



The labour market
integration of resettled
refugees

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Executive summary

This literature review aims to synthesise what is currently known about labour market integration of resettled refugees. One aspect, widely acknowledged in the literature, is that a 'refugee gap' appears when comparing resettled refugees to other immigrants in terms of labour market integration. Analyses in multiple countries have shown that resettled refugees perform worse in measures of labour market integration compared to other immigrants and individuals in the short-term, even when controlling for differences in demographics such as age, education level, and level of host country language acquisition. This is alarming given the centrality of employment in the metrics of governments and refugees themselves. Yet, in the longer term, resettled refugee groups have been shown to be closing this gap, and some promising practices for further narrowing the gap can be identified. This review examines, given the available evidence, the extent to which resettled refugees have been able to integrate into the labour market of the host country, the barriers and resilience factors to labour market integration, and promising practices for improving labour market integration.

Introduction

‘Governments should understand the nature of the refugees arriving and put us with the jobs that [...] allow the life to sustain.’

- Older Bhutanese refugee woman, 2012 focus group Pittsburgh, USA

Importance of labour market integration

1. Each year, some 75,000 refugees are resettled globally. Most are resettled from countries of first asylum in developing and middle-income countries to industrialised countries where they receive residence and full rights, including the USA, Canada, Nordic countries, Australia, New Zealand, and European Union countries.¹ The countries offering resettlement have changed and broadened in recent years, but, in 2012, the UNHCR assisted refugees to depart for 26 different countries (UNHCR, 2013c). UNHCR reports that the following countries have resettlement programmes as of 2012: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, UK, Uruguay, and USA (UNHCR, 2012).² The primary purpose of this review is to examine the existing evidence of how such refugees have been able to integrate into the labour markets of resettlement countries. The review examines the level of their labour market integration and the means of achieving labour market integration.

2. Labour market integration is an important indicator of short- and long-term refugee integration and of a successful, durable solution to the limbo and protection needs stemming from forcible displacement. In each of the three largest resettlement countries by current volume – USA, Canada, and Australia – successful economic adjustment has been a central goal of refugee resettlement policies (Waxman, 2001). For example, the USA 1980 Refugee Act states that the Director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) shall ‘make available sufficient resources for employment training and placement in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency among refugees as quickly as possible.’ Employment and self-sufficiency have been called the ‘greatest challenges’ for resettled refugees in other countries, including the solidarity resettlement countries in Latin America (White, 2012). Furthermore, according to studies in the UK and Denmark, refugees frequently define economic outcomes such as employment as important to their own lives (Valtonen, 1998).

3. Despite this rhetorical focus, labour market integration is often measured poorly or neglected in the literature, and rigorous evaluations of programmes to improve labour market

¹ Of the 10.5 million refugees recorded by UNHCR, less than 1% of them are formally resettled to a third country, totalling between 65,000 per year to 85,000 per year for UNHCR resettlement departures in the past five years (UNHCR, 2013).

² Although many countries formally have ad hoc or annual resettlement programmes, their sizes differ. The USA has by far the largest with over three million refugees resettled since 1975. Canada and Australia have mid-size programmes, and Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden have long-established programmes with relatively high per capita resettlement.

integration are lacking. Both governments and non-governmental organisations invest resources and political capital in resettlement programmes without knowing their effects or how to improve existing programmes. The USA government alone invests US\$1 billion each year in its resettlement programme, yet still lacks more than basic, short-term measures of labour market integration. Researchers and governments perform discrete research but tackle many of the same issues and leave other issues unexamined.

4. This literature review aims to bring together the literature and opinions of experts to summarise current knowledge about labour market integration. It first describes the background and parameters of the study. It then summarises what is currently known about the state of employment of resettled refugees. Third, this review highlights the numerous hypothesised or tested correlations with higher rates of labour market entry, wages, and income that suggest that not all resettled refugees integrate equally into the labour market. Fourth, despite the breadth of correlational literature, there is a dearth of literature that rigorously examines practices to improve labour market integration. Finally, the review identifies ten practices for labour market integration from studies that hold promise.

Study parameters

5. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first global meta-study focused on labour market integration of resettled refugees. This review however, links into a *much* broader literature on both refugee integration and labour market integration of immigrants.

6. Labour market integration is only one aspect of refugee integration as a whole, and, within the international framework, resettlement serves humanitarian and international obligations, not labour market demands. In the UNHCR resettlement handbook (2011), resettlement is said to:

...serve three equally important functions. First, it is a tool to provide international protection and meet the specific needs of individual refugees whose life, liberty, safety, health or other fundamental rights are at risk in the country where they have sought refuge. Second, it is a durable solution for larger numbers or groups of refugees, alongside the other durable solutions of voluntary repatriation and local integration. Third, it can be a tangible expression of international solidarity and a responsibility sharing mechanism, allowing States to help share responsibility for refugee protection, and reduce problems impacting the country of asylum.

7. Accordingly, labour market integration should not be thought of as *the goal* of resettlement programmes but as one aspect of ensuring international protection, durable solutions, and sharing of responsibility.

8. This review focuses on labour market integration of which multiple definitions and measures exist. While resettled refugees are included within broader immigrant categories, they have their own particular qualifying criteria that may create characteristics that make labour market integration more or less difficult. They may have unique past experiences and also may currently receive rights and services particular to resettled refugees. Most of the refugee

integration literature only acknowledges resettled refugees' context in passing and do not consider them as a separate category.

9. In general, resettlement programmes, government censuses and registries, research, and statistics do not separate resettled refugees from other refugees, such as those who arrived as asylum-seekers or other immigrant categories.³ Much can be learned from the broader immigrant labour market integration literature, and while experiences of immigrants and resettled refugees may or may not be the same, this review includes only literature isolating refugees that were brought over in cooperation with the government ('resettled refugees') or where the author made a strong case that resettled refugees were the majority of the study or report population.

10. There are a myriad of refugee resettlement structures. While many refugees are referred for resettlement by UNHCR, others may be resettled as privately sponsored refugees, as relatives of resettled refugees or those who have sought asylum, as populations designated for refugee resettlement, or in other special refugee resettlement arrangements⁴. Unless otherwise specified, the term 'refugee' in this review refers to resettled refugees as defined by UNHCR or resettlement countries.

11. Inherently, the labour market integration of resettled refugees in some countries is better researched. This could be due to the population size, academic or policy push, or the availability of statistics on resettled refugees. Therefore, while this review aims to be global in nature, the literature uncovered is dominated by those countries with larger resettlement programmes or a history of research on this subject available in English - namely Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, UK, and USA.

³ For example, Lindley's (2002) analysis of labour market performance of British refugees approximates major asylum-seeking groups by their country of origin.

⁴ For example, Canada generally divides their resettled refugee population into government-sponsored refugees and privately sponsored refugees; likewise the USA has different resettlement priority ('P') designations currently US resettles refugees based on a hierarchy of three categories: P-1: Individual referrals by UNHCR, USA Embassy, or designated non-governmental organisation; P-2: Specific groups of concern identified by the USA resettlement programme; and, P-3: Family reunification cases for designated nationalities (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service, 2013).

Context and methodology

12. The review was funded by the generosity of the Canadian government represented by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), which assumed the Chair of the Working Group on Resettlement, Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement⁵ for 2012-13, through the auspices of the UNHCR Policy Development and Evaluation Service, in association with the UNHCR Resettlement Service and Operational Solutions and Transition Section. A special thanks to Helen Morris, Senior Policy and Evaluation Officer, UNHCR and to Jeff Crisp, recent Head of Policy Development and Evaluation Service UNHCR and current Senior Director for Policy and Advocacy, Refugees International for their consistent guidance and expertise. The document presents findings of the literature review, and the opinions presented here are those of the author alone.

13. The methodology included:

- **Traditional literature review.** A review of academic, government, policy, and practice documents using a typical search and ‘snowball’ method. Citations and papers were reviewed as suggested and deemed relevant, such as the pursuing of citations of citations of relevant papers.
- **Phone and in-person conversations with experts.** The author spoke and communicated via email with experts in Australasia, Europe, North America, and South America. UNHCR, governments, and NGO employees were contacted as recommended by contacts and as gaps in the literature were identified. All individuals consulted are listed in Appendix 1.
- **Systematic review of labour market interventions for resettled refugees.** A systematic search for grey literature and peer-reviewed articles was completed, followed by evaluation on pre-determined criteria (under review, in collaboration with the Campbell Collaboration). A detailed methodology is described in Appendix 2.

Definitions of labour market integration and employment ‘success’

14. Two questions arise when characterising labour market integration: (1) what is the unit goal, and (2) for whom it should be measured. For the purpose of this study, literature containing any aspect of labour market integration of resettled refugees is included. These measures often align with governmental priorities, as policy makers are frequently the funders or intended audience.

⁵ The Working Group on Resettlement (WGR) and the Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement (ATCR) process is the primary vehicle for international collaborative efforts between governments, NGOs, international organisations and UNHCR in the area of resettlement.

15. Labour market integration can be defined through a number of ideas and measures, including:

- **Labour market participation and employment rates:** Participation could refer to the number of individuals ever employed in that country, the current labour force participation rate, the employment rate, or the unemployment rate. Labour force participation is the number of individuals employed divided by the population within the age range to participate in the labour force. Employment and unemployment rates measure those employed (or unemployed) divided by the population actively searching for a job.
- **Earnings:** Measures of earnings include salary, weekly income, and hourly rates of pay. Earnings may be reported as gross earnings before tax and other deductions or as net earnings.
- **Poverty:** Poverty is measured in different ways between, and often within, countries. Generally, poverty is set at a particular income line for a particular family size. It is also measured in resource poverty, food insecurity, or lacking particular goods. In dealing with refugees, ideas of 'self-sufficiency' – economic self-reliance or other measures of subsistence level – emerge.
- **Occupational status:** Some literature measures resettled refugees' occupational socio-economic status as an indicator of labour market integration.⁶
- **Employment commensurate with experience and qualifications:** Occupational status can also be measured against previous occupational status or human capital of experience and qualifications. This is often called 'underemployment' and may refer to explicit measures of employment terms requiring the skills and capacities of refugees, or qualitative measures of feeling that a job is of the appropriate social status and skill.
- **Diversity of occupations and non-separated labour markets:** Generally, resettled refugees' occupations are concentrated in certain fields (e.g. cleaning and meat-packing) or service only particular neighbourhoods and populations according to the literature. Measures of occupation diversity are also imbued with ideas of integration into the mainstream.
- **Job retention:** Job retention is an indicator of job stability and recorded by some entities. Six-month job retention is reported by USA refugee resettlement agencies to the USA Office of Refugee Resettlement.
- **Job advancement and occupational mobility:** Labour market success can be measured by the ability of an individual to advance within a particular field or employer or between different occupations.
- **Employment contracts and/or benefits:** Some labour market integration indicators report employment with a particular type of contract or benefits from the employer. The importance of this indicator depends on the host country's social safety net and formulation

⁶ Measures such as the Socio-Economic Scale have been used to measure labour market integration of new immigrants (Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2012).

of labour contracts. Refugee agencies in the USA report the number of jobs with health benefits, and refugee services in European countries, Australia, and New Zealand consider the type and duration of contracts in the research.

- **Employment satisfaction:** Resettled refugees' own thoughts and opinions about their employment is also a measure of labour market integration.

16. In determining what deems 'success', the literature focuses on measures and goals defined by governments. Administrators who define reporting guidelines and researchers that examine the subject hold the power to define the concept of labour market integration – which may or may not align with refugee experience and perspective on labour market integration. Indeed, refugees have often been viewed as a vulnerable group and with categories and definitions imposed upon them (Chase, 2009; Ellis, Kia-Keating, Yusuf, Lincoln, & Nur, 2007; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Mackenzie, McDowell, & Pittaway, 2007). Rote government measures may not be the best indicators of refugees' experiences.

17. Refugees' own welfare should be central to the research and measurement, but is often overlooked. At the 2013 Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement, refugee representatives⁷ identified employment success as jobs initially at fast-food restaurants or delivering pizzas. Success was measured as obtaining or maintaining jobs, despite these jobs meaning lower socio-economic status for many. For others, low-paying jobs meant a strengthening of employment and language skills and the first time holding a paying job in their lifetime.

18. Nevertheless, governments may prioritise refugee 'economic self-sufficiency' or other ideas of refugees' earning enough money to not need cash assistance or other types of aid from the government or non-profits.

19. Government indicators generally fail to capture the often-stark contrast between resettlement circumstance and that of the refugee camp or urban environment from where a refugee was resettled. Employment in the context of resettlement may be a huge shift from a previous humanitarian crisis or protracted refugee situation where refugees were dependent on others for aid. Many refugees may therefore compare their labour market integration outcomes to their previous labour market experiences and situations.

20. Governments and researchers frequently compare indicator levels of resettled refugees to other forced migrant groups (e.g. those who arrive as asylum-seekers or who receive humanitarian visas), to other immigrants, to the general population, or to others entering the workforce for the first-time (e.g. school-leavers). In some ways, the most appropriate comparison is to others entering the workforce for the first time, but this still fails to capture the history and potential trauma resettled refugees may have experienced. Both groups tend to have higher unemployment rates than the general population and tend to be underemployed compared to their qualifications. Appropriate comparisons and success levels of these measurements will change depending on the questions being asked and the individuals or entity asking the questions.

⁷ The 2013 refugee representatives were three refugees resettled in the Australia, Canada, and the USA respectively.

21. Time adds another dimension of complexity to measuring labour integration. It is important to consider whether the goal is short or long-term labour market integration, and then if this time-scale trade-off is accounted for in programme designs for resettled refugees. Employment programming and expectations will differ based on timeframes. Current refugee resettlement programmes and research focus on short-term outcomes generally between three months and three years. In the context of UK Welfare reform, this emphasis has been argued to place refugees in poorer working conditions and replicate inequalities experienced by refugees previously (Shutes, 2011). The governmental emphasis on short-term labour market integration has caused a similar focus in research; however, this glimpse is part of lives and generations of workforce history.

22. Recently, research has focussed on the measurement of broader refugee integration, including employment. Governments frequently create integration strategies and indicators. New Zealand recently rolled out a New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy with goals in five domains: self-sufficiency, participation, health and wellbeing, education, and housing and accompanying desired outcomes.

23. In Europe particularly, employment integration measures have been identified and examined. In the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX; <http://www.mipex.eu/>), the European Commission proposed common indicators of migrant integration and sponsored a pilot study examining the adequacy and usefulness of the data (European Commission, 2011). The European Commission established core immigrant employment indicators of the employment rate, unemployment rate, and activity rate (i.e. labour market participation rate). The report incorporated two measures identified by most members states as important: the share of employees who are overqualified for their jobs and self-employment (European Commission, 2011). Building on MIPEX, UNHCR-Europe Bureau and the Migration Policy Group have developed a tool to examine refugee integration policies and are finishing research on refugee integration (Migration Policy Group, 2013). The 'Refugee Integration Capacity and Evaluation' project includes case studies on refugee integration in four countries as well as a literature review and culminated in recommendations for integration and the report *A New Beginning: Refugee Integration in Europe* (UNHCR Bureau for Europe, 2013).

24. On a city level, the EURO CITIES migration and integration working group works with more than 30 cities (<http://www.integratingcities.eu/>). The project centres on the mission 'to promote local level implementation of the Common Basic Principles on Integration' in Europe, and the working groups work both horizontally and vertically to share experiences and influence policy on migration and integration (Eurocities, 2012).

25. Despite the on-going debate around defining what constitutes refugee labour market integration and the multiple efforts to measure refugee and immigrant integration as a whole, the focus of this review is not on measurement, but rather on the current state of and promising practices for labour market integration.

The current labour market integration of resettled refugees

The 'refugee gap'

26. This section focuses on what is currently known about the state of refugee employment. It begins by examining the 'refugee gap' in employment between refugees and other populations. It goes on to discuss the obstacles to refugees entering the labour market, underemployment and the unskilled or semiskilled nature of work obtained, and the trend of improvement in refugees' labour market integration over time.

27. Beyond the obvious determinates of labour market integration differences – such as language level, education, and previous work experience – normally controlled for in models, there remains a 'refugee gap' where refugees perform poorer than both citizens and other immigrant groups (Connor, 2010; Hugo, 2013; Portes & Stepick, 1985; Potocky Tripodi, 2001; Potocky-Tripodi, 2003, 2004; Takeda, 2000; Waxman, 2001). Table 1 summarises the various studies illustrating the 'refugee gap'.

28. The data for resettled refugees in Australia, Canada, Norway, and Sweden shows a clear 'refugee gap' compared to other immigrants, especially in the short-term. Hugo (2013, 2011) in Australia shows clearly that after determinates for disadvantage are controlled for, refugee or humanitarian entrants have lower labour market participation rates than other migrant and non-migrant groups in the early years of resettlement. Clear data from Statistics Norway shows that resettled refugees in Norway likewise have lower employment rates than other immigrants and native-born individuals (Aalandslid, 2008). Research spearheaded by Bevelander (2011, 2009) in Sweden shows that resettled refugees have lower employment rates and self-employment rates than asylum claimants and family reunion immigrants. Research in Canada is more mixed in results, but Yu, Ouellet, and Warmington (2007) found lower employment rates for resettled refugees at six months and two years after arrival compared to family class or skilled worker entry categories using the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada. Heibert (2002, 2009) found resettled refugees and refugees recognized in Canada⁸ combined show stronger than expected earnings considering education and English language levels both across Canada and in Vancouver, although the earnings are still much lower than Canadian average, and they have the lowest self-employment rates of any immigrant category.

29. In Bevelander and Pendakur's 2012 comparison between the labour market integration of refugees and family reunion immigrants in Canada and Sweden, they noted minimal differences between categories for any earnings and amount of earnings, although resettled refugee women were more likely to have at least some earnings compared to their asylum refugee and family class immigrant women counterparts, and, in Sweden, male resettled refugees have lower earnings compared to family reunion immigrants. They also noted that despite varying conclusions from studies across countries, the majority of studies examining the gap between refugee and economic category immigrants conclude that refugees do not fare well.

⁸ The 2009 study refers to these refugees as 'landed-in-Canada' refugees (LCRs) while studies in other locations may refer to these refugees as asylees or asylum refugees.

30. Refugees in the USA are shown to have the same likelihood of employment as other immigrants, but significantly lower occupational status and earnings (Connor, 2010; Cortes, 2004). Much of the USA 'refugee gap' can be explained by differences in education, language, and neighbourhood of residence, but a gap remains when controlling for these factors (Connor, 2010). Furthermore, total education years and training in the USA play a larger role in regression estimates for skilled occupations (Connor, 2010). The labour market has shifted over time in developed countries, relying increasingly on customer-service and technical skills, which may marginalise refugees who tend not to have these in-country experiences and skills.

31. The literature reveals four important considerations regarding the 'refugee gap':

- i. *Although prevalent, the refugee gap is not universal.*
In the USA, the employment rate for refugees is generally on-par with native-born, although their wages are lower (Connor, 2010; Cortes, 2004). In Canada and Sweden arrivals in certain years or due to certain reasons have performed at or above the national average (Bevelander & Lundh, 2007; Hiebert, 2009; Hyndman, 2011; Yu, Ouellet, & Warmington, 2007).
- ii. *Studies often do not control for any or all obvious determinates of labour market integration.*
UNHCR prioritises resettlement of those with heightened risks, including legal and physical protection risks, serious medical issues, vulnerable groups such as women and girls-at-risk, and those in protracted-refugee situations who have been in exile for prolonged period of time without any viable solution foreseen in the near future. These refugees may have specific vulnerabilities and experiences that explain why they initially experience poorer labour market integration.
- iii. *Beyond controlled differences, refugees may still have poorer outcomes.*
Refugees generally do not enter a country based on labour market needs; may not have a family-sponsor or strong social network to assist in finding jobs; and, may have lower levels of language skills, education, training, or work experience than those accepted under skilled immigration criteria. Furthermore, refugees may have experienced trauma or have mental well-being needs as a result of their experience as refugees that could impede employment.
- iv. *Immigrants and refugee populations may experience discrimination.*
Some authors hypothesise that discrimination against immigrant groups, including visible religious and racial minorities, and those labelled as 'refugees' may explain part of the gap, both between refugee populations and native-born individuals and between refugees and other immigrant categories. Hugo (2013) notes that in Australia 'there is evidence of a significant refugee gap which can only be explained by discrimination' (p. 1). In reference to the poorer performance of refugees and other immigrants in Finland, Valtonen (2001) identified 'the existence of attitudinal and institutional factors of resistance along the boundaries of the employment market' that puts immigrants in 'a very marginal position in the labour market' despite their best efforts (p. 958).

32. Resettled refugees generally receive additional support for adjustment that may not force them into the labour market as quickly. Given this and the above four points, it may be more apt to compare refugee employment rates with school-leavers and those entering the workplace for the first time. Refugees resettled from protracted refugee situations have usually not worked in formal employment for long periods, and those who have worked often lack skills or work histories recognised as transferable. Youth unemployment is well documented as much higher and wages as much lower than those of the general population.

33. The 'refugee gap' identified in the literature highlights the need for attention on refugees' employment outcomes, but not necessarily any failure or issues in the resettlement system. Although the 'refugee gap' is a common trend identified in many resettlement studies, the situation should not be overstated. A French report on resettlement disputes that resettled refugees integrate more poorly, noting that integration indicators converged over time (including with employment), and studies focused on short-term not long-term outcomes (Goyet, Attuil, Lamort, & Chambon, 2009). The reviewed studies only represent certain locations and points in time, and most focus on more recent data.

Difficulties entering employment

34. Studies show that refugees face barriers entering employment and earning sufficient income, indicating an unrealised desire to enter the labour market. Difficulties can be seen for whole countries as well as more acutely for different demographics in age, gender, and diversity categories. Throughout studies, examples of difficulties were common, but for the purposes of the review, a few case studies were selected that demonstrate the diversity of experiences: refugees in the UK, Southeast Asian refugees, Somali refugees, and refugee women.

35. Evaluations of the 'Gateway Protection Programme' (the UK resettlement programme) reveal that resettled refugees report strong desires to work but few refugees entering employment (Cramb & Hudek, 2005; Evans & Murray, 2009; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2011). Despite this, most refugees are satisfied with resettlement services, particularly initially. The most recent evaluation showed that at 18 months, only 3 of 71 refugees had experienced paid work (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2011). Of the three working, all were underemployed Iraqi men. Most Iraqi refugees had applied for jobs, but Rohingya refugees and those from the Democratic Republic of Congo were generally concentrating on language classes and adapting to their new lives (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2011).

36. There exist numerous studies on Southeast Asian refugee employment levels, generally finding higher unemployment rates than the general population, at least initially, although not always, and the magnitude differs (see Figure 1). In the USA, 5.1% of Southeast Asian refugees were unemployed three years after their arrival in 1978, versus 6.1% of the USA population (Marsh, 1980). Three years after arrival in 1983 unemployment of Southeast Asian refugees was 21.7% compared to 9.6% overall unemployment (Bach & Carroll-Seguín, 1986; Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.; Hauff & Vaglum, 1993). Marsh (1980) noted that later waves of refugees had lower education and language levels, and had more difficulty entering the labour market. The later study also coincided with a recession, which may explain some increased difficulty.

37. One study in Norway found a 16% unemployment rate for 145 Vietnamese refugees three years after arrival in 1985 versus a 2.6% national unemployment rate (Hauff & Vaglum, 1993; International Monetary Fund, n.d.). In a sample of 1,161 Vietnamese refugees in Sydney with an average length of residence in Australia of 11.2 years, 13.3% were unemployed versus 5.9% of the general population (Steel, 2008). The variation between and within countries for this diverse population of Southeast Asians illustrates both general trends and the difficulty in definitive statements.

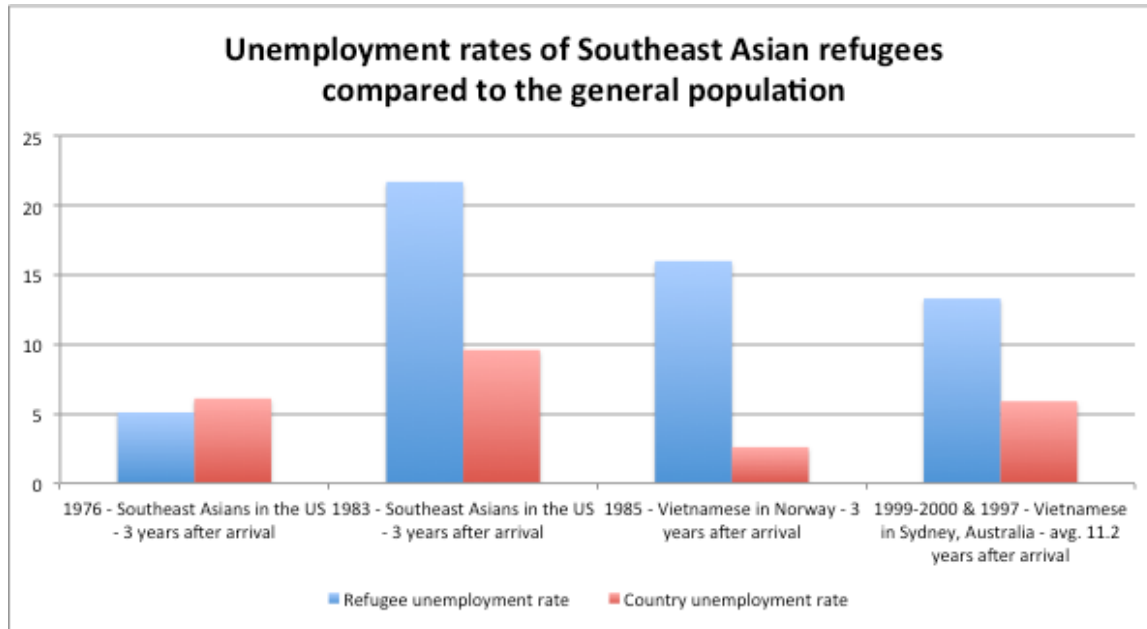


Figure 1: Unemployment rates of Southeast Asian refugees versus the general population

38. A more recent resettlement population, Somali refugees, have been found to have high unemployment and welfare usage rates in the USA. Ali (2011, 2007) cites background and cultural barriers, racism, and religious intolerance as possible explanations. In the 2007 Community Surveys, Somalis have the highest poverty rate of all newcomers - 51%, a level of poverty four times the national poverty rate, twice African-American poverty rates (Abdi, 2012). From research with Somalis in the USA and Canada, employment fulfils personal needs and a lack of work can lead to loss of social status and independence as individuals rely on the social safety net and the community (Omar, 2013). The studies with resettled Somali refugees illustrate a common narrative of difficulty with finding employment and poverty as well as unmeasured effects on wellbeing.

39. Resettled refugee statistics often do not disaggregate or provide representative samples. There may be imbalances if disaggregating by gender. The difficulty for refugee women seeking employment is shown through lower employment rates in national samples and small-scale research. In the correlational research, gender significantly correlated with lower employment in multiple studies, including in Australia, Sweden, and the USA (see Bevelander, 2009; Codell et al, 2011; Ibrahim et al, 2010; Potocky-Tripodi, 2003; Siraj, 2007). As an example of the difficulty for women finding employment, in an evaluation of an Australian employment programme in 1994, 20 of 67 refugee women found employment - 17 of which were casual or part-time jobs. Approximately two times as many men in the programme found jobs (Lamb, 1996).

40. Qualitative research also emphasises that refugee women may miss out on cultural orientation, language training, employment training, and employment due to childcare needs and cultural expectations (see Riller, 2009). The gender gap of the general population has been narrowing in some countries, as female-dominated sectors have been less hard-hit by the global recession, including the service industry and teaching; whether this trend applies to the gender gap amongst resettled refugee women, it is yet to be seen.

41. The studies highlighted in this section illustrate an overall trend among studies to show difficulty entering employment – between countries as varied as the UK, USA, Norway, Canada, and Australia, between populations from Southeast Asian refugees to Somali refugees, and between genders. Nevertheless, overall, the difficulty in employment is perhaps best summarised as ‘refugees in particular face hardships of higher unemployment rates, lower wages, and longer jobless periods’ (Shields et al, 2010: 12; Hiebert, 2011). It is possible however, that underemployment may skew employment statistics by hiding the unskilled or semiskilled, temporary, or part-time nature of much employment.

Unskilled or semi-skilled employment and underemployment

42. In the evaluation of the UK resettlement programme one sentiment was repeated across large and small resettlement programmes, that: ‘When people found paid work, this tended to be temporary and at minimum wage level’ (Evans and Murray, 2009: 6). Concerns over unskilled/semi-skilled employment and underemployment are often translated into concerns of occupational immobility or ‘getting stuck’ and into loss of social status and negative psychological effects for refugees. This section focuses on evidence with regard to the general state of refugee employment.

43. The nature of refugee employment is concerning on multiple dimensions. On one dimension, the pay for resettled refugees is often considered low. In the USA, the average wage of refugees entering employment in 2012 was US\$9.27 per hour for those in the popular matching grant employment programme compared to an hourly average wage of US\$21.29 for the general population in 2010 (National Compensation Survey, Table 643; ORR, 2013).

44. A survey in the USA from 2000 showed approximately three-quarters of Hmong and Somalis, and two-thirds of Russians, had estimated annual earnings of US\$30,000 or less (Potocky-Tripodi, 2003). These numbers indicate low-levels of earnings for populations, including for Russians and Somalis who had arrived primarily in the previous ten years and for Hmong who had arrived primarily over ten years earlier.

45. On other dimensions, the employment is often considered unskilled or semiskilled in nature and low from a socio-economic status perspective—being demanding, difficult work with little opportunity for employment advancement. Studies emphasising the low socio-economic positions of resettled refugees often use small, non-representative samples, but taken together they indicate a serious situation supported by phone conversations with resettlement experts as part of this review. Data for Bosnian refugees who were resettled from 1993 to 1999 in the USA suggested no opportunities for short-term advancement (Franz, 2003).

46. The situation for resettled refugees in Winnipeg, Canada, well-known for its recent robust economy, has been best described as 'working, but for little pay and chance for advancement' (Carter, Polevychok, Friesen, & Osborne, 2009, p. 10).

47. A survey of 62 of the 260 remaining refugees in Iceland resettled from 1956-2003 revealed an apparent difference between previous occupations and current ones, which did not build on previous occupations. Of the respondents, 47% were working as unskilled labourers in Iceland while only 19% had been unskilled workers in their country of origin (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 6). The unskilled nature of employment fuelled discontent at times and was seen as indicative of a system that holds back resettled refugees.

48. In the available studies that focused on the underemployment of resettled refugees, jobs were generally of lower occupational status than those held in the country of origin. In looking at the literature of refugees resettled in the 1990s, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) note that 'a massive loss of occupational status seems to be endemic' (p. 211).⁹ The situation appears endemic across decades as well.

49. In Stein's seminal piece (1979) on the occupational skidding of Vietnamese in the USA during the 1970s, he finds the higher one's former occupational status, the worse the subjective experience with adjustment. Krahn, Derwing, Mulder, and Wilkinson (2000) focus on the underemployment as the key factors of refugee integration into the Alberta, Canada labour market. They found that although 39% of resettled refugees had been employed in professional or managerial jobs in their country of origin, 60% worked in blue collar jobs, 33% in clerical/sales/service/technician positions, and only 7% in professional/managerial positions upon arrival (Krahn, Derwing, Mulder, & Wilkinson, 2000).

50. According to a 2001 survey in Australia, many individuals from refugee-producing countries of origin - Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Sudan - have a higher percentage with qualifications greater than their employment (at 21.7%, 22.4%, 19.8%, and 26.2% respectively) than Australia-born individuals (at 18%) (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). In Australia and elsewhere, the underemployment of refugees has been called 'brain waste' (Hugo, 2011, 2013).

51. Resettled refugees often fall into separate labour markets: being hired by a few employers, taking up certain occupations, or working in certain neighbourhoods. There are few formal studies on labour market segregation. A survey in Western Australia of three refugee groupings (ex-Yugoslavs, 'black Africans', and people from the Middle East) found that new arrivals were concentrated in certain occupations such as cleaning, aged care, meat processing, taxi driving, security and construction (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). In the USA, resettled refugees, particularly Somali Bantu and Burmese, are also known to be concentrated in meat processing (Ott, 2011).

52. The resettled Iraqi population has been highlighted globally as one struck with a stark decrease in socio-economic status and relative earnings from previous occupations in Iraq. Major reports in the USA and European Union have highlighted the difficulty for Iraqi refugees in finding employment commensurate with their skills (Adess et al., 2010; Fandrich, 2012; Phillmann, Stiennon, & Hueck, 2010). A report on the resettlement of Iraqi refugees in France

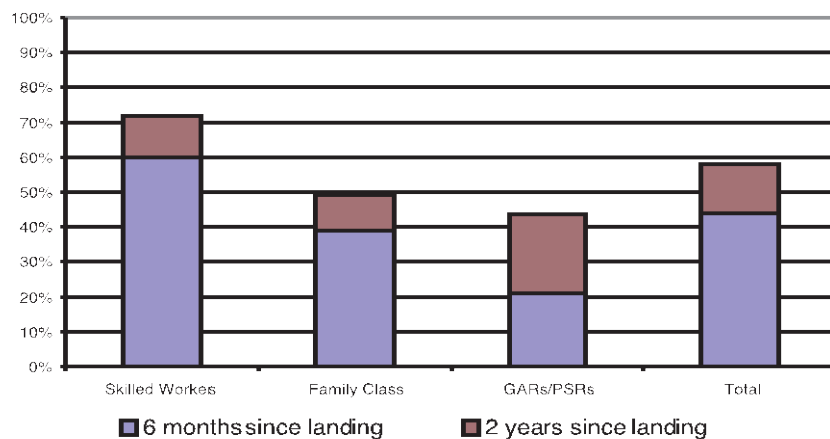
⁹ Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) defend this statement with research from Australia, Canada, and Finland.

also noted the difficulties in gaining recognition for previous qualifications and noted that even if they managed to enter into their previous occupation, the attached social status was much less than that in Iraq (Goyet et al., 2009, p. 135).

Improved results and narrowing 'refugee gap' over time

53. One trend evident in the literature is that integration of resettled refugees into the labour market improves over time, often narrowing and sometimes closing the 'refugee gap'.

54. In Canada, studies using data from the Longitudinal Immigration Data Base (IMDB) show a convergence of refugees' and other categories' earnings over time (DeVoretz, Pivnenko, & Beiser, 2004). Additional studies show that more refugees are working in their fields of expertise by year three in Winnipeg (Carter et al., 2009) and demonstrate that resettled refugees in Canada improve their employment rate over time (Carter et al., 2009; Yu et al., 2007). Yu, Ouellet, and Warmington (2007) show in Figure 2 that, combined, the categories of resettled refugees, Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs) and Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), improve in their employment rate by year two.



Source: *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, Statistics Canada (weighted sample size)*

Figure 2: From Yu, Ouellet, and Warmington (2007), Employment Rate at 6 Months and 2 Years after Arrival by Immigrant Category (Principal Applicants)

55. An understanding that it takes time to find employment and improved labour market integration for later generations is shown in Sweden. Over time, more refugees from the Balkans in Sweden entered employment, as did those with higher education levels and those who were younger when they came to the country (Törnkvist, 2013). Although not strictly for resettled refugees, Lundborg (2013) also showed that time in Sweden drastically reduced unemployment levels for refugees, with greater parity between genders in unemployment days in the refugee population than in the Swedish population as a whole.

56. Thus, although the programming for resettled refugees is often short-term, the results should be measured and considered both short- and long-term. Not only do individual adult

refugees generally do better over time, but the available evidence also indicates that resettled refugees who entered the country as children and the second generation surpass the labour market integration of the first generation. Time in country is one important correlate with improved outcomes for resettled refugees.

57. As noted before, another important measure is the subjective measures of employment. In Iceland, two out of three respondents were fairly happy or very happy with their jobs despite studies indicating under-employment (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 6).

Correlations with improved outcomes for resettled refugees

58. Different models of labour market integration suggest that individual demographics, human capital obtained (such as education and language skills), social capital (such as social networks), and the environment of the receiving community (such as unemployment rates and welcoming atmosphere) all play a role.

59. In Kunz's (1981) seminal sociological model of integration of refugees, pre-existing individual refugee traits that align with the receiving community – such as language, values, traditions, religion and politics – indeed facilitate their integration process. Similarly, as summarised by Potocky-Tripodi (2003), Kuhlman's theoretical model (1991) 'postulated that refugee economic adaptation [...] is a function of six factors: (1) demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, ethnicity, educational attainment, and household composition; (2) flight-related characteristics, such as cause of flight, type of movement, and attitude toward displacement; (3) host-related characteristics, such as economic conditions, ethnic composition, and attitudes toward the refugees within the host society; (4) policy characteristics, including international, national, regional, and local policies and their implementation; (5) residency characteristics, including length of residence and secondary migration (movement within the host country); and (6) noneconomic aspects of adaptation, such as adaptation stresses and acculturation characteristics.'

60. The correlations of many of these characteristics have been researched with samples of resettled refugees around the world for statistical significance. Table 2 at the end of the review presents the results and contexts for correlational studies uncovered in this review. The hypothesised correlations are listed below. Those with significant quantitative correlations supporting the hypothesis have a * next to them, although this does not assess the quality of that quantitative evidence.

Factors theorised to affect resettled refugees' labour market integration and their studies

Demographic variables

- Gender*
- Age*
- Household arrangement
 - Marital status*
 - Having children*
 - Household size*
- Origin and ethnic group*
- Time in country*
- Citizenship*
- Length of time worked*
- Secondary migration (moving within the resettlement country)
- Disability*
- Health variables*

- Mental well-being variables*
 - Mood disorders*
 - Psychological or behavioural variables

Pre-resettlement history

- Trauma history*
- Years as a refugee*
- Urban residence in country of origin* or in country of asylum
- Initial language level*

Human capital

- Pervious work experience
 - Occupational status and transferability
- Self-efficacy*
- Acculturation attitudes*
- Education level*
- Host country language skills*
- Qualifications or training undertaken since arrival*
- Recognition of overseas qualifications*

Receiving communities' assets

- Receiving agency's variables
 - Quality of services
 - Duration of services
 - Type of sponsorship* and government programmes
- Language opportunities
 - Enrolment or attending language classes*
- Discrimination
- Participation in employment programmes
- Educational and training opportunities
- Job market (e.g. types of employment)
- Attitude of the community towards refugees
- Geographic region*
- Access to transportation
 - Owning a car*

Social capital

- Social networks (e.g ethnic enclaves, familial connections)*
- Feeling a valued member of your ethnic community
- Employment rate of non-Western immigrant and co-ethnic men*
- Social support and friend support
- Workplace ethnic composition
- Informal and formal assistance

61. These are *correlations* not *causations*, so mechanisms by which these factors (may) interact are not known. For example, higher language levels of the resettlement country could lead to employment or employment could lead to higher language levels. Additionally, there may be other relationships such as mediators or moderators in play; higher language levels could imply higher levels of education, which could lead to an increased likelihood of employment. Or,

higher language levels could indicate more opportunities for education and lower levels of trauma, which assists in a greater likelihood of employment.

62. Further context is also left out of simple correlations. For example, two recent studies from Queensland, Australia and the Netherlands found that language proficiency was not significantly correlated with employment status. In Queensland, most refugees in the study were in employment requiring minimal language skills; similarly, in the Netherlands, language was a significant correlate with occupational status (Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013).

63. The literature about notions of labour market integration coalesces around correlations between employment outcomes and broader notions of wellbeing or demographics. Employment has been shown to correlate with lower stress rates and rates of clinical mental well-being issues as well as with improved physical health, although, again, the directionality or causal mechanism is not known (Benson, Sun, Hodge, & Androff, 2012; Khoo, 2010; Vinokurov, Birman, & Trickett, 2000).

64. Additionally, physical health was shown to correlate with work force participation for humanitarian migrants in Australia, although there are surprisingly few studies on the relationship between refugee physical health and employment (Khoo, 2010). Other cross-sectional study measures focus on the role demographics (e.g. age, gender, education level) play in predicting employment outcomes; however, results are tenuous as many do not use random samples, control for covariance, or explain the bases for their hypotheses. One study by Potocky-Tripodi (2003) that used a random sample, controlled for overlapping results, and justified their hypotheses found that gender, disability, education, and household composition correlate with economic outcomes for a sample of Russian, Somali, and Hmong refugees in Minneapolis-St. Paul, USA.

65. The diversity of studies and lack of findings of significant correlates are important. In one USA study, Fleck (2012) found that placement agency and employment characteristics were not correlated with refugee economic self-sufficiency rates. This finding aligns with the emphasis of individual characteristics of resettlement populations. 'Grey' literature, such as dissertations and small reports, and studies with null findings are less likely to be publically available, read, or discussed. Many of the studies with findings in one area also tested correlates in other areas and did not find them to be statistically significant, but these are not reported in Table 2. The greater the number of variables analysed, the greater the chance that some result will be significant and show up in Table 2.¹⁰

66. Deficiencies exist within the correlational literature. The programming and populations of refugee resettlement are constantly in flux, and few studies include more recent populations such as Burmese and Bhutanese refugees (Benson et al., 2012) or focus on more recent or smaller resettlement countries. The majority of studies in the literature review focused on Southeast Asian or Eastern European refugee populations, which have not been a significant portion of refugee resettlement for the past decade. Additionally, the literature uncovered was published in English and studies concentrated from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, the UK, or the USA.

¹⁰ For those studies in Table 2 using some kind of statistical analyses (show in blue), the threshold for significance is rejection of the null hypothesis with a p-value of less than 0.05.

67. Furthermore, the content of literature on refugee resettlement as a whole tends to focus on macro-policy, a broad integration focus, or mental well-being issues (Beiser, Johnson, & Turner, 1993; Keyes & Kane, 2004; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Peisker & Tilbury, 2004). Whilst these reports point out the multi-dimensional nature of refugee adaptation and integration, they fail to clearly conceptualise the role of labour market integration.

The 'literature gap' for programmes to improve labour market integration

68. Although numerous studies explore correlates with better outcomes, few studies explore the effectiveness of specific labour market integration programmes or policies for resettled refugees. A major problem is that current evaluations of labour market programmes for resettled refugees generally do not have any comparison group. Naturally, measures would change over time (such as finding a job or earning a pay raise), and it is important to know if it is the programme that is causing the change. Additionally, most programmes both select those refugees who are most likely to succeed and report from a percentage of participants (frequently a small percentage). Resettled refugees who had a positive experience with programming are probably more likely to complete final surveys.

69. A systematic review concomitant to this review examines programme impact of interventions to improve labour market outcomes includes studies that must be prospective in their design as well as be randomised controlled trials or quasi-experimental designs. In other words, the individuals who receive the services and those who do not must be similar in order to isolate the effects of that intervention. The review has found thousands of citations, but a single study that meets the criteria for inclusion for analysis is yet to be found (Ott & Montgomery, under review).

70. From the correlational literature previously summarised, we would expect that certain resettled refugee populations and receiving communities would naturally have higher labour force participation rates and salaries, so it is important that evaluations randomly select participants for a programme and compare them with similar individuals who did not access that programme. Yet, evaluations are not offering these comparisons.

71. This gulf in research is acknowledged in both the policy and academic fields. A 2011 USA Government Accountability Office report was entitled *Little is Known about the Effectiveness of Different Approaches for Improving Refugees' Employment Outcomes*. Likewise, lack of knowledge on the efficacy (in an ideal situation) and effectiveness (in a real-world situation) of programmes was repeated in phone conversations completed for this review across countries. Evaluations of programmes for resettled refugees is more difficult than in some other fields due to small sample sizes and because service providers are hesitant to limit enrolment in a promising programme to only a subgroup of refugees. Many promising programmes do not have an operational manual or a publically available summary, let alone a rigorous evaluation of effectiveness.

72. Two evaluations were found that take advantage of natural experiments and variations in service delivery. Rosholm and Vejin (2010) examined the labour market effects of a policy decrease of welfare for refugees (most of whom arrived as asylum-seekers). The policy was hypothesised to dramatically increase employment but found that the weakest in the labour market are almost immune to policy changes.¹¹ In one demonstration about resettled refugees in

¹¹ They used a hazard effects model, accounted for variations, and examined heterogeneous treatment effects.

San Diego, USA, database analysis of refugees assigned to the Wilson-Fish (WF) programme versus Refugee Social Services (DSS) programme showed that those in the WF programme received a significantly lower amount of cash, received significantly fewer days financial support, had a significantly higher placement in jobs, and took significantly less time to find a job than refugees in the usual mainstream Refugee Social Services (DSS) programme (Hohm, Sargent, & Moser, 1999).¹² The WF programme offers more central refugee-specific programming and is run outside of the state of California. Although the researchers assert that the methods ‘precluded and prevented any sample bias between the WF and DSS refugees’, the report did not indicate whether random assignment was used, and the evaluator was brought in after the data was collected. Biases cannot be eliminated in these studies, but they indicate the possibility that a macro-policy to cut cash assistance may not lead to an uptick in employment, and more central refugee-specific programming may be beneficial.

73. The literature also has a theoretical gap related to programming. There is no clear concept of the pathway for labour market integration (Schmitter-Heisler, 1998). One evaluation of a ‘life CV’ programme in the UK found that engaging with life experiences enables refugees ‘to consider new ways of knowing themselves and presenting themselves to potential employers’ (Schultheiss et al., 2011). Overall, few programmes explain how they expect their activities to lead to better labour market integration – a theory of change or intervention logic.

74. The lack of rigorous quantitative research means that important questions cannot be answered. There is a real possibility of policy makers and practitioners doing harm by not designing or implementing interventions to meet needs in the context of refugees. Some well-intentioned social interventions with other populations have actually caused more harm than good, for example by singling-out populations or through negative peer effects (Dishion et al, 1999; McCord, 2003; Rutter 1999).

75. Other employment and anti-poverty programs have more developed theories of change and have begun to use methods that allow for better isolation of program results. Some of the same approaches used in employment programmes for resettled refugees (e.g. subsidised employment) have been rigorously evaluated for other populations. For example, in the US, studies that assigned individuals at random whether or not they could access a specific programme found that subsidised employment programmes were able to raise short-term employment rates by targeting those who would not have otherwise found jobs; however, most gains did not last (Farrell et al., 2011). Models with close links to the private sector and which targeted women had longer gains.

76. In broader anti-poverty research, organisations like the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, 3ie: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation, the Campbell Collaboration, and ideas42 as well as governments are using similar randomised-controlled trial designs, high quality natural experiments, and data to drive policy and thinking about how to best help low-income individuals. Financial stress may effect the decisions of resettled refugees as it does other low-income individuals, and refugees may respond similarly to anti-poverty programmes, but little is known about how the resettled refugees do or do not parallel other populations.

¹² The Wilson-Fish (WF) programme is an alternative to traditional state administered (DSS) programme for providing cash and medical assistance and social services to refugees. The programme integrates cash assistance, case management, and employment services (as opposed to separate resettlement services and state welfare services) and provides innovative strategies for cash assistance.

77. Evaluations using qualitative methods, small sample sizes, and desk reviews point to many of the promising practices in the next section. The level of evidence is considered low in scientific rigor compared to other more well-developed fields, yet sharing practices believed to be promising can lead to changes in thinking, sharing of resources, further evaluations, and better resettlement programmes in the future.

Ten promising practices

78. Although the existing literature does not allow for determining 'best' practices and offers little conclusive information on the effectiveness of different labour market integration policies, practices and programmes, there emerged ten general promising practices. These promising practices were ideas repeated in phone conversations with experts and emerged through qualitative analysis reading of the literature.

79. These practices were thought of as effective in improving labour market integration of resettled refugees, although there is insufficient evidence to determine effectiveness or identify populations for which they may work better. Some structured programmes incorporating or falling under these general practices have shown promise that the programme improved the lives of resettled refugees. Often one location or programme incorporated ideas reflected in many of the promising practices.

80. Due to the mass of literature, it is not possible to highlight every programme or location that falls under each practice, but a few examples emerging from the literature are given to illustrate the practice. Again, the evidence on promising practices for the labour market integration of resettled refugees is continually evolving.

Research and monitoring on the needs of refugees and employers

81. The basis for promising practices is disaggregating the refugee population to understand particular needs and capacities. Individuals often become lost in the presentation and evaluation of macro-data, which can misrepresent the integration of individuals. Certain groups (from mothers with small children to single men to those above 50) may be left out of current programming. High-quality evaluation research can identify effective programming for different populations. Correspondingly, consistent monitoring and research can show particular needs, both to prevent long-term employment issues and to best utilise the capacities of refugees.

82. Additionally, research into host community's employment needs can better help target programming for refugees to gain employment and increase in salary and occupational level. In the USA, the State Refugee Coordinator of Colorado is promoting and funding a training programme that responds to local labour market needs. Programmes will only be continued if 70% or more of participants find employment within six months of the programme beginning. These are small programmes for training in occupations from pharmacy technician to barista, but they offer trainings that meet the demands of the regions' markets. Both refugees and employers feel less discouraged about future refugee employment if refugees approach the labour market with adequate skills and demonstrate those skills in the workplace.

Managing pre-resettlement expectations

83. It is important to manage expectations on the part of the government, local resettlement agencies, and resettled refugees. Much has been written about the need and importance of pre-arrival orientation for refugees, particularly during the global economic recession. There is however, also the need to manage expectations among the receiving communities about the barriers resettled refugees will face as well as the assets refugees will bring and the difficulties of cross-cultural communication.

84. A common thread arises in the literature of resettled Iraqi refugees holding unrealistic employment expectations and their subsequent disappointment (Riller, 2009). These expectations were identified as being tied to professional pasts, although the better-educated were also found to have more realistic expectations in general (Riller, 2009). In France, resettled Iraqis were reported to be disappointed with tough employment processes (Goyet et al., 2009). In addition, language, gaining recognition for training and experience, and navigating cultural differences presented barriers to the French labour market.

85. Difficulties adjusting was perhaps particularly acute in countries that resettled many of the highly-educated translators and interpreters who formally worked for their country's coalition forces, including Denmark, the UK and the USA (Phillmann et al., 2010). One scathing report about Iraqi Resettlement in the USA highlights how the USA resettlement programme failed to account for the Iraqi population's needs, including recertification (Adess et al., 2010). For those highly educated, both resettlement programmes and refugees alike sometime assumed that they would not need much assistance in adjusting to the labour market.

86. Accordingly, managing the expectations of resettlement countries and resettlement workers is crucial. It is critical to prepare expectations of communities and entities in the case of refugees with complex health conditions, mental health issues, and/or little past employment. Equally important is understanding that a curricula vitae and health that may look perfect for a country's labour market needs, still may not translate easily into employment, due to barriers such as recertification, in-country work experience, social networks, and discrimination.

87. The two-sided nature of managing expectations was explored in anthropological research on cultural orientations in North Carolina, USA and abroad (Unger, 2013). Unger found that even accurate information could be misunderstood with terms such as 'welcome' contain implied norms that differ across cultures. She found that when cultural modes of assistance conflict in cultural meaning, miscommunications and a loss of credibility follow (Unger, 2013). Individuals with experience with both the receiving country's culture and the refugees' culture can help to manage expectation on both sides of the resettlement process.

Individualised employment plans-of-action

88. The literature in nearly every country studied emphasised the importance of tailored employment plans. In the previous sections, the literature noted that different demographic characteristics strongly correlated with different outcomes, backing up the policy literature that one-size-fits-all programmes do not mean equal benefits.

89. In the Change Makers Refugee Forum report in New Zealand, 3 of 17 respondents had participated in employment initiatives but they noted that ‘by receiving individualised support from job brokers and others, they had been able to target their job-seeking efforts towards specific areas’ (Change Makers Refugee Forum, 2012, p. 19). The individualised attention had helped them isolate where they needed to ‘up skill’ before obtaining jobs similar to the jobs they had held in their country of origin.

90. In many countries, including Denmark, assessing qualifications and needs, and developing an individual employment plan are a fundamental part of the beginning and continuation of employment support for resettled refugees. Practitioners identified on-going support including job upgrades, a critical aspect to decrease discouragement and underemployment and increase human capital and labour market outcomes. Creating individualised employment plans also means active participation. With the introduction of a compulsory two-year introductory programme, refugees have been characterised as no longer clients in the social system, but participants in a programme and ‘capable of solving their own issues – with a little assistance’ (Hagelund, 2005, p. 676). The refugee ‘develops an individual career plan consisting of an aim – normally a type of job – and various schemes deemed relevant to achieve this’ (Hagelund, 2005, p. 673). Such approaches to partnering with refugees can be viewed as anti-oppressive but only if the partnership is not didactic and involves two-way communication.

Outreach and partnering with employers / the private sector

91. Key stakeholders cited outreach to employers, especially in the private sector, as crucial to helping refugees find employment and higher-level employment. Outreach can come in many different forms. It may focus on overcoming barriers such as discrimination and lack of understanding about the legality, skills, and barrier for resettled refugees. As touched on earlier, there have been numerous instances of employer discrimination against resettled refugees. During Hugo’s research in Australia, ‘Key informants working in the refugee sector and specializing in employment pointed out that in many cases, there needs to be more emphasis on educating employers rather than skilling migrants’ (Hugo, 2013).

92. Outreach may seek to create a community culture that views hiring of resettled refugees positively. Resettlement entities may seek active partnerships with employers. In many countries including Canada and the USA, resettlement agencies have positions such as employer specialists or job developers that focus on employer relations. This may include educating employers about the resettlement system and dispelling myths, identifying employers willing to hire refugees, assisting with the hiring process and initial orientation, and offering some continued assistance as culture and system broker in the complex relationship between employers and refugees.

93. In some locations, programmes offer trainings for employers that hire refugees. The recent European Union comparative study on the best practices for the integration of resettled refugees in European Union member states highlighted the ‘Rede Alargada’ network of public and non-governmental organisations and business/employer communities. They offer sensitisation workshops for management of businesses identified as potential refugee employers. They work to promote volunteer work and internships for resettled refugees within the auspices of

benefiting both corporate social responsibility and the refugees (Papadopoulou, Treviranus, Mortiz, & Fandrich, 2013).

94. Additionally, governmental and nongovernmental organisations can help match refugees to jobs, such as in Japan and Brazil. Networks of employers in the Japanese pilot resettlement programme are directly matched with individual refugees. The Brazilian government is developing a partnership with Emdoc, a consulting company with immigration specialists to develop a database to match available jobs with resettled refugees' and asylum seekers' skills. Emdoc approached the government about this collaboration opportunity, and it has been received well so far. It allows refugees with particular skills to fill the positions needed in the Brazilian labour market.

95. In Calgary, Canada, the monthly 'Networking for Success' breakfast has offered a forum to facilitate meetings between employers and immigrants, including resettled refugees. The Calgary Catholic Immigration Society (CCIS) invites 30-40 refugees and immigrants to meet 30-40 employers over breakfast as a networking opportunity. Over one year, CCIS estimated that over 280 individuals obtained jobs through this initiative. Not all of these individuals were refugees, but the initiative shows how integrating refugees into broader employer-immigrant relationships can be beneficial.

96. Key informants for this review noted that on-going outreach and relationships with employers helps sustain refugee employment, create a positive culture around hiring refugees, counter negative media, and diffuse cultural misunderstandings. Often, an employer who hired one refugee may approach the resettlement entity or refugee community when advertising a new position. The State Refugee Coordinator of Illinois, Edwin Silverman, noted they have an employer recognition luncheon as 'a happy employer leads to other happy employers.' Similarly, Denmark has annual integration prizes to companies that assist migrants, including resettled refugees.

Placements with employers

97. Much of existing outreach with employers is focused on giving resettled refugees a first chance with a particular employer, to build up in-country work experience, references, and skills. The placements with employers may be subsidised, unsubsidised or may be unpaid work programmes.

98. In Nova Scotia, Canada, some resettled refugees participate in the Immigration Settlement and Integration Services' work placement programme whereby individuals are placed in six-week unpaid work positions with employers in the region. From April 2012-March 2013, of the 61 placements (both resettled refugees and other immigrant categories), 52% were hired by the host employer, 16% were hired by another employer in the same profession, and 10% took further education or started their own business, leading to a measured 'success rate' of 79%. This programme has been in place for the past twenty years and is largely well received.

99. Similarly, the Swedish Public Employment Service works with employers of all sizes for training and job placements, from IKEA, Coca Cola, Vattenfall, and H&M to the Swedish Trotting Association and Max Hamburgers who presented at the 2013 Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement (European Resettlement Network co-funded by the European

Refugee Fund 2010, 2012). The Chief Sustainability Officer, Pär Larshans, of the Swedish restaurant chain Max Hamburgers discussed how diversity was good for business. The Swedish Public Employment Service also offers a 'toolbox' for employers and uses a period of skills validation during a three week paid internship. Additionally, the government offers subsidies to employers for an employment contract of limited duration.

Vocationally-focused language courses with integrated work experience

100. Language training integrated into work training is not a new idea but is being increasingly emphasised. It is often linked to formal placements with employers. The language-training programme in Finland includes part of each workday spent in language classes. In Norway, there are similar 'language apprenticeships' that are frequently part of individualised employment plans. Refugees spend two days in a workplace to learn work-related vocabulary and gain Norwegian labour market experience.

101. Some of these programmes focus on bridging from a certain level of language (lower than needed but above a basic level) to the workforce. An Integrated training programme in Calgary provides soft skills and language trainings through Calgary Catholic Immigration Society (CCIS), and local employers help with technological trainings. Participants, including resettled refugees and other immigrant categories, are placed in a work experience placement for 6-12 weeks with the help of CCIS staff. CCIS reports that some job placement sites have initially expressed scepticism given initial language levels, but all parties see marked improvement in the language and job readiness skills of participants.

102. Many countries and reports promote the adoption of language programmes integrated with workplace experience. In New Zealand, Refugee Changemakers 2012 recommended English language training in the workplace. The USA Office of Refugee Resettlement recently arranged a webinar on 'Using Intensive Vocationally-Focused ESL [English as a Second Language training] to Fast-Track Workforce Development Skills for Refugees.' This programme through the national Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and state-wide Calworks in California operates in the San Francisco Bay area. In the last round of courses, the programme enrolled 190 students, many resettled refugees of which 92% completed, 81% increased 1 or more English levels per semester, and 98% rated the programme a 3 or above on satisfaction from a scale of 1-5.

103. In Iceland, where no such training exists, a study that contacted resettled refugees noted that 'some pointed out the possibility of linking vocational training and Icelandic teaching during the first year so as to increase their chances of employment later on, so giving them a better standard of living' (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007, p. 11).

104. Vocationally focused language with integrated work experience is touted as offering real-life language practice, building soft skills such as relationships, increasing confidence, and promoting employment over welfare usage. Despite the promotion of these programmes, their effectiveness compared to typical language courses are not known or studied.

Assistance with recertification

105. One of the major themes arising from discussions with experts was the need for assistance with recertification and re-entry into the refugee's employment field. From a simple supply-demand calculation the answer seems simple: use the skills and capacities of resettled refugees in sought after fields in resettlement countries. Many refugees with technical skills, such as in the medical, engineering, and teaching fields that are in-demand in resettlement countries, are resettled. They refugees often have the added benefit of knowing multiple languages and of cultural competency. However, evidence of underemployment and 'brain waste' in the literature makes it clear that recertification and re-entry into previous occupations are formidable challenges.

106. Many of these fields are highly regulated, and recertification is a long and arduous process for valid reasons such as safety. The ability to recertify is often heavily dependent on the regulation in the country and their system for gaining mandatory on-the-job experience. Experience in one country may not transfer to the resettlement country.

107. For those resettlement countries with greater welfare support and free or low-cost education, some refugees were able to use these public programmes for additional study and recertification. In other countries, mechanisms exist to financially assist with recertification. In the USA, individualised development accounts match savings to assist with education and exam costs.¹³

108. One of the easier barriers to break for recertification is the information deficit. The process for recertification can be complicated, making it difficult to decide whether to recertify, enter a different profession in the same field, or enter a different field. The USA Office of Refugee Resettlement partnered with the Employment Training Administration at the US Department of Labor on a Refugee Employment Collaboration programme and created fact sheets on recertification/re-credentialing of refugee professionals, the US Medical Licensing Process, and the US Registered Nursing Re-Licensing Process, all available on the Office of Refugee Resettlement webpage.

109. Programmes can also help and support resettled refugees to navigate the recertification process. The Foreign Trained Health Professionals (FTHP) programme in Minnesota, USA partnered with state workforce centres, the International Institute of Minnesota, and the University of Minnesota Medical School to use the potential of trained refugees and immigrants to fill gaps in delivering health care. A newspaper article in the USA featured two Cuban refugees and one resettled Bhutanese refugee who participated in the programme. They helped each other study for and pass the three required exams and steps to be competitive for the last step of residency, including a Refugee Preparation for Residency Program (Schmickle, 2012).

110. Around Washington DC, the Refugee Recertification Program (RRP) of Lutheran Social Services assists highly-trained refugee professionals with credential evaluation, study materials, vocational English courses, and exam fees (Rabben, 2013). RRP currently help engineers, accountants, teachers, information technology specialists, lawyers, nurses, and a radiology technician, but due to expense, complexity and length, the organisation does not assist refugee

¹³ This programme also assists with savings for purchasing a house or a car or beginning a business.

physicians.

111. Regulators can also simplify requirements for recertification. Although common agreements on recognition exist between some countries, specifically the European Union and trans-Tasman agreements between Australia and New Zealand, resettled refugees generally do not fall under such agreements (Sumption, 2013). In the USA, five states re-examined the re-credentialing needs of highly skilled immigrants (Rabben, 2013). A combination of approaches and partnerships may be most effective.

Partnering with the broader community

112. Partnerships between public, government institutions and the private civil society including non-governmental organisations (NGO) exist in all resettlement countries examined, but in different ways and models. Strong support from civil society can mean a strong resettlement programme, which can feed back to the government, directly or indirectly, for improvements and support for sustaining the resettlement programme. These partnerships can be multi-directional as highlighted by the European Resettlement Network roundtable on private business engagement and partnerships between different iterations of NGOs, government agencies, private businesses, municipalities, and employment offices. In regard to the role resettlement agencies have in building partnerships, Nezer (2013) said about the USA, that they ‘...should build and support capacity at the national and local levels to generate and maintain broad-based commitment to resettlement in local communities’ (p. 16).

113. One way to partner with the broader community is through employment mentoring programmes. One such programme is the Family Federation of Finland’s WOMENTO project that helps educated immigrant women, including refugees, into social networks and working life through personal mentorship. Another mentorship programme for skilled immigrants, the ALLIES programme in Canada, showed a large drop in unemployment and a large increase in earnings 12 months after the programme for the 292 participants who responded to the survey (Accenture, 2013). Such programmes for educated immigrants may also work for educated resettled refugee populations or could be adapted to work towards other goals. ALLIES engages employers to encourage mentors from their workplaces to participate and the programme offers occupation-specific mentorship matches between immigrant mentees and mentors, a structure of 24 hours of mentorship over for months, and clear expectations for the mentor and mentee.¹⁴

114. Other individual connections can indirectly improve employment outcomes by improving two-way integration, psychosocial support, and social networks that assist in finding employment. The Icelandic refugee resettlement programme may be small, but it works to ensure sufficient support for resettled families. The Icelandic Red Cross provides assistance, including training and maintaining contact with two to four ‘support families’ for each family resettled. These volunteers receive psychological support and cultural training, and help refugees integrate into the local community. By understanding the local culture and gaining some knowledge in the refugee’s culture, they can better facilitate two-way integration. Additionally, when the local receiving community is relatively small, information sessions are provided to the public at the beginning of the resettlement programme (UNHCR, 2013a).

¹⁴ The ALLIES program offers a toolkit to assist mentorship programs across Canada, which may be adaptable to educated refugee populations: <http://alliescanada.ca/resources/toolkits/>.

115. Some resettlement programmes are built fundamentally on the idea of partnering with the broader community. In the USA, the Match Grant employment programme is a public-private partnership where resettlement agencies find donations or volunteer hours, which are matched by federal funds. This model operates at 241 sites and for the 2012 employment caseload (adult refugees deemed employable), almost 55% were employed at 120 days after arrival and almost 72% were employed at six months after arrival.

Microenterprise and alternative employment programmes

116. Expanding the opportunities for refugees' employment beyond traditional pathways can be achieved through focusing on broadening receiving community and employers' support and through broadening employment opportunities beyond traditional hiring mechanisms. Resettled refugees and immigrants in general are often touted as successful entrepreneurs if given adequate support (Fong, Busch, Armour, Cook Heffron, & Chanmugam, 2008; Golden, Garad, & Heger Boyle, 2011; Olliff, 2010). In Australia, Hugo found that 'refugee-humanitarian settlers show greater propensity to form their own business than other migrants and that risk-taking, entrepreneurialism and an ability to identify and take advantage of opportunities is a key characteristic of the group' (Hugo, 2013, p. 1). Some programmes take advantage of this perceived 'entrepreneurial spirit' with support for microenterprise and alternative employment programmes.

117. The US central Office of Refugee Resettlement offers two microenterprise development programmes. From the original microenterprise programme, the Office of Refugee Resettlement reported that over 19 years of existence, approximately 10,800 micro-business were developed, expanded or maintained with a business survival rate of 88% and a loan repayment rate of nearly 98%, far higher than the average USA microenterprise loan repayment rate (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2013). In the fiscal year 2012, 18 sub-grantees provided microenterprise programming, including training and counselling to nearly 3,000 refugee entrepreneurs. This led to 624 business loans worth US\$5.32 million, leveraging nearly US\$6 million from other sources such as the Small Business Administration, the Community Development Financial Institution Fund and financial institutions, and creating 1,090 full-time and part-time jobs (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012).

118. A second USA programme offers microenterprise development specifically for home-based childcare. The primary goal was 'to assist women refugees to become economically self-sufficient and integrated into the mainstream' with a secondary goal to enable other refugees to enter the workforce with expanded, culturally competent home-based child care options (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2013). During the first year of the programme, 879 refugee women were enrolled, 745 trained, 172 assisted in obtaining business licenses, 160 assisted in starting home-based child care programmes, and 1,061 childcare slots for children were created, in turn assisting 207 refugees to find and secure jobs.

119. One promising model within microenterprise is the *Stepping Stones* project for refugee and migrant women in Australia. The programme is carefully designed based on the capacities and needs of the women and the community to create a tailored programme that is manageable for mothers and women with many other obligations. It adapts microenterprise training material

from the International Labour Office and UNDP into clear, simple content that matches the Australian context, harnesses access to microfinance, and connects each migrant woman with a women mentor from business partnerships and interested individuals. Sixty-five per cent of participants are from resettled refugee backgrounds. From the first interim evaluation, 17 of 39 participants (43.5%) had started their own small business, five were continuing to develop their businesses, and one women had decided to close her business after seeing highlighted areas of risk (Bodsworth, 2013). Although many microenterprise programmes are at a small scale, there is the potential for multiplicative effects due to strengthened networks and business.

120. Similar to microenterprise, the USA individualised development account (IDA) programme invests in individualised refugees, enabling them to make investments to pursue employment or housing goals. The programme for low-income refugees allowed matched savings with the goals of homeownership or renovation; microenterprise capitalisation; post-secondary education; vocational training or recertification; car purchase (if needed to maintain or upgrade employment); and computer purchase (for one's education or microenterprise). As of the most recent evaluation, 81% had achieved their goal and 14% had accounts that were still active (Hein, Losby, & Shir, 2006). In analysing the results from five-year funded programmes that ended September 2004, Hein, Losby, and Shir (2006) found that, due to the value of the assets purchased, for every US\$1 of savings and match invested approximately US\$4.18 was being invested in the local economy, and results were much better for the refugee IDA programme than a similar programme for the general population. Financial investment schemes targeted towards resettled refugees can allow for the flexibility to pursue self-employment and employments with companies.

121. The Refugee Agricultural Partnership Program in the USA is a programme offering grants and a central technical assistance provider to help refugee gardeners and small-scale farmers (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012). The programme gives livelihoods to refugee mothers, older refugees, and other refugees who may not have entered the workforce. It incorporates farming skills that many refugees developed before resettlement. Michelle Obama called the San Diego programme by the International Rescue Committee 'a model for the nation, for the world' (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2012: first para.). Indeed, resettled refugees can be seen undertaking small-scale, often organic, farming in many resettlement countries. Although the effectiveness of targeted agriculture programmes, microenterprise trainings, and other alternative employment programmes are not known, they offer potential in harnessing entrepreneurial abilities to improve the employment and lives of resettled refugees.

Mechanisms for sharing good practices

122. Different mechanisms for sharing good practices are continually developing and refining at international, regional, national, and local levels. The academic field of knowledge translation – including passive diffusion of ideas and active dissemination – is continually evolving, as are practices for knowledge translation. In the interviews and literature, there was an overwhelming sense of common struggles and incorporating mechanisms for sharing promising practices is thought to help programmes run more effectively and efficiently.

123. International forums for sharing promising employment practices exist such as the Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement (ATCR) and meetings between countries. Labour market integration repeatedly arises at the ATCR, although shifting topics, priorities, and personnel complicate knowledge sharing over the long-term. Staff turnover can decrease institutional knowledge without central and sustained practices to pass along information. UNHCR has developed an active 'UNHCR-NGO Toolkit for Practical Cooperation on Resettlement: A Repository for Exchanging Ideas on Resettlement Partnerships' and stand-alone documents designed to share knowledge such as: *Refugee Resettlement: An International Handbook to Guide Reception and Integration* with a chapter devoted to 'Building Bridges to Economic Self-Sufficiency: Employment and Training' and *The Integration of Resettled Refugees – Essentials for Establishing a Resettlement Programme and Fundamentals for Sustainable Resettlement Programmes* (UNHCR, 2013b; UNHCR: Division of International Protection, 2011). Although there have been various reports on regional, national, and local efforts incorporating this topic, this review is the first global one on the specific topic of labour market integration of resettled refugees.

124. The regional mechanisms for sharing practices around refugee resettlement have strengthened in recent years, particularly in Europe. The European Resettlement Network (ERN) supports refugee resettlement in Europe through connecting actors. Within the ERN network, the SHARE project builds a European resettlement network of cities, municipalities, and regions for dialogue, sharing of promising practices, and allowing learning between those locations with experience in resettling and integrating refugees and those new to resettlement. The ERN also facilitates site visits between locations. Similarly, there have been trans-national resettlement projects in the UK and Ireland with shadowing from other countries (Robinson et al., 2010). The European Union sponsored research reports that compare countries including the 2013 *Comparative study on the best practices for the integration of resettled refugees in the EU member states*, and UNHCR Europe recently release the *A New Beginning: Refugee Integration in Europe* (Papadopoulou et al., 2013; UNHCR Bureau for Europe, 2013). Such publications can serve as a basis for sharing good practices and further reflection and can multiply their effect through effective dissemination.

125. On a national level, government offices, national-level organisations, technical providers and national-level reports help share promising practices and allow individuals and organisations to learn from each other. The US Office of Refugee Resettlement funds technical providers including, HigherAdvantage, a programme of Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service that provides 'newcomer workforce solutions to corporations across the US while supporting career entry and advancement for resettled refugees and other new Americans' and 'has served as the US Office of Refugee Resettlement's training and technical assistance arm for employment and self-sufficiency activities for 15 years' (Higher Advantage, 2013). The literature review revealed a particularly strong Australian national literature relating to the employment of resettled refugees.

126. At the local level, strong partnerships between organisations working with resettled refugees can assist refugees and their own programmes. Perhaps most common is a central organisation or regular-planned meeting to share opportunities and information. Some locations create a united front of the organisations resettling and working with resettled refugees to approach employers together. This promotes better relations with employers by preventing them from being contacted by multiple entities and facilitates the best match between employers and resettled refugees looking for employment. The Chicago Refugee Employment Workforce

(CREW) is a conglomeration of resettlement agencies and mutual assistance agencies, which both approaches employers as a single organisation and acts as a mechanism to discuss the needs of refugee populations. Such meaningful relationships not only share good practices but also act as a promising practice through increasing efficiency and cooperation.

Conclusion and recommendations

127. The skills and capacities refugees bring with them can be great resources to labour markets. As Valtonen (1998) states about resettlement in Finland, employment is of 'central significance' and is a source of individual importance yet 'disproportionately high unemployment rate among resettlers points to problems of access'. Accordingly, labour market integration and strategies to improve the current state of labour market integration deserve attention. Resettlement protects the lives of refugees and provides them a durable solution; addressing the 'refugee gap' will help ensure that they are able to fully contribute to their new country.

128. This review has highlighted common, yet varied struggles in labour market integration. Comparatively high initial unemployment and underemployment is evident, but differences were also evident with resettled refugees doing better or worse based on demographics, pre-resettlement history, human capital, social capital, and resettlement environment. With scattered and insufficient research, one can point to general trends, but sweeping statements should be avoided.

129. Similarly, although many promising practices for employment programmes for resettled refugees can be identified, the current state of the research does not allow for evaluating the efficacy of programming.

130. Future research would benefit from short-term and long-term data that differentiates resettled refugees from other populations; from research designs that isolate the effects of programming and eventually lead to comparable data to identify 'best practices', including rich qualitative data contextualizing populations and studies; and, from a focus on under-researched populations and areas, including smaller resettlement countries.

131. Assisting the approximately 75,000 refugees who are resettled each year to integrate into the labour market and use their skills and capacities is a challenging task, but there are potentially huge benefits for the labour markets of the over 25 resettlement countries as well as for the individuals resettled. In the words of one Bhutanese refugee, 'understand[ing] the nature of refugees arriving' and assistance with finding jobs that match can 'allow the life to sustain.'

Table 1:

Author & Year	Finding	Reasons Hypothesized	Country	Population
REFUGEES POORER OUTCOMES THAN IMMIGRANTS				
Aalandslid, 2008	Refugees poorer outcomes than other immigrants	Adaptation; Length of residence correlates with better outcomes	Norway	all; from primarily Vietnam, Iraq and Iran
Bevelander, 2011	Resettled refugees have poorer outcomes than asylum claimants and family reunion immigrants	Selection processes for immigration (e.g. self-selection or UNHCR selection) and pre-existing networks	Sweden	all
Bevelander, 2009	Resettled refugees have lower employment rates and self-employment rates than asylum claimants and family reunion immigrants		Sweden	all
Cobb-Clark and Khoo, 2006	Refugee-humanitarian migrants have lower labour market participation and higher unemployment levels than other migrants	range of barriers	Australia	refugee-humanitarian migrants
Connor 2010, Hugo 2010	'Refugee gap' after determinates for disadvantage are controlled for, refugee-humanitarian settlers have poorer labour market outcomes than other migrant and non-migrant groups		Australia, US, and in general	generalisation from research
Cortes 2004; Connor 2010	Refugees in the US have the same likelihood of employment as other immigrants to the US, <u>but</u> significantly lower occupational status and earnings		US	all
Hiebert, 2002	pre-Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (pre-IRPA), refugees fare better on some measures of employment earnings than family class immigrants		Canada	all
Hiebert 2009 (qtd in Hydman 2011)	Refugees have lower labour force participation and higher welfare usage but exhibit resilience in the labour market (e.g. earnings), only some gaps	Enriched set of settlement services help	Vancouver , Canada	all – Resettled refugees not separated from refugees recognised in Canada

Hugo, 2011	Refugees poorer outcomes than other immigrants	Settle in places with high unemployment, better outcomes for second generation	Australia	All
Yu, Ouellet, & Warmington, 2007	Average employment rate at 6 months and 2 years and average earnings lower for refugees than for all other immigrants groups	Population characteristics; years with high percentage of highly-educated refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina do better	Canada	All
Duleep et al, 2001 (qtd in Siraj, 2007)	Comparing 'Indochinese' (Vietnamese, Cambodian, & Laotian) refugees to Thai, Indian, Korean, Chinese, and Filipino economic migrants have lower education levels and lower earnings		US	'Indochinese' refugees versus other Asian immigrants entering at the time
REFUGEES POORER OUTCOMES THAN NATIVES				
Bevelander & Lundh, 2007	"Like in many other Western European countries, most immigrant groups in Sweden have lower employment levels than natives."	YET, various refugee groups had a local 'best' employment level close to or even over the general employment rate for natives, for example: refugee men and women from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chile as well as men from Yugoslavia and Iran	Sweden	All
Hugo, 2013	Refugee-humanitarian settlers have lower labour force participation rates than Australian born, but performance converges over time and 'second generation perform at a higher level'	obstacles incl.: 'language, education, structural disadvantage, and discrimination.' Evidence that part of the gap explained by discrimination	Australia	refugees, humanitarian settlers
Lundborg 2013	Refugees have poorer employment outcomes than natives	Certain populations have worse initial conditions due to more discrimination of certain cultural and ethnical backgrounds	Sweden	refugees identified by country of origin
Samuel, 1984	Refugees & immigrants poorer outcomes than natives	outcomes influenced by labour market conditions, language proficiency, sympathy by the population by refugees, support by co-ethnics & individual adaptability	Canada	400,000 refugees (over 25 years), primarily Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Ugandan Asians, Chileans, and Indochinese

Table 2:

Table 2 shows correlates for populations of resettled refugees with various labour market indicators. Qualitative findings are shown in light grey and quantitative findings in dark grey. For quantitative analyses which presented statistical tests, only results found significant at the p=0.05 level or lower were included in the table.

Factors theorised to affect resettled refugees' labour market integration and their studies (Grey for quantitative correlations and white for qualitative findings)				
Factor	Work cited	Country (city & population)	Correlate	More detail
Demographic Variables				
Gender	Bevelander Hagström, & Rönnqvist, 2009	Sweden	employment rate	do not control for other variables
	Codell et al, 2011	US (Salt Lake City); 50% Burmese, 25% Bhutanese, 25% Iraqis	wage	85, Based on admin data; young earn more; women earned less
	Franz, 2003	US (NYC, Bosnian)	selection of employment (more low-skilled, low-paid)	qualitative, also looked at them in Bosnia
	Ibrahim, Sgro, Mansouri, & Jubb, 2010	Australia (Ethiopian)	employment	only 51% held refugee visas (29% humanitarian), 403 mail-in surveys, logistic regression
	Owens-Manley & Coughlan, 2000	USA (Upstate New York, Bosnians)	wage	100 families, no statistical tests reported
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hmong & Somali Refugees)	employment status	random phone survey
	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status, hourly pay rate, & annual earnings	regression (N=2713) & OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data
Age	Codell et al, 2011	USA (Salt Lake City); 50% Burmese, 25% Bhutanese, 25% Iraqis)	wage	N=85, Based on admin data; young earn more
	Hauff &	Norway	labour force	3 years after arrival; 131

	Vaglum, 1993	(Vietnamese)	participation	Vietnamese boat refugees
	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	employment status	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status	regression (N=2713), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data
	Waxman, 2001	Australia (Sydney, Bosnian, Afghan & Iraqi refugees)	employment likelihood	N=118
Marital status	Hauff & Vaglum, 1993	Norway (Vietnamese)	labour force participation	3 years after arrival; 125 Vietnamese boat refugees, sig. in multivariate analysis
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hmong Refugees)	employment status	random phone survey
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of Soviet/East European & Cuban refugees)	employment status	Soviet/E European N=4241, SE Asian N=4748, Cuban N=4707, not the UN definition
Having children	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Somali Refugees)	employment status	random phone survey
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of SE Asian refugees)	employment status & household income	SE Asian N=4748; not the legal refugee definition
Household size	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of SE Asian refugees)	household income	SE Asian N=4748; not the legal refugee definition
Origin and ethnic group	Bevelander Hagström, & Rönnqvist, 2009	Sweden	employment rate	do not control for other variables
	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	N=233, 232 resettled; for region of origin; logistic regression and Generalized Estimated Equations (GEE) a) all participants and b) excluding those not looking for work
	Desbartes, 1986	USA (Illinois and California, Sino-Vietnamese and ethnic Vietnamese)	employment status	602 refugees interviewed, controlled for pre-arrival characteristics and resettlement context
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hmong-Somali and Russian refugees)	employment status	random phone survey of 552

	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status, yearly income, and hourly earnings	regression (N=2713) & OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data, being Eastern European negatively associated employment status but positively associated Income and hourly earnings
	Strand, 1984	USA (San Diego, Vietnamese & Cambodians)	employment rate	drawn from a larger study of 800 Southeast Asian refugees
Time in country	Bevelander Hagström, & Rönnqvist, 2009	Sweden	employment rate	do not control for other variables
	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	N=233, 232 resettled; logistic regression at time 1 and GEE longitudinal predictor for a) all participants and b) excluding those not looking for work
	Cortes, 2004	USA	earnings and hours worked	census data (arrivals 1975-1980 from Afghanistan, Cuba, the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, Haiti, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam classified as refugees)
	Hugo, 2011	Australia	labour force participation	600 refugee-humanitarian settlers
	Marsh, 1980	USA ('Indochinese')	income per week and employment rates	1975 Indochinese arrivals, surveys by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
	Siraj, 2007	USA	annual earnings	ordinary least squares (OLS) regression (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data
	Strand, 1984	USA ('Indochinese' in San Diego)	employment status	N=800 heads of household
	Takeda, 2000	USA (SE cities, Iraqis)	income	regression, 105 Iraqi males
	Waxman, 2001	Australia (Sydney, Bosnian, Afghan & Iraqi refugees)	employment likelihood	N=118
Citizenship	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of SE Asian refugees)	household income	SE Asian N=4748; not the legal refugee definition
Length of time worked	Siraj, 2007	USA	hourly wages	OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data
Secondary migration	Ott, 2011	USA	employment	qualitative, case studies
	Sheikh Omer, 2013	Australia & USA (Somali)	employment	qualitative, 80 interviews including 6 focus groups

Disability	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of Soviet/East European & Cuban refugees)	employment status	Soviet/E European N=4241, SE Asian N=4748, Cuban N=4707, not the UN definition
Health variables	Strand, 1984	USA ('Indochinese' in San Diego)	employment status	a significant predictor in five of seven regression analysis equations, n=800 heads of household
	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	employment status	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
Mood disorders	Bogic, 2012	Germany, Italy, and the UK (from the former Yugoslavia)	(un)employment	multivariate logistic regression; N=854

Pre-resettlement History

Trauma history	Hauff & Vaglum, 1993	Norway (Vietnamese)	labour force participation	3 years after arrival; 145 Vietnamese boat refugees at point 1 and 131 at point 2; controlled for age, sex, and mental health
Years as a refugee	Codell et al, 2011	USA (Salt Lake City); 50% Burmese, 25% Bhutanese, 25% Iraqis	employment status	85 refugees, Based on admin data
Urban residence in country of origin	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	employment status	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
Initial language level	Ibrahim, Sgro, Mansouri, & Jubb, 2010	Australia (Ethiopian)	employment	only 51% held refugee visas (29% humanitarian), 403 mail-in surveys, logistic regression

Human Capital

Previous work experience/occupational status	Stein, 1979	US (Vietnamese)	occupational adjustment	higher ones' former occupational status the less likely they will use their skills in employment & increased time to re-entry of former occupations (used data but no statistical tests available)
Self-efficacy	Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2013	New Zealand and Australia (Afghan & Kurdish refugees)	employment, good English, levels of education	N=186
Acculturation attitudes	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hmong)	employment status	random phone survey, attitude toward intermarriage
Education level	Bevelander Hagström, &	Sweden	employment rate	do not control for other variables

	Rönnqvist, 2009			
	Connor, 2010	USA (all)	employment, wages, and occupational attainment	N=445, New Immigrant Survey in 2003, those with former refugee status (includes asylum-seekers)
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Somali Refugees)	earnings (Somali & Hmong) & employment status (Somali refugees)	random phone survey of 552
	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status hourly wage & annual earnings	regression (N=2713) & OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data, "homeland education"
	Takeda, 2000	USA (SE cities, Iraqis)	income	regression, 105 Iraqi males
	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	employment status	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2001	USA (Census data of Soviet/East European, SE Asian, & Cuban refugees)	household income	Soviet/E European n=4241, SE Asian n=4748, Cuban n=4707; Definition of refugees NOT the UNHCR definition; not all resettled
Host country language skills	Change Makers Refugee Forum, 2012	New Zealand	types of employment and ability to meet living needs	focus groups and interviews with 17 people in employment from 11 different refugee-background communities
	Mamgain & Collins, 2003	USA (Portland, Maine)	wages	610 households, administrative data of Catholic Charities Maine Refugees and Immigration Services
	McLean, Friesen, and Hyndman 2006; Brunner, Hyndman, and Friesen, 2010	Canada (Vancouver, Achean)	employment	75 surveys and 50 semi-structured interviews
	Owens-Manley & Coughlan, 2000	USA (Upstate New York, Bosnians)	wage	100 families, no statistical tests reported
	Potocky-Tripodi, 2003	USA (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hmong and Russian Refugees)	employment status	random phone survey
	Robinson et al, 2010	Ireland & UK (DRC refugees)	employment	Interviews with 27 DRC refugees and four focus groups
	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status, hourly	regression (N=2713) & OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of

			wage, & yearly income	Refugee Resettlement data
	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	labour force participation, unemployment, and earned income	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
	Waxman, 2001	Australia (Sydney, Bosnian, Afghan & Iraqi refugees)	employment likelihood	N=117
Qualifications or training undertaken since arrival	Ibrahim, Sgro, Mansouri, & Jubb, 2010	Australia (Ethiopian)	employment	only 51% held refugee visas (29% humanitarian), 403 mail-in surveys, logistic regression
Recognition of overseas qualifications	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	**recognition of overseas qualifications NEGATIVELY correlated with employment; N=207 people, 99%+ resettled; GEE for sample, excluding those not actively looking for work

Receiving communities' assets

Receiving agency's variables	Andenmatten et al., 2010	USA	economic self-sufficiency	quality and duration of services
	Bach, 1988	USA (Southeast Asian refugees)	poverty and government programmes	N=1,056 Southeast Asian
	Brick et al, 2010	USA	long-term employment outcomes	qualitative review, thought to be related to duration of assistance
	Tran, 1991	USA ('Indochinese')	employment status and type of sponsorship	sample of 1,960 refugees, logistic regression analysis
Language opportunities	Strand, 1984	USA ('Indochinese' in San Diego)	employment status	a significant predictor in all seven regression analysis equations, n=800 heads of household; enrolment in English classes correlated with being less likely to be employed
	Waxman, 2001, 2000	Australia (Sydney, Iraqi, Bosnian, and Afghan refugees)	employment status (and attending classes)	snowball sampling; 77 Iraqis, 50 Bosnians, and 35 Afghans
Discrimination	Change Makers Refugee Forum, 2012	New Zealand	employment	focus groups and interviews with 17 people in employment from 11 different refugee-background communities
Participation in employment	Change Makers Refugee Forum,	New Zealand	types of employment	focus groups and interviews with 17 people in employment

programmes	2012		and ability to meet living needs	from 11 different refugee-background communities
Educational and training opportunity	Change Makers Refugee Forum, 2012	New Zealand	employment	focus groups and interviews with 17 people in employment from 11 different refugee-background communities
	Connor, 2010	USA (all)	occupational attainment	N=445, New Immigrant Survey in 2003, those with former refugee status (includes asylum-seekers), education taken in the USA
Job market (e.g. types of employment)	Bach, 1988	USA (Southeast Asian refugees)	poverty and government programmes	N=1,056 Southeast Asian
	Corvo & Peterson, 2005	USA (Syracuse, NY; Bosnian refugees)	economic self-sufficiency	theorised as less due to regional labour shortage
	Mamgain & Collins, 2003	USA (Portland, Maine)	wages (and hire date: proxy for economy)	N=312, Significance between wages and hire date theorized to be because of tightening of labour market
	Ott, 2011	USA (Bhutanese, Burmese, and Iraqis)	employment and wages	local labour market conditions and willingness to travel
Local/ Geographic region (incl. attitude of the community towards refugees and social and economic climate)	Connor, 2010	USA (all)	wages (and neighbourhood effects)	N=445, New Immigrant Survey in 2003, those with former refugee status (includes asylum-seekers)
	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	**correlated with placement of settlement in urban environment; N=214, 99% resettled; logistic regression for all participants
	Haines & Rosenblum, 2010	USA (Richmond, Virginia)	employment	qualitative, availability of employment allowed for employment and created a positive narrative
	Haines, 1988	USA (Southeast Asian)	economic self-sufficiency	social and economic environment theorised as important for economic self-sufficiency and makes difficult to document programme effects
	Siraj, 2007	USA	employment status & hourly earnings	regression (N=2713) & OLS (N=1547), 1995-2000 Office of Refugee Resettlement data, those in the Midwest & South more likely to be employed
	Smith, 2008	USA (Utica, NY)	employment	qualitative work, importance of the community and positive

				attitudes towards refugees as well as economic climate
Access to transport	Blumenberg, 2007;	USA (California, Southeast Asian refugees)	employment	unlimited access to automobiles a significant predictor of employment
	Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2007	Australia	adequate employment	N=150, necessity of having a car cited as a barrier by 22.7% of the sample including 34% of ex-Yugoslavs and 26% of African refugees
	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	**owning a car; N=214, 99% resettled; logistic regression for all participants
	Strand, 1984	USA ('Indochinese' in San Diego)	employment status	**owning a car for Vietnamese and Lao; regression analysis equations; n=800 heads of household
Social capital				
Social networks - e.g. ethnic enclaves, familial connections	Correa-Velez, Barnett, & Gifford, 2013	Australia (Southeast Queensland, male refugees)	employment status	N=126; 99%+ resettled; logistic regression excludes those not looking for work
	Green et al, 2011	Australia	underemployment	social capital and networks outside of ethnic niches
	Mamgain & Collins, 2003	USA (Portland, Maine)	long-term employment success	qualitative research indicating social connections with the white community are important
Feeling a valued member of your ethnic community	Ibrahim, Sgro, Mansouri, & Jubb, 2010	Australia (Ethiopian)	employment	only 51% held refugee visas (29% humanitarian), 403 mail-in surveys, logistic regression
Employment rate of non-Western immigrant and co-ethnic men	Damm, 2012, 2009	Denmark ('refugees' as arrival from refugee-sending countries minus family reunification)	employment	administrative data
'social support' and 'friend support'	Takeda, 2000	USA (SE cities, Iraqis)	income	regression, 105 Iraqi males

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Debbie Douglas	Executive Director, Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Canada
Chantal Drolet	Directrice, Direction de l'immigration familiale et humanitaire, Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Québec
Rebecca Einhoff	Associate Protection Officer, UNHCR, Germany
Oskar Ekblad	Head of Swedish Resettlement, Swedish Migration Board
Hannah Entwisle	Expert, resettled Burmese refugees
Marco Formisano	Executive Assistant, Bureau for the Americas, UNHCR
Chris Friesen	Director, Settlement Services, Immigrant Services Society of British Columbia, Canada
Sathya Gnaniah	Program Manager, ALLIES Project, Canada
Gail Hopkins	Refugee Integration and Capacity Evaluation, Brussels
Yukiko Iriyama	Senior Resettlement Officer, UNHCR
Melineh Kano	Executive Director, RefugeeOne, Chicago, USA
Karolina Lindholm Billing	UNHCR Senior Regional Legal Officer, Nordic countries
Juliana Lobo de Queiroz	PhD Candidate, Swinburne University of Technology and Coordinator of Stepping Stones (micro-business facilitation program for women of refugee and migrant backgrounds)
Rebecca Meddings	Coordinator of Stepping Stones, Australia
Agostino Mulas	Senior Desk Officer, UNHCR, Americas Bureau
Ron Munia	Director, Division of Refugee Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement, USA
Kjell Østby	Deputy Director General, Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Norway
Miranda Pittaway	Acting National Manager, Refugee Services, New Zealand Red Cross

Corrine Prince-St-Amand	Director General, Integration Branch, Citizenship and Immigration Canada
Gordana Radan	Manager, Business, Employment & Training Services, Calgary Catholic Immigrant Society, Canada
Lisa Raffonelli	Principal Senior Communications Specialist, Office of Refugee Resettlement, USA
Andres Ramirez	UNHCR Representative, Brazil
Robyn Sampson	PhD Candidate, La Trobe University, Australia
Inma Serrano	Expert on labour market integration in Sweden & Spain
Melika Sheik-Eldin	Manager, Settlement Delivery Support Services, Adult Multicultural Education Service, Australia
Jose Sieber Luz	Resettlement Officer, UNHCR
Edwin Silverman	State Refugee Coordinator, Illinois, USA
Zachary Steel	Associate Professor, School of Psychiatry, University New South Wales, Australia
Paul Stien	State Refugee Coordinator for the Colorado Department of Human Services and USA National President of the State Coordinators of Refugee Resettlement (SCORR)
Antoinette Tanguay	National Refugee Resettlement Coordinator, Immigration New Zealand
Norbert Trosien	Associate Protection Officer, UNHCR, Germany
Deborah Tunis	Special Adviser, Office of the Assistant Deputy Minister, Strategic and Program Policy, Canada
Nicol U	Expert on Cambodian refugees in USA
Johannes van der Klaauw	Senior Resettlement Coordinator / Head of Resettlement, UNHCR
Johannes Van Gemund	Executive Assistant, UNHCR, Ankara
Fabio Varoli	Senior Liaison Officer, UNHCR, Chile
Greg Wangerin	Executive Director, USA for UNHCR
Emilie Wiinblad	Senior Policy Officer, UNHCR, Europe Bureau
Larry Yungk	Senior Resettlement Officer, UNHCR, USA

Appendix 2. Methodology for the Campbell-registered systematic review

The following is the criteria for inclusion and search methods for an on-going systematic review (under review). The full methodology and information on data analysis can be found at the Campbell Collaboration: campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/246/.

Criteria for inclusion and exclusion of studies

Types of studies

Studies must use a prospective, controlled trial using a randomised controlled trial (RCT) design; a quasi-randomised controlled trial design (QRCT, i.e. participants are allocated by means which may not be expected to influence outcomes, such as alternating allocation, birth date, the date of the week or month, case number or alphabetical order); or a nonrandomised controlled design (i.e. quasi-experimental design). Nonrandomised controlled studies must provide information on baseline comparability of the cohorts and use statistical tools to adjust for baseline differences. For all studies, participants must have been prospectively assigned to study groups or a control group (i.e. alternative intervention or 'services as usual'), and studies must measure control group outcomes concurrently with intervention group outcomes.

Additionally, studies must have been conducted or published since 1980 (see above).

Types of participants

The review includes refugees who meet domestic legislative definition of a refugee for the country of the intervention and:

- a. are formally assisted to resettle by the government (i.e. resettled refugees but not asylum-seekers);
- b. have been served by a refugee resettlement entity; and,
- c. fall between the ages of 18 and 64 at the time of intervention.

If, for any reason, the sample in the study does not fall completely within those parameters, we will contact the author in order to obtain disaggregated data for the population that meets the criteria of a, b, and c. If we are unable to obtain disaggregated data, we plan to use sensitivity analyses based on studies with mixed populations.

Types of interventions

Eligible interventions include any designed to broadly increase the economic self-sufficiency and well-being of resettled refugees compared to a control or comparison group receiving 'services as usual' or an alternative intervention. Interventions typically last from three months to five years and may include services such as employment casework to discuss goals and

expectations, mediation between employers/employees, translation and paperwork assistance, employment mentorship, and interview training.

Types of outcome measures

Studies must report either a primary or a secondary outcome.

Primary outcomes

The primary outcome is economic activity such as unemployment/employment rate and labour force participation rate.

The unemployment or employment rate measures the number of people without or with jobs compared to those searching for jobs in a population of interest (e.g. adult refugees) whereas the labour force participation rate measures the proportion of the population of interest (i.e. including those not actively looking for a job) participating in the labour force.

Secondary outcomes

Secondary outcomes include, for resettled refugees,

- percentage (or portion) of population accessing cash assistance (e.g. specialised refugee cash assistance or public cash assistance),
- measures of income, such as:
 - overall annual income,
 - salary rate, and
 - average hourly wage,
- job retention, and
- quality of life as measured by ‘generic indicators’ including scales that measure individual functioning, family functioning, social support, or general health related quality of life (e.g. Euroqol or the short form SF-36 or SF-12 scales) (Jenkison & McGee, 1998). Measures must both make sense across different intervention evaluations and not be tied to specific clinical mental health diagnoses, which are not the focus of this review. Therefore, disease-specific measures, patient-generated measures (e.g. Patient-Generated Index of Quality of Life, PGI), and DSM mental health diagnoses are outside of the purview of this review.

These may be measured by sources such as self-report from study participants and/or records from governmental agencies or non-governmental organisations.

Search methods for identification of studies

We use bibliographic databases, targeted websites, and personal communication to find relevant studies. No language restrictions are applied to potential studies identified through searches.

Search terms

The following will be the key search terms to cover the population, intervention and methods:

- Population: *resettle** OR *re-settle** OR *refuge** OR *force** ADJ **migrant** OR *asylum** OR *humanitar** ADJ *entrant** OR *humanitar** ADJ *settle**
- Intervention: AND *economic* OR *job** OR *employ** OR *mone** OR *work** OR *well-being* OR *wellbeing* OR *well* ADJ *being* OR *quality* NEAR *life* OR *labo*r* ADJ *market*
- Methods: AND *outcome** OR *evaluat** OR *effect** OR *efficacy* OR *compar** OR *experiment** OR *trial* OR *control** OR *random** OR *study* OR *studies* OR *assessment* OR *impact** OR *research**

These terms are in line with other meta-analyses on refugees and suggested terminology for limiting methodology to quantitative methodology (Bollini, Pampallona, Wanner, & Kupelnick, 2009; Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011; Clark & Mytton, 2007; Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Gagnon & Tuck, 2004; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001; Littell, Corcoran, & Pillai, 2008; Morton, 2011; Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009).

An example of the search strategy for Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA) is listed below. The strategy may be modified for the different databases. We will report full details of the modifications in the completed review.

```
all(resettle* OR re-settle* OR refuge* OR force* ADJ *migrant* OR asylum* OR humanit*
ADJ entrant* OR humanit* ADJ settle*) AND all(economic OR job* OR employ* OR mone*
OR work* OR wellbeing OR well-being OR well ADJ being OR quality NEAR/4 life OR
labor ADJ market OR labour ADJ market) AND all(outcome* OR evaluat* OR effect* OR
efficacy OR compar* OR experiment* OR trial OR control* OR random* OR study OR
studies OR assessment OR impact* OR research*)
```

Databases

We search the following databases and citation indices (Greenhalgh, 2010; Hammerstrøm, Wade, & Jørgensen, 2010):

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)
- Business Source Complete
- CINAHL
- Cochrane Central Register of Controlled Trials (CENTRAL)
- Conference Proceedings Citation Index - Social Science & Humanities (CPCI-SSH)
- ProQuest Dissertation & Thesis Full Text
- ProQuest Dissertation and Thesis UK & Ireland
- EconLit
- Education Resources Information Center (ERIC)
- IDEAS
- ISI Index to the Social Sciences and Humanities
- OpenGrey

- PAIS International
- PolicyFile
- PsycINFO
- Social Care Online
- Social Science Citation Index
- SocIndex
- Sociological Abstracts

Searching other resources

In order to capture unpublished reports, the above list includes some databases known for their grey literature: Conference Proceedings Citation Index - Social Science & Humanities (CPCI-SSH), OpenGrey, PAIS International, PolicyFile, Proquest Dissertation & Thesis Full Text, and ProQuest Dissertation and Thesis UK & Ireland.

Additionally, we manually search the *Journal of Refugee Studies* since its inception (1988).

We also search the following websites of relevant research, policy, and governmental organisations:

- Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, American University in Cairo: www.aucegypt.edu/gapp/cmrs
- Centre for Refugee Research, University of New South Wales: www.crr.unsw.edu.au/
- Centre for Refugee Studies, York University: <http://crs.yorku.ca/>
- Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging, University of East London: www.uel.ac.uk/cmrb
- Department for Work and Pensions Social Research Branch: www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/index.html
- Forced Migration Online Digital Library: www.forcedmigration.org/digital-library
- Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation: www.mdrc.org
- Mathematica Policy Research: www.mathematica-mpr.com
- National Centre for Social Research: www.natcen.ac.uk/natcen/pages/op_employment.html
- National Institute for Social Work: www.nisw.org.uk/about.html
- Norwegian Refugee Council, Evaluations: www.nrc.no/?aid=9160729
- Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families: www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/
- Refugee Services, New Zealand: www.refugeeservices.org.nz
- Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University: www.rsc.ox.ac.uk
- Urban Institute: www.urban.org
- UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, Policy Development and Evaluation: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a1d28526.html>

Furthermore, we use personal contacts and contact all authors of included studies to try to locate studies that are on-going or unpublished. The bibliographies of any included studies are also inspected for potentially relevant studies.