004).

The second explanation concerns how employers perceive the skills and resources of new arrivals, for example that new arrivals do not have the skillsets to be able to perform the work in their new country. They may be presumed to lack the necessary language skills, have an inadequate understanding of cultural codes at the workplace and in society, and their formal educational grades do not always correspond to comparable local qualifications (see, for example, Chiswick et al. 2005; Lundborg & Skedinger, 2016; Lai et al., 2017).

2.1. Effects of aggravated integration

There may thus be several reasons why new arrivals are not integrated into the labour market and at workplaces to the same extent as those born in Sweden. New arrivals risk ending up in jobs for which they are overqualified or that fall outside the areas for which they are qualified. They do not have the same opportunities to pursue a career or develop in the same way as their colleagues who were born in Sweden. This can result in them being easily drawn to other non-native persons with similar backgrounds (which is seen both as an advantage and a disadvantage, as it can contribute to the formation of ethnic enclaves that shut themselves off from the rest of the workplace or society) (Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015; Frödin & Kjellberg, 2020).

Research here also highlights differences between different industries. In occupations that require completed upper secondary or higher education, or where there is fierce competition for jobs, a lack of knowledge among employers of what the competences of new arrivals actually mean, combined with discrimination, contributes to making integration

more difficult (see, for example, Andersson Joona, 2018). In sectors that require shorter education (e.g. the cleaning industry), non-native persons, and in particular new arrivals, are over-represented among employees. However, in sectors where there is a shortage of labour, but which require some qualifications (e.g. healthcare), there is often a focus on efforts to make new arrivals employable (e.g. Andersson Joona, 2018).

Significant differences have also been identified between the opportunities for men and women to become established in the Swedish labour market. The Swedish labour market is characterised by high demands for formal education and language skills, while newly arrived women generally have a shorter education than newly arrived men. This, combined with the fact that there are more jobs with low requirements for language skills and formal education in male-dominated industries than in female-dominated industries, has a negative impact on the opportunities for women to become established in the labour market (Swedish Public Employment Service, 2019).

In conclusion, we can state that the existing research in different disciplines points to many challenges and problems, but also identifies a number of potential solutions that we summarize below.

2.2 Aggravating factors and their solutions

Over the past two decades, research has identified the following factors that make it difficult for new arrivals to find employment and a good situation at the workplace:

- The reason for immigration and health issues – those in need of protection and their relatives are expected to have greater difficulties than labour migrants, such as psychological problems due to previous traumatic experiences (e.g. SOU 2003:73; Bevelander, 2011; Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014; Delmi, 2015; Åhs & Daryani, 2019)
- Human capital and language – a lower level of education among newly-arrived immigrants compared with native-born persons (e.g. Blume et al., 2007; Delmi, 2015), inadequate Swedish language skills (e.g. Rooth & Åslund, 2006) and undervaluation of the human capital of new arrivals (e.g. Neergaard, 2006)
- Local factors and social networks – lack of contacts and networks, or participation in the “wrong” networks (e.g. Bevelander, 2011; Segendorf & Teljosuo, 2011; Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015) and segregation (e.g. Hedberg & Tammaru, 2013)
- The structure of the Swedish labour market (including increasingly strict demands for upper secondary or post-secondary education) and culture (including a focus on flat hierarchies, high level of independence, efficiency requirements at all levels) that may differ from the experiences of new arrivals (e.g. Graham & Soininen, 1998; Lundh & Ohlsson, 1999; Delmi, 2015; National Audit Office, 2015)
- Discrimination – structural (groups discriminated

against in society) and individual (individuals discriminated against, e.g. in connection with validation of skills, job interviews, wage levels or in workplace interactions) (e.g. Knocke, 2000; De los Reyes & Kamali, 2005; Neergaard, 2006; Diedrich, et al., 2011; De Alcantara Hamrin, 2019; Eriksson, 2019)

- Organisation of support for integration – for example, when different organisational practices are adapted to bureaucratic/administrative needs instead of the needs of new arrivals (e.g. Diedrich & Styhre, 2013; see also Qvist, 2017).

Solutions that have been presented in research to make it easier for new arrivals to find employment and a good situation at the workplace:

- Different forms of employment, for example time-limited and subsidised employment, or employment by staffing agencies (e.g. Andersson Joona, 2018)
- Initiatives to make new arrivals more employable, such as training and skills-enhancing measures and validation of skills and abilities (e.g. Delmi, 2015)
- Initiatives to strengthen the social capital of new arrivals (e.g. support for setting up their own business or work placement) (Delmi, 2015).
- A change to the structure of the workplace in order to facilitate work on diversity, for example through systematic work with equal treatment, certification of diversity work, the integration of diversity into strategic business planning, anonymised job advertisements or training decision-makers in diversity work and intercultural communication.

3. Lessons learned from research

Existing research highlights many challenges and problems, but also identifies potential solutions.

In this section, lessons learned from existing research are supplemented with an organisational perspective on labour market integration. This enables us to put integration initiatives in a context by linking to policies, to the public organisations that have to translate policy decisions into practice – often in collaboration with companies and the non-profit sector – to employers and workplaces, and to the target group of the initiatives. All of these actors are part of work on integration. In order to learn anything about integration, and about how to better organise work on integration, one must first understand how these actors interact and coordinate their actions in practice.

One example is workplace-based placement. For many years, offering placements has been considered an effective tool for establishing new arrivals in the workplace. Proponents

refer to the importance of the placement for learning the language and networking. New arrivals gain access to valuable work experience and the opportunity to learn the cultural codes that exist at a Swedish workplace. For employers, the placement can offer a good opportunity to test an individual's skills and qualities before offering employment. But workplace-based placements as a solution to the problem of integration do not always work as intended (see, for example, Vesterberg, 2016). For example, there may be a risk that employers take advantage of different forms of employment support without actually hiring the person, and after the end of the placement period they offer a new placement to another person. For some smaller and even larger companies, publicly funded placements can become a means of supplying the business with cheap labour, while placements and other subsidised employment arrangements contribute to new arrivals being channelled into sectors with low-paid jobs.

What is presented as an effective solution to the 'integration problem' may thus have unintended consequences and make it more difficult for new arrivals to become established in the labour market in the longer term. One important question to ask is therefore how the measure can contribute to creating a more inclusive labour market and what it means for the longer-term establishment of new arrivals in the workplace.

For those working on integration issues, it may also be important to acquire a perception of the interests of different actors and how they can be reconciled. For example, the provision of placements may seem like a simple process, but it actually encompasses a host of different interests, perspectives and considerations. This applies not least to the potential candidates, who all have varying levels of competence, experience, needs and interests. The biggest challenge for some is learning the Swedish language. Others feel more comfortable with the language and only need to build up their social network so that they can establish themselves in a permanent job. According to the Public Employment Service's instructions, it is important for certain groups of jobseekers to exhibit a high level of activity. It is also important to get the jobseeker into work as quickly as possible, regardless of the job. The question for politicians and other decision-makers is how they can exert a positive influence over such decision-making processes so that they become both inclusive and effective over time.

When work on integration is placed in an organisational context, some interesting lessons emerge for both policy and practice. We summarise these below.

Integration requires a long-term approach

Work on integration often means that individuals and organisations must change their accepted ways of working and their taken-for-granted understandings of their contexts. This kind of change takes time. But integration initiatives are often based on a short-term perspective. Most initiatives between and within organisations are organised in projects, which are expected to produce rapid results. Projects

are temporary, with special conditions when it comes to resources. The organisers and other participants in these initiatives will often not have time for what should be achieved during the project period, and many projects fail to make the transition to regular activities after the end of the project (see, for example, SOU 2003:75; Swedish Public Employment Service, 2019). Instead, a short-term approach creates a risk of confusing the goals they want to achieve with the tools used to achieve these goals. As a result of this, more attention is paid to the tools than the goals.

The inclusion of new arrivals in the workplace must be allowed to take the time required so that meaningful relationships can be developed and learning can take place between all actors. For example, relationships between private employers and public sector actors working with integration support must be allowed to develop over time, so that they have time to feel their way to different solutions and to develop meaningful and sustainable processes. Moreover, new arrivals need more time when they are first becoming established, as it can be assumed that much is new to them, such as the language and culture at the workplace.

In general, it can be stated that it is unrealistic to believe that integration can be rushed; integration and inclusion require a long-term perspective and deliberation from all involved. The more aggravating factors there are, the more important it is to adopt a long-term approach.

Integration requires clear, stable funding

The funding of integration initiatives is currently complex and unclear. At a general level, a large part of the support is aimed at creating collaboration or promoting networking between public sector, private and non-profit organisations, testing methods and models for integration or implementing integration activities. The financial resources earmarked for integration initiatives are not centralised. Instead, the funds are first distributed to various organisations (e.g. county administrative boards, funds, various government agencies), before being distributed to other actors (e.g. municipalities) and initiatives (e.g. collaborative projects or activities to prepare people for work) via calls for tenders or otherwise. This is true at both Swedish and European level. For example, municipalities can apply to the county administrative boards for initiatives to facilitate the establishment of asylum seekers, new arrivals and unaccompanied minors. They can apply also for integration initiatives from the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, the European Social Fund and other national and European government agencies. It is thus unclear exactly where the financial resources are, and this can make integration initiatives more difficult.

For the most part, this means that organisations that want to initiate integration initiatives have to apply for funding from others or achieve results through initiatives without their own budget (Brorström & Diedrich, 2020). If funding is available, it can usually be used for a shorter period of one or two years, after which the initiative

is expected to become part of regular activities and be financed through them (SOU 2003:75). It can also be said that uncertainties surrounding funding have contributed to increased competition between initiatives with regards to funding and target groups (Qvist, 2017; Diedrich & Hellgren, 2018; Fejes et al., 2018).

On the other hand, initiatives without their own budget may find it difficult to justify their existence and carry out their activities. This is particularly true of collaborative projects. It is expected that such projects carry out their activities within the framework of the core activities of the project participants. This produces a paradox: while the aim is to develop new (and better) methods of integration or further develop existing methods, the lack of financial resources means that project participants choose to invest in what they are already doing in their core missions (for which they are being paid). They keep doing what they have always done, and this rarely results in innovative solutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Brorström & Diedrich, 2020).

Based on this, we can confirm that sustainable, meaningful work to establish new arrivals on the labour market and in the workplace requires clear, stable funding and a clearer link between the funding and the longer-term goals of the integration initiatives.

Integration requires a critical approach to accepted solutions

Validation, collaboration, placements, subsidised employment, on-the-job learning – work to support the establishment of new arrivals in the workplace is affected by a constant flow of new solutions and tools. Social science research in many areas has shown that decision-makers often believe so strongly in the solutions they are provided with that they embrace them without reflecting on what they actually want to achieve with their help (e.g. Diedrich, 2004). In practice, however, things rarely turn out as envisaged. For example, subsidised employment can easily displace regular jobs (Delmi, 2015), and the validation of knowledge and skills, which has been presented as an effective solution for identifying the past experiences and knowledge of new arrivals since the late 1990s, is still used very sparingly in integration contexts (e.g. Swedish Public Employment Service, 2017; National Audit Office, 2015; Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2013).

Research suggests that what is presented as a miracle cure for integration, such as validation, subsidised employment or collaboration, tends in turn to bring with it new and often unforeseen challenges (Andersson & Fejes, 2010; Diedrich, 2017). In other words, simply implementing a solution is not enough. On the contrary, this is when the real work begins and where it has to be continuously ensured that initiatives are and remain meaningful in practice. Even a collaborative project that is considered successful at a certain point in time can still be suddenly threatened by changes – the Public Employment Service closing down its local operations, or a private company that has accepted new arrivals to teach them the language at the workplace going bankrupt, for

example. There are no obvious solutions. Integration initiatives are successful when they succeed in involving relevant actors (e.g. officials, employers, new arrivals) at work in such a way that their interests are met over time. This means that the work to integrate new arrivals should be organised in a pragmatic way, for example by starting on a small scale and then adapting along the way. There should also be a critical approach to the notion that there is a 'best way' to deal with integration. Good examples need to be adapted to local circumstances in a process of dissemination in order to be meaningful in practice and policy.

Integration requires a continuous dialogue between actors

Initiatives to integrate new arrivals into the labour market primarily involve three target groups: officials, new arrivals and employers. All three must be involved at an early stage in the process and maintain a continuous dialogue with one another. Here we propose three ways to achieve and consolidate such a dialogue: a) innovative democratic practice; b) a focus on so-called boundary spanners and culture brokers and c) a focus on matching work and continuous follow-up.

To begin with, those behind integration initiatives should avoid tackling integration by finding solutions to the 'problems' of new arrivals without involving them in the process. In recent years, researchers have investigated so-called "innovative democratic practices" (e.g. Lezaun & Soneryd, 2007; Callon et al., 2011) which are based on target groups and experts coming together to develop solutions. There are many different ways to plan and implement such an interaction. What is important is that the organiser of an integration-enhancing initiative must be willing to create a deeper dialogue with the target group at an early stage, which can result in new, creative ideas and tools.

Active help can also be obtained from so-called boundary spanners and culture brokers. Boundary spanners are people used to moving between different contexts. They may have worked at private companies and switched to the public sector and feel at home in both contexts. They may have come to Sweden as refugees and work as service providers in the public sector to provide support to help new arrivals become established. Boundary spanners can be important when it comes to challenging existing arrangements and can cause new issues to be prioritised, qualities that make them sought-after in organisations striving to achieve change.

Culture brokers, by contrast, help others to cross boundaries, be they professional, cultural or other. They mediate, convey and build bridges between people or groups with different backgrounds and characteristics in order to reduce conflicts and enable change. A culture broker will usually come from one culture or the other, although they can also come from a third group. Culture brokers are usually characterised by the fact that they are capable and confident when acting in both directions. The role of culture broker should not be confused with the role of interpreter – a role that receives a lot of attention in integration contexts. The role

of culture broker is more comprehensive than that of an interpreter, although language skills and interpreting skills are very important in cross-cultural situations where language is part of the role. Boundary spanners and culture brokers can play a very important role in achieving and supporting a meaningful dialogue between officials, employers and new arrivals.

Finally, a lot of focus should be put on matching work between potential jobs or placements, employers and new arrivals, through interviews and by involving new arrivals and employers at an early stage in the process. This will make it possible to identify the different interests and expectations that exist. Furthermore, the experiences of new arrivals and employers should be monitored continuously in order to ensure that they understand the purpose of and preconditions for the activity. This is more time-consuming than matching placement candidates and employers without taking into account their interests and previous experiences, or trying to place people “correctly” with the aid of various mathematical and AI-based matching tools, but there is much to be gained through this dialogue between officials, employers and new arrivals. Not least because a growing number of studies show how different AI-based tools risk being discriminatory (see, for example, Tischbirek, 2020).

4. Research needs

It is important to note that this research overview cannot provide a comprehensive picture of all relevant knowledge in this area. It is clear, however, that despite extensive research into the integration of new arrivals into the labour market and at the workplace, many important issues remain to be highlighted. Research has helped us so far to understand that new arrivals have great difficulty in integrating into working life in Sweden and other countries. But more research is needed into how the integration of new arrivals into the labour market and at the workplace takes place.

Furthermore, research in this area almost exclusively investigates the causes of unsuccessful integration and possible measures, but to a far lesser extent the consequences of successful integration. In other words, research focuses less on people who are today considered to be “integrated” as a consequence of previous support.

Research also has surprisingly little to say about the perceptions and experiences of new arrivals of being integrated into the workplace. Some studies have pointed out that when new arrivals end up in low-paid jobs that do not require advanced knowledge or skills, and where there is little or no trade union representation, they are often mistreated in one way or another (see, for example, Calleman & Herzfeld Olsson, 2015). But we need more knowledge about the role and responsibility of the employer in the integration of new arrivals. Instead of simply considering employers to be the cause of failures to achieve integration, more studies could

focus on those instances when employers hire new arrivals and contribute to integration.

There is also little research-based knowledge of how gender-related aspects affect the integration of new arrivals into the workplace (the Swedish Public Employment Service has, however, published a number of analysis-based studies on this subject, Wickström Östervall, 2017, 2019; Cheung, 2018; Larsson, 2019). How do relationships between new arrivals affect their integration into the workplace? What is the role in integration played by managers with refugee backgrounds who are hiring new employees? What is the role of the relationships that new arrivals have with family members in their home country? What is the importance of their location for their opportunity to become established in the workplace? There are only a few studies that highlight the role of various public sector, private and non-profit organisations, in addition to potential employers, in the integration of new arrivals into the workplace. How can these organisations contribute to supporting new arrivals in a better and meaningful way in their efforts to integrate into the workplace in the new country? How can they support employers who want to hire new arrivals? What is the significance of different forms of organisation and collaboration in this work?

In conclusion, this means that there is also scope for methodological development, as such integration processes are presumably best studied through longitudinal, qualitative studies of practice in which researchers follow and highlight the integration of new arrivals into the labour market and at the workplace over time and in a variety of locations. Most existing studies available to us at present are limited to examining the situation at a workplace or the situation of new arrivals and/or employers at a certain point in time, but do not monitor the processes over time. There is great potential for future studies here.

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