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Improved integration of female refugees?
– An evaluation of the Establishment reform

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Improved integration of female refugees?

– An evaluation of the Establishment reform

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Abstract: It may take several years for a refugee in Sweden to establish on the labor market. The slow establishment is particularly problematic for female refugees. Compared to men, low-skilled women and women with young children experience major disadvantages. In Sweden, refugees were offered a voluntary program with measures to ease the integration into the labor market. On December 1, 2010, the enacting of the so-called Establishment reform, which was carried out in order to speed up the refugees' labor market entry, changed that program. Newly arrived refugees were then offered participation in an Establishment program at the Public Employment service instead of an Introduction program offered by the municipalities. This study provides an evaluation of the Establishment reform. The aim is to analyze the employment rates two and three years after enrollment in the program. The applied approach is to compare the outcome for the refugees participating in the Introduction program with the outcome for the refugees participating in the Establishment program, while controlling for important observables. This is possible by using Swedish register data on all immigrants given residence permit in Sweden 2009-2011. The findings from the evaluation provide evidence that the Establishment reform has had a small but significant effect on the probability of being employed. Those participating in the Establishment program showed higher employment rates compared to participants in the previous Introduction program. This association was evident for both women and men. Among low-skilled women, co-resident mothers, and women with young children, no significant increase in the probability of being employed was observed. It thereby seems like the reform at large has had a positive effect but that more effort is needed for those with the initially largest disadvantages.

Keywords: immigrants, gender, integration policies, double disadvantages

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Introduction

For more than 50 years Sweden has been an immigration country. In the latest decades, the immigration has been characterized by refugees and family reunion (Statistics Sweden, 2015). When refugees are granted a residence permit in Sweden, the state is responsible for introducing them to work and social life. Refugees therefore have been entitled to a municipal Introduction program where they are supposed to learn Swedish and become introduced to Swedish society. On December 1, 2010, this program changed due to the implementation of the so-called Establishment reform. The Public Employment Service thereby took over the responsibility for the introduction. By means of the reform refugees aged 20-64 were offered an Establishment program instead of an Introduction program.

The aim of the reform was to improve the introduction in order to speed up the refugees' labor market entry. The participants would get a more intensive coaching by case workers and be entitled to a guide who would help them to find a job. A more rapid way to the first employment was thought to be provided through stronger economic incentives to find a job and participate in the Establishment program. Refugees that participated in the Introduction program often were entitled to an allowance equal to social welfare. The allowance could however be affected by the income of other household members. If your co-resident partner had an income, your allowance could decrease. This could reduce both the economic incentives to participate in the program and the incentives to work, as it would not pay off. An Establishment allowance was introduced in order to counter these effects. It was supposed to be the same for all participants and would only be paid during active participation in the offered activities. In order to increase the economic incentives for all household members to participate in the program, the allowance thereto was individualized (Prop. 2009/10:60).

The Establishment reform was introduced with a clear aim of gender equality. The aim of the Establishment allowance was to increase the incentives of participation in the program, in particular for refugee women (Prop. 2009/10:60). Why this was relevant was because the participation in the Introduction program had been considerably lower for women. Many refugee women interrupted their participation in the program due to childbearing and care of children (SOU 2012:29). Consequently, women had more difficulties to enter the labor market. The median time to get employed was twice as high for refugee women than for refugee men (Dir

2011:88). This pattern is not unique for Sweden. It is known that gender influences the establishment on the labor market and the integration in the new country (Pedraza, 1991). In terms of labor force participation and occupational attainment, gender and ethnicity interacts (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). Immigrant women are argued to experience a *double disadvantage* on the labor market. They do so by belonging to two groups with negative status: as women and as immigrants (Boyd, 1984). The Introduction or language training programs may worsen the disadvantages because men are favored in such programs (ibid). The disadvantage experienced by refugee women and the different path faced by men and women may increase in the meeting with Swedish social policy (Mussino and Duvander, 2014).

In this study, I evaluate the Establishment reform and its consequences for the refugees. The aim is to investigate whether the reform has increased women's probability of employment. The data used derives from the longitudinal individual database STATIV that is supplemented with data from the Public Employment Service. The approach is to compare the employment outcome for the refugees who were registered from December 1, 2010 until December 31, 2011, and participated in the Establishment program, with the ones in the Introduction program who were registered January-November 2010. The outcomes are measured twice: two and three years after the refugees were registered in a municipality and were enrolled in a program.

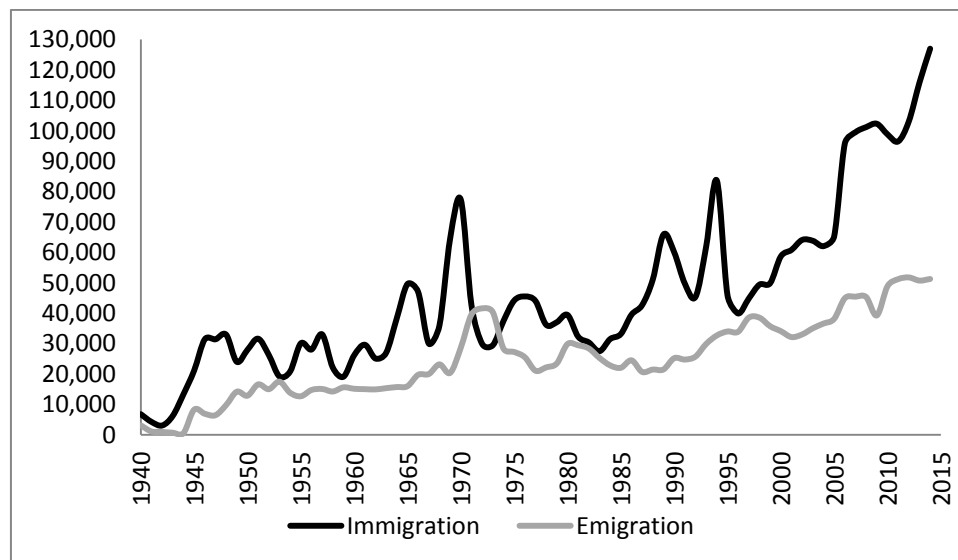
The study is structured as follows: in the next section the immigration and the integration policies in Sweden will be described. This is followed by a description of the situation of immigrants in the Swedish labor market. In the theoretical section the focus will be on the double disadvantage that immigrant women are facing in a gendered occupational structure. After that, the objective of this study is presented. In the data and method section there is a description of the applied models and the included variables. The descriptive statistics will be followed by the results. In the final section the discussion and conclusion of the study is presented.

The immigration and integration politics in Sweden

The immigration to Sweden

Sweden has had a significant net immigration since the end of the World War II. From 1960 to 2014 the share of residents born outside of Sweden increased from 4 to 16.5 percent (Statistics Sweden, 2015). The immigration has been of a shifting character and as seen in Figure 1, the shares of people migrating have differed year to year. Until the 1970s, migrants were recruited to fill the demands in the industry and the immigration was characterized by labor migration (Lundh, 2005). As the need for foreign labor decreased, the recruitment was restrained in the late 1960s, and in the early 1970s it was decided to stop the recruitment of foreign labor (Korpi et al 2015). The labor migration was replaced by an increased inflow of asylum seekers and family migrants (Lundh, 2005). During the 2000s, the immigration has increased and become more diverse. The largest group of immigrants has been the ones granted residence permits for family ties. This is a heterogeneous group, consisting of immigrants applying for asylum due to family reunification or marriage to someone living in Sweden, as well as adopted children. Those in this group that are entitled to an Establishment program are the ones whom are relatives of refugees. The ones applying for asylum and the ones getting a residence permit based on employment constitute the second and third largest groups (Statistics Sweden, 2013a).

Figure 1. Annual Swedish immigration and emigration, 1940-2014.



Source: Statistics Sweden, 2014

The origin of, and the number of the refugees applying for asylum in Sweden are not constant. In the 1970s, the majority of the asylum seekers were from Latin America and in the 1980s the majority originated from the Middle East. Refugees from the former Yugoslavia dominated the migration flow in the early 1990s. At the beginning of the 2000s refugees from Iraq constituted the largest group of asylum seekers (Lemaître, 2007). In the latest years, the majority of the asylum seekers have been from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Somalia and Syria (OECD, 2015).

The emergence of the Swedish integration policy

Until the 1970s the idea of assimilation characterized the immigrant reception, where the aim was to make immigrants and ethnic minorities adapt to the Swedish culture and society (Lundh, 2005). However, already in the mid-1960s, Sweden started to develop ideas on how to integrate and adjust immigrants to place them on equal footing with the natives (Hammar, 1985). In 1968 it was declared that the immigrants would be covered by the universal welfare system (Borevi, 2014). The Public Employment Service was in charge of the refugee reception but no special measures were offered to the immigrants. In 1972 the government decided to provide free language courses and civic orientation for all immigrants (Hammar, 1985). In the mid-1970s, a *multicultural immigrant and minority policy* was formulated under three headings: equality, freedom of choice, and partnership. Instead of assimilation, cultural plurality became the new aim for the policies. Immigrants should be given the possibility to retain their culture of origin, in the same way as the Swedish born population was able to retain their culture and values (Borevi, 2012, Hammar, 1985). Equal rights were seen as a condition for a successful integration into the Swedish society (Borevi, 2014).

The multicultural immigrant policy was soon criticized for reinforcing differences between immigrants and natives and creating an "us" and "them" (Prop. 1997/98:16). In 1985 it was decided that the measures provided to immigrants only should target individuals, not immigrants as a collective (Borevi, 2012). A decade later an *integration policy* was formulated in the Government Bill "From immigrant policy to integration policy" (Prop. 1997/98:16). The previous immigrant policies were portrayed as a failure and a downscaling occurred regarding the multicultural ambitions (Borevi, 2014). However, the ideas of universal rights remained (Schierup et al. 2006). It was decided that immigrants should be offered special measures, but only during their first two years in Sweden (Borevi, 2012). This study focuses on those special

measures provided during the first two years. Many European countries offer their newly arrived immigrants national Introduction programs when they register in the country (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). In the next section I will describe the tasks and objectives of such Introduction programs to proceed with an account for the emergence of the Swedish Introduction program. Thereafter I will determine the changes the Establishment reform brought about and describe the new Establishment program that is to be evaluated.

The introduction of newly-arrived immigrants

In Europe the Introduction programs constitute the core of the integration policies (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). The programs target immigrants of adult age who, if not in the program, would claim state benefits (Guild, 2005). Through the participation, the refugees are provided with income support (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). Migrants from countries like the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Japan does not have the right to an Introduction program, and the same rules apply for EU-migrants. High-skilled labor market migrants and students are neither entitled to the programs (Emilsson, 2008). In Sweden, the Introduction program is only offered to refugees and their next of kin (Prop. 2009/10:60). A common aim with the Introduction programs is to ease the integration into the labor market and society. This is to be accomplished through language courses, vocational training and job search assistance (Rinne, 2012).

In recent years, the language training programs have become more extensive (Emilsson, 2008). The Introduction programs thereto have gotten a more mandatory character. Activity and participation in these programs is seen as the main key for a successful integration in the new country (OECD, 2007). The Netherlands and Germany were early with demanding participation in their Introduction program and were soon followed by Austria and the Flanders. In 2006 France made the participation mandatory (Carrera, 2006). Neighboring Denmark and Norway who have experienced a similar but less extensive immigration, and have had a similar integration practice as Sweden, also offer mandatory programs. The Danish program was mandatory already when initially implemented in 1998, and continued to be mandatory when revised in 2002 (Korpi et al. 2015). Norway has offered a program since 2003, which only was voluntary until 2005 (Kavli et al. 2007). Sweden has chosen another path for the introduction, which will be clear in the sections below.

The Swedish Introduction program

In 1985 the responsibility for the refugee reception was transferred from the Public Employment Service to the Swedish Immigration Board (Hammar, 1985, Lundh, 2005). As part of that transfer the municipalities were made responsible for providing housing, language courses and social as well as psychological support for the refugees. The idea was that the Swedish municipalities to a greater extent would share the responsibility for the refugee reception (Prop.1983/84:124). The transfer was performed as an attempt to stop the clustering of refugees in the large cities. By letting the municipalities handle the reception, the idea was that it would be adapted to the local conditions. All municipalities received compensation from the state for the additional expenses following the refugee reception (Emilsson, 2015). In 1991 the compensation system changed. To increase the economic incentives to pursue an efficient introduction, the compensation was paid continuously during the refugees first two years registered in the municipalities (Lundh, 2005, Emilsson, 2015). However, it was not until 1993 that the municipalities got the possibility to offer the newly arrived refugees an Introduction allowance for the participation in Introduction activities (SOU 2003:75).

The goal for the Introduction program was to increase the participants' possibilities to be economically self-sufficient and to provide good prospects for education and participation in public life. After finishing the program, the participant should have had his/her education and professional skills validated and have sufficient language skills to participate in every-day life, as well as in working life or in further education (Swedish Integration Board, 2006). The core in the Introduction program constituted of language training. The program would also include relevant internships, civil orientation and information about the Swedish labor market (Emilsson, 2008). During the time in the program, the participants should gain contact with Swedish working life through labor practice. Thereto the participant would gain knowledge about the Swedish society and the Swedish labor market (Swedish Integration Board, 2006).

During the 1990s the immigration politics became a target for extensive criticism and major evaluations. The refugee reception was criticized for lacking a labor market perspective as the education and social issues were more pronounced than labor market measures (SOU 1995:76). The results of the Introduction program were discouraging. During the time in the program, few participants had any contact with the Public Employment Service. Few participants did get their

education validated and few participants completed their language education. The worst result of the Introduction was seen among the female participants (Swedish Integration Board, 2002, 2004 and 2005). Only a minority of the participants in the Introduction program had become self-sufficient three years after attending the program (SOU 1996:55). Even though the newly arrived refugees were offered measures to ease the labor market entry, they had great difficulties to access the labor market (Swedish Integration Board, 2007).

The Establishment reform

The Right-Centre coalition that won the 2006 election engaged a committee to propose a new integration reform. Two years later the committee presented the Establishment reform that was approved by parliament in spring 2010. The full name of the reform was “Labor market introduction of newly arrived immigrants – individual responsibility with professional support” (Nyanlända invandrades arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd) (Prop 2009/10:60). The target group for the reform was newly arrived immigrants aged 20-64 years old, who had got a residence permit as refugees, other asylum seekers or for reasons of family reunion with a refugee. The family migrants were only entitled to a program if they had arrived to Sweden less than two years after their relative. Since the implementation this limit has been increased and the family migrants may now come to Sweden within six years and still be entitled to participation in a program. However, this change did not affect the ones included in this study that arrived earlier, during 2010-2011. Unaccompanied refugees aged 18-19 is also entitled to an Establishment program if they are not studying full time (Prop 2009/10:60).

The most important change the reform brought about was that the Public Employment Service once again got the responsibility for the refugee reception. The transfer of the program from the municipalities to the Public Employment Service was part of a practice where the participants would be given a greater and earlier contact to the Swedish labor market. The “work-first principle” would be underlined (ibid). According to the new law, implemented in December 1, 2010, refugees who had gotten their residence permit should register at the local Public Employment Service. Among those who participated in the first year of the Establishment program, 98 percent of the female and male participants were registered as job seekers. That is to compare with the ones in the Introduction program where only 68 percent of the women and 86

percent of the male participants were registered during the first year of the program (Andersson Joona et al. 2016).

While at the Public Employment Service, each refugee would be offered a so-called Establishment talk during which the refugee and the case worker would go through earlier experiences and merits in order to create an individual plan for the individual Establishment program. Refugees in the target group who did not work full time, study in secondary school nor had a work capacity on less than 25 percent, were entitled to an Establishment program. The participation in the program would equal a full time employment on approximately 40 hours per week. It should include Swedish for immigrants (SFI) labor market measures and civic activities, and should cover at most 24 months (SOU, 2011:11).

In addition to the intensive counseling from the case worker, the participants got the right to choose an "Introduction guide"². Those private actors would follow the instructions of the Public Employment Service. The guides' task was to assist the participant and provide job search support. The guides had financial interest in a quick labor market entry as they were rewarded if the refugee got employed. Thereto they got a monthly compensation for each refugee they were guiding (Prop 2009/10:60). The system of providing Introduction guides was heavily criticized and no link between having a guide and getting employed has been found. Additionally, the system was accused of being expensive and not professionally run (The Swedish National Audit Office, 2014). In February 2015 the system therefore was abolished but the ones included in this study that participated in the Establishment program did all have the possibility to choose a guide. Due to the fundamental problems with the Introduction guides this probably have not affected their labor market entry, but that it is an assumption we cannot be certain about.

Other agencies involved in the refugee reception are the Migration Board, the Tax Agency, the Social Insurance Agency, the County Administrative Board, the Authority of Local Associations and Regions and the Municipalities. They all have important tasks regarding the refugee reception but through the Reform the Public Employment Service got the coordinating responsibility (The Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2012). The municipalities that earlier had the responsibility for the previous Introduction program kept the responsibility for arranging Swedish for immigrants (SFI) and civic orientation. The County Administrative Board

² In Swedish called "Etableringslots"

was commissioned to promote cooperation between all the involved agencies. Thereto the County Administrative Board should be responsible for the inspection of the Introduction guides (Prop. 2009/10:60).

Through the Establishment reform, the compensation system for participating in the program changed. It was decided that the system should be the same in all municipalities so that all refugees would have the same economic incentives to participate (Prop. 2009/10:60). In the previous Introduction program, municipalities were encouraged to pay an Introduction allowance rather than giving the participants social assistance. The intention with the allowance was to give the refugees increased economic incentives to participate in the Introduction program (Borevi, 2012). The municipalities could still decide if and how they should pay the Introduction allowance. Consequently, the compensation for participating in the program shifted depending on where in Sweden the refugees were registered. Some municipalities offered the participants an Introduction allowance; some offered other social benefits while others offered a combination thereof. In 2009, 210 out of 270 municipalities that offered payments to refugees choose to pay Introduction allowances. The most common way was to pay a benefit dependent on household composition (Prop. 2009/10:60 pp. 100). In order to increase the incentives to participate in the Establishment program, the compensation was increased (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2011). All participants who attended the activities were individually entitled to an Establishment allowance. The allowance was individualized and would be the same for all participants regardless of where in Sweden they were residents. Thereto it was designed to encourage paid employment during participation in the program. The participants could, unlike in the previous Introduction program, have a side income and still keep the full benefit for the participation in the program. The allowance should be in direct relation to the participation in the Establishment activities and during absence it would not be paid (Prop. 2009/10:60). So, even though the principle of voluntariness remained in the Swedish integration policy, the economic incentives to participate were strengthened (Borevi, 2012). Without an income it would be hard to get by, why most newly arrived refugees most probably did have no other choice than to participate in the program.

The new system of payment was done with a clear aim of gender equality. It was decided that it was of importance to create individual incentives for both men and women to participate in the Establishment program. In the government bill it was expressed that this was of particular

importance for women in families where women traditionally was not in paid work (Prop. 2009/10:60 pp. 107). In the earlier system, the economic incentives to participate in Swedish for immigrants (SFI) and other activities could decrease if ones partner got employed. This particularly affected women as men in general had a faster way to their first employment. Through individual allowances, the economic incentives to participate in the Establishment program and to find work would not be affected by household composition or by incomes of other. Apart from individualizing the allowance, it was made possible to obtain additional allowance if one had children to provide for. This way, mothers would not be dependent on social allowances while participating in the program (Prop. 2009/10:60).

In sum, the Establishment reform was implemented with the aim to ease the labor market entry for newly arrived refugees. Before the reform was implemented, the refugees were offered an Introduction program by the municipality they were registered in. The municipality did manage the programs in different ways. Dependent on where the refugees lived they were provided different measures and compensations. A common critique towards the Introduction program was that the job search and labor market entry not was prioritized. This was argued to be a cause for the slow labor market entry. Through the Establishment reform the Public Employment Service became responsible for the introduction of the refugees. In the new program organized by the Public Employment Service, the participants were registered as jobseekers from day one in the program. All participants were entitled to an Establishment allowance. In order to increase the potential for gender equality the allowance was individualized. To increase the incentives to participate, the allowance was paid on the condition of active participation in the program. It was thereto possible to keep the Establishment allowance even when having the first job in order to avoid lock-in effects in the program.

The aim of this study is to analyze the effect of the Establishment reform. The applied approach is to compare short-term probabilities of being employed for those participating in the Establishment program with the probabilities of being employed among those participating in the previous Introduction program, while controlling for important observables. Before explaining the methodological approach I will try to give an overview of the situation faced by immigrants in the Swedish labor market. Initially a brief history of labor market integration is presented, which is followed by some descriptive statistics. I will then try to describe the causes for the slow

labor market integration of newly arrived immigrants. Finally, before describing the aim of this study, I will go through theory on why immigrant women face the greatest disadvantage on the labor market and discuss how the Establishment reform, implemented in December 1, 2010, could reduce these disadvantages.

Immigrants on the Swedish labor market

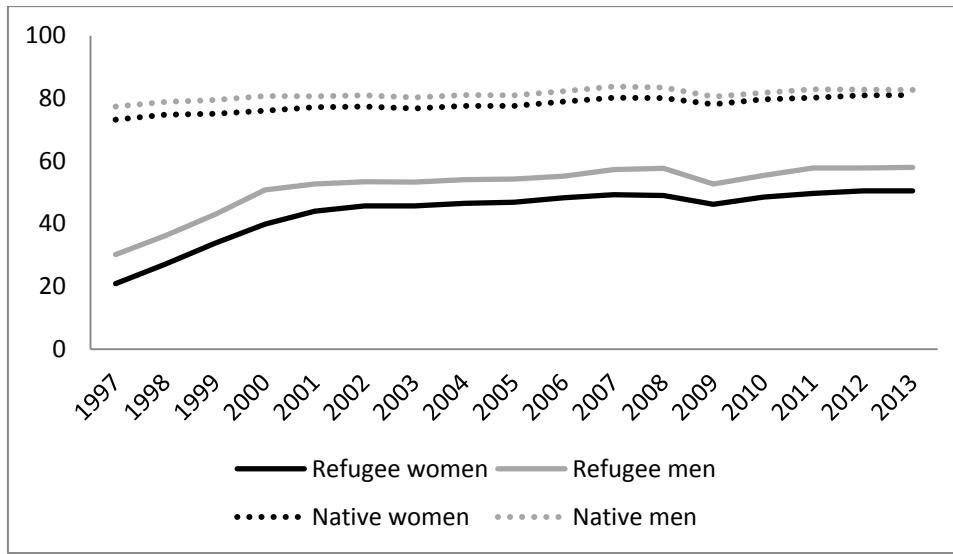
The migrants arriving to Sweden 1940-1970 were met by a flourishing economy and a high demand for labor in the industry. As many migrants had moved to Sweden for work they had a high employment rate, even higher compared to the rest of the population. The immigrants thereto had similar incomes and career prospects as the natives. It was not only labor migrants, but also refugees and tied movers that at that time gained employment fast (Bevelander, 1999, Lundh, 2005). During the labor migration period, migrants were typically found in working class occupations, often in the garment and textile industry. The immigrant men, especially the young ones, had a higher employment rate compared to the native men. The labor migrant women had a much higher employment rate than the native women (SOU 1967:18. pp. 34-35). Immigrant women were an important part of the Swedish labor market. Even so, immigrant women were almost invisible in the political debate. Unlike the male migrants, female migrants were not seen as part of the labor force (Knocke, 1991). Female migrants have traditionally been treated as accompanying migrants, dependent on male heads (Boyd, 1975).

Due to a decline in demands for low-skilled labor in the 1970s and consequently a harsher migration policy, the non-Nordic labor immigration almost stopped. The immigration to Sweden has since then been characterized by refugees and family migration. Starting in the mid-1970s the employment rate of immigrants decreased (Lundh and Ohlsson 1999, Bengtsson et al. 2005). A greater share of the immigrants was found in unskilled occupations (Helgertz, 2011). Even though the demand for labor was high in the 1980s, the newly arrived immigrants had troubles entering the labor market. There seemed to be a mismatch between the supply and demand for immigrant labor. Immigrants with low education had the greatest difficulties (Bengtsson et al. 2005). In the 1980s, Swedish born women had a higher employment rate compared to immigrant women. The native women had increased their labor market participation while the participation had decreased among the immigrants (Harzig, 2003). During the economic crisis in the beginning on the 1990s the situation got considerably worse for the immigrant women. Compared to the

natives and other immigrants, the non-European refugees had lower earnings, higher unemployment rates and worse employment opportunities (Bengtsson et al. 2005).

In the last two decades, the employment integration of refugees has been a subject of much debate. Refugees, especially female refugees and refugees with low education, has the greatest troubles to entry the labor market. Thereto they have lower incomes and are, compared to natives, more often found in temporary employments (Bevelander, 2011, Åslund et al. 2006). In Figure 2, the percentage of gainfully employed refugees and native women and men are reported. The increase in employment was prominent among the refugees in the late 1990s when the economy recovered. Refugees had been hit hard by the economic crisis in the 1990s. As seen in figure 2 there are large differences between refugees and natives. However, it is important to note that the refugees in the figure consist of all refugees, even the newly arrived who hardly have had time to enter the labor market. The difference between the employment rates of the refugees and the Swedish-born men and women, often referred to as the *employment gap*, has been persistent during the latest years. A similar gap is also found when comparing all immigrants with the natives, but the gap is lesser due to a slightly higher employment rate among all immigrants than among the refugee population, as immigrants that are labor migrants or other kinds of high-skilled migrants often migrate to Sweden for work. The employment gap between native and immigrants is large in Sweden. From looking at Figure 2 we can tell that another gap, the *gender gap*, which tells the difference between the employments rates between men and women, is very different among the natives and among the refugees. In 2013, the difference in employment rates between native men and women were only on 1.6 percentage points and the corresponding number for refugee men and women were 7.5. The different gender gap among the native and refugee population indicates that the employment gap between refugee- and native women is greater than the employment gap between refugee- and native men.

Figure 2. Gainfully employed refugees and native women and men aged 20-64, percent.



Source: Statistics Sweden, 2015

In Table 1, the employment gap in Sweden, in our neighboring countries and the mean gap in the 28 countries in the European Union is presented. The number is a simple measure on the difference between the employment rates of the foreign-born population and the natives in the countries. To calculate it one divide the employment rates of the natives with the employment rates of the immigrants. The mean gap for all 28 members in the European Union is on 1.05, meaning that the native born had a five percent higher employment level than the foreign born. As seen, the gap only is due to the difference between foreign born women and native women. This is not the case for Sweden and our neighboring countries Denmark, Finland and Norway. The employment gap between foreign-born and natives is apparent in all three countries but a bit smaller in Norway. Sweden distinguishes as the country with the largest employment gap, and the gap between Swedish-born and foreign-born women is 1.30. This measure is presented, as it provides a good picture of the labor market situation. However, it should not be used as a full integration-measure. If it would, one could conclude that the Swedish employment integration is among the worst in Europe. That would be a simplification, as one explanation for the large gap among women in Sweden is the high labor force participation among the natives. Although the foreign born women have a relatively high employment rate, the gap is enlarged due to the natives' high employment rate, which is one of the highest in Europe (OECD, 2016). In Swedish integration and gender policy there is a wish to reduce the gap between foreign-born and native born as well as a wish to reduce the gender gap between women and men.

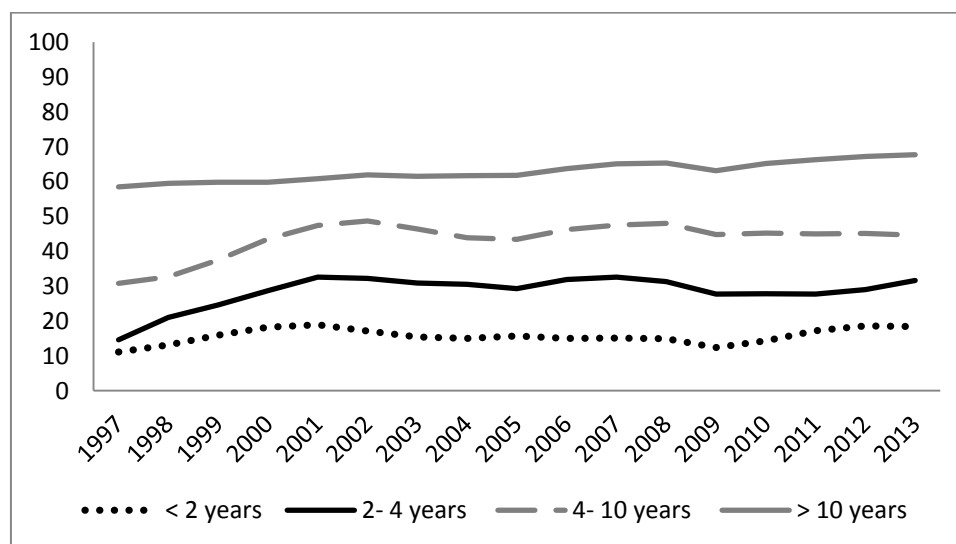
Table 1. The difference in employment rates between foreign-born and natives aged 15-64, 2014.

	Total	Women	Men
All countries in the European Union (28)	1.05	1.10	1.00
Denmark	1.16	1.25	1.08
Finland	1.14	1.25	1.05
Norway	1.09	1.16	1.04
Sweden	1.22	1.30	1.15

Source: OECD 2016, own computations.

The slow entry into the labor market hampers the attempt to reduce the gap between foreign-born and natives, as well as the gap between women and men. In Figure 3, the percentage of gainfully employed women is presented by time in Sweden. From the figure, one can tell that the employment rate is higher the longer the immigrant women have been living in Sweden. The low employment rate the first two years may not be very surprising as many immigrants are participating in the Introduction or Establishment program or in extensive Swedish training during those years. What seems more problematic is the low share of employed women among the ones who have been in Sweden for more than two years. The female immigrants that have been in Sweden for more than 10 years are the only group where more than 50 percent are employed.

Figure 3. Gainfully employed immigrant women aged 20-64 by time in Sweden, percent.



Source: Statistics Sweden, 2014

Causes for the difficult labor market integration

There are several causes to why there are differences between immigrants and natives on the labor market, and there are several hypotheses aiming at explaining why the differences have increased since the mid-1970s. Some regard aspects of the immigrants themselves while others regard aspects of the labor market and the structural changes therein (Soininen, 1999). Within the human capital tradition, individual characteristics, as education attainment or labor market experience, are assumed to influence the position on the labor market. However, it has been shown that individual characteristics alone cannot fully explain the worse position of immigrants (Bengtsson et al. 2005). Consequently, researchers began using a hypothesis of *country-specific human capital* to acknowledge that not only individual characteristics matter. The structure of, and the demands within the labor market are also of main importance, as it influences the immigrant's chance to find employment. According to the human capital approach, parts of the troubles the immigrant's faces are due to the fact that they do not possess country-specific skills (ibid). Since the late 1970s, informal and communicative skills have become increasingly important for accessing the labor market in Sweden (Bevelander, 2000). The demand for country-specific skills is argued to have increased along with the structural changes of the labor market. This trend has been especially troublesome for newly arrived immigrants (Bengtsson et al. 2005).

It has thereto been argued that the refugees and family migrants from non-European countries have had greater difficulties gaining Swedish-specific skills compared to the European labor migrants (Schröder and Vilhelmsson, 1998). However, it is difficult to verify whether these Sweden-specific skills actually explain the employment gap between immigrants and natives (Bengtsson et al. 2005). A common criticism is that a better explanation is found in discriminatory practices. Actually, the increased demand for Swedish-specific skills may have increased the statistical discrimination (Schröder and Vilhelmsson, 1998). That the immigrants arriving after 1975 had a lower labor market attachment may have increased the discrimination, as immigrants are judged on the perception of a group (Ekberg and Hammarstedt, 2002). Why non-European immigrants have had considerable more difficulties is because they are ascribed less desired skills. Employers tend not to hire employees of certain ethnicities and religions. The ethnical discrimination in the Swedish labor market thereby seems evident (Olli Segendorf and Teljosuo, 2011). When applying for a job, applicants from Sweden or other parts of Europe are

preferred over non-European immigrants. There also seems to be a structural discrimination regarding religion (Eriksson et al. 2012). Eventually, most men and women immigrating to Sweden will get employed. The main problem is that some immigrants, in particular refugees and family migrants, have troubles finding their first job (Le Grand et al. 2013). One cause for this is the low frequency of few unqualified jobs in the Swedish labor market (Szulkin et al. 2013). It is also argued that the high starting salaries can make it hard for the newly arrived immigrants to find a first employment (Joyce, 2015). A weak social network is another cause for immigrants' weak position on the labor market (ibid). It is argued that immigrants have difficulties to find the first job because many job vacancies are communicated through personal contacts and not through employment agencies (Olli Segendorf, 2005).

"The double disadvantage"

When studying labor market integration it is important not to ignore aspects of gender. Both immigrant men and immigrant women are affected by a structural subordination as part of being immigrants. However, the difficulties experienced by immigrant women and immigrant men are not the same. Immigrant men and women will, just like native men and women, be located in a gendered social system (Knocke, 1999). If migrating to a sex-segregated occupational structure, female immigrants will be ascribed lower status than their male counterparts. This is because immigrant women belong to two negative status groups, both as females and as immigrants. It is therefore argued that immigrant women experience a *double disadvantage* (Boyd, 1984). To study these disadvantages is particularly relevant in a country like Sweden, where the sex-segregated occupational structure is strong (Mussino and Duvander, 2014). A consequence of the double disadvantage is that the immigrant women end up in occupations of lower status, both in regard to the male immigrants and to the native women (Boyd, 1984). The disadvantage is evident both regarding the labor force participation and the occupational attainment (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). The immigrant women that do not speak the native language have the greatest troubles (Le and Miller, 2010). In recent years it has been argued that the disadvantages seen for female immigrants in the labor market may not only be double, but even triple. Immigrant women from low-income countries experience the greatest risk of these kinds of disadvantages (Rebhun, 2008).

Female migrants have been neglected in social policies (Boyd, 1984). In Swedish integration- and labor market policies the male single migrant has constituted the norm. Consequently, the female refugees have become deviant (Harzig, 2003). When immigrant women in the 1980s became a subject in integration discussions, they were only identified as problems. Although being a very heterogeneous group, a negative social construction of the "immigrant woman" appeared (de los Reyes, 1998). The negative notions about immigrant women have been argued to lead to both marginalization and discrimination of foreign-born women (Knocke, 1991).

The double disadvantage experienced by newly arrived immigrant women may increase in the collaboration with actors in the welfare system in Sweden (Mussino and Duvander, 2014). It has been shown that case workers at the Public Employment Service have great influence on which kinds of efforts that are provided to the applicants (Lagerström, 2011). Case workers at the Social service and at the Public Employment Service tend to provide women, especially Muslim women, with lower demands on activity and participation (Hedblom, 2003). Newly arrived men are to a larger extent given the possibility to attend labor market training at the Public Employment Service, while women more often are offered traineeships. Consequently, newly arrived immigrant women are given less possibility to enter the labor market (SOU, 2012).

The situation for the newly arrived women seems even more troublesome if they have children. Being a mother is negatively correlated with being employed for refugees as a group (Bevelander, 2011). In Sweden, people with two or more children are disadvantaged, as employers tend to opt out job applicants from people with many children (Eriksson et al. 2012). There is a widespread notion that immigrant women have many children and take the greatest responsibility for the care work. The young women participating are believed to be engaged in care work, not in paid work. As a consequence, it has been considered more important to focus on helping men entering the labor market, than helping women (Hedblom, 2003). Women with children are the ones that most often are excluded from measures aiming to increase labor force participation (Nybom, 2012). It takes longer time for mothers with young children to be allocated to programs offered by the Public Employment Service, compared to women without children (SOU, 2012).

In the Introduction program that was in practice until December 2010, women had less hours of teaching, participated in fewer follow-ups and got less labor market practice (Swedish Integration

Board, 2002). Compared to men, it was more common for women not to participate in the program. The reasons for the women's non-participation were more often poor health and childcare (Swedish Integration Board, 2005). The inequality also appeared in the system of allowances. In many municipalities, women were encouraged to take parental allowance rather than receiving other economic support. This also applied to women with older children that could have had their children in preschool. When refugee women were on parental leave instead of participating in the Introduction program, the municipalities got lower expenses for the newly arrived immigrants as the parental allowances is supported by the state. On the municipal level, women thereby could be encouraged to be on parental leave, and receive parental allowances instead of receiving Introduction allowances or other economic support (SOU, 2012).

Benefits of the Establishment reform

As pointed out in the two sections above, the reasons and explanations for immigrants' worse labor market integration are many. The aim with the integration programs offered to newly arrived refugees is to strengthen their possibilities to get gainfully employed and eliminate some of the difficulties that may occur when being new in Sweden. In the program they are supposed to learn Swedish. It has been shown that language skills are of crucial importance for immigrants' success in the Swedish labor market (Rooth and Saarela, 2007). However, an early contact with the labor market is of greater importance for the refugees than what formal schooling is for the labor market attachment (Rooth, 1999:190). In the Establishment program the labor-market focus was supposed to be strengthened. Refugees would register at the Public Employment Service at an earlier phase in their introduction and get a more intensive coaching by case workers and guides. To increase the potential for gender equality the allowance was individualized (Prop. 2009/10:60). It was argued that men and women through the individualization of the allowance would be able to participate in the program on the same condition. A desirable result of the reform was that the participants in the Establishment program got an increased probability of being employed compared to the participants in the Introduction program. Another aim was that the female participants would increase their employment rate even more, as measures were taken against the disadvantages experienced by women in the Integration program. Along with this, an expectation was that the intense coaching by case officers at the Public Employment Service would speed up the labor market entry among the low-skilled immigrants, as those with low education have more difficulties to get their first job in Sweden (Åslund et al. 2006).

The evidence of the effects of Introduction programs in other countries is still scarce (Butschek and Walter, 2014). Most studies that evaluate the effects of the programs are from the Nordic countries (Rinne, 2012). When comparing effect evaluations of the Introduction programs in Denmark, Norway and Sweden three conclusions were drawn. What seemed to work was a close follow-up of the participants, prioritization of measures to facilitate labor market entry and an effective collaboration between involved agencies (Djuvne and Kavli, 2007). All these three aspects were included in the Establishment reform. In Finland, a policy reform for active labor market programs for unemployed immigrants was introduced in 1999. Through the reform immigrants could gain an individual "integration plan" drafted by the Employment Office. The primary function of the integration plan was to improve the communication between the immigrant and the caseworker. The Swedish Establishment reform was similar to the Finnish one from 1999 in this regard. In a recent study, no evident impact on the likelihood of employment was found. However, the Finnish reform seems to have had a positive effect on earnings and on the content of training, as the participants received more training designed for immigrants (Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen, 2016).

Swedish evaluations of the Introduction program do not provide coherent results either. In 2003 the Swedish pilot workplace Introduction program (SIM), targeting immigrants who were considered to be employable, took place in 20 municipalities. The case workers at the Public Employment Service did then get more time with each client, resulting in an increased transition to labor market practice. However, no significant effect was found on the transition from unemployment to employment (Åslund and Johansson, 2012). In 2006 a trial Introduction program (TIP), which worked as a prototype for the Establishment reform, was carried out in some Swedish municipalities. The participants were randomly assigned a regular Introduction program or a TIP. The case workers were assigned fewer clients, whereby he or she could have a more intensive counseling with the participants in TIP. In the evaluation the authors found a significant positive effect of the trial programs. More intense coaching and a more flexible language training led to a 5 percentage point higher probability of being employed, shortly after the end of the program. No effect on employment was however found for the female participants (Andersson Joona and Nekby, 2012).

Why would then the female refugees benefit from the Establishment reform? According to the Government bill, women would benefit from the Establishment talks, as they then would gain access to activities as quickly as the men (Prop. 2009/10:60). There are various findings from studies on active labor market programs. Some find that the job search assistance with intensive coaching is not effective for immigrants (Butschek and Walter, 2014). Others find, when studying all unemployed and not only immigrants, that job search has a favorable impact for both men and women (Card et al. 2010). Unemployed European women often have positive employment outcomes of active labor market policies. Sometimes the effects are even larger than it is for the men, which may be because women have a greater distance to the labor market (Bergemann and Van der Berg, 2008). As both men and women that belong to the target group for the Establishment reform have a great distance to the labor market, this pattern may not apply to the participants in the Establishment program.

The main effort to increase newly arrived women's establishment on the labor market were the individualization of the allowance (Prop. 2009/10:60). The change towards an individual allowance and the measures to increase women's labor force participation are in line with other Swedish gender policies (Larsson, 2015). Women's right to paid work and the possibility to support themselves have constituted the base of the Swedish gender policy. The importance of individual taxation is part of that practice (SOU 2005:66). By transforming the Introduction program into an Establishment program, the integration policy became part of the Swedish gender practice. The same measures that have been used for native women are now used to increase the labor market participation among the newly arrived women (Larsson, 2015). The introduction of the individualized allowance is rooted in the assumption that the labor force participation among women is known to be sensitive to economic incentives (SOU, 2012). Individualized allowances have the greatest effect on women, as women increase their labor supply more than men when they are exposed to these allowances (The Swedish Social Insurance Inspectorate, 2012), why women in the Establishment program would benefit just like the men, but for other reasons. In sum, it has been shown that a more intense coaching by case workers at the Public Employment Service leads to a higher probability of being employed, but only for men. However, as women are more sensitive to economic incentives and the allowance for participating in the program was individualized, there is reason to believe that the Establishment reform could have a positive effect on both women's and men's probability of getting employed

shortly after participating in the program. It is believed that the intensive coaching of immigrants could be more beneficial for those that have the greatest troubles to entry the labor market, why the new Establishment program would have a more positive effect on the low-skilled refugees.

Research question and hypothesis

The research question to be answered in this study is: Net of controls, have the Establishment reform increased the probability of being employed? To deepen the understanding of the outcome of the reform I thereto have three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Both men and women have been positively affected by the Establishment reform in terms of an increased employment rate following the participation in the introduction.

Hypothesis 2: Co-resident mothers have been especially affected by the reform and have had the largest increase in the probability of being employed.

Hypothesis 3: Low-skilled refugees enrolled in the Establishment program will have a higher level of employment than the refugees enrolled in the Introduction program.

Data

The data is an excerpt from the database STATIV, a longitudinal individual-database for integrational studies. It is the same excerpt that was used at the Swedish Institute for Social Research at Stockholm University in the two evaluations of the Establishment reform (Andersson Joonas et al. 2015 and Andersson Joonas et al. 2016). All immigrants migrating to Sweden 2010-2011 are covered in the excerpt that contains variables from Statistics Sweden, the Swedish Migration Board and the Public Employment Service. The data is made for policy evaluation and is suitable for statistical assessment of the municipal reception of refugees. The longitudinal data makes it possible to observe the refugees during and after their participation in the Introduction- or Establishment program. There are variables on age, gender, family and marital status as well as variables regarding education, employment and income. It is possible to conduct regional analysis because there is information on the municipality and county of residence (Statistics Sweden, 2013b). The data used in this study contains information on country of birth. As the influx from countries differ year to year, it is important to control for country of origin when

comparing participants arriving different years. The country-specific information will be used carefully and according to the directions. All data have been anonymized.

Method

In this study I compare the employment outcomes for the refugees enrolled in the Establishment program with the ones enrolled in the Introduction program. I analyze the short-time effect of the reform, by studying the employment rates two years and three years after enrolling in the program. As I compare the participants in the Establishment program in 2011 with the ones that participated in the previous Introduction program in 2010, the outcome is measured different years. When I analyze the effect two years after enrollment in the program I thereby measure the employment in 2012 for the ones enrolled in the Introduction program and the employment in 2013 for the ones in the Establishment program. I do this for women and men separately. Using a quasi-experiment design, the aim is to analyze short-time effects of the Establishment reform on employment. In an earlier evaluation of the Establishment reform, conducted at the Swedish Institute for Social Research, we applied the same method to analyze the effect on employment, earned income and participation in regular education (see Andersson Joonas et al. 2015 and Andersson Joonas et al. 2016). This study extends that evaluation, using a more narrow measure on employment. With an increased focus on gender I explore the short-time effect of the Establishment reform through separate analyzes on the female and male participants.

The dependent variable, *employment*, is a dichotomous variable. Sociologists often use logistic regression when having only two outcomes (in this case; being employed or not being employed). However, an overlooked problem with using that method is the unobserved heterogeneity (Mood, 2010). When interpreting odds-ratios or log-odds ratios the effect of the independent variable may reflect unobserved differences between the treated and non-treated group. What would be particularly problematic in my analysis is that the unobserved heterogeneity may vary across models. That is a problem as the idea is to conduct analysis for the female participants and the male participants separately. Thereto I examine the effect of the reform two different years and if I then were to use odds ratios or log-odds ratios the risk is that omitted variables would vary different outcome years (ibid).

The methodological approach in this study therefore is to use an OLS regression. That method is typically used to analyze the association between a continuous dependent variable and one or more independent variables (Edling and Hedström, 2003:80). Economists tend to use OLS regression even when the outcome consists of a dichotomous variable. I have chosen to do so even though this means that our outcome variable (being employed or not being employed) will suffer from a bad model fit. Using an OLS regression the results however will be more reliable and the coefficients in various models and various groups will be comparable, which they are not when using logistic regression (Mood, 2010). Except from presenting the estimates for our variables in the models I will include the adjusted R^2 and the p-value that the regression produces for each variable. The Adjusted R^2 describes how much of the variation in employment the applied model explains. The p-value shows the probability (Edling and Hedström, 2003). The p-value is presented by stars in the tables. Three stars imply that there is a p value on 0.01. Two stars mean that there is a p-value on 0.05 and only one star means that the p-value is in 0.10.

To study the effect of the reform the refugees participating in the Establishment program are classified as treated and the refugees participating in the Introduction program constitutes the control. The two groups will be referred to as the Treatment group and the Control group. The assumption is that the ones arriving after the Establishment reform was implemented, would have participated in the municipal Introduction program, if the Establishment program was not set into practice. Another assumption is that the two groups are comparable in their unobservable characteristics. Refugees arriving to Sweden January 1, 2010 to November 30, 2010, were treated by different kinds of programs, than the refugees arriving December 1, 2010, to December 31, 2011, which makes it a natural experiment (Rosenzweig and Wolpink, 2000). To be included in the analysis, one must either belong to the Treatment or to the Control group. Consequently one must have gotten a residence permit as a refugee or as a family migrant to a refugee. The family migrants must have arrived to Sweden within two years from their relative to be offered a program. As the reform targets refugees in working ages, the refugees have to be 20-64 years of age when starting the program (Swedish Statute Book, 2010:197). Unaccompanied refugees aged 18-19 does also have the right to the program but since the aim is to study outcomes in employment they are not included in the analysis. Few participants were younger than 20 years. The criteria for belonging to the Control group is that the participants, aged 20-64, have gotten a residence permit in Sweden from January 1, 2010 to November 30, 2010. Those 11 months

constitutes the final period with the municipal Introduction program; just before the Establishment reform was implemented. To belong to the Control group, the refugees must not only have registered at the right time, they must also have participated in the program. Only those that received Introduction allowances and had at least one month of registered Introduction activities during 2010 were included in the Control group. The criteria for belonging to the Establishment group were that the refugees should have gotten a residence permit from December 1, 2010, to December 31, 2011. They must have received an allowance for their participation, in their case the Establishment allowance, and also have registered months in the program. To control for the allowance and the number of months in the program is a way to circumvent the problem that it is not possible to control for working capacity or to see whether the family migrants actually were entitled to the program (that they had arrived within two years from their relative). The assumption is that the ones that received the allowance and participated in the activities had qualified for the program. Otherwise they would not have participated.

A limitation of this study is the short follow-up time. Another problem with the applied approach in this study is that the employment rate is measured different years. That is controlled for by including a variable for municipal unemployment rate each year, which will be explained in the variable section. Another limitation regards the Control group. In the previous system the municipalities themselves could decide whether or not to provide the Introduction allowances why some of the participants only did receive social welfare. As our only information that tells whether or not one participated in the program is if they got the Introduction allowances or not, the ones that did not, are not included in the Control group. There were 967 individuals that received social welfare but no Introduction allowance. Those are not included as including them would be problematic for the credibility of the results. Another limitation is a common one, namely that it is not possible to control for all characteristics or for background factors. It would be desirable to be able to control for work experience, health and working capacity and thereto know how much of the employed participants worked. For the participants with young children it would be beneficial to be able to control for whether they have been offered childcare when starting the program. Another limitation is that some municipalities were selected in a trial Introduction program in 2006 (Andersson Joonas and Nekby, 2012), which may have improved the Introduction offered to the ones in the Control group, even before the Establishment reform was implemented.

Variables

Control variables

The independent variable is the variable *Reform*, which is a dummy-variable consisting of the ones in the Treatment and the Control group. The variable equals 1 for the ones that participated in the Establishment program and equals 0 for the ones that participated in the Introduction program. This means that the variable *Reform* will tell how much better or worse the effect is for the ones that participated in the Establishment program compared to the reference category; those who participated in the previous Introduction program. The two groups are of equal size. There were 6 410 persons in the Treatment group and 6 472 persons in the Control group. The sex ratio was similar. In the Establishment program there were 49.5 percent women and in the Introduction program, 48.7 percent of the participants were women.

In Table 2 I present the frequencies and means for the control variables. Because I conduct separate analysis for the female and male participants I present the control variables for them separately. As the ones in the Control group arrived to Sweden one year earlier than the ones in the Treatment group it is important to go through the characteristics in the two groups and later control for these differences when analyzing the effect of the reform.

Starting with age one can tell that the majority of the participants in the programs were quite young. In the Treatment as well as in the Control group, more than 60 percent of the participants had not turned 35 when enrolling in the program. The next variable presented in Table 2 is *Family status*. This variable has five categories; the childless participants, the single parents with at least one child younger than 4, the single parents with older children (4-20 years), the co-resident parents with at least one child younger than 4 and the co-resident parents with older children. One's family status may change over time, why I will control for the family status the year I analyze the employment outcome. In Table 2 the fractions regards the status in 2013/2014. Among the co-resident parents, the great majority is married but few participants are cohabitants. The information of the family status regards the family status in Sweden. This means that even though the participants are married and have children they will be classified as "childless" if they do not live with them in Sweden. The difference between men and women was greater than the difference between the Treatment and Control group. More men than women were childless and very few men were single parents. Around 70 percent of the female participants were co-resident.

Just over 30 percent in both groups had at least one child aged 0-3 years. That the fractions with young children were so large are due to the fact that many of the participants were quite young and were in ages when many have kids. There were a bit more single mothers in the Control group and a bit more co-resident mothers in the Treatment group.

Immigrants with higher education have an easier time to get employed (Åslund et al. 2006) and therefore I control for the participants highest level of education. The variable *education* is divided into three categories: Primary, Secondary and Post-Secondary education. In Table 2 the fractions regards out second-outcome year 2013/2014. Those with primary education had been in school nine years or less. The fourth category consists of those whose level of education was unknown. As seen in Table 2 the education level was not very high among the participants. More than half of the women did not have more than primary education. More men than women had a secondary or post-secondary education. It is important to note that more women than men had an unknown level of education. There were thereto more participants with an unknown level of education in the Control group. The reason for the discrepancy is that the Public Employment Service gathered the information on educational level. As the Treatment group participated in the Establishment program the Public Employment Service got their educational level validated at an earlier stage. The Control group did report their educational level to the Public Employment Service first when they registered as job seekers. Missing information is bothering, in particular when it is unevenly distributed. Not including the one with unknown education in the model is however an option I do not think is suitable. That would affect our results, as the ones with unknown education were the ones that probably had the least contact with the Public Employment Service. In the analysis I have chosen to assemble those with primary and those with unknown education, to be able to tell the difference for the ones with secondary and post-secondary education. It is problematic to have missing information and the interpretation must therefore be made with caution. When I continue to analyze the effect of the reform for the ones with low education I will not include the ones with missing information, in order to analyze the effect of the reform on those with primary education only.

I also include the variable *refugee* in the analysis. It consists of four groups: Quota refugee, Family migrant, Migration Board Housing and Own Housing. The few refugees that had "refugee-like reasons" are included in the third group. The quota refugees, often called resettled

refugees, differ from the other groups as they had residence permits before arriving to Sweden. The second group is the family migrants, who are related to a person who has gotten a residence permit as a refugee. As seen in Table 2, more women than men were family migrants but there were almost as many family migrants in the Control as in the Treatment group. The two remaining categories of refugees are those who registered at the reception unit at the Swedish migration Board, when arriving to Sweden. Those belonging to the category Migration Board Housing lives in municipalities assigned by the Migration Board or the Public Employment Service. They constituted around 30 percent of the participants. The ones who have an own housing³ have arranged their own accommodation in a municipality of their own choice. Those constituted the largest group, approximately 41 percent of the women in the Treatment and Control group and 47 of the men belonged to the fourth category.

Country of birth is out next control variable. As seen, a large majority of the refugees were from Africa or Asia. Why I control for country of birth is because there is a country-of-origin effect on labor market outcomes. Immigrants from some countries have a more rapid way to employment than others (OECD, 2012). The countries appear in order of number of participants, with Somalia being the country of origin for many participants. The share from Somalia was larger in the Control group, as it was more Somalis that got a residence permit in 2010.

Our last control variable, *unemployment rate*, shows the mean unemployment rate in the municipalities. This is not a variable from STATIV but a variable I have included to the data. Because we will analyze the outcome of the reform through studying the employment rate different years as it is important for our analysis to control for the unemployment rate. Through the included information it is thereto possible to control for the unemployment rate in the municipalities where the refugees are residents. I Table 2 I include the unemployment rate for our two outcome-years. The Treatment group experienced a higher employment rate their second outcome-year while the Control group experienced a higher employment rate their third second year. This is because we measure the outcome different years and because the unemployment rate was higher in 2013. Why it is not the same for women and men is because the participants are residents in different municipalities with various unemployment rates.

³ In Swedish this group often is referred to the abbreviation "EBO"

Table 2. Frequencies of the control variables for the women and men participating in the Treatment and Control group, percent.

Variables	Treatment		Control	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Age at registration				
20-24	25.5	25.3	25.8	20.9
25-34	35.6	38.2	38.3	41.0
35-44	21.8	21.6	20.9	23.0
45-54	12.2	10.3	9.7	10.5
55-64	5.0	4.6	5.2	4.6
Family status				
Childless	27.2	49.7	31.4	54.7
Single parent with child 0-3	12.1	0.6	16.5	1.3
Single parent with older children	16.0	1.7	16.0	2.4
Co-resident parent with child 0-3	19.6	22.9	17.7	19.9
Co-resident parent with older children	25.1	25.0	18.3	21.7
Education				
Primary	57.7	41.7	50.7	47.5
Secondary	24,1	33,6	15.9	25,0
Post-Secondary	18,2	24,6	15.5	22,4
Unknown	0.1	0.0	18.0	5.1
Refugee category				
Quota refugee	15.4	16.2	11.8	11.5
Family migrant	14.0	7.0	13.6	6.4
Migration Board housing	30.1	29.2	31.8	35.2
Own housing	40.5	47.6	42.8	46.9
Country				
Somalia	28.9	27.7	52.0	55.1
Iraq	19.6	17.9	14.6	13.7
Eritrea	13.8	12.5	8.6	6.7
Afghanistan	9.6	8.8	5.1	3.3
Other Africa	9.1	8.7	5.4	5.2
Iran	6.4	8.1	3.6	5.2
Other Middle East	4.7	7.6	3.4	4.0
Other Asia	4.6	5.5	2.5	3.9
Europe	2.7	2.6	2.9	2.5
Other	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.5
Unemployment rate 2012/2013	9.9	9.3	9.6	9.6
Unemployment rate 2013/2014	9.4	9.3	9.8	9.7
Observations	<i>3,179</i>	<i>3,231</i>	<i>3,151</i>	<i>3,321</i>

In the main analysis a control for the municipality where the refugees enrolled in their Introduction or Establishment program was included. As they were so many, I used absorbed

dummies. If interested one can look at Table A in the Appendix where the municipalities are assembled by kind of municipality, according to the division by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (2010). The distribution across different kinds of municipalities was similar. One-fourth of the participants in the Treatment and Control group lived in one of our three metropolitan municipalities: Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö, or in the suburban municipalities to those three cities.

Dependent variable

The dependent variable in the analysis is a dummy that equals 1 if the individual was gainfully employed in November the outcome-year, and equals 0 if he or she was not. To study the outcome in November each year is the common way to present employment-statistics. By using the November-measure as the employment outcome, the result for the participants in the Introduction or Establishment program is comparable with the descriptive statistics for the refugees in Figure 2 and the female immigrants in Figure 3.

In Table 3 the fractions of participants in the Introduction or Establishment program, whom has gotten employed, is presented. The Treatment group could undertake their Establishment program during 13 months, in contrast with the ones in the Control group that only had eleven months at their disposal. If we dispense the fact that the ones in the Treatment group had more months to attend the program, the outcome in Table 3 occurs one year, two years or three years after attending the program. The first outcome equals 2011 for the ones in the Control group, as those are the ones that attended the Introduction program during 2010. It equals 2012 for the Treatment group that either got an Establishment plan in December 2010 or during 2011. As seen very few were employed after one year. That is not very surprising as many still participated in their integration programs. Because many of the refugees participated in the introduction after one year, I only study the employment outcome two and three years after enrollment in a program in the main analysis. If interested in the early outcomes of the reform, an early evaluation of the first year of the reform was published in 2015 (see Andersson Joonas et al. 2015). No significant effect of the reform was then found which was argued to be due to the short follow-up time and evident start-up problems of the new program.

The share of employed men was larger than the share of employed women, and that was consistent throughout the table. With only one exception, the share of employed women two

years after enrolling in the program, a larger share of those participating in the Establishment program was employed compared to those who participated in the Introduction program. For the male participants, the largest difference is seen two years after enrollment in the program, as the ones in the Establishment program then had a 27 percent higher employment rate ($26.9/21.1=1.27$). This difference may imply that the desired outcome of the reform; a faster establishment on the labor market, is evident. The difference between the male participants in the Treatment and the Control group three years after enrolling in the program is a bit smaller, but the effect is still there. Our female participants have a somewhat different pattern, as the effect on the Establishment program, compared to the Introduction program, seems to have increased over time. Two years after starting the program the Treatment group had a 15 percent higher employment rate ($11.6/10.1$) and three years later, 2013/2014, the corresponding number almost were 26 percent ($17.6/14.0$).

Regarding the gender gap, it is obvious that the difference between the female and male participants were larger for the participants in the Establishment program during the first two years. A gender gap on 3.1 for the Treatment group two years after enrolling in the program implies that the male participants in the Treatment group did have an employment level that was 3.1 times bigger than the employment rate for the female counterparts. The corresponding number for men in the Control group was lower, on 2.3. The difference between men and women decreased over time, especially in the Treatment group. Three years after attending the program, the male participants in the Treatment group had a two times higher employment level than the women in the Treatment group. For the Control group, the gap was almost on the same level, which implies that women in the Treatment group were as disadvantaged as the women in the Control group was. However, before drawing any conclusions we must control for individual characteristic, country of origin and municipality, which will be done in the next section.

Table 3. Gainfully employed in November. Percentage for women and men in the Treatment and the Control group separately, years after enrollment in the program.

	Treatment			Control		
	Women	Men	Gender gap	Women	Men	Gender gap
After one year (2011/2012)	4.4	13.6	3.1	5.3	12.4	2.3
After two years (2012/2013)	11.6	26.9	2.3	10.1	21.1	2.1
After three years (2013/2014)	17.6	35.5	2.0	14.0	29.3	2.1

Results

In this section we will find out if the different employment outcome for the participants in the Introduction program and the Establishment program is significant and if it remains after controlling for other observables. Before including all control variables I present the estimates for our independent variable only, to see the different employment outcomes for those in the Treatment group compared to the Control group. In Table 4 this is presented separately by gender and years after enrollment. Starting with the female participants we can tell that participating in the Establishment program was significant and positive for the chances of being employed. The participants in the Establishment program had a 1.6 percentage point higher probability of being employed compared to what the participants in the Introduction program had two years after enrollment. One year later, the probability was higher and the estimate on 0.036 was significant on a 5 percent level. For the male participants the estimates were larger and also significant. The ones in the Treatment group had, two years after being enrolled in the program, a 5.8 percentage point larger probability of being employed. Three years after starting the program the corresponding number was 6.3 percentage points. In the model presented in Table 4, the Adjusted R^2 was not even 0.05, why we can be sure we need to include more control variables. Before including the other observables, we can conclude that our first hypothesis, that the Establishment reform had a positive effect on employment for both women and men, seems to be supported.

Table 4. Estimates of the effect on being employed two and three years after enrollment in the Establishment program, as compared to the effect for the participants enrolled in the Introduction program, women and men separately.

	2012/2013 Women	2013/2014 Women	2012/2013 Men	2013/2014 Men
Control group	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Treatment group	0.016**	0.036***	0.058***	0.063***
<i>Observations</i>	6,330	6,330	6,552	6,552
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.002	0.004	0.004

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

The main findings are presented in Tables 5-9. We start with the results for the female participants. In Table 5 all the control variables described in Table 2 are included. Starting with the effect of the reform, we can tell that there was a significant positive effect. This means that

participating in the Establishment program compared to participating in the Introduction program increased the probability of being employed after the enrollment in the program. Participating in the Establishment program compared to participating in the Introduction program implied a 2-percentage point higher probability of employment three years after enrollment in the program (in 2013 for the ones in the Introduction program and 2014 for the ones in the Establishment program). The difference in employment does not seem to be due to different individual characteristics or to the unemployment level in the municipalities the different outcome years, at least not the ones I control for. However, when adjusting for the control variables, some effect of the reform decreased. A part of the increased probability of being employed for the participants in the Establishment program were thereby due to the other factors than the program itself.

Why we include the control variables is to control for the effect of our main dependent variable, *Reform*. We would like to be sure that the visible effect of the Establishment reform remains even when controlling for observables that also may influence the probability of being employed. By doing so, we know that the effect of the Establishment reform is not due to the different compositions of the two groups. However, the control variables are also interesting in themselves, and the effect of the control variables are as follows; age had a significant negative effect, meaning the older you are, the lesser your probability is of getting employed. Compared to the childless women, women with children aged 0-3 had a much lower probability of being employed. When your youngest child is younger than 4 it implied a 10 percentage points lower probability of being employed three years after enrollment in the program. The negative effect of having young children was worse for single women. No significant difference was found between the childless women and the single women with older children. However, the co-resident mothers with older children had a higher probability of being employed, compared to the childless women. The effect was weak but it may imply that our second hypothesis, that the reform would have a positive effect on the co-resident women, are supported.

If we continue to study the effect of the control variables, we can tell that there was a clear and significant connection between one's educational level and the probability of being employed. Having a secondary or post-secondary education implied a 10-percentage point higher probability of being employed in 2013/2014, compared to having a primary education or an unknown education. Moving on to the control for refugee status where the quota refugees are the reference

group, the ones belonging to the category "Migration Board housing" or "Own housing" had a higher probability of being employed. No significant difference was found between the quota refugees and the family migrants.

Table 5. Estimates of the effect of the Establishment reform on the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program as compared to the effect of the Control group, women only.

	2012/2013	2013/2014
Reform	0.018**	0.021**
Age	-0.003***	-0.005***
Family status		
Childless	ref.	ref.
Single mother with children 0-3	-0.108***	-0.114***
Single mother with older children	-0.004	-0.022
Co-resident mother with children 0-3	-0.090***	-0.104***
Co-resident mother with older children	0.026*	0.028*
Education		
Primary or unknown	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.074***	0.102***
Post-secondary	0.059***	0.107***
Refugee category		
Quota refugee	ref.	ref.
Family migrants	-0.009	-0.008
Migration Board Housing	0.039**	0.039**
Own Housing	0.029*	0.044**
Country of birth		
Somalia	ref.	ref.
Iraq	-0.033**	-0.029*
Eritrea	0.005	0.045**
Afghanistan	-0.025	-0.0018
Other Africa	0.036*	0.080***
Iran	-0.028	-0.006
Other Middle East	-0.030	-0.035
Other Asia	0.041	0.076**
Europe	0.114***	0.117***
Other	0.067	0.076
National registration, days	0.015***	0.015***
Unemployment in municipality	-0.006**	-0.012***
Municipality	x	x
Constant	0.167**	0.240***
Observations	6,330	6,330
Adjusted R²	0.099	0.112

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In 2014 the participants in the Establishment program born in Eritrea, Other Africa, Other Asia and Europe had a higher probability of employment than the female participants born in Somalia. Being born in Iraq implied a lower probability but the result was only significant on a 10- percent level. The estimate of unemployment in the municipality is negative and significant, meaning that if you lived in a municipality with a high unemployment rate your probability of being employed was lower than if you lived in a municipality with a lower unemployment rate. Regarding the variable National registration it showed that the longer you have been in Sweden, the higher the probability for being employed is. In Table 5 as well as in all the following tables I have controlled for the municipality the refugees were registered in when enrolling in the program. As the variable had more than 290 categories, the different municipalities have been included in the model through an absorbed dummy variable. It is worth noticing that despite all the control variables the Adjusted R² of the model was not very high. This means that the included controls in the models did not explain much of the variation in employment. This does not imply that our control variables is not important, but that one's chances of getting employed are due to other factors than what we were able to control for in the models.

Because the family status is of main interest when analyzing the effect of the reform on the female participants, I believe it to be of interest to look at the fractions employed in November in each group. The fractions of gainfully employed women who were enrolled in the Establishment program and in the Introduction program is presented in Table 6a. The employment rate differed dependent of family status. As expected, the childless women and those with older children had the highest employment rates. Regarding the differences between the two groups we can tell that the biggest difference was seen among the childless participants, and not among the co-resident mothers who we believed would be most affected by the Establishment reform.

Table 6a. Gainfully employed in November by family status. Women only, percent.

	Treatment		Control	
	2013	2014	2012	2013
Family status				
Childless	16.7	23.4	12.6	17.7
Single mother with children 0-3	5.2	10.4	4.6	9.8
Single mother with older children	11.4	16.9	11.1	11.5
Co-resident mother with children 0-3	6.0	12.1	4.4	9.7
Co-resident mother with older children	12.9	19.4	13.5	17.5

To deepen the analysis of the Establishment reform's impact and try to answer hypothesis two and three I will now present some interactions. As the effect of family status is a bit tricky to sort out, I will begin by studying the effect of having children aged 0-3. In the model presented in Table 6b, the female refugees with children aged 0-3 that participated in the Introduction program constituted the reference group. The same control variables as in Table 5 are included in the analysis. No difference in probability of employment was found for those with children aged 0-3 years in the Treatment group. This means that the reform have not had a significant effect on the participants with young children.

Table 6b. Estimates of the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the Establishment program, as compared to the effect of the ones with children 0-3 in the Introduction program, women only.

Variables	2012/2013		2013/2014	
	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Child aged 0-3	ref.	0.011	ref.	-0.002
No children aged 0-3	0.106***	0.127***	0.099***	0.130***
Control variables		x		x
<i>Observations</i>		6,300		6,300
<i>Adjusted R²</i>		0.099		0.112

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In Table 6c the childless participants in the Introduction program constitutes the reference group. We can tell that the childless women that participated in the Establishment program had a positive and statistically significant effect on the probability of being employed compared to the childless women participating in the previous Introduction program. Two years after the enrollment in the Establishment program the childless mothers had a 3.1 percentage point's higher probability of being employed. One year later, in 2013/2014, the effect was similar, but with a significance only at a 10 percent level.

Table 6c. Estimates of the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program as compared to the effect of the ones with children 0-3 in the Control group, women only.

Variables	2012/2013		2013/2014	
	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Childless	ref.	0.031**	ref.	0.033*
Co-resident mother	-0.033**	-0.010	-0.029*	-0.012
Single mother	-0.047***	-0.039***	-0.055***	-0.043***
Control variables		x		x
<i>Observations</i>		6,300		6,300
Adjusted R ²		0.081		0.092

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In the last analysis of the role of the family status I included the variable *family status*, which also was included in the main analysis. To address the second hypothesis, I used the co-resident mothers with older children in the Control group as the reference category. That way we are able to tell if the co-resident mothers with older children in the Treatment group had an increased probability of being employed compared to Control group. As seen in Table 6d they did not have a significantly different effect of the reform, not two years nor three years after enrollment in the Establishment program. It thereby seems like it only is the childless women who have had a positive and significant effect of the Establishment reform.

Table 6d. Estimates of the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program as compared to the effect of the childless women in the Control group, women only.

	2012/2013		2013/2014	
	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Family status				
Co-resident mother with older children	ref.	0.013	ref.	0.018
Co-resident mother with children 0-3	-0.122***	-0.099***	-0.128***	-0.119***
Single mother with older children	-0.024	-0.022	-0.058***	-0.025
Single mother with children 0-3	-0.130**	-0.131***	-0.130***	-0.143***
Childless	-0.036*	-0.002	-0.039*	0.001
Control variables		x		x
<i>Observations</i>		6,300		6,300
Adjusted R ²		0.081		0.092

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

To be able to address hypothesis 3 it is time to look at the effect of the Establishment reform on the women with primary education. In Table 7a the fractions of gainfully employed women who were enrolled in the Establishment program and in the Introduction program is presented by educational level. I have chosen not to include the ones with unknown education in this table, as they are not to be included in the analysis below. The women with primary education had the lowest employment rates. Those with secondary education had a somewhat higher rate than those with post-secondary education. What is striking is that there was such a small difference between the women with primary education in the Treatment and Control group. It seems like it is only women with post-secondary education that did increase their employment rate by participating in the Establishment program instead of in the Introduction program. But before drawing any conclusions about the low-skilled women, we must control for other characteristics.

Table 7a. Gainfully employed in November by educational level. Women only, percent.

	Treatment		Control	
	2013	2014	2012	2013
Educational level				
Primary	8.5	11.6	9.4	11.9
Secondary	17.7	26.7	18.0	23.6
Post-secondary	16.5	24.6	12.8	21.5

In Table 7b, I compared the outcome for the ones with primary education that participated in the Introduction program with the outcome for those who participated in the Establishment program. Here I chose not to include the participants with unknown education in the table, why there are fewer included observations. I did so because we are not interested in the effect on all participants but rather on the effect on the ones with primary education. When only analyzing the ones with primary education, those with unknown education is not of interest. From looking at Table 7b we can conclude that the Establishment reform not seem to have had an effect on the low-skilled female refugees. The effect for the ones with primary education was weak and not statistical significant. This held true even when including the ones with unknown education.

Table 7b. Estimates of the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program, as compared to the effects of the ones with primary education in the Control group, women only.

Variables	2012/2013		2013/2014	
	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Primary education	ref.	0.011	ref.	0.010
Secondary education	0.076***	0.080***	0.083***	0.116***
Post-secondary education	0.048***	0.073***	0.101***	0.110***
Control variables		x		x
<i>Observations</i>		5,421		5,762
<i>Adjusted R²</i>		0.092		0.104

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In sum, the Establishment reform implied an increased probability of being employed when comparing the outcomes for the ones participating in the first period of the new Establishment program with the ones participating in the last period of the previous Introduction program. However, on the contrary to what was expected, the co-resident women with older children did not increase their probability of getting employed through participating in the Establishment program. The increase in employment was most evident among the childless women. It is clear that having young children hinders the entry on the labor market. Another result from the analysis was that the female participants with only primary education of nine years or less did not seem to have had an increased probability of being employed as a result of the new program. Nor did the co-resident women, who we believed would benefit from the Establishment reform, had a significant effect of participating in the Establishment program instead of participating in the previous Introduction program.

It is now time to look at the estimated effects of the Establishment reform for the male participants. The result of the OLS regression is presented in Table 8. To start with, we can tell that the effect of the reform was positive and significant. Participating in the Establishment program at the Public Employment Service, compared to the municipal Introduction program, implied a 3.9 percentage point higher probability of employment two years after enrolling in the program. One year later the reform implied a 3.1 percentage point higher probability of being employed. The results were significant on a 5-percent level, which means that the Establishment reform did increase the participants' chances of getting employed after participating in the new

program. The variable for age was significant and had a similar influence as for the female participants. The younger you are, the higher your probability of getting employed was. However, the family situation did not seem to matter for the male participants. Neither family status nor if one had young children influenced the probability of being employed. As there were very few male participants who were single fathers I chose to control for family status by only having three categories: the childless, the fathers with young children and the fathers with older children. As seen in Table 8, having children did not have a significant effect on employment. I will therefore not investigate the effect of family any further.

Regarding the educational level it is obvious that a higher education implied higher probability of getting employed. Three years after enrolling in the program the participants with secondary education had a 5.6 percentage point higher probability of employment, and the ones with post-secondary education had 8.4 percentage points higher probability of being employed compared to the one with primary education. The refugees in "Own Housing" had a significantly higher probability of employment, compared to the quota refugee group. Why the ones in "Own Housing" showed a greater probability of employment may be a result of selection. The one that soon finds own housing in a municipality of their own choice may have a larger social network or stronger incentives to find work.

In contrast to the female participants, country of origin had a stronger effect on the probability of being employed for the males. All participants, except for the ones from Iraq and the ones categorized as "Other", had a significant and positive effect of being from another country than Somalia, the reference category. The time registered in Sweden was also significantly positive for the outcome. Regarding the unemployment in the municipality, the estimate was negative, which means that living in a municipality with high unemployment implies a decreased probability of being employed. The Adjusted R^2 for the result in Table 8 is a bit larger than the R^2 of the model for the female participant presented in Table 5.

Table 8. Estimates of the effect of the Establishment reform on the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program as compared to the effect of the Control group, men only.

	2012/2013	2013/2014
Reform	0.038***	0.031**
Age	-0.006***	-0.009***
Family status		
Childless	ref.	ref.
Father with children 0-3	0.022	0.024
Father with older children	-0.013	0.010
Education		
Primary or unknown	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.045***	0.056***
Post-secondary	0.054***	0.084***
Refugee category		
Quota refugee	ref.	ref.
Family migrants	0.054**	0.040
Migration Board Housing	0.061***	0.045*
Own Housing	0.089***	0.090***
Country of birth		
Somalia	ref.	ref.
Iraq	0.025	0.023
Eritrea	0.074***	0.147***
Afghanistan	0.081***	0.070***
Other Africa	0.103***	0.110***
Iran	0.090***	0.129***
Other Middle East	0.096***	0.093***
Other Asia	0.124***	0.125**
Europe	0.110***	0.090**
Other	0.123*	0.096
National registration, days	0.025***	0.030***
Unemployment in municipality	-0.013***	-0.012***
Municipality	x	x
Constant	0.288***	0.294***
Observations	6,552	6,552
Adjusted R²	0.107	0.115

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

To address hypothesis 3, I will now analyze the effect of the Reform for the male participants with low education. From Table 9 we could tell that the participants with higher education had an increased probability of being employed. In Table 9a I show the fractions of gainfully employed in the Treatment and Control group by educational level. The men with primary education had

the lowest employment rate. By looking at the differences in the Treatment and Control group we can tell that those with primary education seemed to have increased their employment rate the most. If that holds when including controls for country of birth, refugee category, municipality and unemployment rate will turn out in the last table.

Table 9a. Gainfully employed in November by educational level. Men only, percent.

	Treatment		Control	
	2013	2014	2012	2013
Educational level				
Primary	24.4	31.2	18.4	24.8
Secondary	29.2	37.1	26.1	37.0
Post-secondary	30.2	40.6	24.9	33.7

In Table 9b, the men with primary education that participated in the Introduction program constitute the reference. The few men with unknown education were not included. The main difference from Table 7b was that the men in our Treatment group with primary education had a positive and significantly different effect compared to the men with Primary education in the Control group. This means that the Establishment program have been successful even for the low-skilled male refugees participating in the Establishment program. In this regard the male participants differ from the female participants. The answer to hypothesis 3 is thereby that the Establishment reform did increase the low-skilled participants' probability of getting gainfully employed, but that this effect only was seen for the male participants.

Table 9b. Estimates of the probability of being employed two and three years after enrolling in the program, as compared to the effects of the ones with primary education in the Control group, men only.

Variables	2012/2013		2013/2014	
	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
Primary education	ref.	0.052***	ref.	0.047***
Secondary education	0.061***	0.074***	0.087***	0.069***
Post-secondary education	0.057***	0.095***	0.080***	0.128***
Control variables		x		x
<i>Observations</i>		6264		6382
<i>Adjusted R²</i>		0.103		0.111

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Summary and discussion

The overall aim of this study was to analyze the short time effects of the Establishment reform on the labor market entry of newly arrived refugees, with a focus on the female refugees. The Establishment reform was implemented with an aim of increased gender equality in order to speed up women's labor market entry, as refugee women have more difficulties to get their first job compared to the refugee men (SOU, 2012). The effect was analyzed through comparing the employment outcome for the refugees participating in the previous municipal Introduction program with the outcome for the refugees participating in the Establishment program provided by the Public Employment Service. As I had gained access to register data it was possible to study all participants in the two programs and analyze their employment outcomes two and three years after enrolling in the program, while controlling for a rich set of observables. It was 3,151 women and 3,321 men that participated in the last Introduction program the first 11 months of 2010. Almost as many participants, 3,179 women and 3,231 men, were enrolled sometime during the first 13 months of the Establishment program, which replaced the Introduction program in December 2010. As the Establishment reform was implemented in 2010 it is only possible to study the short-time effect of the reform. Through the database STATIV I got access to the participants' employment records until 2014. Because the ones participating in the Introduction program arrived to Sweden one year earlier, their employment outcome is measured one year before the employment outcome of the participants in the Establishment program.

What was to be answered in this study was whether the Establishment reform, net of controls, had increased the refugees' probability of being employed two or three years after attending a program. Two years after enrolling in the program 11.6 percent of the women in the Establishment program were employed, compared to 10.1 in the Introduction program. One year later 17.6 percent of the women that participated in the Establishment program was employed, compared to only 14.0 percent in the Introduction program. For the male participants the pattern was similar. Two years after starting the program, 26.9 percent of the male participants in the Establishment program were employed while only 21.1 percent of the participants in the Introduction program had an employment. In 2014, 35.5 percent of the participants in the Establishment program were employed and among the participants in the Introduction program, 29.3 percent were employed in 2013, three years after enrolling in the program. The difference

between men and women in the two groups has remained and the proportion of gainfully employed men is still higher compared to women.

The results from the first regression analysis where the only included variable was the Reform, were stronger than when including control variables. This means that some of the demonstrated difference for the Treatment and Control group was due to other characteristics than to the quality of the programs. As stated, there were some small differences in the Treatment and Control group regarding the composition of participants and some small differences in unemployment in the municipalities they were registered in. However, even when including the control variables, a significant increase in the probability of being employed was observed among the participants. Participating in the Establishment program implied 1.8 percentage point higher probability of being employed for the women, two years after starting the program. Three years after starting the program the increased probability given by the Establishment reform were 2.0 percentage points. Regarding the male participants the reform almost implied a 4 percentage point higher probability of being employed in November 2013. Three years after the program, participating in the Establishment program compared to the Introduction program meant a 3.1 percentage point increased probability of being employed.

The hypothesis that the reform would have a positive effect on the probability of being employed for both the male and female participants in the Establishment program, gained support. The conclusion of this study is that the Establishment reform did increase the probability of being employed, two as well as three years after enrolling in the program. The positive effect of participating in an Establishment program instead of an Introduction program was significant for both men and women. In the models, the estimates of the reform were larger for the male participants than for the female participants. Being enrolled in the Establishment program compared to the Introduction program explained more of the short-term variation in employment among the male participants.

It is clear that the family situation only had an effect on women's employment rates. Although the idea behind the individualized Establishment allowance was to increase women's, in particular co-resident mothers, participation in the program in order to speed up their labor market entry, co-resident mothers does not seem to have been that affected of the reform. It is obvious that women with children aged 0-3 did not have a significant effect from participating in

the Establishment program. I do not find that very strange as many women with young children probably are on parental leave and are engaged in care work. Having young children delay women's labor market entry and may increase the gender gap, as the family situation did not affect the labor market entry of the male participants. The third hypothesis in this study was that the low-skilled refugees would benefit from the Establishment reform, as they were believed to benefit from the increased labor market focus and the intensive coaching by case officers. The hypothesis was only partly supported. The male participants with primary education of nine years or less did increase their employment rate by participating in the Establishment program. That was however not the case for the female participants, why the reform does not seem to have had an effect on employment among low-skilled women.

It is hard to draw any conclusions regarding the double disadvantages met by the immigrant women. The fact that the problems with their slow establishment were made visible in the formulation of the Establishment reform was probably positive for the refugees even though it may be argued that it leads to negative stereotyping. The introduction of the individualized allowance may be the underlying reason for why the reform had an increased effect on the probability of being employed. That is though hard to prove. An increased participation in the programs may decrease the double disadvantages on the labor market. While in the program the refugee women can be discriminated because of a lower ascribed status as immigrants and as women. Caseworkers may give up on low-skilled women as it is known that they belong to a group that have difficulties to establish on the labor market. The idea that refugee women differ much from Swedish women with similar characteristics may lead to different treatment of women and men in the program (Larsson, 2015).

Another explanation for why we do not see a significant effect of the reform for low-skilled women or women with children aged 0-3 are that they are the ones that have the greatest troubles to establish on the labor market. This does to some extent also regard the co-resident mothers, among whom we believed to see a larger effect of the Establishment reform. It may be that the follow-up time in this study is too short. However, the aim with the reform was to speed up the labor market entry, and that does not seem to have happened for the co-resident mother, the mothers with young children or the low-skilled women. Why this is surely has different explanations. One aspect that earlier has been addressed, was that the labor market focus

disappeared even in the new Establishment program. The Establishment talk offered at the Public Employment Service was often about questions regarding benefits, housing issues and health. In the first contact with the Employment Service the labor-related measures were subordinated other needs (The Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2012). Another reason may be that the female participants take greater responsibility for the care work. What cannot be ignored is that the female participants thereto are disadvantaged as a larger share only had primary education.

When studying the result of this study one could wonder if the reform actually lived up to the high expectations regarding gender equality. As written earlier, a desirable result would be that the female refugees increased their labor market participation and did speed up their labor market entry even more than the men. That way some of the existing difference between refugee women and refugee men would decrease. As shown, that does not seem to have happened. When trying to explain why, one answer may be that the measures to increase the potential for gender equality was quite weak. In the trial Introduction program no effect were found on the female participants (Andersson Joonas & Nekby, 2012). This means that the primary measure for decreasing the double disadvantages met by refugee women was economic. However, the strengthened economic incentives, aimed to increase the females' participation in the Establishment program, maybe was not enough to speed up the female refugees' entry to the Swedish labor market.

Further evaluation of the outcome of the Establishment reform could benefit from a longer follow-up time. Research on the effect of the Establishment program could also benefit from studying participants enrolled in the Establishment program during 2013, 2014 and 2015. To study the outcome of the program in the latest years would be of interest because the range of the program has increased due to the severe refugee crisis in the latest years. In the end of 2014 more than 43,000 refugees participated in the Establishment program (The Public Employment Service, 2015). It would thereto be of particular interest to analyze the difference between the female and male participants and investigate whether the case workers offer various kinds of help and have different kinds of demands on the male and female participants. Regarding the female participants it would be beneficial to be able to control for provided child care in the municipality and to which extent they took parental leave, as the effect of having young children hampers the refugee women's probability of getting employed.

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Appendix

Table A. The distribution of participants in different kinds of municipalities. Numbers for women and men in the Treatment and the Control group separately, percent.

Variables	Treatment		Control	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Kind of municipality				
Metropolitan	17.1	18.4	17.0	17.6
Suburban	7.2	7.1	7.3	6.1
Large cities	32.1	31.0	29.5	28.5
Suburban to large cities	2.6	1.7	2.3	1.7
Commuter	8.7	9.9	7.5	8.1
Tourism and travel industry	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.1
Manufacturing	11.2	10.8	13.3	13.5
Sparsely populated	4.2	4.6	3.6	3.4
Densely populated regions	10.4	10.7	13.3	15.2
Sparsely populated regions	3.8	3.4	3.7	3.8
<i>Observations</i>	<i>3,179</i>	<i>3,231</i>	<i>3,151</i>	<i>3,321</i>