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DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES 312/26

Policies for Refugee Integration: A Living Review of Causal Evidence from High-Income Countries

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www.rfberlin.com NOVEMBER 2026

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Reference

JEL Codes: F22, J15, J61, I38

Keywords: refugee integration, asylum policy, refugee resettlement, employment, causal evidence, cost-effectiveness

Recommended Citation: Jens Hainmueller (2026): Policies for Refugee Integration: A Living Review of Causal Evidence from High-Income Countries. RFBerlin Discussion Paper No. 312/26

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Policies for Refugee Integration: A Living Review of Causal Evidence from High-Income Countries

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November 20, 2026

Abstract

This living review examines which post-arrival policies improve refugee integration, by how much, for how long, and at what cost. It expands on earlier reviews by synthesizing 181 publications across nine policy domains from arrival to long-term integration, primarily randomized and quasi-experimental studies. Placement decisions can have lasting effects, and a randomized trial finds that outcome-based matching improves employment within existing quotas. Work bans can depress employment for years after they end, and long asylum procedures delay labor market entry. Intensive language training and some employment programs yield durable gains. Compared with public housing, private hosting raised early employment and reduced benefit receipt even after employment gains faded. A benefit cut briefly raised employment and worsened children's long-run outcomes. Mental health treatments can reduce symptoms, and education policies can improve enrollment and inclusion. Estimated earnings gains from citizenship vary by research design. Available cost evidence favors lifting work restrictions, improving placement, and investing in services with durable gains. Evidence comes mostly from Northern and Western Europe. Major gaps concern effects on native-born residents, whether findings transfer across settings, and program effectiveness and costs at scale. The review will be updated at regular intervals.

Keywords: refugee integration, asylum policy, refugee resettlement, employment, causal evidence, cost-effectiveness
JEL codes: F22, J15, J61, I38

*Stanford University, Email: jhain@stanford.edu. The author thanks Anna Damm, Jacob Arendt, Ahmet Gulek, Francesco Fasani, Christian Dustmann, Olof Åslund, Duncan Lawrence, and Salma Mousa for helpful suggestions. Claude (Anthropic) and Codex (OpenAI) assisted with literature searches, drafting and editing the text, and building and checking the evidence tables and study ledger against the source documents. The author reviewed all material and is responsible for the content.

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1 Introduction

Global forced displacement is at historically high levels, with 117.8 million people forcibly displaced worldwide at the end of 2025. Low- and middle-income countries hosted 68 percent of refugees and other people in need of international protection (UNHCR, 2026a). High-income countries also receive substantial numbers of asylum seekers and resettled refugees. Refugees' employment and earnings often lag behind those of natives and other immigrants for many years after arrival (Brell et al., 2020; Fasani et al., 2022). Language barriers, limited professional networks, unrecognized qualifications, disrupted education, and health problems can impede integration. Restrictions on work and mobility and prolonged asylum procedures can add to these difficulties (Mousa, 2018; Fasani, 2024). Persistent gaps prolong reliance on public support, leave potential contributions to host economies unrealized, and limit refugees' own economic independence.

This living review asks which post-arrival policies improve refugee integration, by how much, and for how long. It covers nine policy domains in high-income countries, examining employment, earnings, other integration outcomes, and public expenditure. Where cost data are available, it compares the gains with the costs of achieving them. Admission levels and the criteria for granting protection fall outside its scope. Causal research on these policies has grown rapidly over the past decade. The review takes stock of this evidence and will be updated at regular intervals as new studies appear.

This review builds on earlier syntheses of forced migration and refugee outcomes (Becker and Ferrara, 2019; Brell et al., 2020; Dustmann et al., 2017; Hangartner et al., 2021; Mousa, 2018), refugee integration policies (Arendt et al., 2022; Bahar et al., 2026; Fasani, 2024), and immigrant integration policy more broadly (Kiviholma and Karhunen, 2026; Fouka, 2024).

It adds to that literature in three ways. First, it substantially expands the evidence base across studies and policy domains. Of the 181 publications reviewed here, 97 are absent from the ten earlier reviews cited above. Of those 97, 62 use randomized or quasi-experimental designs. No earlier review covers more than a third of the 181. Study-level tables document each study's policy contrast, design, and findings. The review brings evidence on housing and community-based reception, mental health, and children's schooling together with labor-market evidence across countries.

Second, it compares the effectiveness and costs of different policies. It reports effect sizes on common scales where outcomes permit and traces how long effects last. Setting those gains alongside delivery costs helps policymakers weigh what they can achieve with the resources available.

Third, it assesses how widely the findings apply. It examines whether results recur across populations and institutional settings and considers how differences in program design may explain variation across studies.

2 Scope and Composition of the Evidence Base

The review covers policies that affect refugee integration after arrival, including during the asylum process. It focuses on resettled refugees, asylum seekers, recognized refugees, and people with temporary protection. Studies of broader immigrant populations are included when they inform policy choices or fill gaps in refugee-specific evidence.

The search focused on high-income host countries to compare policies in broadly similar institutional settings. Most of the evidence comes from Europe and North America. Studies from selected middle-income host countries supplement this evidence where they address the same policy questions.

Integration has several dimensions (Harder et al., 2018). The main outcomes are employment and earnings. The review also considers language acquisition, educational attainment, health, social inclusion, and political participation. The nine policy domains follow the path from arrival to long-term settlement: placement and housing; asylum procedures, work and mobility restrictions, and income support; language instruction, employment services, mental health, and schooling; and permanent residence, citizenship, and family reunification. A synthesis compares findings across domains.

The core evidence comes from randomized and quasi-experimental studies designed to estimate the causal effects of specific policies. The review distinguishes assignment from participation effects when take-up is incomplete. Quasi-experimental studies use variation from dispersal rules, eligibility cutoffs, or reform timing that is plausibly unrelated to individual characteristics. Some designs estimate effects for a specific group, such as people near an eligibility cutoff. Selected adjusted observational analyses, descriptive studies, and prior syntheses complement this evidence. Theoretical and simulation studies inform policy design, particularly in refugee matching.

Direct comparisons within a common setting are particularly informative about relative policy effectiveness. Comparisons across studies extend this assessment to other interventions, taking into account populations, outcome definitions, effect sizes, persistence, and uncertainty. Cost-effectiveness comparisons distinguish program expenditure, fiscal returns, and broader economic benefits, and state which costs and benefits are included. Monetary amounts are reported in the currency and price year of the original study, without purchasing-power adjustment, and discounting follows each study. Where the price basis can be established, the text and Table 1 add an approximate equivalent in 2025 euros in parentheses, adjusted for local consumer prices and converted at 2025 average exchange rates. Where a study states no price year, the equivalent assumes the midpoint of the period the amount covers and is marked "approx."

The search covered Google Scholar, EconLit, SSRN, working-paper series, and journals publishing clinical trials. Search terms combined refugee populations, policy domains, and research designs. Backward and forward citation tracking, AI-assisted searches, and suggestions from researchers supplemented these searches. The initial search was completed in March 2026 and updated in October 2026. Published articles and working papers were screened against the population, setting, and design criteria above, regardless of the size or statistical significance of their findings.

Each update will repeat the searches, add new studies and revised versions to the evidence tables, and revisit the synthesis as the findings warrant. Authors who find an error in how the review describes their study or its findings are invited to contact the author.

The ten evidence tables in Appendix A summarize 181 distinct publications: 21 randomized evaluations, 109 quasi-experimental studies, 20 adjusted observational comparisons

(including individual fixed-effects panels), 3 descriptive studies, 14 syntheses, and 14 theoretical, prediction, or simulation studies.

Recent work makes up much of the evidence base (Figure 1). The number of reviewed publications rose from 10 in 2022 to 26 in 2023 and remained at 19 or more in each of the following years. More than half (92 of 181) date from 2023 onward, and 21 predate 2014.

Research is concentrated in Northern and Western Europe, especially Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland (Figure 2, left panel). This distribution reflects where data are available more than where refugees live. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland together account for nearly two-thirds of the single-country European studies, yet at the end of 2025 they hosted only about 7 percent of refugees in the EU and EFTA countries (UNHCR, 2026b). Denmark alone, with about 95,000 refugees, or roughly 1 percent, contributes more studies than any other country. Germany, which hosted about one-third of refugees in these countries, is the only large European host with a comparably large body of evidence. France, Poland, and Spain together hosted more than a quarter but account for only five studies. There are none from the United Kingdom, which hosted about 580,000 refugees.

The most heavily studied countries have comprehensive population registers, have used dispersal policies that assigned refugees to locations quasi-randomly, and have reformed their policies frequently. These features lend themselves to causal designs. The United States also contributes a substantial body of evidence, whereas Canada, Australia, and Southern and Eastern Europe are less represented. Evidence from middle-income countries comes mainly from Türkiye and focuses on education and social assistance.

The evidence is also concentrated in a few policy domains (Figure 2, right panel). Research is most extensive on settlement and allocation, which accounts for about one-third of the studies, and on the asylum process and the conditions for permanent residence and citizenship, which together account for about a fifth. In these domains, policy itself creates usable variation. Mental health and active labor market programs each account for about a tenth. Language training, welfare benefits, housing and reception, and children's education have received less attention, although they are core parts of most integration systems. Where natural variation of this kind is scarce, studies rely more on randomized trials, as in mental health and labor market programs, or on observational comparisons. Much of the housing and reception literature relies on adjusted observational comparisons, while the private-hosting and co-sponsorship studies exploit the assignment process and are classed as quasi-experimental.

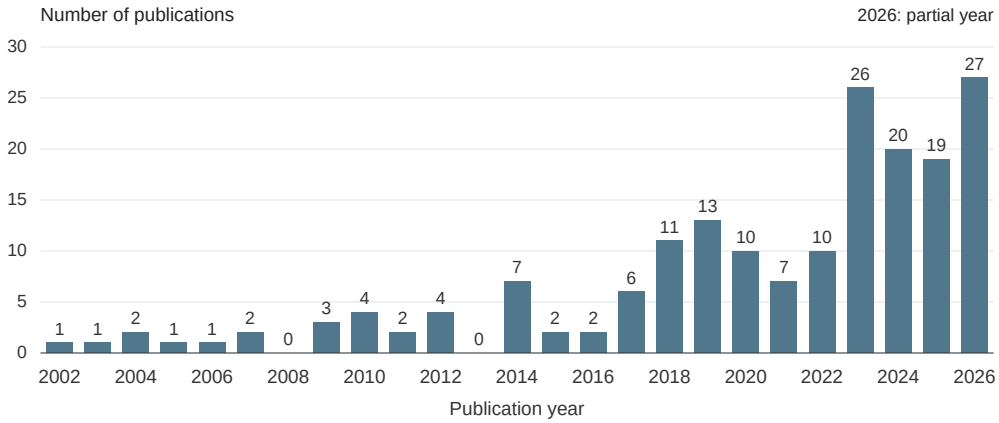

Figure 1: Publication Years of the Reviewed Literature

Notes: Each of the 181 publications is counted once, using the year recorded in the bibliography for the cited work. The 2026 count reflects coverage as of October.

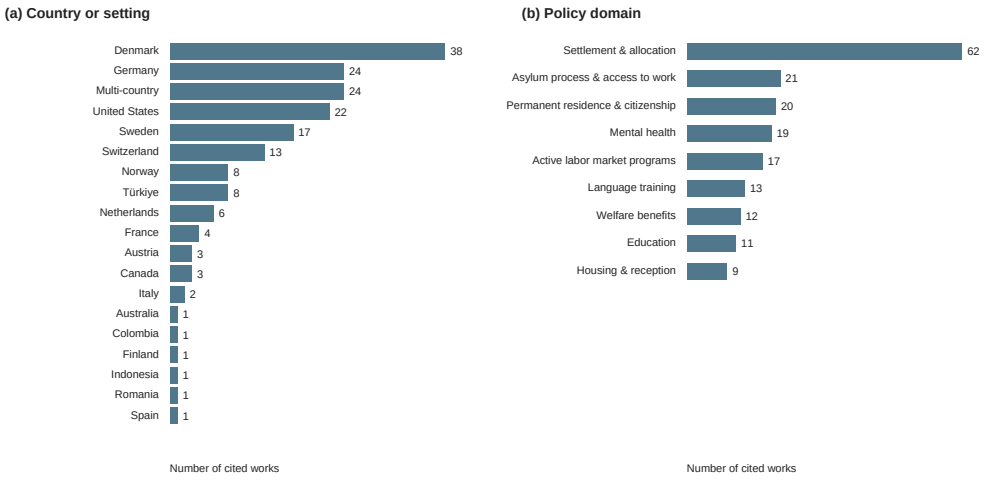

Figure 2: Geographic and Policy Coverage of the Review

Notes: Counts refer to the 181 publications in the evidence tables, including primary studies, syntheses, and selected design and simulation studies. Publications may examine the same reform or population. The geographic panel counts publications with an empirical setting; the policy panel counts all publications once in each relevant domain. "Multi-country" includes cross-setting syntheses.

3 Settlement Policies and Initial Allocation

Many high-income receiving countries rely on dispersal regimes that allocate arriving asylum seekers and refugees across regions and municipalities using formal assignment rules (e.g., population-based quotas, fiscal capacity, or administrative keys). In Europe, a central motivation has been to avoid heavy spatial concentration and to spread reception responsibilities more evenly across local jurisdictions. Depending on the system, allocation takes place at arrival, at recognition, or both, and it applies to resettled refugees and people under temporary protection as well as to asylum seekers (for a comparative overview, see Bartl and Lutz, 2025).

Because these mechanisms place otherwise similar arrivals in different local contexts, they generate plausibly exogenous (or quasi-random) variation in initial settlement, often conditional on arrival cohort, origin, and administrative factors. Researchers have used this variation widely to study how local conditions affect integration. Table A1 summarizes the main studies.

3.1 Local labor market conditions

Many studies find that initial placement has lasting consequences for economic integration. Refugees assigned to municipalities with stronger labor demand and better employment conditions have persistently higher employment and earnings (Åslund and Rooth, 2007; Azlor et al., 2020; Foged et al., 2024a).

In Denmark, Foged et al. (2024a) compare several integration policies within one register-based framework, using common employment and earnings definitions and following outcomes for up to 15 years. Placement in a municipality in the top rather than the bottom quartile of the non-Western immigrant employment rate raises long-run employment by about 2 percentage points and yearly earnings by about US$1,070 at 2015 prices (EUR 1,200), making it one of the few policies in their comparison with a lasting effect. Azlor et al. (2020) find that assignment to a municipality with a one percentage point higher employment rate raises refugees' employment probability by 0.5–0.6 percentage points two to four years after arrival (elasticities of 1.1–1.8). A one percentage point higher unemployment rate lowers it by 0.9–1.7 percentage points. Damm and Rosholm (2010) find that male refugees initially placed in higher-unemployment regions took longer to find a local job, although the estimate is smaller and statistically insignificant with county fixed effects. Men placed in municipalities with more social housing or more vocational and higher-education institutions found local jobs sooner.

In Sweden, Åslund and Rooth (2007) find that exposure to high local unemployment rates at arrival depresses earnings and employment for at least ten years (a doubling of initial local unemployment lowers the employment probability by about 4 percentage points seven years after arrival). They also show that refugees arriving during a severe national recession had persistently worse outcomes than those arriving during the preceding boom, so macroeconomic timing matters as well as local conditions. Åslund et al. (2010) examine spatial mismatch directly. Using detailed geo-coded data on residence and workplace locations, they find that doubling the number of jobs accessible from a refugee's initial placement location increases employment probability by 2.9 percentage points eight to nine years later.

The Swedish reception reform that introduced dispersal has also been evaluated as a package. Edin et al. (2004) compare refugees who arrived in 1987–1989, when most were assigned to a municipality, with those who arrived in 1981–1983, using earlier non-OECD

immigrants as the comparison group. Eight years after arrival, earnings among those with positive earnings are about 25 percent lower (0.285 log points), and idleness and welfare receipt are 6.2 and 10.8 percentage points higher. The authors' decomposition attributes about a quarter of the earnings decline to where refugees lived (0.077 log points) and the rest to a component common to all locations, which they tentatively relate to a shift from labor-market integration toward income support.

Studies from Switzerland, Norway, and Germany also link local labor market conditions to refugee employment. In Switzerland, higher cantonal unemployment at arrival persistently lowers refugees' employment, with no detectable effect on earnings among those employed (Müller et al., 2023). In Norway, placement in a neighborhood with a higher labor-force participation rate has small employment effects (about 1.2 percentage points per standard deviation, concentrated among men older than 25 at arrival) that remain detectable roughly 20 years after arrival (Andersen et al., 2023). Among refugees subject to residence requirements in Germany, higher local unemployment is associated with lower employment, whereas general local labor demand has no detectable effect (Tsolak and Bürmann, 2023).

In Austria, Degenhardt (2026) combines conditional quasi-random placement with variation in seasonal hospitality demand at the time work access begins. Among over 35,000 men aged 18–55, a one-standard-deviation increase in demand raises early employment by up to 3 percentage points. The employment difference fades after roughly a year, although cumulative earnings over three years increase, and medium-run wages and job quality do not clearly improve. Early hospitality work also shifts refugees persistently toward hospitality and other refugee-typical sectors and toward firms with fewer Austrian coworkers.

Where studies test mechanisms, persistence mostly reflects continued exposure to stronger or weaker local labor markets. In Norway and Denmark, the initial-placement effect disappears once current local conditions are controlled for (Godøy, 2017; Foged et al., 2024a). Swedish evidence points to both individual scarring and geographic lock-in (Åslund and Rooth, 2007). Using quasi-random placement of resettlement (quota) refugees in Norway, Godøy (2017) estimates that settling all of them in the single labor-market region with the highest immigrant employment rate would raise predicted earnings by about 26 percent relative to predictions under the actual allocation, a bounding exercise that the paper itself describes as not a credible policy alternative. The earnings effects of initial placement are significant in years 2–6 after arrival and smaller and less precisely estimated thereafter.

The evidence on centrality is more mixed. In Norway, refugees assigned to the least central municipalities are the most likely to be employed in the first years after arrival, although these differences fade over time and low-educated men assigned to large municipalities have persistently lower employment (Adserà et al., 2022). In Sweden, an observational event-history analysis finds that entry into a first job is fastest at both extremes of the population-density distribution (the Stockholm region and small-city or rural regions) and slowest in Malmö, and that ethnically segregated neighborhoods are associated with slower entry (Vogiazides and Mondani, 2020).

Evidence from Copenhagen distinguishes employment from wage growth among those who work. In a sample of 20,493 male refugees dispersed across Denmark in 1986–1998, starting hourly wages are similar, but each year of work experience brings about 0.81 percentage points faster hourly wage growth for those assigned to Copenhagen (Eckert et al., 2022). Annual earnings start about 7 log points lower and catch up after about 3.5 years of work experience. Among refugees with less education, placement in Copenhagen increases the share who never work by 3.7 percentage points.

3.2 Ethnic networks

Evidence from Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland shows that refugees assigned to locations with larger co-ethnic populations tend to have higher earnings or employment. In Sweden, Edin et al. (2003) find that a one standard deviation increase in ethnic concentration raises annual earnings by about 13 percent for low-skilled refugees, although this measure does not separate wages from employment. Damm (2009) finds a larger effect in Denmark. A one standard deviation increase in ethnic enclave size raises annual earnings by roughly 18 percent, with benefits across skill levels. The pattern suggests higher hourly wages rather than more hours or employment, and enclave size slightly lowers the employment probability of high-skilled refugees.

In Switzerland, Martén et al. (2019) find that a 10 percent increase in ethnic network size raises employment by approximately 0.3 percentage points three years after arrival, about 2 percent relative to average employment. The estimate combines quasi-random assignment of temporarily admitted refugees to cantons with canton, origin-country, and arrival-year fixed effects, so it rests on within-canton differences in network size across origin groups and arrival cohorts rather than on comparisons between cantons, and it survives canton-by-origin fixed effects and canton-specific trends.

In Germany, Battisti et al. (2022) find that a one-standard-deviation larger initial co-ethnic network raises employment by 7.8 percentage points during the first three years in the full immigrant sample, with no statistically detectable advantage thereafter. In the restricted sample of asylum seekers and ethnic Germans, which is not limited to refugees, gains are larger and remain significant in years four to six.

A common interpretation is that co-ethnic networks provide job information and referrals that improve job matching, particularly in the early years after arrival. Swiss evidence supports this view. Martén et al. (2019) find that refugees' employers had previously hired disproportionately high shares of refugees sharing their nationality, ethnicity, or language, compared with refugees previously employed in the same canton and sector.

The composition of networks also matters. In Sweden, placement in a municipality with a larger share of self-employed co-ethnics raised refugees' entry into self-employment (about 2 percentage points per standard deviation within five years, mainly for men), whereas the number of co-ethnics alone had no effect or a negative one. But the same exposure was associated with about 5 percent lower long-run disposable income (Andersson, 2021).

Caiumi and Simonsen (2026) use Danish administrative data to show that placement in a municipality where co-nationals work for high-quality employers (measured by firm-specific wage premia) raises refugees' employment and earnings for up to ten years. At a finer spatial scale, Damm (2014) uses Danish dispersal policy to study network effects at the neighborhood level. Co-national neighbors' employment rates predict higher earnings even after accounting for network size, which has no detectable effect once network quality is included. A one-year increase in the average education of non-Western immigrant male neighbors raises employment probability by 1.6 percentage points, and a ten percentage point increase in the employment rate of co-national male neighbors raises real annual earnings by about 16 percent.

Among male refugees without existing US family ties, Beaman (2012) shows that network effects in the United States change as network members gain tenure. Using quasi-random initial placement by a single resettlement agency (the International Rescue Committee), she finds that a one standard deviation increase in the number of co-nationals resettled in the same city one year earlier reduces the probability of employment 90 days after arrival

by 4.8 percentage points (larger same-year cohorts also reduce employment). This reflects competition among recent arrivals for job information passed on by employed network members. By contrast, larger networks of co-ethnics who arrived two to four years earlier improve employment and wages, consistent with established members passing on what they have learned about job opportunities.

Dagnelie et al. (2019) extend this work using the universe of refugee cases without US ties resettled between 2005 and 2010, with the same quasi-random placement design. They show that the occupational composition of co-ethnic networks matters. A one standard deviation increase in the number of co-ethnic business owners in the local network raises the probability that a refugee is employed 90 days after arrival by about 3.5 percentage points (over 11 percent of the 31 percent base rate). A one standard deviation increase in the number of co-ethnic employees lowers it by about 4.4 percentage points (over 14 percent). The pattern is consistent with co-ethnic entrepreneurs hiring newly arrived refugees and co-ethnic employees competing with them for similar jobs.

For welfare receipt in Sweden, Åslund and Fredriksson (2009) distinguish enclave size from welfare use among co-ethnics. Enclave size is either unrelated or slightly negatively related to individual welfare receipt. A 10 percent relative increase in welfare use among the initially assigned ethnic peers raises the individual's probability of welfare receipt by approximately 0.2 percentage points nine to ten years later. Their instrumental-variable estimate for average exposure to co-ethnic welfare use over the nine to ten years since arrival is larger, about 0.9 percentage points per 10 percent increase, under the additional assumption that initial placement matters only through this exposure.

Studies of adults generally find positive labor market returns to co-ethnic networks, but the effects on refugee children may be more mixed. Damm et al. (2025) use the post-1999 Danish dispersal policy at the neighborhood level and find that a one percentage point higher share of co-language neighbors reduces children's grade point average rank at the 9th-grade exit exam by 0.7–0.9 percentage points, consistent with weaker incentives to acquire host-country language proficiency. A higher employment rate among co-ethnic neighbors, a measure of network quality, reduces the probability of grade repetition. This suggests that established co-ethnic networks help children progress through compulsory school by sharing knowledge about host-country institutions. Long-term educational attainment is largely unaffected, but a higher municipal share of co-language neighbors also raises male conviction rates at ages 15–21, which the authors suggest may operate through the adverse effects on school achievement.

3.3 Language environment and training infrastructure

Using the sharp language border between German- and French-speaking regions of Switzerland, exogenous placement across cantons, and English-speaking African refugees to net out regional differences, Schmid (2023) finds that host-language proficiency more than doubles French-speaking African refugees' employment in the first five years after arrival (+10.5 percentage points, or 167 percent relative to the estimated counterfactual). A closely related study, also based on quasi-random placement across Swiss language regions, finds that assignment to a region whose lingua franca matches refugees' pre-existing language skills increases employment. Its observational comparisons of language-course participation suggest that courses can partly offset the employment penalty from language mismatch (Auer, 2017).

Language at placement also matters for infant health. Using conditionally random placement across Swiss cantons, Auer and Kunz (2025) compare birth outcomes across

language regions for asylum-seeking mothers from different countries of origin. Among first births in Switzerland, placement in a canton whose dominant language is spoken in the mother's country of origin increases birth weight by 72 grams (2.2 percent). The study finds no detectable change in gestation.

In Germany, a larger local supply of integration courses, which include language instruction, also raises refugees' employment, and course completion is associated with employment (Kanas and Kosyakova, 2023, Section 7.3). Rural residence does not appear to slow language learning. Rural areas offer fewer federal language courses, but greater exposure to native speakers may compensate: adjusted survey comparisons show no detectable gap in self-assessed German skills between rural and urban residents in the first years after arrival (Khalil et al., 2022).

3.4 Education and long-term opportunity

Evidence from the Netherlands suggests that assignment to municipalities with better access to educational institutions increases refugees' enrollment in host-country education (Baalbergen et al., 2025). In Germany, Meyer and Winkler (2023) find that higher district economic productivity and lower unemployment predict faster transitions into vocational education and training. Swedish evidence from dispersal policies shows that neighborhood characteristics affect refugee children's school performance. A one standard deviation higher share of highly educated adults sharing a child's ethnicity improves compulsory school performance by about 0.8–0.9 percentile ranks (roughly a tenth of the refugee–native gap). The effect appears only for children who arrived before age seven, consistent with neighborhood peer effects (Åslund et al., 2011).

Danish evidence traces the effects of placement into adulthood. Daysal et al. (2026) exploit quasi-random assignment across municipalities to study refugee children arriving between 1986 and 1998. They measure local opportunity using the adult income ranks attained by earlier cohorts of residents from lower-income families. Assignment to a municipality two standard deviations higher on this measure raises refugee children's income rank by about 3 percentile points at ages 26–30 and employment by 4 percentage points at age 26. It also reduces the number of criminal convictions through age 30 by about 14 percent, while educational gains are modest.

3.5 Neighborhood crime exposure

Initial placement also exposes refugee children to different levels of neighborhood crime, with lasting consequences. Damm and Dustmann (2014) use the Danish refugee dispersal policy to examine how early exposure to neighborhood crime affects later criminal behavior. They find that the share of young people in the assigned neighborhood convicted of crimes, particularly violent crimes, significantly increases later convictions of male refugees. The overall crime rate in the neighborhood has no effect, which suggests that social interaction with criminally active peers is the main mechanism.

Dustmann et al. (2023) focus on gang crime and find that it, rather than crime more generally, drives the spillovers. Assignment to municipalities with higher gang crime rates increases boys' probability of criminal conviction before age 19 and, uniquely, girls' likelihood of teenage motherhood. The associated differences persist into adulthood. Men assigned to areas with a one-standard-deviation-higher gang crime rate accumulate 0.13 more years of inactivity (neither employed nor in education) by age 23, about 13 percent of the mean, and

their inactivity remains elevated at age 28. By age 28, women claim about 6.5 percent more cumulative welfare benefits.

3.6 Health impacts of allocation

In Denmark, refugees resettled in more disadvantaged neighborhoods face higher risks of psychiatric disorders. Adults assigned to high- rather than low-disadvantage neighborhoods have a 14 percent higher hazard of a psychiatric diagnosis (hazard ratio [HR] 1.14) (Foverskov et al., 2023). Among children and adolescents, a one standard deviation higher disadvantage raises the hazard of a psychiatric disorder by 11 percent (HR 1.11) (Foverskov et al., 2022). Refugees assigned to neighborhoods in the lowest rather than the highest quartile of co-national density face a higher subsequent incidence of non-affective psychosis (incidence rate ratio [IRR] 1.25) and post-traumatic stress disorder (IRR 1.21), plausibly reflecting weaker local social support networks (Schofield et al., 2024).

Using the same dispersal policy, Hasager and Jørgensen (2026) document long-run effects on physical health. Refugees allocated to low-income neighborhoods face a 12 percent higher risk of developing lifestyle-related diseases (circulatory, metabolic, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, alcohol-related) 8–15 years after immigration. The patterns suggest neighbor interactions and the immediate environment as mechanisms. Yet in the same setting they find no significant average effect of low-income neighborhood assignment on hospital-diagnosed mental disorders within 15 years of arrival. German evidence finds a larger decline in physical-health scores on the 12-item Short Form Health Survey (SF-12) over one to two years among refugees in communes of the second-most-deprived quintile (Q4, "moderate-high") than in the least-deprived quintile (-2.2 points; 95% confidence interval [CI]: -4.1 to -0.2). In the main models the most-deprived quintile shows a smaller, statistically insignificant difference, and the mental-health contrast is imprecise ($+1.6$; 95% CI: -0.7 to 3.9) (Biddle and Bozorgmehr, 2024).

Foverskov et al. (2024) find that, in Denmark, a one standard deviation increase in neighborhood disadvantage at resettlement is associated with higher rates of low birth weight ($+0.61$ percentage points) and preterm birth ($+0.64$ percentage points) among children born within five years of resettlement. With municipality fixed effects, the estimates shrink (preterm birth to 0.09 percentage points) and are no longer statistically significant.

Kim et al. (2023) find no association between neighborhood disadvantage and dementia risk among refugees, other immigrants, or matched native-born Danes. Among quasi-randomly assigned refugees, disadvantage is associated with slightly lower mortality (HR 0.96 per index unit). This inverse association persists among those aged 60 and over and those arriving with families (and, for women, only in the moderate- versus low-disadvantage contrast). Among non-refugee immigrants and matched native-born Danes, whose residence was self-selected, disadvantage is associated with higher mortality (HR 1.06 and 1.11), estimates the authors treat as correlational and likely partly confounded.

3.7 Social integration and native attitudes

Local political context also affects social integration. In Germany, refugees placed in municipalities with higher electoral support for the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) have worse social integration outcomes, including fewer positive interactions with natives and more exposure to harassment and right-wing violence (Schilling and Stillman, 2024). Related work measures native sentiment toward immigrants with geo-coded Twitter data. A one

standard deviation increase in negative sentiment reduces refugees' employment probability by about five percentage points, an effect similar in size to that of local unemployment rates, and also harms social integration (Aksoy et al., 2023).

Jaschke et al. (2026) find that local hostility pushes different dimensions of integration in opposite directions. They measure hostility with a composite threat index built from indicators recorded before the 2013 refugee inflow and driven mainly by far-right (NPD) vote share, far-right marches, and survey-measured anti-immigrant attitudes. Refugees assigned to more hostile regions converge to German cultural preferences more rapidly, consistent with greater assimilation effort in response to perceived threat. Yet the same refugees experience slower earnings growth, which the authors attribute to discrimination in hostile areas offsetting their increased effort and impeding economic integration.

Initial placement also affects political integration. In Norway, refugees quasi-randomly settled in neighborhoods with more politically engaged neighbors and peer cohorts vote more in the long run. The turnout gap between refugees placed in 20th- and 80th-percentile neighborhoods is 12.6 percentage points, about 47 percent of the refugee–resident participation gap (Bratsberg et al., 2021).

Quasi-random dispersal policies address refugees' selection into locations, but they do not by themselves identify the effect of any particular local characteristic. Labor demand, ethnic networks, housing, and public services tend to vary together across locations, so an effect attributed to one characteristic may partly reflect others. No study reviewed here separates housing quality from other characteristics of the assigned location (see Section 4). Schmandt et al. (2025) formalize the problem and show that correlated local characteristics, together with later relocation, can substantially bias estimates even when initial placement is random. Some studies deal with it by combining quasi-random placement across locations with exogenous variation in specific characteristics within them (e.g., Martén et al., 2019; Schmid, 2023).

3.8 Refugee Matching

A growing literature proposes and evaluates explicit matching schemes that use a centralized procedure to assign refugees to receiving locations, subject to location-specific capacity or quota constraints. The approaches differ in what the assignment is designed to achieve. Outcome-based matching recommends placements using predicted integration outcomes such as employment. Preference-based matching elicits preferences and priorities from refugees and locations and uses a centralized mechanism to generate a feasible assignment that takes them into account. A third, hybrid approach combines the two, incorporating preferences while imposing outcome constraints. Table A2 summarizes the studies.

3.8.1 Outcome-based matching

Bansak et al. (2018) introduced outcome-based matching. The procedure has three stages: *predict*, *aggregate*, and *match*. Models trained on historical data first predict each refugee's outcome at each potential destination, allowing the returns to individual characteristics to vary across locations. These predictions are then aggregated into a case-level measure for each destination, since family members are placed together. Finally, an optimization routine recommends an assignment that maximizes the chosen outcome across cases while respecting quotas and other placement constraints.

Bansak et al. (2018) compare predicted employment under optimized assignments with predicted employment under observed placements. In held-out samples of freely assignable refugees, optimized placement raises predicted employment from 34 to 48 percent in the United States (employment within 90 days) and from 15 to 26 percent in Switzerland (employment by the end of the third calendar year). Ahani et al. (2021) find similar predicted employment gains in backtests for a US resettlement agency. A reanalysis of US data estimates positive employment gains across off-policy estimators, including augmented inverse probability weighting (Bansak et al., 2026c).

Later work extends the approach. It adds service and capacity constraints (Ahani et al., 2021; Bansak et al., 2026b), assigns cases as they arrive without knowledge of future arrivals while retaining 95–99 percent of the employment achievable with hindsight (Bansak and Paulson, 2024; Ahani et al., 2024), makes predictions more robust when conditions shift (Bansak et al., 2024), and adds group-fairness constraints (Freund et al., 2023).

Outcome-based matching has several practical advantages. It works within existing dispersal and resettlement systems and can leave aggregate quotas unchanged by recommending placements within a fixed distribution of slots (Bansak et al., 2018). Placement officers retain final authority and can depart from a recommendation when they have case-specific information, such as family ties or medical needs. Since the placement decision is made in any case and the required data are typically already collected, the additional operating cost is small (see the cost comparison for the Swiss trial below). The objective need not be employment, and the capacity, timing, and distributional constraints described above can serve other policy goals. One limitation is that the approach requires historical data linking refugees' characteristics at arrival to their assigned locations and later outcomes, with enough cases per location to estimate how outcomes differ across places. Predictions trained on past data may also not hold when conditions change (Section 3.8.5). Hybrid mechanisms can also take refugees' preferences into account.

3.8.2 Preference-based matching

Preference-based schemes adapt market-design mechanisms, such as those used in centralized school choice and other allocation settings, to refugee placement. Jones and Teytelboym (2018) propose a local "clearinghouse" that matches refugees to localities subject to capacities and priorities and that favors feasibility, strategy-proofness, and efficiency over stability. Delacrétaz et al. (2023) develop mechanisms for multidimensional (knapsack) capacity constraints and show, in theory and in simulations with resettlement data, that preference-based mechanisms can improve match efficiency, respect community priorities, and give refugees incentives to report their preferences truthfully.

Preference-based schemes can be one-sided, considering only refugee preferences, or two-sided, with both refugees and locations expressing preferences. Proposals typically apply variants of deferred acceptance or top trading cycles to the ranked preferences and priorities to produce a stable, priority-respecting, or efficient assignment subject to capacity constraints (Jones and Teytelboym, 2018; Delacrétaz et al., 2023).

Related proposals address international resettlement. Jones and Teytelboym (2017) propose a centralized two-sided matching system between refugees and states for global resettlement and EU responsibility sharing. Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Rapoport (2014) show theoretically that tradable immigration quotas, combined with a matching mechanism that accounts for migrants' preferences over destinations and countries' preferences over migrant types, can reveal countries' comparative advantages in hosting and exploit them

efficiently, with an application to EU asylum policy and a Malta illustration in Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Rapoport (2015).

Preference-based matching gives refugees and receiving communities a say in placement. Refugees may have career goals or preferences about schooling and urban or rural settings that placement agencies do not fully observe. Taking these preferences into account could improve outcomes and reduce onward moves, although these potential benefits have not yet been evaluated.

A practical limitation is that refugees may have very limited information about the locations in their choice set. Meaningful preference elicitation would therefore require accessible information about feasible locations or an approach that asks which destination characteristics matter most to them (Jones and Teytelboym, 2018).

Most countries also do not use refugee preferences or community priorities in formal assignment decisions, so fully preference-based mechanisms could not be adopted without changes to existing procedures (Jones and Teytelboym, 2018). If many refugees prefer the same destinations, capacity limits can make those preferences difficult to accommodate. Two-sided designs raise a further concern. If locations can rank refugees, some may do so by nationality, religion, or other protected characteristics, so the grounds on which locations may set priorities would need to be restricted.

3.8.3 Hybrid mechanisms

One hybrid approach is a constrained priority mechanism that first specifies an outcome threshold and then applies a priority- and preference-respecting rule within the feasible set (Acharya et al., 2022). The mechanism is strategy-proof and constrained efficient. In an illustration with US agency data (561 free-case families arriving in the third quarter of 2016, with location preferences inferred from secondary migration), moving from a predominantly preference-based to a purely outcome-driven assignment raises predicted employment from 41 to 52 percent (compared with 34% under actual placements), and the share of families assigned to one of their top three choices falls from 25 to 15 percent.

3.8.4 Implementations

Preference-based matching has so far been used only on a small scale. In the Re:Match pilot, an algorithm that combined refugees' stated preferences and needs with municipal capacities placed 78 Ukrainian protection seekers from Poland in six German municipalities in 2023 (Rau et al., 2024). Outcome-based matching tools have been piloted in a variety of contexts. They have typically served as decision support rather than automated assignment, reflecting legal constraints, data access issues, and the need for human casework. Switzerland's State Secretariat for Migration used GeoMatch in its placement process for more than three years (Bansak et al., 2026a). In the United States, outcome-based matching was piloted for several years, until the refugee resettlement program contracted. Canada has piloted GeoMatch as a voluntary tool to help economic migrants decide where to settle (Ferwerda et al., 2020; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2026).

3.8.5 The Swiss GeoMatch trial

Before the Swiss trial, estimates of employment gains from outcome-based matching came from backtests and simulations, which cannot capture the difficulties of implementation, whether officers follow recommendations, or changes in labor markets between model training

and use. The trial evaluated an early version of GeoMatch deployed by Switzerland's State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) from January 2020 to June 2023. Eligible cases held refugee status or subsidiary protection through the fast-track procedure, included at least one adult, and could legally be assigned to any canton. Cases were randomly assigned to an employment-optimized canton recommendation or to a recommendation drawn under the same quota rules without employment predictions. Refugees and officers were blinded to the recommendation's source, and officers retained final authority. Both arms used identical but separate quotas, so the distribution of refugees across cantons was unchanged and any gain came from better matching rather than from sending more refugees to stronger labor markets (Bansak et al., 2026a).

Across 2,000 cases with 2,156 adults, GeoMatch recommendations raised the share of months employed over three years, averaged across the adults in a case, by 2.19 percentage points (95% CI: 0.05–4.33), a 9.8 percent increase over the 22.3 percent control mean. The trial began just before the COVID-19 pandemic, which created a mismatch between the pre-pandemic training data and the conditions faced by the 2020–2021 cohorts. For cases placed in 2022–2023 the estimate was 3.90 points (95% CI: 1.11–6.68), a 17.5 percent increase. Individual employment at month 36 rose by 4.64 percentage points (95% CI: 0.78–8.50), a 10.4 percent increase over the 44.8 percent control mean. That gain is similar in size to the 4.8-point gain estimated twelve months after enrollment in Germany's integration courses of up to 600 hours (Marbach et al., 2025).

Several features made this a conservative test. Predictions used a small set of register variables selected by SEM (gender, age at arrival, marital status, case size, arrival timing, nationality, and native language) and lacked education, work experience, and host-language proficiency. Canton-by-origin quotas restricted feasible matches, and the separate experimental quotas limited optimization to about half the caseload and slots.

The study values an additional employment-month at CHF 1,950 (EUR 2,100) in reduced public support and added contributions and taxes, assumes CHF 50 (EUR 53) in marginal operating cost per treated adult, and applies these to the individual-level estimate of 0.70 additional employment-months (1.95 percentage points, 95% CI: −0.10 to 4.01). The result is roughly CHF 1,300 (EUR 1,400) in net fiscal benefits per adult and a gross benefit-to-cost ratio of about 27:1, after excluding one-time development and integration costs. Section 12.2 compares this evidence with evaluated service programs.

3.9 Summary

Initial placement can shape access to jobs, networks, and services for years. The Swiss trial shows that outcome-based matching can improve employment within existing allocation quotas.

4 Housing and Community-Based Reception

Where refugees live on arrival can affect their access to jobs and services, contact with local residents, and well-being. This section examines collective reception centers, dispersed private housing, and community-based arrangements such as private hosting and sponsorship (Table A3).

4.1 Reception centers and collective accommodation

Many European countries house asylum seekers in reception centers during the asylum process. One concern is that long stays may hinder integration by limiting contact with native populations, restricting access to employment, and exposing residents to overcrowding and stress.

Dutch evidence associates longer reception-center stays with lower subsequent employment. In a 2003 survey of 3,269 refugee heads of household, those who had spent more than two years in a reception center had lower employment than refugees who had never lived in a center and, among the employed, lower occupational status. But adjusting for post-migration human capital accounts for much of the employment association (de Vroome and van Tubergen, 2010). A separate structural-equation analysis of a 2009 survey finds no direct adverse association between length of stay and employment or benefit receipt (and a small positive association for 3–5-year stays), and only a modest indirect association via worse mental health for stays exceeding five years (Bakker et al., 2014).

In Germany, Khalil and Tjaden (2025) use inverse probability weighting to compare refugees with shorter and longer reception-center stays, adjusting for individual characteristics, legal status, and local conditions. Alternative matching estimates are similar.

Observed at least two years after arrival, refugees who left reception centers within 12 months are 4.0 percentage points more likely than those who stayed at least 19 months to have frequent contact with Germans and 5.7 points more likely to rate their German as good or very good. Both effects shrink at longer horizons, and the contact effect loses significance, while the language effect remains significant four or more years after arrival. There is no detectable effect on labor-market participation.

The German estimates depend on the observed characteristics accounting for differences in who leaves reception centers sooner. Unmeasured differences in health or resources could affect both departure timing and later integration.

4.2 Private and dispersed housing

Under Sweden's "eget boende" policy, asylum seekers may live with family or friends rather than in assigned accommodation. Bevelander et al. (2019) find that men who had arranged their own accommodation as asylum seekers were more likely to be employed in 2012 than men placed in agency housing (odds ratios of 1.50 versus 1.31 relative to resettled refugees), whereas for women the two groups do not differ.

The analysis adjusts for individual and location characteristics and checks robustness using a joint model of location and employment. However, unobserved differences in networks, information, or resources may influence both housing choice and later employment, limiting causal interpretation.

4.3 Private hosting during displacement crises

Private hosting involves local residents voluntarily accommodating refugees in their homes, typically temporarily and without charging rent. Hosts and refugees often have no prior connection and are brought together by municipalities, nonprofit organizations, or online matching platforms. Alongside accommodation, hosts may provide practical help, information about local institutions, and social contact. Such arrangements expanded rapidly during the displacement from Ukraine. Because it uses existing homes and volunteer support, hosting

is likely to cost the public less than public accommodation, particularly when reception capacity is strained (Foged et al., 2025; Herpell et al., 2025).

In Denmark, Ukrainian refugees were placed in conventional public housing, pop-up shelters, or private hosting by citizen volunteers. Foged et al. (2025) exploit capacity-driven variation in initial accommodation within municipalities. Rapid placement deadlines and limited information available to placement officials support comparisons conditional on household characteristics, municipality, and arrival timing. Balance checks on additional pre-arrival characteristics further support the identification strategy. Their core sample contains 10,349 family trailblazers, of whom about 43 percent were privately hosted, with initial stays averaging about seven months. Private hosting raises employment by about 10 percentage points in the first quarter relative to conventional public housing, and the employment difference closes after about one year.

Among the employed, the estimated effect on log earnings falls from 0.166 in the first quarter to 0.062 at 18 months, and the 95 percent confidence interval for the latter includes zero. Transfer receipt remains about 12 percentage points lower at 18 months. Survey measures show lower depression and post-traumatic stress symptom severity, less loneliness and greater perceived economic stability, but also slightly lower self-reported Danish proficiency, and language-course enrollment is about 10 percentage points lower during the first nine months. Pop-up public housing generally performs comparably to conventional public housing.

In Germany, Herpell et al. (2025) exploit the matching process of "Unterkunft Ukraine," comparing applicants who received a host match with otherwise similar applicants who did not. The analysis adjusts for registration characteristics used in matching, and balance on additional pre-arrival characteristics unavailable to the platform supports the causal interpretation. They estimate that receiving a match increases overall integration by about 0.20 standard deviations (intention to treat), with gains in social, psychological, and navigational integration and no detectable economic, linguistic, or political gains.

These integration gains are also present when private hosting is compared separately with public refugee housing and with private rentals without a host. Hosts often helped with administrative procedures, language learning, and finding work or housing. More frequent contact with hosts is associated with larger integration gains, suggesting that these relationships contribute to the benefits of hosting.

4.4 Private sponsorship programs

Private sponsorship organizes financial and practical support for refugees through community groups, faith organizations, or groups of individuals. Sponsors make a formal commitment to help refugees settle, with responsibilities that can include arranging housing, covering living costs, assisting with employment and language learning, and connecting families to schools and public services. Refugees need not live with their sponsors.

In Canada, private sponsors generally provide support during the first year or until refugees become self-sufficient and can nominate particular refugees (Kaida et al., 2020). In the US co-sponsorship program evaluated by Dillon et al. (2026), volunteer groups share responsibilities with professional resettlement agencies. Agencies assign refugee families to groups, which typically commit support for six to twelve months, while caseworkers retain oversight.

Canada's Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR) program has operated since 1978. The studies compare privately sponsored refugees with Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs),

who receive support through federally funded agencies. Kaida et al. (2020) find that PSRs have substantially higher initial employment rates than GARs, with unadjusted first-year differences of 19 percentage points for men and 25 for women. Differences narrow but remain detectable at year 15, when adjusted log-earnings gaps (conditional on employment) are approximately 0.05 for men and 0.04 for women. Using the same database but a narrower sample (13 source countries, ages 20–49) and earnings in levels, Picot et al. (2019) find that the adjusted PSR earnings advantage of about $2,800 for men and $2,400 for women in the first year falls to $300–400 by year 10, and they conclude that program of entry has little effect on earnings after a decade. Both studies find that the initial earnings advantage narrows substantially, using different samples and earnings measures.

Sponsors frequently name family members or community connections, so PSRs arrive with networks already in place. The PSR "effect" therefore reflects an unknown mix of sponsor support, pre-existing ties, and selection, and credibly causal estimates are still lacking.

In the United States, Dillon et al. (2026) study Global Refuge's co-sponsorship program. Their identification strategy draws on the agency's assignment process: staff allocated cases to volunteer groups before arrival using administrative information also observed by the researchers, without prior contact with the refugees. Variation in team availability provided different opportunities for otherwise comparable cases to receive support. The authors use double machine learning to estimate effects conditional on pre-arrival characteristics, arrival timing, and resettlement location.

Pooling formal cosponsor groups with lighter-touch support groups, the estimated effect on principal applicants' employment at 90 days is about 6 percentage points (95% CI: 3–9), an 18 percent increase relative to the 33 percent control mean. Spousal employment rises by about 3 points, English-class enrollment by about 5 points, and out-migration from the assigned location falls by about 2 points. The estimated increase in children's school enrollment is small and imprecise. These are average effects for cases assigned to volunteer support.

The primary specification also estimates a 9-point reduction in travel-loan repayment, but this is not reproduced with an alternative estimator or in the sample with more consistently recorded sponsorship status.

4.5 Summary

Evidence on shorter reception-center stays points more clearly to gains in language and social contact than to higher employment. Private hosting and co-sponsorship can improve early employment. In Denmark, lower language-course enrollment among hosted refugees points to the need to coordinate hosting with language instruction (Foged et al., 2025).

5 The Asylum Process and Access to Work

The asylum procedure determines how long newly arrived asylum seekers wait for a decision and whether they may work in the meantime. Residence rules can restrict where they live during the procedure and after recognition. This section reviews the consequences of these conditions, together with evidence on work permits for displaced people in middle-income countries and on the regularization of undocumented immigrants (Table A4).

5.1 Asylum processing and wait times

Hainmueller et al. (2016) exploit quasi-random variation in Swiss processing times that arose because the asylum office processed claims from the same origin in batches at irregular intervals, so that otherwise similar applicants arriving days apart faced different waits. They estimate that an additional year of waiting lowers subsequent employment by about 3.4–4.9 percentage points depending on the fixed-effects specification, or approximately 16–23 percent of the average employment rate of about 21 percent. The authors read the similarity of effects across subgroups as more consistent with psychological discouragement than with skill atrophy, although subgroup comparisons do not directly identify the mechanism. Their supplementary cost-benefit analysis suggests that shortening waits by 10 percent (66 days) would save about US$5.6 million (approx. EUR 5.9 million) in a single year in the studied setting.

Other studies separate delayed entry from lasting losses after settlement. In Denmark, Hvidtfeldt et al. (2018) find about 3.2 percentage points lower employment per additional year of waiting when refugees are compared at the same time since application, which they attribute to delayed labor-market entry. Compared at the same time since the residence permit, they find no significant additional effect.

In Sweden, Åslund et al. (2024) find 2.6 percent lower accumulated earnings over the first four years after application per additional *month* of waiting. Their evidence points to postponed entry into language training and labor-market programs rather than a persistent loss of human capital. French evidence links a higher share of time spent in limbo to lower employment, although the instrumental-variable (IV) employment estimate is significant only at the 10 percent level and the average French-fluency estimate is not statistically significant (Ukrayinchuk and Havrylchyk, 2020).

5.2 Employment bans and early labor market access

Restricting asylum seekers' access to the labor market can have lasting integration costs. In Germany, a court ruling in March 2000 led the government to shorten the employment ban for asylum seekers from an indefinite period to twelve months. Marbach et al. (2018) compare adults from the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who arrived in 1999 with those who arrived in 2000. Because the new rule took effect only in December 2000, those who had arrived in 1999 waited 13 to 24 months before they could work, on average about seven months longer than the 2000 cohort. Five years after the ban was shortened, the 1999 cohort's employment rate was approximately 20 percentage points lower than the 2000 cohort's, and the gap took up to ten years to close. The authors' marginal fiscal calculation for the 40,500 refugees in the 1999 cohort implies approximately EUR 40 million (approx. EUR 60 million in 2025 prices) per year in additional welfare expenditure and foregone taxes.

Cross-country European evidence points the same way. Fasani et al. (2021) estimate that exposure to employment bans at arrival lowers subsequent employment by approximately 8.9 percentage points, or 15.2 percent of the sample mean employment rate of 58.5 percent. The employment penalty remained detectable five to seven years after arrival. The estimate for years eight to ten was smaller and imprecise. Abstracting from general-equilibrium effects, Fasani et al. (2021) also estimate that bans on asylum seekers who arrived in 2015–2016 cost about EUR 37.6 billion (EUR 47 billion in 2025 prices) in output over eight years, or about EUR 4,100 (EUR 5,100 in 2025 prices) per refugee barred from working per year.

Swiss evidence shows that early access depends both on whether work is allowed and on how narrowly permitted work is defined. Ahrens et al. (2023) study prioritization rules,

sector-specific limits, geographical constraints, and outright bans. All four restrictions reduce employment and earnings while they apply. In months when an employment ban applies, employment is almost 12 percentage points lower on a 17 percent base. Enforcing priority for residents lowers it by 5.6 points (about a third), and sector or geographic limits that remove a tenth of accessible jobs reduce hourly wages by 2.8 percent. Moving from an unrestricted to the most restrictive cantonal policy mix lowers refugees' average employment rate over the first five years from about 19 to 13 percent, roughly a one-third reduction (19 to 11 percent among refugees whose restrictions actually differ across cantons). Earnings penalties persist for up to three years after prioritization rules and up to five years after employment bans stop applying to the individual.

Swiss evidence also links work access to the effect of childhood conflict exposure on violent crime. Couttenier et al. (2019) find that the conflict-associated crime premium is smaller in cantons with open job access (all sectors after the federal three-month ban) than in cantons that extend the ban, restrict sectors, or discourage employment. The estimated reduction is about two-thirds, but the authors stress that cantons did not adopt these policies at random and that the comparisons remain vulnerable to confounding.

5.3 Work permits and regularization: evidence from other populations

A related literature examines the broader economic effects of work permits, though much of this evidence comes from middle-income countries or broader immigrant populations. Gulek (2025) uses travel-distance instruments and a labor-demand model to study substitution between formal and informal employment. For Syrian refugees in Türkiye, his model predicts that granting work permits would have created up to 120,000 additional formal jobs (a counterfactual assuming refugees would be as formal as natives), although native formal employment would fall as refugees compete for formal jobs.

Bahar et al. (2025) separate the arrival shock from later work-permit waves for Venezuelans in Colombia. The permits raised natives' informal salaried employment but reduced their formal salaried employment. Even so, the authors' model implies a net gain of about 24,440 formal jobs and roughly US$43 million in annual tax revenue, and they report suggestive evidence of reduced skill mismatch.

Amnesties in high-income countries grant legal status to undocumented immigrants and can also affect tax revenues and native workers. In Spain, Elias et al. (2025) find that regularization raised payroll-tax revenue by approximately EUR 4,000 (approx. EUR 5,900 in 2025 prices) per regularized immigrant per year, plus about EUR 440 (approx. EUR 650 in 2025 prices) in income tax. The authors detect no reduction in overall or low-skilled native formal employment, a small decline among high-skilled native women, and lower informal employment among low-skilled natives and immigrants.

In France, Borjas and Edo (2026) examine the 1981 regularization using synthetic-control and difference-in-differences comparisons across regions. They estimate that regularization increased employment among low-skilled French men in the Paris region by about 4 percentage points and wages by 3–5 percent. Their findings suggest that reducing employers' market power over undocumented workers can also benefit other workers.

In Italy, the prospect of regularization raised employment before any permit was granted. Devillanova et al. (2018) study the 2002 amnesty, which required both arrival before 11 June 2002 and a job at the time of application. They compare April–May arrivals with July–August arrivals in 2002 and use the same contrast in non-amnesty years to account for

seasonal differences. Among 581 undocumented immigrants interviewed at a clinic in Milan, the chance to apply for legal status raised employment by 26 percentage points (standard error 10).

U.S. evidence from the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) points to wage gains following regularization. Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark (2002) estimate gains of about 6 percent for legalized men. Using the reform's arrival-date eligibility rule, Pan (2012) finds roughly 4.5 percent higher male wages, as well as higher female employment and male English proficiency, among eligible immigrant cohorts in 1990; these advantages diminish by 2000. Employment findings are not uniformly positive: Amuedo-Dorantes and Bansak (2011) find lower employment relative to their comparison group alongside higher wage growth among workers employed in both survey periods.

Kaushal (2006) finds no detectable employment effect among men likely eligible for the 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act. Point estimates are about 3 percent higher hourly wages and 4 percent higher weekly earnings, with the latter significant at the 10 percent level.

5.4 Geographic mobility restrictions

Restrictions on where refugees may live can slow integration by limiting moves to stronger labor markets or better training opportunities. In Germany, the *Wohnsitzauflage* generally requires recognized refugees to remain in their assigned federal state for three years after recognition. Some states impose additional restrictions at the district or municipality level. Brücker et al. (2020) find employment about 6 percentage points lower among recognized refugees who report such a regional residence obligation than among those who do not. There are no offsetting gains in integration-course participation or language proficiency.

Hilbig and Riaz (2022) use a date-cutoff design with exact matching and find adverse effects on psychological integration. These include a 0.5 standard deviation (SD) reduction in feeling welcome and lower social engagement in 2017, although no social-engagement effect is detectable in 2018. The design finds no effect on actual relocation and no employment penalty. Employment was in fact about 15 percentage points higher among restricted refugees in 2018, possibly because having a job exempts refugees from the restriction. The two German studies therefore disagree on employment.

Effects of initial dispersal on employment can persist even where later mobility is formally permitted. In cross-country European data, refugees who arrived under a dispersal policy have a refugee–migrant employment gap 4.5 percentage points larger (significant only at the 10 percent level) and labor-force participation 5.3 points lower than refugees not exposed to such a policy (Fasani et al., 2022). The effects are concentrated in the first ten years of residence, consistent with misallocation at arrival and frictions that impede later moves. Resettled refugees in the United States, by contrast, face no legal barriers to relocation. Mossaad et al. (2020) find that 17 percent had moved to a different state by the time they applied for permanent residency, mainly because of co-ethnic networks and labor-market considerations.

Descriptive Swedish evidence shows that dispersal initially placed refugees in neighborhoods with more natives (almost 80 versus about 63 percent), fewer non-Western immigrants, and more high-income residents than later self-settled cohorts. The native and non-Western shares converged over time as refugees, especially those who moved long distances, re-sorted toward immigrant-dense neighborhoods (Dahlberg and Valeyatheepillay, 2018).

5.5 Summary

Longer asylum procedures delay entry into work, and employment bans can depress employment for years after they end. Sector limits and priority for residents can still restrict the jobs asylum seekers can take. The employment effects of residence obligations are less consistent.

6 Welfare Benefits and Restrictions

Cash-benefit levels and eligibility rules can involve trade-offs between income protection, work incentives, and public expenditure. The studies assess employment and earnings alongside household resources, health, crime, and children's outcomes (Table A5).

6.1 Denmark's 2002 Start Help reform

Denmark's 2002 *Start Help* reform cut transfers to newly recognized refugees by about 40 percent. Dustmann et al. (2024a) find that first-year labor earnings rose by about US$1,100 (EUR 1,500) and employment nearly doubled, from 10.3 to 19.5 percent. The employment gain fell to 7 points in year two and 4 points in years three–five, approaching zero by about year five. Earlier studies also found employment gains (Huynh et al., 2007; Rosholm and Vejlin, 2010). But Rosholm and Vejlin's competing-risks estimates show small absolute job-finding effects in the first two years and larger effects thereafter, increased early labor-force exits, and weaker job-finding responses among the least employable. After repeal in 2012, male employment fell by about 8–10 points, compared with gains of 13–16 points at introduction, in an event-study comparison that lacks a clean control group.

Household rules and local labor demand shaped these responses. The means test removed women's transfer eligibility when husbands started work, raising first-year female labor-force exits by about 9 points. Among couples with residency dates straddling the reform, a transitional rule routing payments through one spouse, usually the man, roughly doubled that response to 17 points. The authors suggest that gender norms may also have contributed. Using quasi-random municipal placement, the authors find that employment gains disappeared after one year in low-demand areas but lasted up to five years in high-demand areas, with more durable, higher-quality jobs.

Poverty and subsistence crime, especially among women, rose over the first five years, most sharply in year one. The share with monthly disposable income below US$750 (EUR 1,000) rose from about 9 to 56 percent in that year. Using the same reform date, the Danish policy comparison finds employment up about 5 points and annual earnings up US$1,900 (EUR 2,100) in years one–five (Foged et al., 2024a). In years six–15 the gains are not significant, and the long-run point estimates are negative.

A companion study by Dustmann et al. (2024b) follows the children in affected families. The 30 percent average reduction in disposable income over the first five years reduced preschool attendance by 24 percent and lowered ninth-grade grade point averages by 0.18 of a standard deviation, widening the pre-existing achievement gap between refugee and native Danish children by 40 percent. School-age well-being and self-esteem also declined. Total completed schooling fell by approximately 0.57 years, and children followed into adulthood had lower employment and earnings. Among teenagers exposed to the reform, the probability of any conviction rose from 16.0 to 28.1 percent (+12.1 percentage points, about 76 percent),

and the number of convictions more than doubled, with both property and violent crime contributing.

Combining parent and child effects, the authors estimate a positive short-run return of approximately US$2,500 per family but a net social loss of approximately US$12,000 over 16 years. The calculation, for an illustrative family of two adults and two children, uses a 2 percent discount rate and adds monetized crime costs to earnings effects.

6.2 Denmark's 2015 benefit reduction

A separate Danish reform in 2015 reduced welfare benefits for newly arrived refugees by up to 43 percent. Arendt (2024) exploits its staggered implementation in a regression discontinuity design. Refugees granted asylum from September 2015 experienced the cut immediately, while those arriving shortly before faced the same reduction about ten months later. Refugee composition shifts at the cutoff, notably toward a higher Syrian share among women. The author notes that this could partly bias the estimates, although placebo and covariate checks are otherwise reassuring.

The results replicate the gendered pattern of the 2002 reform. Ten months after the early benefit reduction, the male employment rate was roughly 50 percent higher, while female refugees showed no labor market response. Women instead experienced adverse effects on other margins. Within about two years, the share of women charged with a crime rose by about 2.5 percentage points from a baseline below 1 percent (significant only at the 10 percent level). Contacts with general practice increased by 17 percent, and hospitalization risk rose by 60 percent in the first year. Disposable income fell by 20 percent for men and women alike.

Andersen (2025) studies effects of the same 2015 reform on refugee families with children, comparing children whose parent became benefit-eligible in the year before versus the year after September 2015. Household income fell by 22 percent in the first year with no detectable change in parental employment, while the probability that a parent was charged with a crime roughly doubled. Children's absence from primary school rose by 19 percent, or about 0.16 days per month, driven by absence that was neither sickness-related nor parent-approved. The regression discontinuity check gives a smaller, less precise first-year estimate. The reform had no detectable short-run effect on children's own charges or convictions.

6.3 Benefit levels in other settings

LoPalo (2019) examines changes in state cash-assistance levels across arrival cohorts using US Census and American Community Survey data. Because these surveys do not record refugee admission status, the study identifies likely refugees from their country of birth and year of arrival. This approach may include non-refugee immigrants, which warrants caution in interpreting the estimates as effects specifically for refugees.

The study finds higher job quality and no detectable reduction in employment in this sample. An additional US$100 (EUR 120) in monthly maximum Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) benefits in the state of resettlement is associated with 5–8 percent higher annual earnings among employed likely refugees. The author tentatively attributes this to extra liquidity that lets recipients, especially the highly educated, find better job matches or transfer their skills. The mechanism is not pinned down, however (there is no effect on English proficiency), and the author describes the results as suggestive.

Gallegos Torres et al. (2026) combine Austrian initial placement with state benefit reforms and reversals. Conditional on placement and protection cohorts, higher initial labor demand predicts faster employment. A 0.2 increase in vacancies per unemployed person raises employment by 4.2 percentage points at 12 months, and this effect holds under all clustering choices. An additional EUR 300 (EUR 420 in 2025 prices) in potential monthly benefits lowers employment by about 1.5 percentage points at that horizon, but the estimate is imprecise. Its confidence interval includes zero under the authors' conservative wild-cluster bootstrap (and under state clustering), and it shrinks to about one third and loses significance once benefit levels at arrival are controlled. Both differences fade around 30 months. Identification requires conditional placement comparability and no confounding regional shocks, and rests on a few state reforms.

Auer et al. (2024) combine Swiss cantonal placement and within-person benefit changes for 33,934 temporarily admitted people, supplemented by difference-in-differences analyses of Zurich's 2012 increase and Lucerne's 2015 cut. The pooled estimate is 0.072 percentage points fewer quarterly charges per CHF 100 in higher monthly benefits. Inference rests on the roughly half of the 26 cantons that changed benefit levels, and the pooled estimate is not significant at the 5 percent level under wild-bootstrap or jackknife inference. Zurich's 2012 increase is associated with fewer charges (-0.37 pp). Lucerne's 2015 cut yields an imprecise overall estimate ($+0.19$ pp, n.s.) but statistically significant increases in subsistence ($+0.27$ pp) and petty ($+0.29$ pp) charges. Using linked social-security records, the authors find no significant employment or earnings response to either the Zurich increase or the Lucerne cut, although disposable income moved as expected. Parallel trends and no concurrent confounding reforms are still required, and charges are not convictions.

Evidence from a middle-income host comes from Türkiye's EU-funded Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN), an unconditional cash transfer to refugees under temporary protection whose demographic eligibility rules permit regression discontinuity designs. Fatima et al. (2026) find no detectable employment response to eligibility among married Syrian adults in 2018 survey data, although with 418 households near the eligibility frontier the design can rule out only large effects (minimum detectable effects of 8.9 and 11.7 percentage points for women and men). Using different survey data, Hızıroğlu Aygün et al. (2026) estimate that ESSN eligibility raised the probability that at least one man in the household worked by 6.2 percentage points near the eligibility cutoff. The estimate fell to 4.0 percentage points ($p = 0.08$) after adjusting for household composition. The study finds no detectable effect on whether any woman in the household worked. Both designs require comparability across household-composition cells, and the two studies are related analyses of one program, alongside its child-outcome evaluation (Hızıroğlu Aygün et al., 2024).

6.4 Summary

Denmark's 2002 benefit cut increased employment temporarily, with more persistent gains where labor demand was stronger and lasting adverse effects for children. Studies elsewhere give less consistent estimates of how benefits affect employment.

7 Language Training and Human Capital Investment

Language training policies govern access to host-country language instruction, its intensity and content, and requirements or incentives for participation. Courses may be offered on their

own or bundled with vocational training and civic orientation in broader integration programs. Between 2015 and 2017 nearly all OECD countries offered publicly funded language courses for refugees. Among European countries with data, the maximum number of hours ranged from 70 in Croatia to 4,800 or more in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (Marbach et al., 2025). Programs also differed in how soon after arrival refugees could enroll, whether instruction followed a standardized curriculum, and whether a certificate was awarded. This section considers effects on proficiency, employment, and earnings, as well as children's outcomes and use of public services (Table A6).

7.1 National reforms

Foged et al. (2024b) evaluate a Danish reform that substantially expanded the intensity and quality of language instruction for newly recognized refugees. Using a regression discontinuity design around the January 1, 1999 cutoff, they find that treated refugees gain 4.2 percentage points in full-time-equivalent employment (a 23% increase over the untreated baseline, $p < 0.10$) and earn approximately US$2,500 more per year in 2000 prices (EUR 3,500) on average over the 18 years following the reform, a 34 percent increase. They also shift toward complex, communication-intensive jobs (+9.2 percentage points). Effects emerge after completion of language classes and are accompanied by additional schooling. Returns are strongest for refugees speaking languages linguistically distant from Danish.

In the Danish policy comparison (Foged et al., 2024a), expanded language training produces the largest long-run earnings gain. The comparison also estimates a gain of about 5–6 percentage points in the probability of employment in the medium and long run, a different measure from the full-time-equivalent estimate above. At a 3 percent discount rate, the 15-year present value of additional earnings is estimated at US$25,859 in 2015 prices (EUR 28,000) per refugee. The estimated cost of the added training is US$2,762 in 2000 prices (EUR 3,900) per refugee, using the price basis of the original evaluation (Foged et al., 2024b). The same comparison also covers Denmark's Industry Packages, with shorter follow-up (Section 8.2).

7.2 Program intensity

Marbach et al. (2025) evaluate the Federal Employment Agency's *Einstiegskurs zur Deutschförderung*, introduced in October 2015. The course was created as Germany received over one million asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016, against an average of about 71,000 asylum applications per year from 1995 to 2014, when the existing integration courses could not be scaled up to meet demand. It was open to asylum seekers from Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Eritrea who registered by 31 December 2015, and it started within four weeks of its announcement. About 230,000 people enrolled, roughly 38 percent of the eligible 2015 arrivals, at a cost of about EUR 400 million (EUR 510 million in 2025 prices). This ad hoc program offered approximately 320 hours of instruction without a standardized curriculum or final certification. The *Integrationskurs* of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, by contrast, provided approximately 600 hours of structured language instruction and a recognized certificate.

A regression discontinuity design exploits the arrival-date eligibility rule for the ad hoc program. The authors find no detectable employment gain from eligibility for the course. Inferiority tests rule out eligibility effects of 1.5 percentage points or more in all follow-up

months except month 21. The estimates are intention-to-treat effects of eligibility, since participation is not observed in the administrative data.

A separate difference-in-differences analysis of the established integration course, which compares enrollees with non-enrollees and relies on parallel trends rather than on an eligibility rule, estimates employment gains of approximately 4–5 percentage points twelve months after enrollment. The two analyses estimate eligibility effects for the ad hoc course and enrollment effects for the established course, and the programs differ along several dimensions.

In France, language training is tied to the integration contract, and the number of mandated hours depends on a language test at entry. Lochmann et al. (2019) find that 100 additional mandated hours raise labor force participation (being employed or registered unemployed, measured in 2013, three years after the entry test) by roughly 15–27 percentage points in the significant fuzzy regression-discontinuity specifications. By the authors' reading, the extra hours do not raise employment among participants. The effect does not differ significantly for refugees, who make up about 14 percent of the sample.

7.3 Access

Program availability affects participation and language acquisition, while employment effects vary across settings. In Denmark, better access to language training centers, measured by public-transport travel time, is linked to more hours of class attended (46–71 additional hours per hour of shorter commute) and to improved language proficiency (Foged and van der Werf, 2023). An additional 100 hours raise Danish fluency by 8–9 percent and subsequent human-capital investment by 11–13 percent, but employment gains are not detectable over follow-up of up to ten years. In Germany, Kanas and Kosyakova (2023) estimate that a one-standard-deviation increase in local integration-course supply raises employment by 2.97 percentage points in the 2016–2019 survey period. The effect does not attenuate significantly over the observed duration of stay.

Randomized evidence comes from adult immigrants in general in the United States, where a public English program in Massachusetts admits applicants by lottery. Among 4,761 first-time applicants in 2008–2016, enrolling raises annual earnings recorded in Massachusetts by about US$2,400 (approx. EUR 2,900) in years two to ten and voter registration by 9 percentage points (Heller and Slungaard Mumma, 2023). Earnings estimates are smaller and imprecise under alternative assumptions about out-of-state mobility. Program costs are about US$4,500 (EUR 5,000) per induced enrollee. Using projected tax revenue, the authors estimate a 6 percent internal rate of return to taxpayers. Refugees are not identified in the data.

7.4 Financial incentives

Åslund and Engdahl (2018) evaluate a Swedish pilot that randomly assigned municipalities the right to offer cash bonuses for passing language courses. They find no statistically detectable average effect on passing any course within the time limits (+2.0 percentage points on a 20 percent base). The estimated gain is 2.2 points for passing the most advanced course (3D). For passing any course, the estimated gains are 3.2 points in metropolitan areas and 3.1 points among migrants from the European Economic Area (EEA; $p = 0.014$). The estimate for migrants from outside the EEA is 1.6 points ($p = 0.41$). Stockholm was the only treated metropolitan municipality, and the pattern across arrival cohorts suggests that the gains may have been temporary. The scheme was rolled out nationally in July 2010.

7.5 Effects beyond the labor market

Denmark's 1999 language-training reform (Section 7.1) had spillovers on refugees' children (Foged et al., 2023). It raised their lower-secondary final-exam participation by 9.5 percentage points (completion by 6.2 pp). The exam gains were concentrated among boys (15–22 pp), with no detectable effect for girls. The reform also reduced juvenile crime among boys who were below school age when their parents were treated.

Dang (2025) exploits a September 2005 Norwegian reform that imposed a 300-hour minimum of language and civic instruction (250 hours of language and 50 hours of social knowledge) on refugees arriving on or after the cutoff date (training was already mandatory). Using a regression discontinuity design on arrival date, the study finds a 44 percent increase in cumulative primary-care use over a 12-year follow-up. It also estimates fewer preterm and short-length births, and a 4.4 percentage point reduction in low birth weight (45.8 percent of the pre-reform mean). Evidence on these birth outcomes is weaker after adjusting for all child outcomes tested. These results indicate that the training affected health-care use and children's health at birth, outcomes outside the labor market.

7.6 Integration contracts and civic orientation

Several European countries require newcomers to sign "integration contracts" committing to language training, civic orientation, and related activities. These contracts bundle multiple components and may condition residence permits or benefits on completion. Such programs have spread since the early 2000s, but rigorous causal evidence remains limited.

In France, the *Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration* was introduced in a staggered rollout across departments between 2003 and 2006. Emeriau et al. (2025) exploit this rollout in a regression discontinuity design. They find that the contract raises employment by 5.5 percentage points one year after arrival in the census sample, against a 27 percent baseline, but the gap is down to about 3–4 percentage points at year two and close to zero from year three onward. Five to ten years after arrival, the census shows no differences in employment, naturalization, or intermarriage between exposed and unexposed immigrants. Labor Force Survey estimates for naturalization and mixed partnerships in that window are positive, but the census does not corroborate them. Descriptive heterogeneity suggests that the short-run employment gain is not driven by the language component, to which only about 30 percent of signatories were assigned. A separate evaluation of the language component of the same contract finds increased labor-force participation without a detectable employment gain (Lochmann et al., 2019) (Section 7.2).

Norway's Introductory Program required two years of full-time language, vocational, and civic activities. Ferwerda and Finseraas (2025) exploit its staggered municipal rollout and instrument enrollment with the number of days between a refugee's arrival and the program's start date in the assigned municipality. The estimates are local average treatment effects of enrollment in the full two-year program relative to non-enrollment, for refugees whose participation depended on whether the program was running when they arrived. The estimated earnings gains among enrollees are durable, approximately NOK 49,500 (EUR 5,800) in year four, the first full year after expected completion, and NOK 61,000 (EUR 7,200) in year fourteen, about 26 percent of the mean earnings of non-enrollees in that year. The authors find no corresponding improvement in naturalization, electoral participation, union membership, or intermarriage. If anything, enrollees were more likely to live in ethnic enclaves in the years after completion, a difference that disappears after about ten years.

A second evaluation of the same program estimates the effects of eligibility on women's employment and earnings (Ugreninov and Turner, 2023). The authors compare women from Asia and Africa who arrived in the 18 months after 1 September 2003 with those who arrived in the 18 months before, using women who immigrated to marry Norwegian men, who were not eligible, as the comparison group. Eligibility raises employment by 8 to 9 percentage points for refugee and family-reunited women, both four to six and seven to nine years after arrival. The study detects no change in earnings among women who were employed.

7.7 Summary

Expanded, structured language instruction has produced durable employment and earnings gains. A shorter, ad hoc course in Germany yielded no detectable employment gain, and a Swedish bonus had little effect on course completion overall. Integration contracts have improved some economic outcomes, with limited evidence of broader social or political gains.

8 Active Labor Market Programs

Active labor market policies (ALMPs) for refugees include job search assistance, counseling, skills training, work practice placements, and wage subsidies, all intended to speed labor market entry and improve job quality. ALMPs have been studied extensively across a range of jobseeker populations (Card et al., 2018). A smaller literature examines their effectiveness for immigrants (Butschek and Walter, 2014), and fewer studies focus on refugees specifically (Table A7). Refugees often gain full access to mainstream programs only after recognition, and asylum seekers may be excluded or admitted only under conditions in the meantime (Åslund et al., 2024; Battisti et al., 2019).

8.1 Job search assistance and counseling

Basic job search assistance, such as interview skills training, resume preparation, and help with job applications, shows mixed results when implemented early after arrival. In a German randomized controlled trial, job search assistance through an NGO's matching services had no significant employment effect after six months but raised employment twelve months after the counseling sessions by about 12 percentage points in the full sample, an imprecise estimate (standard error [SE] 6.9; 95% CI −1.7 to 25.3) that is significant only at the 10 percent level (Battisti et al., 2019). Gains were larger among refugees whose asylum status was still unrecognized (about 20 percentage points, SE 8.3) and among the lower-educated (about 16 percentage points, SE 8.4). The sample was small (420 refugees randomized, with only 195 respondents at the twelve-month follow-up), and the services were provided by an NGO rather than by professional caseworkers in public employment agencies. Both features limit generalizability to scaled-up government programs.

In Danish register data, counseling and upgrading programs did not shorten the time newly arrived refugees and family-reunified immigrants took to find a first regular job. In the full sample they lengthened it by about 12–15 weeks, whereas private-sector wage-subsidy jobs shortened it. Among language-course participants, higher initial Danish proficiency and faster progression are associated with faster job finding (Clausen et al., 2009).

A small-scale Swedish pilot, in contrast, tested intensive coaching by professional Public Employment Service caseworkers, whose reduced caseloads allowed more individualized support. Among refugees and family-reunification immigrants, the coaching raises regular

employment by about 3 percentage points one year after registration and by about 6 percentage points at 22–30 months (6.7 points for men, with no significant effect for women) (Andersson Joona and Nekby, 2012). Because of imbalances in assignment, the authors treat the effect as tentative and of uncertain size.

Germany's October 2023 Job-Turbo program targeted about 400,000 unemployed refugees through the national job-center network. Using monthly data from 300 job centers operated by the Federal Employment Agency, Hainmueller et al. (2026b) estimate an interactive-fixed-effects difference-in-differences model with other unemployed immigrant groups as comparisons. Over 23 months, Ukrainians' monthly exit-to-job rate rises by 1.8 percentage points (95% CI: 1.7–1.9), or 113 percent of its 1.6 percent pretreatment mean. Entries followed by at least three, six, or twelve months of continuous employment also rise, especially for Ukrainians. For refugees from eight other main origin countries, the increase is 1.0 point (0.9–1.2), or 28 percent of a 3.7 percent baseline. In this group, gains concentrate among men under 45 and in low-skilled jobs, and effects for women are small and often insignificant. Ukrainian gains, by contrast, occur across demographic and regional groups. Estimates for 104 municipal job centers were smaller, at 0.77 percentage points per month for Ukrainians and 0.50 points for other refugees. Information on which municipal centers took part was incomplete.

Caseworker contact increases, and placements are mainly in regular, unsubsidized jobs. A conditional fiscal calculation projects twelve-month surpluses of EUR 882 per additional Ukrainian entrant and EUR 3,666 per other refugee entrant, assuming a full year of employment at representative earnings and excluding extra counseling-time costs.

8.2 Training, work practice, and on-the-job programs

Programs combining language training, work practice, or employer involvement produce employment gains of roughly 10–15 percentage points in several evaluations. These compare favorably with many counseling and standalone language estimates, although populations, usual services, resources, and follow-up periods differ. In Sweden, Dahlberg et al. (2024) randomized offers of a 10-month package of intensive language training, supervised work practice, and job-search assistance against standard integration services. Employment increased by about 15 percentage points in the first year after completion, and 44 of 70 offer recipients participated. A suggestive mediation analysis attributes 6.6–8.6 percent of the effect to measured language grades. First-year delivery costs for additional teaching, supervision, and counseling were about SEK 1.2 million (EUR 140,000), or SEK 27,000 (EUR 3,200) per participant. Ordinary counseling costs were conservatively counted as zero.

Following the same randomized cohort, Dahlberg et al. (2023) find employment gains for about three years after completion, with the comparison group catching up by almost four years. Persistent gains concentrate among men. Women's initially large effect fades quickly, though only 27 women were invited and 14 participated. The same decomposition attributes about 40 percent of the employment effect in the second and third post-program years to documented language skills. A telephone survey more than three years after completion ($N = 107$) detects no effect on the overall multidimensional integration index. Only self-reported political integration improves, among men. Based on participation IV estimates, the study's fiscal account puts net public savings at about SEK 20,550 (approx. EUR 2,300) per participant over April 2017–December 2021, including first-year delivery costs. This partial account reports no uncertainty interval and covers several benefits and employment subsidies only incompletely.

Italy's FORWORK pilot offered job mentoring, placement assistance, and subsidized internships to asylum seekers before refugee recognition. Abbiati et al. (2025) randomized eligibility across 53 institutions managing reception centers. Their participant-versus-nonparticipant event study estimates employment gains of 10 percentage points (30 percent over baseline) 18 months after the first mentoring meeting when program-subsidized internships count as non-employment, or 20 points (61 percent) when included. Eighteen-month effects are about 15 points for men and 5–10 for women. Randomization-based IV estimates average 7.3 points over the program's first 21 months. Internships were an important pathway to standard jobs. Survey evidence points to net employment gains rather than formalization of informal work, along with improvements in Italian proficiency and in networks with native Italians.

German evidence on in-firm training, further vocational training, and provider-run training schemes indicates positive medium-run effects on regular employment and earnings for male refugees on welfare, persisting for roughly three years (33 months) after program entry (Kasrin and Tübbicke, 2024a,b). Regular employment is about 18 percentage points higher after in-firm training and about 14 percentage points higher after further vocational training, with earnings gains of about EUR 480 (approx. EUR 590 in 2025 prices) and EUR 830 (approx. EUR 1,000 in 2025 prices) per month. Provider-run schemes yield smaller gains, and a public employment scheme (One-Euro-Jobs) reduces employment and earnings for most of the follow-up. These estimates rest on selection-on-observables assumptions rather than experimental or panel-based identification. Participant groups also differ across programs.

Danish evidence concerns a program tailored to local labor market needs. The Industry Packages, introduced in 2013, matched newly arrived refugees to occupations with local labor shortages after basic training for those jobs. It increased employment by 5–6 percentage points one year after arrival and by approximately 10 percentage points (roughly 50 percent) two years after arrival, with effects concentrated among men and refugees with some secondary education (Foged et al., 2026b).

8.3 Wage subsidies

For immigrants in Europe generally, a meta-analysis of 93 estimates from 33 studies, covering up to two years after program start, finds the most consistently positive short-run employment results for wage subsidies. Ten of 16 wage-subsidy estimates are significantly positive, whereas estimates for training, job search assistance, and public employment are mostly insignificant (Butschek and Walter, 2014). Refugee-related evidence comes from the Danish duration models cited above, in which private-sector wage-subsidy jobs shortened mean time to regular employment by 14–24 weeks over four years and special-employment programs shortened it by about nine weeks in the full sample, but not significantly among initial social-assistance recipients (Clausen et al., 2009).

Germany's Job-Turbo program increased transitions into both subsidized and unsubsidized jobs, with most gains in unsubsidized employment. Subsidies were bundled with intensified counseling and other measures (Hainmueller et al., 2026b).

8.4 Individualized integration plans

A Finnish reform provides quasi-experimental evidence on individualized plans. It introduced mandatory, individualized "integration plans" prepared with a caseworker for unemployed

recent immigrants, on top of the existing menu of programs. The estimated local average treatment effect for compliers at the reform cutoff is a 47 percent increase in cumulative earnings and a 13 percent reduction in cumulative benefits over ten years. Total training days did not change, but the plans shifted training toward immigrant-specific courses, particularly language instruction. The authors interpret this shift as a more efficient use of existing resources, achieved by better matching training to immigrants' needs (Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen, 2016). The study population includes some refugees among other immigrant categories.

Bratu et al. (2025) provide further evidence on individualized program design. They study a reform of the Swedish integration program that sought to increase refugee women's participation in and access to active labor market programs by individualizing financial benefits and facilitating early registration with the Public Employment Service. Using administrative data and a regression discontinuity design, they find that eligibility for the reformed program raised women's employment by about 10 percentage points and annual earnings by about 30 percent on average over years three to nine after the residence permit, with no significant effects for men. These intention-to-treat effects are zero in the first four years and emerge from year five. Additional analyses suggest that the key mechanisms are early registration with the public employment service and the individualization of benefits, which replaced household-level, means-tested benefits that did not rise with each adult's own participation.

8.5 Trade-offs with language acquisition

Danish studies examine whether work-first policies displace language training. A policy introduced in October 2016 increased job search and on-the-job training requirements. It raised the share of men who had worked within the first year after arrival by about 10 percentage points, but the jobs had few hours, participation in language training fell, and there was no significant employment effect for women. Because men's enrollment in education also rose by 3–5 percentage points, the net long-run human-capital effect is ambiguous (Arendt, 2022).

A separate study of municipalities' use of early on-the-job training finds that a higher local work-first propensity is associated with higher employment and earnings at 13–18 months after arrival. These gains fade from 24 months, and language-course hours, completed course level, and exam grades are lower. The authors discuss crowd-out of language courses as one possible explanation (Arendt and Bolvig, 2023). These findings show a possible trade-off between early employment and time in language instruction.

How language instruction and employment services should be sequenced remains unresolved, since few studies directly compare front-loaded language instruction, concurrent courses and employment, and work-first approaches. Germany's Job-Turbo initiative encourages refugees to enter the labor market after completing integration courses and to continue language training and upskilling while employed. The evaluation estimates the effect of the program as a whole, leaving the contribution of concurrent language training unresolved (Hainmueller et al., 2026b).

8.6 Complementary services: Childcare

Care responsibilities can impede labor market participation even when formal access is available, a barrier particularly relevant for refugee women. German evidence suggests that

access to early childhood education and care (ECEC) services can facilitate refugee mothers' integration.

Gambaro et al. (2021) study refugee families who arrived between 2013 and 2016 and instrument ECEC attendance with a pre-arrival county-level index of childcare participation and staffing, in a setting where dispersal policies limit residential selection. The ordinary least squares (OLS) association corresponds to about 35 percent of mothers' average integration index, while the IV estimate suggests an increase of 67 percent. The authors compare the IV estimate to the integration difference associated with more than six years of residence in Germany. The gains concentrate in language proficiency and perceived employment prospects; estimates for fathers are not statistically significant.

Among Ukrainian refugees, Gambaro et al. (2026) use county childcare coverage in 2021, measured separately for different child age groups, to instrument childcare attendance. Their IV estimates suggest increases of 73 percentage points in participation in language or integration courses, 14 percentage points in employment or training, and 41 percentage points in the probability of speaking some German (OLS: 26, 6, and 15 percentage points). They also report more frequent interaction with Germans, but no detectable effect on well-being.

Both studies require the assumption that regional childcare availability affects mothers' integration through childcare use rather than through other correlated local conditions. Regional controls and placebo tests support this interpretation, and the Ukrainian study also obtains similar results with county fixed effects using age-specific childcare availability.

Norwegian evidence from a broader immigrant population offers a counterpoint. Drange and Telle (2015) evaluate 20 hours of free childcare for four- and five-year-olds in selected Oslo districts. Enrollment among immigrant children increases by about 11.5 percentage points (approximately 15 percent), but parents' employment and educational attainment do not measurably change. Children in treated districts score about 0.1 standard deviations higher on first-grade tests, although this cross-district comparison is only suggestive.

8.7 Summary

Employment-support packages combining training, work practice, and employer contact can raise employment for several years, and Job-Turbo increased job entry at national scale. Results vary across programs and groups, with weaker or shorter-lived gains for women in several evaluations. An open design question is how to combine employment services with continued language learning and support for care responsibilities.

9 Mental Health and Psychosocial Interventions

Mental health and psychosocial interventions address conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety, as well as broader psychological distress and social functioning. Trauma before or during displacement and stress after arrival can affect refugees' mental health. Treatments may require cultural adaptation, and severe trauma, comorbidity, and ongoing stress can limit the response (Turrini et al., 2017; Bryant et al., 2023). This section covers trauma-focused psychotherapy, community support, guided digital and self-help programs, and coordination between mental health treatment and employment services (Table A8).

9.1 Trauma-focused psychotherapy

Clinical syntheses support short-term symptom benefits, but findings depend on the comparator. Against waitlist or other inactive controls, pooled post-treatment effects on PTSD symptoms are large: a standardized mean difference (SMD) of −1.03 across 12 controlled studies in high-income countries (Nosè et al., 2017), −1.14 in a review of 16 randomized controlled trials (RCTs) (Thompson et al., 2018), and −0.71 in a 26-RCT review that also finds benefits for depression (−1.02) and anxiety (−1.05) (Turrini et al., 2019). A broader review of treatments after complex traumatic events, which includes refugees among other trauma-exposed populations, finds −0.82 (Coventry et al., 2020).

Against active controls the advantage shrinks or disappears: −0.03 in Thompson et al. (2018), −0.35 in Coventry et al. (2020), and no advantage over psychological placebo in Turrini et al. (2019). An earlier umbrella review finds advantages in only two of ten trials with active comparators (Turrini et al., 2017). Follow-up evidence is thin. PTSD-symptom estimates at follow-up are null and imprecise in Nosè et al. (2017). In the refugee subgroup of Coventry et al. (2020), pooled effects remain significant at six months in three trials, but the large gains from trauma-focused cognitive behavioral therapy (TF-CBT) were not maintained in the two trials with such data. These reviews do not establish Narrative Exposure Therapy (NET) or TF-CBT as uniformly superior.

The newer network meta-analysis by Turrini et al. (2025) covers broader migrant populations, with 103 RCTs (19,230 participants; 96 contribute to meta-analysis). Of these trials, 68 involve refugees or asylum seekers and 76 take place in high-income countries. Across populations, NET, counseling, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing (EMDR), and creative expressive interventions reduce PTSD symptoms versus usual care (SMDs −0.69 to −0.60), although confidence is generally low and head-to-head comparisons remain inconclusive. Refugee/asylum-seeker subgroup findings favor several treatments, but PTSD comparisons within high-income countries are inconclusive because confidence intervals are wide.

Results for torture survivors also depend on follow-up. Patel et al. (2014) find no clear immediate benefit and very-low-quality evidence of reduced PTSD symptoms at six months (SMD −0.52; four trials, 86 participants). The subsequent 15-RCT review by Hamid et al. (2019) (1,373 participants) finds post-treatment benefits for PTSD (−0.31) and functioning (−0.38). It finds no PTSD benefit at follow-up and no detectable benefit for PTSD caseness, depression, or quality of life, and follow-up data on functioning are sparse.

In a systematic review of treatments for refugee children and adolescents, Genç (2022) finds that NET/KIDNET, EMDR, and trauma-focused CBT show promise for reducing PTSD symptoms, with particularly consistent findings for NET/KIDNET. Only seven of the

20 studies in that review are RCTs, and the TF-CBT evidence is largely uncontrolled. Most studies have small samples, and few examine longer-term outcomes or integration beyond symptom reduction.

Among the earliest US-based RCTs, Hinton et al. (2004) and Hinton et al. (2005) tested culturally adapted CBT with 12 Vietnamese and 40 Cambodian refugees with treatment-resistant PTSD. Both waitlist-controlled trials report large short-run effects on PTSD symptoms (Cohen's d of 2.5 and 2.17). Samples are small, and one therapist, the protocol's developer, delivered all sessions.

A recent Australian pilot directly tests the added value of preparatory emotion-regulation training. Nickerson et al. (2026a) randomly assign 71 refugees and asylum seekers with PTSD to Skills Training in Affective and Interpersonal Regulation for Refugees (STAIR-R) or supportive problem solving, each followed by narrative exposure therapy. Blinded assessments and intention-to-treat analyses show no overall between-arm advantage at three months. Both groups improve. Recruitment fell below target, limiting power. The finding for the high-insecurity subgroup is exploratory and rests on only 16 participants.

9.2 Community-based psychosocial interventions

Community-based interventions offer an alternative to trauma-focused psychotherapy. They target post-migration stressors such as social isolation, discrimination, and resource deprivation. Goodkind et al. (2020) conducted an RCT of the Refugee Well-being Project (RWP) with 290 Afghan, Great Lakes African, Iraqi, and Syrian refugees in the United States. The six-month multilevel intervention paired refugees with university students for mutual learning and joint work to mobilize community resources, improve English proficiency, and increase social support.

At the six-month post-intervention follow-up (about 12 months after baseline), reported standardized effects include 0.31 for home-culture acculturation and 0.19 for perceived English proficiency. The Iraqi/Syrian subgroup shows a depression reduction of 0.45 standard deviations. The American-acculturation difference at follow-up ($d = 0.27$) was not significant. Non-ethnic social support improved at post-treatment (0.60 standard deviations), but that difference was not statistically significant at the follow-up. The trial reported high recruitment and retention among refugees unlikely to access formal mental health services. It did not measure employment or economic outcomes, and the mechanism linking community resource mobilization to sustained mental health improvement has not been established.

Giosan et al. (2026) randomize 156 Ukrainian refugees in Romania to virtual-reality support groups, in-person groups, or waitlist. Most comparisons are small and nonsignificant, and 53–61 percent of participants are missing at the post-treatment assessment and 65–81 percent at follow-up. Given this attrition, the trial is inconclusive.

9.3 Guided digital and self-help interventions

Demetry et al. (2026) randomize 125 Arabic-speaking refugee and migrant young people aged 15–29, mainly in Sweden and Germany, to ten weeks of culturally adapted, guided internet CBT or waitlist. The post-treatment anxiety/depression contrast favors treatment ($d = 1.43$, 95% CI: 0.97–1.89). Seventeen participants lack post-treatment assessments, and model-based estimates depend on assumptions about missingness. Recruitment and digital engagement also limit generalization beyond the enrolled population.

In a transit-country setting, Nickerson et al. (2026b) randomize 303 Farsi-speaking, predominantly Afghan (92%) refugees in Indonesia in a 2:1 ratio to five weeks of guided *Doing What Matters* self-help or repeated assessment. Intention-to-treat estimates show less psychological distress after treatment ($d = 0.56$) and one month later ($d = 0.45$), with 88 percent retained at follow-up. The short follow-up and absence of employment outcomes limit conclusions about lasting economic integration or transport to high-income destinations.

9.4 Integrated mental health and employment interventions

There is little evidence on interventions that combine mental health treatment with employment services. Post-migration stressors, including unemployment, are associated with worse mental health outcomes (Bryant et al., 2023). Employment may in turn support mental health by providing structure, social connections, and a sense of purpose, although refugee-specific causal evidence on this channel is limited.

Foged et al. (2026a) link Ukrainian refugees' trauma symptoms in Denmark to subsequent administrative employment records. Probable PTSD is associated with 7.4 percentage points lower employment two years after arrival and about 6 percent fewer hours among employed refugees, with no detectable hourly-wage difference. Their decomposition attributes roughly one-quarter of the adjusted refugee–native employment gap to PTSD. Rich controls and sensitivity analyses support the employment finding.

In Denmark, Bruhn et al. (2026) randomized 219 unemployed refugees with PTSD (195 in the modified intention-to-treat analysis after 24 post-randomization exclusions, balanced across arms) to usual specialized treatment or added coordination with municipal employment services. The primary functioning outcome showed no detectable benefit, with a between-group difference on the WHO Disability Assessment Schedule from pre- to post-treatment of 0.30 (95% CI: −2.40 to 3.00; $p = 0.825$). Secondary and exploratory outcomes, including PTSD symptoms (Harvard Trauma Questionnaire difference −0.02; 95% CI: −0.19 to 0.14), also showed no between-group differences, and pre-post change was limited in both arms. Early dropout (3% versus 10%) and satisfaction favored the intervention. The finding applies to this coordination model and to clinical outcomes at the end of treatment. Follow-up clinical and employment-related outcomes are to be reported separately.

9.5 Summary

The evidence for short-term symptom relief is clearest against inactive controls. The trials of preparatory skills training and coordination with employment services found no detectable overall clinical advantage over the alternatives they tested.

10 Educational Programs for Refugee Children

Education policies shape refugee children's access to schooling, classroom placement, and additional learning support. This section examines cash transfers, preparatory versus mainstream classes, language instruction, and teacher and classroom interventions. Outcomes include enrollment, attendance, academic achievement, social relationships, and effects on native students. The evidence includes studies from high-income countries and selected middle-income host settings, especially Türkiye (Table A9). An earlier scoping review illustrates how limited the evidence was: within their search boundaries, Palik and Østby (2023) identified eight eligible impact evaluations among 1,873 articles screened for 1990–2021.

10.1 Cash transfers and school enrollment

Quasi-experimental evidence shows that cash transfers can improve educational participation when household resources constrain attendance. Türkiye's ESSN (Section 6) is the world's largest unconditional cash transfer program for refugees. Hızıroğlu Aygün et al. (2024) use a regression discontinuity design around a program eligibility criterion and find large effects on school enrollment and child labor.

Receiving the transfer reduced the share of boys not in school from 28 to 10 percent and the share of girls not in school from 25 to 10 percent. It also cut market work from 17 to 2 percent for boys and from 3 percent to near zero for girls. These are local effects for complier households at the dependency-ratio eligibility cutoff (the first stage is about 38 pp). The authors note that an earlier evaluation of the same program, using different data and a different estimand, found no average enrollment effect. Effects are largest for children aged 12–14, consistent with the program addressing both opportunity costs and direct costs of schooling when dropout risk is highest.

10.2 School integration approaches

The main policy question is whether refugee children should initially attend separate preparatory classes or specialist schools, or enter mainstream classrooms directly. These arrangements differ in both contact with native peers and access to specialized instruction (Crul et al., 2019). Schilling and Höckel (2026) compare separate preparatory classes (Vorbereitungsklassen) in Hamburg with direct entry to regular classes with language support. They use the idiosyncratic allocation of refugee children to neighborhoods, and thus to schools, together with the rollout of preparatory classes.

Children initially assigned to a preparatory class score 0.26 standard deviations lower on pooled fifth-grade standardized tests than children who entered regular classrooms directly (math −0.37 SD, German −0.42 SD, with first-school fixed effects). They are also somewhat less likely to enter the academic track (about 6–8 pp), although this difference is not statistically significant once school fixed effects are included. In a smaller subsample observed in grade 7 (about 240 students), the test-score gaps narrow and lose statistical significance but are imprecisely estimated, so the evidence mainly concerns short-run achievement. The comparison favors direct integration with language support over the preparatory-class model studied.

Dutch evidence points to a different educational trade-off. Pavese et al. (2026) compare primary-school arrivals across municipal schooling regimes, using older arrivals, who all initially attend separate schools, as the comparison group. Integrated schooling, pooling full and semi-integrated arrangements, lowers diploma attainment by age 18 by 7 percentage points. Specialist schools are attended for about a year; municipalities using them have more teachers trained to teach Dutch as a second language. This may help explain why their educational results differ from the Hamburg preparatory-class model.

Integration also raises teenage girls' persistent hormonal-contraceptive use, the authors' proxy for cultural assimilation. The pooled increase is 4.3 percentage points (significant at the 10 percent level), driven by fully integrated schools.

Teacher characteristics also shape refugee children's school experiences. Alan et al. (2023) use random assignment of newly arrived Syrian refugee children to teachers within Turkish primary schools and find that teachers' implicit ethnic prejudice, measured with an implicit association test, significantly affects social integration outcomes. Teachers with

higher prejudice create more segregated classrooms, with fewer interethnic friendships, more homophilic ties among host children, and a higher risk of peer violence for refugee children.

A cluster randomized trial in the same Turkish context evaluates an intervention targeting these problems. Alan et al. (2021) implemented a year-long curricular program aimed at developing perspective-taking ability in over 6,500 elementary school children across 80 schools, 16 percent of whom were Syrian refugees. Teachers delivered the program for at least three hours per week. It reduced perpetrated high-intensity peer violence by 1.21 events per ten school days (about 64 percent) and victimization by about 50 percent. It also increased interethnic social ties, reduced social exclusion, and improved prosocial behaviors, including trust, reciprocity, and altruism measured in incentivized experiments. Refugee children benefited most. Besides gains in social inclusion, treated refugees scored 0.13 standard deviations higher on an objective Turkish language test. The effects appear to work through improved perspective-taking ability.

Tumen et al. (2025) study a Turkish after-school language program that offered Syrian refugee children 20 hours of instruction per semester cycle. They exploit the program's staggered rollout across schools. School-level intention-to-treat estimates show Turkish grades up by 0.186 SD and math grades by 0.128 SD (the latter significant only at the 10% level), absences down by 1.9 days per semester (18.5%), and better parent-reported mental health. Effects are larger for younger children and for those with lower baseline performance.

Mühlrad et al. (2026) evaluate a Swedish school-development program using pairwise randomization of municipal offers over seven rollout waves in 2016–2019, with 63 assignments per arm. Municipalities guaranteed treatment because of the highest assessed need are excluded from the experiment. Intention-to-treat estimates over years one to seven show gains of 0.021 standard deviations in core-subject test scores (SE 0.008), driven by mathematics (0.032, SE 0.011). The effect on Swedish test scores is small and not significant (0.011, SE 0.008). Twenty-four controls later receive treatment, at which point follow-up of the original pair ends. Pandemic-related test gaps are handled with pooled follow-up windows and sensitivity checks. The program covers a mixed student population.

10.3 Effects on native students

Two mechanisms could affect native students in opposite directions. Greater labor market competition may crowd native adolescents into education, while immigrant concentration may reduce achievement through strained resources or language barriers.

Recent studies find neutral or positive effects in the settings they examine, although they estimate different exposures and mechanisms. Figlio et al. (2024) use Florida birth and school records with sibling fixed effects and find small positive achievement effects of exposure to immigrant students, especially among disadvantaged US-born students. Moving from the 10th to the 90th percentile of exposure raises math and reading scores by 2.8 and 1.7 percent of a standard deviation. The study concerns immigrants broadly rather than refugees. In Denmark, variation in the timing of refugee children's entry into a school cohort shows no detectable adverse effect on native students' test-score growth in the same grade cohort (precisely estimated nulls, with standard errors of about 0.01 SD), even though refugees cluster in schools that performed worse before their arrival (Hassan et al., 2023).

Tumen (2021) instead studies regional refugee inflows and finds higher PISA scores among native adolescents over 2009–2015, before refugee adolescents were enrolled in Turkish secondary schools (math, science, and reading gains of 0.11–0.22 standard deviations in the difference-in-differences estimates and, in the IV estimates, gains of 0.048, 0.051, and 0.058 SD, respectively, per percentage-point increase in the regional refugee share). The author attributes these gains to labor-market competition, which raised the effort that already-enrolled adolescents put into schooling. A companion study by the same author documents the enrollment response.

10.4 Summary

Cash transfers can raise school enrollment, and classroom programs can improve inclusion. Separate and integrated schooling have yielded different attainment effects across settings, possibly in part because of access to specialist language teachers. Few studies follow refugee children into further education or employment.

11 Permanent Residence, Citizenship, and Family Reunification

Policy sets the conditions under which recognized refugees obtain permanent residence, acquire citizenship, and reunite with family members. This section reviews the economic, social, and political consequences of these conditions. The permanent residence and family reunification studies concern refugees, whereas most of the naturalization evidence concerns immigrants in general (Table A10).

11.1 Permanent residency requirements

Governments sometimes extend waiting periods or tighten eligibility requirements for permanent residence to encourage skill acquisition and labor market attachment. The studies find no detectable employment gains from these reforms, and one Danish study finds a decline.

Denmark's 2002 reform extended the wait for permanent residence from three to seven years and applied retroactively to asylum applications lodged from 28 February 2002. Using a regression discontinuity around that date among 635 refugees, Kilström et al. (2023) find no evidence of positive labor-market effects; the employment and earnings estimates are negative and imprecise. Enrollment in education is about 17 percentage points higher, an estimate that is sensitive to specification, and the seven-year permanent-residence rate falls by about 24 percentage points.

Denmark's 2007 reform kept the seven-year residence requirement and added an employment condition and a higher language standard. Arendt et al. (2025) find that annual employment (in full-time equivalents) among affected refugees fell by about 30 percent, and language proficiency did not change. The authors attribute this to a disincentive effect among individuals with weak pre-reform labor market performance, who perceived the new requirements as unattainable and reduced their efforts.

Matheny (2026) studies Germany's 2016 reform, which generally raised the statutory permanent-residence wait from three to five years (now counting time in the asylum procedure, so the effective extension is smaller) and introduced language (A2) and income (at least 50 percent self-financing) conditions. A historical-cohort difference-in-differences design compares 2013 arrivals with 2005–2011 arrivals at comparable durations since migration. The estimates show no statistically detectable employment gain, though not a precisely estimated zero, and administrative trends show a decline in permanent-residence acquisition. The comparison requires parallel integration trajectories across cohorts that differ in calendar years and origin composition, and the short pre-period and small control group (202 individuals) offer limited reassurance.

11.2 Naturalization and citizenship

Citizenship expands political rights and security of residence and may improve access to jobs or reduce employer uncertainty. Its incremental benefits depend on the rights already attached to immigrants' existing residence status and on the host-country context. Estimating these benefits is difficult because immigrants who naturalize differ systematically from those who do not. Reviewing European evidence on immigrants, Gathmann and Garbers (2023) conclude that earlier eligibility can increase naturalization rates and that citizenship can improve economic, political, and social integration, with gains varying across populations and settings. Most studies below concern immigrants in general, whereas Fasani et al. (2023) distinguish refugees from other immigrants by the self-reported main reason for migration in the EU Labour Force Survey.

Descriptive evidence from the United States shows that refugees naturalize at high rates. Mossaad et al. (2018) link administrative records for refugees resettled between 2000 and 2010 and find that 66 percent of those eligible had naturalized by 2015. Rates vary with demographic characteristics and initial resettlement location.

Labor market effects. Hainmueller et al. (2019) use Swiss municipal referendums on naturalization applications. Their regression discontinuity design compares applicants who narrowly won and lost their initial referendum and estimates approximately CHF 5,615 (EUR 6,500) higher annual earnings averaged over the subsequent 15 years ($p = 0.047$). A complementary difference-in-differences design over the same period yields a more precise CHF 4,426 (EUR 5,100; $p = 0.004$). Effects are concentrated at lower quantiles of the earnings distribution and among applicants from Türkiye and the former Yugoslavia.

Fasani et al. (2023) use variation in citizenship laws across 20 European countries in the EU Labour Force Survey ($N = 114{,}209$), with an instrumental-variables strategy based on predicted years since eligibility. Their estimates of the naturalization–refugee interaction imply that, relative to other immigrants, refugees' returns are 14.7 percentage points larger for employment, 11.4 points larger for labor-force participation, and 8.1 points more negative for unemployment. The estimated returns for non-refugees are small and statistically insignificant. Marginal treatment effect analyses indicate reverse selection on gains, suggesting that migrants with the lowest propensity to naturalize would benefit most if they did. The IV interpretation requires that the eligibility instruments affect labor market outcomes through naturalization and not through other channels.

Other European results vary by population and design. Gathmann and Keller (2018) exploit reductions in German residence requirements and find that a seven-year shorter waiting period raises women's employment by 3.5 percentage points and their monthly earnings by 0.098 log points. Men's employment and monthly earnings do not change, although their weekly earnings and job tenure rise and their hours fall slightly.

Panel studies with individual fixed effects in Denmark and Sweden (Helgertz et al., 2014), the Netherlands (Peters et al., 2020), and Germany (Steinhardt, 2012) generally find positive selection into naturalization and small or heterogeneous additional earnings gains. The estimates vary by sex, origin, and the earnings threshold used to define the sample, with larger gains for migrants from less-developed origin countries in the Netherlands and mainly for men in Germany. The German study attributes naturalized women's unadjusted wage premium primarily to positive selection.

The Dutch estimates become much larger, roughly 24 percent, once unemployed spells with zero labor income are included. The authors take this to mean that citizenship mainly eases access to employment rather than raising wages among the employed. Individual fixed

effects remove stable differences between naturalizers and nonnaturalizers, but not selection arising from changing employment prospects around naturalization.

Political and social integration. The Swiss referendum studies also find durable gains in political participation, efficacy, and knowledge. Naturalization raises turnout in the last federal election by 58–64 percentage points and political knowledge by 104–193 percent over the nonnaturalized baseline (IV and fuzzy regression-discontinuity estimates), with no significant effect on informal participation (Hainmueller et al., 2015). It also raises a long-run social-integration scale (settlement plans, perceived discrimination, club membership, and Swiss newspaper reading) by 0.51 points, approximately one standard deviation (Hainmueller et al., 2017). The social-integration study finds larger gains when naturalization occurs earlier, consistent with citizenship facilitating subsequent integration.

Access interventions and experimental returns. Hainmueller et al. (2018) show that fee vouchers increased citizenship applications among low-income immigrants from 37 to 78 percent. A separate experiment in that study found no significant benefit from five additional outreach or reminder treatments among immigrants already informed about fee-waiver eligibility. Hotard et al. (2019), by contrast, test the initial provision of fee-waiver information and find that applications rose by 8.6 percentage points (95% CI 1.7–15.4), from 24.5 to 33.1 percent (about 35%). Yasenov et al. (2019) find that standardizing the federal fee-waiver application increased naturalization among low-income immigrants by 1.5 percentage points (95% CI 1.1–2.0).

The subsequent US trial follows 2,802 randomized low-income permanent residents who registered for the fee-voucher lotteries (Hainmueller et al., 2026a). Vouchers increased naturalization by about 36 percentage points. Over three to five years, the study detects no improvement in measured economic outcomes or broader integration, but deportation fears declined. The contrast with the Swiss referendum estimates may reflect context as well as design. The US study points to labor market flexibility, the intensity of discrimination by citizenship status, and the difficulty of obtaining citizenship as possible moderators. Swiss naturalization is more demanding than US naturalization, so citizenship may carry a stronger signal to employers in Switzerland.

Meta-analytic evidence on earnings. Hainmueller and Laitin (2026) synthesize 60 preferred earnings estimates from 31 studies of immigrants. Effects are converted to a log-equivalent percentage-change metric and combined in a multilevel random-effects model accounting for dataset families, studies, and samples within studies. The pooled premium is 9.9% (95% CI: 5.1–14.9). Pooling estimates within study-country cells gives 11.0% (5.7–16.6).

Much of the heterogeneity tracks research design. The single randomized encouragement study implies 1.9% (95% CI: −1.3 to 5.3), while the Swiss referendum discontinuity study yields 11.3% (5.2–17.8). Policy/cohort-reform estimates average 4.7% (−2.8 to 12.7) and within-unit panel estimates 4.2% (−2.6 to 11.4). Both intervals include zero and the overall pooled premium. Cross-sectional estimates average 7.6% (5.0–10.3), whereas observational instrumental-variable estimates average 53.0% (27.6–83.5). Excluding them lowers the overall estimate to 6.0% (3.8–8.2). Identification strategy explains more variation than destination country, citizenship regime, or the other coded study features.

A comparison within the US trial helps separate selection from cross-country differences. Using self-selected citizenship uptake among lottery controls, an observational difference-in-differences analysis implies a 9.6% earnings gain (95% CI: 4.0–15.5) four years after the lottery,

whereas the randomized voucher-assignment comparison stays near zero. Conventional pretrend checks do not reveal this divergence. Publication-bias diagnostics show no strong corpus-wide signature.

Easier access can increase naturalization, but the evidence does not support assuming large earnings gains. The positive Swiss referendum results and near-zero US randomized estimates leave the economic returns uncertain across settings. Available causal estimates cover only a few settings and populations.

11.3 Family reunification and autonomous residence status

Family-reunification rules can affect both family arrivals and sponsors' integration, although causal evidence remains limited. Gallegos Torres et al. (2024) study Austria's 2016 reform using discontinuities in protection dates. For subsidiary-protected refugees, the reform extended the waiting period from one to three years and added income and other conditions. Convention refugees could avoid the new conditions by applying within three months. Among male potential sponsors in the subsidiary-protected group, regular reunification fell by about 13 percentage points in years four and five. The estimated decline at year three was 7.1 points, or 53 percent of the comparison mean, but was imprecise. There is suggestive but imprecise evidence of substitution toward irregular arrivals, and no significant employment or earnings gains were detected for this group.

Convention refugees reunified sooner (+7.5 percentage points one year after protection). The gap remained at about 6 points in years three to five, so the reform raised reunification rather than merely advancing it. The share who worked was 9.5 and 10.0 percentage points higher in years four and five, respectively. The year-one estimate was imprecise. Monthly earnings were about EUR 235 (EUR 330 in 2025 prices) higher in year four. The design relies on continuity around the cutoffs, and family reunification is proxied through linked administrative records rather than observed applications.

Hasager (2024) examines whether giving women residence rights independent of their husbands improves their integration. The study follows 1,349 women in Denmark who joined refugee husbands through family reunification and subsequently obtained refugee status themselves. These women already had the right to work, but their residence permits depended on their husbands and the continuation of their marriages. A staggered difference-in-differences design compares women newly granted refugee status with women whose successful applications were approved later, exploiting variation in processing times.

Over the first 18 months after recognition, employment rises by an average of 2.4 percentage points, a 53 percent increase relative to the 4.5 percent pre-recognition employment rate. Quarterly earnings rise by about US$270 (2015 prices; EUR 290). The probability of being divorced increases by 3 percentage points, while the quarterly probability of recorded violent victimization falls by 0.8 percentage points, based on police and hospital records. The findings are consistent with more secure residence and greater bargaining power within marriage, although the study does not separately identify these mechanisms.

11.4 Summary

The effects of legal status extend beyond employment and earnings. Access to citizenship can increase political participation and reduce fears of deportation, while residence and reunification rules can affect when families reunite and the security of family members. Economic effects vary across policies and settings.

12 Synthesis

Similar employment gains may come from changing placement decisions or from months of intensive services, with very different costs. Large early gains may yield limited long-run returns if they fade quickly. Table 1 compares employment and earnings effects and their duration alongside available evidence on costs, monetary returns, and benefit receipt. The comparison informs choices about where to direct spending and administrative effort.

12.1 Policy effects

Initial placement has lasting effects. In Denmark, placement in a stronger local labor market raised long-run employment by about 2 percentage points, and local opportunity shaped children's income, employment, and convictions as adults (Foged et al., 2024a; Daysal et al., 2026). Outcome-based matching produced a gain of similar size without shifting more placements toward stronger labor markets. In the Swiss GeoMatch trial, algorithmic recommendations raised the share of months employed by about 2 percentage points and employment at month 36 by about 4.6 points, each roughly a tenth of the control mean, within unchanged allocation quotas. For the 2022–2023 placement cohorts, the relative gain in the share of months employed was about 17 percent (Bansak et al., 2026a).

Private hosting can ease early settlement and reduce reliance on welfare. In Denmark, the early employment advantage of hosted Ukrainian refugees closed after about a year, but welfare receipt was still about 12 percentage points lower at 18 months, and hosted refugees enrolled less often in language courses (Foged et al., 2025). In Germany, hosting improved social and psychological integration without detectable economic gains (Herpell et al., 2025).

Restrictions on early labor market access have produced large, lasting employment losses. In a cross-country European study, an initial ban lowered subsequent employment by about 9 percentage points. The penalty remained detectable five to seven years after arrival, with a smaller, imprecise estimate at eight to ten years (Fasani et al., 2021). In Germany, the cohort subject to a longer ban had an employment rate about 20 points lower five years after the ban was shortened, and the gap took about a decade to close (Marbach et al., 2018). These losses are as large as the gains from many employment programs. Longer asylum procedures also delay or reduce employment (Hainmueller et al., 2016; Hvidtfeldt et al., 2018; Åslund et al., 2024).

The employment gains from Denmark's 2002 benefit cut faded within about five years. Adverse effects on children's schooling and later crime persisted (Dustmann et al., 2024a,b). Elsewhere, higher benefit levels do not consistently reduce employment.

Intensive language training has produced lasting gains. In Denmark, expanded language training raised employment by about 5–6 percentage points in the medium and long run (Foged et al., 2024a), and the reform also benefited refugees' children (Foged et al., 2023). Norway's two-year Introductory Program raised earnings durably without improving social or political integration (Ferwerda and Finseraas, 2025).

Programs that combine training with work practice or employer involvement have delivered larger early gains than many counseling or stand-alone language programs: about 15 percentage points in the first year after a small Swedish trial, a gain that lasted about three years (Dahlberg et al., 2024, 2023), and about 10 points after two years for Danish occupation-specific packages (Foged et al., 2026b). In centers run by Germany's Federal Employment Agency, the nationwide Job-Turbo program more than doubled the monthly job-entry rate for Ukrainians and raised it by about a quarter for other refugees, from

low baselines. Entries followed by at least a year of continuous employment rose as well (Hainmueller et al., 2026b). In several evaluations the gains were concentrated among men.

Other widely used measures have weaker or less certain effects. German studies of residence obligations disagree on employment effects, and one finds weaker psychological integration (Brücker et al., 2020; Hilbig and Riaz, 2022). France's integration contract raised employment only briefly (Emeriau et al., 2025). Among immigrants generally, citizenship improved political and social integration in Switzerland (Hainmueller et al., 2015, 2017), but its earnings returns remain uncertain and estimates depend strongly on research design (Hainmueller and Laitin, 2026). A US randomized trial found no detectable economic gains among low-income permanent residents over three to five years of follow-up (Hainmueller et al., 2026a).

Employment is only one dimension of integration. Psychological treatments reduce symptoms in the short term, mainly relative to waitlist or other inactive controls, and cash transfers and school programs have raised enrollment and inclusion, mostly in Türkiye. Later economic benefits of these programs have rarely been measured.

One pattern runs across domains: conditions and policies at arrival have the longest-lasting effects, in some cases a decade or more. Higher local unemployment at arrival has lasting effects on adult employment in Sweden and Switzerland, and on earnings in Sweden (Åslund and Rooth, 2007; Müller et al., 2023). Placement can also shape refugee children's outcomes into adulthood (Daysal et al., 2026; Dustmann et al., 2023). Several programs with durable gains also begin at recognition or settlement, including Denmark's expanded language training and Norway's two-year introductory program (Foged et al., 2024b; Ferwerda and Finseraas, 2025).

Fewer studies evaluate language or employment programs delivered later in the settlement process, and early delivery alone does not ensure gains, since job search assistance on its own has produced mixed results even for new arrivals (Battisti et al., 2019; Clausen et al., 2009; Andersson Joona and Nekby, 2012). No reviewed study varies the timing at which the same language or employment program is offered, so the case for early delivery of these services rests on this pattern across studies rather than on a direct test.

12.2 Comparative cost-effectiveness

Few studies report costs on a common basis, and the available figures differ in kind. Some are fiscal returns to public budgets and others are earnings gains to refugees. The evidence therefore supports broad priorities, not an exact ranking. Policies that improve an existing administrative decision can be inexpensive to deliver, while intensive services require repeated spending that can still return more than it costs when benefits are large and durable.

Removing barriers with documented employment costs is likely to be cost-effective. Relaxing a legal prohibition is likely to require little additional service spending, while the losses from exclusion are large. Rough calculations that abstract from effects on other workers put the output loss at about EUR 4,100 (EUR 5,100 in 2025 prices) per refugee barred from working per year in the European study (Fasani et al., 2021) and the fiscal cost at about EUR 40 million (approx. EUR 60 million in 2025 prices) per year for the affected German arrival cohort (Marbach et al., 2018). Faster asylum processing may also offer returns, although expanding administrative capacity requires resources.

Denmark's expanded language training took substantial investment and generated durable earnings gains (Foged et al., 2024a). The reform study estimates a fiscal benefit-to-cost ratio of 7:1 over 18 years and a six-year break-even period in its base case. Including the cost of additional formal education lowers the ratio to 1.5:1 (Foged et al., 2024b). Accounts for

employment-support programs are mixed, with returns above costs in some evaluations and break-even horizons of several years in others (Table 1).

Where a placement process and suitable data already exist, outcome-based matching is likely to be among the most cost-effective options, because it changes a decision that agencies already make. The Swiss trial's fiscal benchmark implies roughly CHF 1,300 (EUR 1,400) in net benefits per adult over three years (Bansak et al., 2026a). The employment gain at 36 months is similar in percentage points to that from Germany's integration courses (Marbach et al., 2025). Matching can complement both language training and employment services.

Private hosting draws on existing homes and voluntary support, adds capacity quickly during sudden inflows, and is likely to cost the public less than public housing (Foged et al., 2025; Herpell et al., 2025). Denmark's 2002 benefit cut saved transfer spending and raised employment for a few years, yet a calculation that includes children's later earnings and crime shows a net social loss (Dustmann et al., 2024a,b).

12.3 Evidence gaps and open questions

How well effective policies transfer across settings is not yet established. Evaluations in countries such as France, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom, alongside a broader range of resettlement and middle-income host settings, would help determine which findings depend on local institutions and labor markets. Findings on citizenship and wage subsidies also come largely from immigrants in general.

Several stages of the path from arrival to potential citizenship have almost no causal evidence. Reception conditions in the first months, such as the type and quality of accommodation and the length of stay in reception centers, have been studied mainly through adjusted comparisons. Evidence is sparse on how legal assistance, interview practices, and other features of asylum procedures affect later integration. A few studies evaluate support during the asylum process, including early language courses and employment assistance (Marbach et al., 2025; Abbiati et al., 2025), but comparative evidence on alternative arrangements remains limited. A few studies evaluate the recognition of foreign qualifications and find employment and wage gains for immigrants in Germany (Brücker et al., 2021; Anger et al., 2024). Neither reports separate causal estimates for refugees, although unrecognized credentials are among the most cited barriers to refugees' employment.

Evidence on permanent residence comes from three studies in Denmark and Germany, covering longer waits and stricter eligibility requirements. These policies affect large groups of refugees and vary across places and over time, so the designs used elsewhere in this review could be applied to them.

Longer follow-up is needed to distinguish faster job entry from sustained gains in earnings, hours, job stability, and occupational progression. Effects on spouses and children also belong in this assessment. The evidence of different responses among men and women calls for more work on care responsibilities, household incentives, and access to services. These questions matter for policy choice because an initially smaller effect can have greater value if it lasts longer or benefits other family members.

Several links between policy areas remain unresolved. It is not known whether effective mental-health treatment improves later employment or which educational pathways improve refugee children's later qualifications and employment. Evidence on childcare and on family-reunification rules covers only a few settings. Interventions to reduce hiring barriers and discrimination also need evaluation.

Successful pilots need to be tested under routine delivery conditions and compared with credible alternatives. Priorities include how to combine language instruction with work,

which elements of employment-support packages produce lasting gains, and whether programs retain their effectiveness as caseloads expand. Matching and private hosting raise related questions about housing capacity, staffing, voluntary participation, and coordination with public services. Designs that vary one local characteristic at a time would show which features of a location drive placement effects.

A substantial literature examines how refugee arrivals affect receiving communities (Becker and Ferrara, 2019). Few studies estimate how specific integration policies affect native-born residents' employment, wages, or use of local services. Those effects matter for assessing a policy's overall costs and benefits.

More comparable cost evidence would improve policy choices. Studies should record implementation and operating costs, participant and volunteer time, and effects across public budgets, alongside cumulative employment and earnings gains. Secure links between immigration, service-use, employment, education, and health records would make these evaluations more feasible and extend the long-run evidence to other countries.

The comparative evidence gives the clearest support to removing costly work restrictions, improving placement, and investing in programs with durable gains. The balance of costs and gains can change as early employment effects fade or as effects on other family members emerge.

Acknowledgments

Chapter 7 of the National Academies' *Global Forced Migration and U.S. Resettlement and Integration* (2026) summarizes evidence from an earlier version of this review. The present working paper updates and expands that evidence base and provides more detailed study-level findings and cost comparisons.

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Table 1: Employment Effects, Costs, Returns, and Benefit Receipt in the Reviewed Studies

Policy and study	Employment or earnings effect	Costs, returns, or benefit receipt	Basis
Settlement and initial allocation			
Placement in stronger local labor markets, Denmark; Foged et al. (2024a)	Employment about +2 pp in years 11–15, top versus bottom quartile of municipal non-Western immigrant employment	Earnings-gain PV $7,742 (EUR 8,400) per refugee moved from bottom to top quartile over 15 years; authors identify no direct monetary cost; housing not priced	Modeled from estimates; earnings, not fiscal
Algorithmic placement recommendations (GeoMatch), Switzerland; Bansak et al. (2026a)	Share of months employed over three years +2.19 pp (95% CI 0.05–4.33); secondary individual employment at month 36 +4.64 pp (0.78–8.50)	Net fiscal benefit about CHF 1,300 (EUR 1,400) per adult over three years at an assumed operating cost of CHF 50 (EUR 53) per treated adult. One-time development and integration costs are excluded	Assumed operating cost; modeled fiscal return
Stronger initial labor demand, Austria; Gallegos Torres et al. (2026)	Employment +4.2 pp at 12 months per 0.2 more vacancies per unemployed person; difference fades around 30 months	Lower welfare receipt during the first 30 months after protection; no detectable difference thereafter	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Higher group-crime exposure at childhood placement, Denmark; Dustmann et al. (2023)	Cumulative earnings by age 24: −5.5% for men and −4.4% for women per SD higher exposure	Cumulative welfare payments from age 19 through 28: +$7,799 (EUR 8,500) for women; no detectable effect for men (2015 USD)	Measured transfer payments; no delivery-cost or net-fiscal estimate
Higher-income neighborhood placement, Denmark; Hasager and Jørgensen (2026)	No detectable cumulative employment or earnings effects in years 2–15	Cumulative public transfers in years 2–15: −$2,530 (−EUR 3,700) (middle) and +$132 (EUR 190) (top versus bottom tercile); neither significant (2000 USD)	Measured transfer payments; no delivery-cost or net-fiscal estimate
Reception reform with dispersal (1985), Sweden; Edin et al. (2004)	Earnings −0.285 log points (about 25%) among those with positive earnings, eight years after arrival; idleness +6.2 pp	Welfare receipt +10.8 pp eight years after arrival; no monetary cost reported	Estimated welfare receipt; no monetary valuation
Housing and reception			
Private hosting versus conventional public housing, Denmark; Foged et al. (2025)	Employment +10.2 pp in the first quarter; advantage closes after about one year; +2.3 pp at 18 months (not significant)	Welfare receipt −17.3 pp in the first quarter and −11.6 pp at 18 months; accommodation costs and monetary savings not quantified	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation; comparison conditions on observed characteristics
Asylum process and access to work			
Employment bans for asylum seekers, 19 European countries; Fasani et al. (2021)	Employment −8.9 pp after an initial ban; penalty detectable 5–7 years after arrival, imprecise at 8–10 years	Output loss about EUR 4,100 (EUR 5,100) per refugee barred from working per year, EUR 37.6 billion (EUR 47 billion) over eight years for 2015–2016 arrivals subject to bans	Back-of-the-envelope; earnings, not fiscal; no cost side
Longer employment ban for asylum seekers, Germany; Marbach et al. (2018)	Employment about −20 pp for the cohort with about seven additional months of ban, five years after the ban was shortened; gap took up to ten years to close	About EUR 40 million (approx. EUR 60 million) per year in welfare spending and foregone taxes and social contributions, EUR 370 million (approx. EUR 550 million) over 2001–2009, for 40,500 refugees from the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia arriving in 1999	Modeled from estimates; fiscal; no cost side
Cantonal employment bans, resident priority and job restrictions, Switzerland; Ahrens et al. (2023)	Monthly employment −12 pp while a ban applies and −5.6 pp under resident priority	Over five years, observed restrictions lower earnings by CHF 4,261 (approx. EUR 4,900) per refugee and raise social-aid cash transfers by at least CHF 2,550 (approx. EUR 3,000) per refugee	Back-of-the-envelope; modeled from estimates; no cost side
Asylum processing time, Switzerland; Hainmueller et al. (2016)	Employment −3.4 to −4.9 pp per additional year of waiting	About US$5.6 million (approx. EUR 5.9 million) in aggregate savings in a single year from shortening waits by 10%, through lower welfare spending and higher tax contributions	Modeled from estimates; fiscal; no cost side

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Policy and study	Employment or earnings effect	Costs, returns, or benefit receipt	Basis
Asylum waiting time, Sweden; Åslund et al. (2024)	Per additional month of waiting, four-year earnings −2.6% or −SEK 4,700 (−EUR 540), and employment −0.5 to −1 pp in years 1–3	30 fewer days would cost SEK 2,580 (EUR 280) per application against a four-year earnings gain of SEK 4,700 (EUR 540) per person granted asylum	Cited administrative figure; back-of-the-envelope; earnings, not fiscal
2005 regularization of undocumented non-EU immigrants, Spain; Elias et al. (2025)	Formal employment +0.54 jobs per regularized immigrant over two and a half years (no detectable effect on natives); formal plus informal employment −0.52	Payroll-tax revenue about EUR 4,000 (approx. EUR 5,900) per regularized immigrant per year; reform cost not quantified	Measured; fiscal; no cost side
1981 regularization of undocumented immigrants, France; Borjas and Edo (2026)	Employment of low-skilled men in the Paris region in 1982–1983 about +4 pp for French and +3–5 pp for non-French workers	Aggregate output gain of about 0.5% of French GDP; fiscal effects not included	Back-of-the-envelope; modeled from estimates; no cost side
Welfare benefits			
Start Help benefit cut for refugees, 2002, Denmark; Dustmann et al. (2024a,b); Foged et al. (2024a)	Employment up from 10.3% to 19.5% in year 1, +4 pp in years 3–5, no detectable effect in years 6–15	Public spending −$5,223 (−EUR 7,000) per refugee per year, years 1–5; transfer savings PV $34,632 (EUR 38,000) (7 years), earnings gain PV $9,707 (EUR 11,000) (15 years) per refugee; earnings-and-crime return about −$12,000 per family, 16 years	Measured; fiscal; modeled from estimates; social cost-benefit
Higher state cash assistance, United States; LoPalo (2019)	Per additional $100 (EUR 120) in monthly maximum benefits, annual earnings of employed likely refugees +5–8%; no detectable effect on employment	Added benefit costs $1,200–$6,000 (EUR 1,400–7,200) per refugee; earnings gain PV $31,676 (EUR 38,000) per employed refugee (5% discount, 33 years)	Modeled from estimates; assumed cost; earnings, not fiscal
Cantonal social assistance for temporarily admitted people, Switzerland; Auer et al. (2024)	No detectable employment or earnings effect of Zurich's 2012 increase or Lucerne's 2015 cut	CHF 100 higher monthly benefits cost CHF 1,200 per person per year; avoided prison costs of CHF 2,496 (EUR 2,800) per year	Back-of-the-envelope; modeled from estimates; fiscal
Earlier implementation of the 2015 benefit cut, Denmark; Arendt (2024)	Men's employment +3.5 pp at 10 months (control 7.6%); no detectable effect for women; comparison is earlier versus later cuts	Welfare payments received in 2016 about a quarter lower, mostly the cut itself; no detectable difference in 2017, when both groups faced the cut all year	Measured transfer payments; no full fiscal balance
Higher initial benefit entitlements, Austria; Gallegos Torres et al. (2026)	Employment −1.5 pp at 12 months per EUR 300 (2015 prices; EUR 420 in 2025 prices) higher monthly entitlement; imprecise and sensitive to controls; difference fades around 30 months	Welfare receipt about +2.5 pp at 24 months per EUR 300 higher monthly entitlement	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Language training and integration programs			
Expanded language training (1999 reform), Denmark; Foged et al. (2024a,b)	Employment about +5–6 pp in the medium and long run (years 6–15)	Training cost PV per refugee US$2,762 in 2000 prices (EUR 3,900). Earnings-gain PV over 15 years US$25,859 in 2015 prices (EUR 28,000). Net fiscal PV over 18 years US$15,400 in 2000 prices (EUR 22,000), with a 7:1 fiscal benefit-to-cost ratio and six-year break-even	Assumed operating costs and modeled returns at a 3% discount rate
Mandatory 300-hour minimum of language and civic instruction (2005 reform), Norway; Dang (2025)	Labor-market income +NOK 199,110 (EUR 23,000) (+10.7%) over 11 years; includes work-related benefit payments	Sick-leave benefits, paid only to those in work, +NOK 19,050 (EUR 2,200) (+33.7%) over 11 years (2015 NOK); included in the income measure	Estimated transfer payments; delivery costs and net fiscal returns not reported
Ad hoc versus established language courses, Germany; Marbach et al. (2025)	Ad hoc course eligibility had no detectable effect on employment; established integration course enrollment +4.8 pp at 12 months	Ad hoc course cost about EUR 400 million (EUR 510 million) for roughly 230,000 participants; no cost reported for the established course	Cited administrative figure; no benefit side

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Policy and study	Employment or earnings effect	Costs, returns, or benefit receipt	Basis
Local supply of integration courses, Germany; Kanas and Kosyakova (2023)	Employment +2.97 pp per one SD higher county course supply	One added course for 20 refugees costs about EUR 40,000 (approx. EUR 51,000) and saves about EUR 2,995 (approx. EUR 3,800) per year in welfare payments, repaid after about 13 years	Back-of-the-envelope; assumed cost; fiscal
Integration contract, France; Emeriau et al. (2025)	Employment +5.5 pp one year after arrival, close to zero from year three onward	All three contract components cost EUR 33 million (EUR 43 million) in 2009, covering an average of 100,000 signatories	Cited administrative figure; no benefit side
Two-year Introductory Program, Norway; Ferwerda and Finseraas (2025)	Annual earnings about +NOK 49,500 (EUR 5,800) in year 4 and +NOK 61,000 (EUR 7,200) (26%) in year 14 after arrival	Estimated cost of NOK 270,000 (approx. EUR 31,000) per participant per year of the two-year program	Reported cost, source not stated; no benefit side
Adult English classes by lottery, United States (immigrants in general); Heller and Slungaard Mumma (2023)	Annual earnings recorded in Massachusetts +$2,388 (approx. EUR 2,900) in years 2–10 per induced enrollee	Program cost about $4,500 (EUR 5,000 in 2025 prices) per induced enrollee; modeled taxpayer internal rate of return of 6%	Reported program cost; modeled return; tax revenue only
Active labor market programs			
Language, work practice, and job-search package, Sweden; Dahlberg et al. (2024, 2023)	Offer effect about +15 pp on monthly employment in the first year after completion; gains last about three years	First-year delivery cost about SEK 27,000 (EUR 3,200) per participant; follow-up reports public savings of SEK 20,550 (approx. EUR 2,300) per participant through December 2021 net of that cost	Program accounts; modeled from estimates; fiscal; CI includes zero
Industry Packages occupation-specific training and matching, Denmark; Foged et al. (2026b, 2024a)	Employment +5–6 pp at 12 months, about +10 pp at 24 months in a reduced sample	Earnings-gain PV $1,630 (EUR 1,800) per refugee for year 1; delivery cost not quantified	Modeled from estimates; earnings, not fiscal; no cost side
Job-Turbo employment-support program, Germany; Hainmueller et al. (2026b)	In federally operated centers, monthly exit-to-job rate +1.8 pp for Ukrainians (1.6% pretreatment mean) and +1.0 pp for other refugees (3.7% mean)	Projected 12-month fiscal benefits EUR 10,959 against costs EUR 10,077 per additional Ukrainian job entrant, and EUR 10,032 against EUR 6,366 for other refugees; counseling time excluded	Cited administrative figure; modeled from estimates; fiscal
FORWORK job mentoring and subsidized internships for asylum seekers, Italy; Abbiati et al. (2025)	Employment +10 pp 18 months after the first mentoring meeting, counting subsidized internships as non-employment	Program cost EUR 3,171 (approx. EUR 3,800) per participant; no return computed	Program accounts; no benefit side
Intensive coaching by employment-service caseworkers, Sweden; Andersson Joona and Nekby (2012)	Regular employment +6 pp at 22–30 months (control 14%); no detectable effect for women	Aggregate trial cost SEK 83 million (EUR 11 million) (3,111 participants); output value SEK 30.9–45.1 million (EUR 4–5.9 million) after one year of employment, depending on assumed income	Program accounts; modeled from estimates; earnings, not fiscal
NGO job search assistance with CV matching to employers, Germany; Battisti et al. (2019)	No detectable employment effect at 6 months; at 12 months +11.8 pp with controls (SE 6.9)	Per treatment-group member, cost EUR 76 (approx. EUR 96) or EUR 100 (approx. EUR 130) with CV preparation; fiscal benefit EUR 394 (approx. EUR 500) over months 12–18, or EUR 267 (approx. EUR 340) if wages do not change	Assumed cost; back-of-the-envelope; fiscal; CI includes zero
Introduction Program reform, Sweden; Bratu et al. (2025)	Women: employment +9.7 pp and earnings +SEK 18,000 (EUR 2,000) per year, averaged over years 3–9 after permit; no detectable effect for men	Reform cost-neutral for women after 6–11 years, comparing added program cost with added income and tax revenue	Modeled from estimates; earnings and fiscal

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Policy and study	Employment or earnings effect	Costs, returns, or benefit receipt	Basis
Individualized integration plans, Finland; Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen (2016)	Compliers' cumulative earnings +EUR 20,916 (+47%; SE 11,891; approx. EUR 31,000) over 10 years; no detectable effect on employment	About EUR 100 (approx. EUR 160) per plan and an illustrative EUR 1,875 (EUR 2,800) per complier for added training, against more than EUR 20,000 (approx. EUR 29,000) earnings gain and about EUR 8,000 (approx. EUR 12,000) lower benefits over 10 years	Cited administrative figure; assumed cost; back-of-the-envelope; CI includes zero
Free part-time childcare for four- and five-year-olds, Norway; Drange and Telle (2015)	No detectable effect on parental employment	Program expenditure about NOK 50 million (EUR 6.3 million) per year, aggregate; covered parental fees about NOK 11,000 (EUR 1,500) per child per year	Cited administrative figure; back-of-the-envelope; no benefit side
Work-first requirements (2016), Denmark; Arendt (2022)	Men ever employed +10 pp by one year; point-in-time employment +5–9 pp in months 9–13, no detectable gain at month 15; no effect for women	No detectable change in welfare receipt for men or women in months 7–15; delivery costs and monetary returns not reported	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Permanent residence, citizenship, and family reunification			
Stricter permanent-residency employment and language requirements (2007), Denmark; Arendt et al. (2025)	Annual employment −0.09 FTE (about −30%), averaged over years 3–7 since temporary residency	Welfare-benefit receipt +8.0 pp (SE 3.0) over the same period; monetary fiscal effect not quantified	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Shorter citizenship residency requirements (1991 and 2000 reforms), Germany; Gathmann and Keller (2018)	Women: employment +3.5 pp for a seven-year shorter requirement; no detectable employment effect for men (2005–2010 outcomes)	No detectable effect on unemployment- or welfare-benefit receipt for either sex; no monetary fiscal estimate	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Winning a naturalization referendum, Switzerland; Hainmueller et al. (2019)	Annual earnings +CHF 5,615 (EUR 6,500) (RD) or +CHF 4,426 (EUR 5,100) (DiD), averaged over 15 postreferendum years	No detectable effect on unemployment; disability-benefit receipt −1 pp in years 11–15 (DiD; $p = .08$)	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Tighter family-reunification rules for subsidiary-protected refugees, Austria; Gallegos Torres et al. (2024)	No significant employment or earnings effects over years 1–5 after protection.	No significant welfare-receipt effects over years 1–5; year 3: −0.9 pp (SE 6.9).	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation
Family-reunification application window for Convention refugees, Austria; Gallegos Torres et al. (2024)	Employment +9.5–10.0 pp at years 4–5; monthly earnings +EUR 235 (2015 prices; EUR 330 in 2025 prices) at year 4.	No significant welfare-receipt effects over years 1–5; year 4: −2.3 pp (SE 3.7).	Estimated transfer receipt; no monetary valuation

Notes: A row requires a randomized or quasi-experimental estimate of the effect of a policy or policy-determined exposure (placement conditions, asylum waiting time, or a naturalization decision) on adult employment, earnings, or job entry among refugees or other immigrants, together with a delivery cost, a monetary return or loss calculated by the authors, or an estimated effect on income-support receipt or payments. Null findings qualify. Reports on the same policy share a row, and a study that evaluates more than one policy appears in each relevant row. Benefit entitlements, voucher amounts, and treatment take-up alone do not qualify, nor do benefit effects reported only within a mediation analysis. A change in benefit receipt is not a monetary saving, transfer payments are only part of a fiscal balance, and a missing cost or return is not assumed to be zero. The euro amounts in parentheses are approximate 2025 equivalents. Where the price basis is clear, original amounts are adjusted using local consumer prices (or euro-area inflation for a multi-country total) and converted at 2025 annual average ECB exchange rates. Where the source states no price year, the equivalent assumes the midpoint of the period the amount covers and is marked "approx." Other amounts are shown as reported. The Danish Start Help spending estimate uses the underlying kroner. Discount rates, time horizons, and units follow the original studies. Basis gives the source of the evidence in the third column and any design qualifier, and "CI includes zero" marks a return based on an estimate whose 95% interval includes zero. $ and USD denote US dollars; pp, percentage points; PV, present value; CI, confidence interval; SE, standard error; SD, standard deviation; FTE, full-time equivalent; RD, regression discontinuity; DiD, difference-in-differences.

Appendix A. Study-level evidence tables

The following tables retain the full study-level record supporting the narrative synthesis. Each entry identifies the setting, study population, sample size, intervention, outcomes, design, and principal findings. They include complementary reviews, descriptive analyses, and design or simulation studies, so a table entry is not necessarily an independent causal evaluation. Related reports may study the same reform or cohort.

Sample sizes refer to the main analytical sample, with units and relevant outcome-specific differences indicated. Trial entries distinguish initial randomization from follow-up where necessary; clustered trials also report the assignment units. Reviews report the number of studies, while purely theoretical contributions have no empirical sample. Population descriptions distinguish refugees and asylum seekers from broader immigrant samples and identify refugee status inferred from other characteristics.

1. Settlement and dispersal: Table A1.
2. Matching and allocation design: Table A2.
3. Housing and reception: Table A3.
4. Asylum processing, employment bans, mobility restrictions, and labor-market access: Table A4.
5. Welfare benefits and restrictions: Table A5.
6. Language and integration programs: Table A6.
7. Active labor market programs: Table A7.
8. Mental health: Table A8.
9. Education: Table A9.
10. Permanent residency, citizenship, and family reunification: Table A10.

Table 1 follows the references. Its notes explain which studies it includes. The accompanying study ledger records source versions and links related evaluations where identified.

Table A1: Studies of the Effects of Refugee Allocation and Dispersal Policies

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Adserà et al. (2022) Norway	Refugees aged 18–60 at settlement	61,349 individuals	Assignment to municipalities of differing centrality (travel time to urban centers) and population size (small <10k, medium, large >60k)	Employment (indicator for employed or self-employed in a given year); tracked over first 8 years	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment using IMDi assignment records (ITT; controls for placement information; authors do not claim causal estimates, Oster bounds reported); LPM with municipality-clustered SEs; centrality & population size contrasts	Least central municipalities: highest early employment, but centrality differences disappear over time; men in large municipalities up to −8 pp; persistent disadvantage for low-educated men assigned to large municipalities
Aksoy et al. (2023) Germany	Refugees and asylum seekers aged 18–49	3,244 individuals; 2,493 aged 25–49	Assignment to counties with varying unemployment rates and attitudes toward immigrants	Employment (employed or in education; full- or part-time employment); net monthly wages; Multidimensional Integration Index (psychological, economic, political, social, linguistic, navigational dimensions)	Quasi-random dispersal across German counties; OLS with NUTS-2 and year FE; Twitter-based negative sentiment index	1 SD higher local unemployment or negative sentiment: employment −5 pp

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Andersen et al. (2023) Norway	UNHCR resettled refugees aged 25–59 at outcome measurement	25,601 individuals (2019); 3,118 neighborhoods	Initial placement (within assigned municipalities) in small neighborhoods (grunnkrets) with higher neighbor labor force participation rates	Employment probability in 2019 (arrivals 1990–2012; on average ∼20 years post-arrival)	Quasi-random placement of UNHCR quota refugees across Norwegian neighborhoods; LPM with administrative register data	1 SD higher neighborhood participation rate: employment +1.2 pp; +2.6 pp for men aged > 25 at arrival
Andersson (2021) Sweden	Likely refugees aged 18–55 (status inferred)	14,688 individuals	Assignment to municipalities with a higher share of self-employed co-ethnics	Entry into self-employment (within 5 years); long-term disposable income	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Sweden, 1990–91 arrival cohorts); OLS with arrival-municipality and country-by-cohort FE; share of self-employed co-ethnics as treatment	1 SD increase in share of self-employed co-ethnics: self-employment entry +2 pp over 5 years; co-ethnic quantity alone has no or negative effect; long-run (20-year) disposable income about 5% lower per SD
Åslund and Rooth (2007) Sweden	Refugees aged 19–55 when granted residence	47,089 individuals initially; varies by follow-up year	Assignment to local labor markets with varying unemployment rates; arrival during recession vs. boom	Log annual earnings; employment (positive earnings indicator)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Sweden, 1987–91 refugee cohorts); OLS on (log) unemployment in the assigned local labor market region (109 regions) in the year of immigration, plus an IV variant instrumenting second-year local unemployment with immigration-year unemployment (authors judge the IV exclusion restriction likely violated); recession-cohort comparison	Doubling initial local unemployment: employment −4 pp; effects persist at least 10 years

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Åslund et al. (2010) Sweden	Likely refugee adults (status inferred)	21,745 individuals; 12,655 in earnings models	Assignment to locations with varying proximity to jobs	Employment; log annual earnings (in 1999)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment; geo-coded job accessibility measure; OLS with assigned-location variation	Doubling jobs accessible from the initial location: employment +2.9 pp in 1999, 8–9 years after placement (base rate 43%); no significant effect on log earnings
Åslund and Fredriksson (2009) Sweden	Likely refugees aged 18–55 (status inferred)	22,556 individuals	Assignment to parishes (neighborhoods) with higher welfare use among co-ethnics	Welfare dependence (indicator for household welfare receipt in year 2000)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Sweden); OLS with peer-group quality (co-ethnic welfare use) variation at assigned parish	+10% ethnic peer welfare use: individual welfare receipt +0.2 pp after 9–10 years; peer quantity irrelevant or negative
Åslund et al. (2011) Sweden	Children of likely refugees; aged 0–16 at migration	20,039 children	Placement (via municipality assignment) in neighborhoods (SAMS areas) with a higher share of highly educated adults sharing the child's ethnicity	Compulsory school GPA (percentile rank); subject-specific grades	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Sweden); OLS with municipality/SAMS FE; share of highly educated co-ethnics in assigned neighborhood	1 SD higher share of highly educated co-ethnic adults in the neighborhood: GPA +0.8 percentile ranks (roughly a tenth of the native–refugee gap)
Auer (2017) Switzerland	Asylum-seeker jobseekers without unemployment-benefit entitlement	2,536 individuals (selected jobseeker sample)	Assignment to language regions (match vs. mismatch)	Employment (indicator for finding a job by time t)	Natural experiment; quasi-random assignment to Swiss language regions; OLS with language-region FE; language match/mismatch (mother tongue or caseworker-assessed proficiency); registered jobseekers are about 8% of asylum seekers, with matches overrepresented	Language match at placement: employment gain rising to roughly +12–15 pp by 24 months after jobseeker registration (working-paper Table 2 reports +12 pp, the text 15%), near zero and insignificant in the first months (estimates from the 2017 working-paper version); observational course-participation comparisons suggest a near-offset of mismatch

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Auer and Kunz (2025) Switzerland	Women who filed an asylum request in 2010–2017 and their first live birth in Switzerland	7,683 mothers and births; 370 mothers placed in a canton matching a language of their origin country	Conditionally random placement of asylum seekers across cantons; language match between the canton's dominant language (French or Italian) and a language spoken in the mother's country of origin	Birth weight (log); gestation (days); low birth weight (<2,500 g)	Conditionally random cantonal placement; generalized DiD comparing mothers from French- or Italian-speaking origins placed in matching versus non-matching cantons, relative to mothers from other origins; origin, canton, and arrival-time FE; SEs clustered by canton, with wild-bootstrap and permutation p-values	Language match: birth weight +72 g (2.2%; SE 0.008 log points); no detectable change in gestation. Low birth weight −2.9 pp against 4.65% among unmatched mothers, less precisely estimated (wild-bootstrap $p = 0.05$; permutation $p = 0.12$)
Azlor et al. (2020) Denmark	Refugees aged 18–59: household heads and jointly arriving spouses	5,096 individuals	Assignment to municipalities with higher employment rates	Employment probability (2–4 years post-arrival)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1999–2010); LPM with year-of-arrival FE; local employment rate as treatment	+1 pp higher local employment rate: refugee employment +0.5–0.6 pp (elasticity 1.1–1.8) after 2–4 years
Baalbergen et al. (2025) Netherlands	Refugees aged 18–55; family-reunification arrivals excluded	26,427 individuals in reported tables	Assignment to municipalities with better accessibility of education	Time to higher-education enrollment (applied or general university), with full-time employment and moving as competing risks	Quasi-random dispersal (Netherlands 2014–2017); competing-risks survival analysis (piecewise constant hazard); municipality-clustered SEs	One log increase in travel time to nearest university reduces monthly higher education enrollment by 0.019 pp (−0.027 pp for under-30s); dispersal to areas far from universities constrains enrollment

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Battisti et al. (2022) Germany	Working-age immigrants, including refugees and ethnic Germans	1,147 individuals; 311 in dispersal-policy subsample (about one-third asylum seekers)	Co-ethnic network exposure at arrival	Employment probability; log real daily wages in the longest full-time spell of the year; German language proficiency; job referral channel	Longitudinal IAB-SOEP immigrant sample; district, origin, and year controls; restricted dispersal-policy subsample. Conditional assignment/selection assumptions required.	1 SD larger initial co-ethnic network: employment +7.8 pp in years 0–3 in the full immigrant sample, fading thereafter. Restricted asylum-seeker/ethnic-German sample: about +13 pp initially and +11 pp in years 4–6
Beaman (2012) United States	Adult male resettled refugees without prior US family ties	1,720 men (employment); 1,125 employed men (wages)	Initial placement in cities with co-national networks of different sizes and arrival cohorts	Employment and hourly wages 90 days after arrival	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment; IRC placement with city and nationality-year FE; variation in network arrival cohorts	1 SD more co-nationals arriving one year earlier: employment −4.8 pp; two years earlier: +4.6 pp. More-tenured networks improve employment and hourly wages; same-year cohorts reduce employment
Biddle and Bozorgmehr (2024) Germany	Refugees subject to residence restrictions at baseline	1,466 individuals; 1,400 in fully adjusted models	Assignment to areas with higher socioeconomic deprivation	Change between baseline (2016–17) and 2018 follow-up in mental health (SF-12 MCS) and physical health (SF-12 PCS)	Quasi-random dispersal across German communes; linear regression on GISD deprivation quintiles (multilevel for the final MCS model; single-level for PCS, where no commune clustering is detected); mediation analysis	Moderate-high area deprivation (Q4 vs. Q1): larger decline in physical health, −2.2 points (SF-12 PCS, 95% CI −4.1 to −0.2); no significant effect on mental health

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Bratsberg et al. (2021) Norway	UNHCR resettled refugees	9,354 individuals in 1,395 neighborhoods	Initial placement in neighborhoods (within municipalities) varying in residents' voter turnout	Voter turnout in local elections	Quasi-random placement of UNHCR resettlement refugees within 27 Norwegian municipalities (arrivals 1990–2012); outcome is validated turnout in the 2015 local elections; random-intercept (empirical Bayes) model of aggregate neighborhood effects plus LPM with neighborhood residents' turnout (measured in 2015) as treatment	Predicted turnout gap between 20th and 80th percentile placement neighborhoods: 12.6 pp (47% of refugee–resident gap); a 1 SD higher neighborhood turnout raises refugee turnout by about 2–3 pp
Caiumi and Simonsen (2026) Denmark	Refugee adults (status partly inferred)	Approximately 15,570 individuals; 9,781–10,246 in preferred co-national network models	Assignment to municipalities where co-nationals are employed by high-quality employers (AKM firm premia)	Employment probability; annual earnings	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark, 1987–98 arrivals remaining at least 15 years); OLS (intention-to-treat) on the average AKM pay premium of establishments employing co-nationals in the assigned municipality; municipality and origin-by-cohort FE	1 SD higher pay premium of co-nationals' employers at arrival: employment +0.8 pp (years 1–5) and +1.3 pp (years 6–10), annual earnings +231 and +558 USD; positive but n.s. at 11–15 years; algorithmic reassignment predicts 46% higher short-run employment, rather than a realized policy gain
Dagnelie et al. (2019) United States	Resettled refugees aged 18–65 without prior US ties	75,645 individuals in preferred model; 73,578–75,832 across specifications	Co-ethnic network composition (entrepreneurs vs. employees) at initial placement	Employment 90 days after arrival	Quasi-random placement of refugees without US ties (WRAPS 2005–2010); OLS; co-ethnic network composition (entrepreneurs vs. employees)	1 SD more network entrepreneurs: employment +3.5 pp (11%); 1 SD more network employees: employment −4.4 pp (−14%) at 90 days

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Dahlberg and Valeyatheepillay (2018) Sweden	Refugees aged 18–65; placed cohort (status inferred) and later self-settled cohorts	42,445 individuals (13,957 placed; 28,488 comparison)	Geographic dispersal	Neighborhood composition (share natives, share non-Western immigrants, share high-income residents)	Descriptive analysis of dispersal policy (Sweden); individualized k-nearest neighborhoods; geocoded register data; cohort comparison (placed vs. self-settled)	In the arrival year, placed (1990/91) refugees lived in neighborhoods with about 80% natives vs. about 63% for later self-settled cohorts (1997–2004); the gap largely closes over time (descriptive cohort comparison); long-distance movers re-sort toward lower native and higher non-Western shares
Damm (2014) Denmark	Likely refugee men (status inferred)	15,436 men; 8,864 in earnings models	Assignment to neighborhoods with varying quality (employment rates, skill levels) of overall, immigrant, and co-ethnic residents	Employment probability; real annual earnings (2–6 years post-assignment)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); 2SLS using assigned neighborhood quality as IV; neighborhood-level skill and employment measures	One more year of mean education among non-Western immigrant male neighbors: employment +1.6 pp; 10 pp higher co-national male employment rate: earnings +16% (0.15 log points), years 2–6. The employment rate of non-Western neighbors turns insignificant once their education is controlled; neighborhood deprivation itself has no detectable 2SLS effect
Damm (2009) Denmark	Likely refugee adults (status inferred)	13,927 individuals; 5,647 with positive earnings at year 7	Assignment to municipalities with more co-nationals	Log annual earnings (7 years post-arrival)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark, 1986–93 arrival cohorts; policy 1986–98); 2SLS: log co-national stock in municipality of residence at $t + 7$, instrumented by the cumulative inflow of dispersal-assigned co-nationals to the assignment municipality	1 relative SD increase in ethnic enclave size: annual earnings +18%

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Damm et al. (2025) Denmark	Refugee children arriving with or soon after a parent	3,890–5,105 children in main school-outcome models; cohort 9,960	Assignment to neighborhoods with varying co-ethnic (co-language) concentration and co-ethnic employment rates	GPA rank (9th grade exit exams, overall/ Danish/Math); grade repetition; educational attainment; criminal convictions	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1999–2021); OLS with school/neighborhood FE; co-ethnic (co-language) neighbor share and employment rate as treatments	1 pp higher co-ethnic neighbor share: 9th-grade GPA rank −0.69 to −0.86 pp. A 1 pp higher co-ethnic employment rate lowers the probability of grade repetition by 0.08–0.10 pp (0.17–0.21% of the mean); a 1 pp higher municipal youth crime conviction rate raises male conviction probability at ages 15–21 by 5.4 pp (25%; $p <$ 0.10), and a 1 pp higher municipal co-language share by 8.6 pp (40%)
Damm and Rosholm (2010) Denmark	Likely refugee men aged 30–59 at arrival (status inferred)	5,920 men	Spatial dispersal policy (1986–1998); local characteristics at assignment	Time to first local or nonlocal job and to relocation	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment; trivariate mixed proportional hazards model for local employment, nonlocal employment, and relocation	A 1 pp higher unemployment rate lowers the local job-finding hazard by 5.1% without county fixed effects. With county fixed effects, the estimate is smaller and statistically insignificant. More social housing and vocational or higher-education institutions are associated with faster local job entry
Damm and Dustmann (2014) Denmark	Refugee children assigned before age 15 (status inferred)	4,425 children (2,453 boys; 1,972 girls)	Assignment to neighborhoods with higher youth crime conviction rates	Criminal convictions (ages 15–21); violent, property, and drug crime	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); OLS with municipality FE; share of convicted youth in assigned neighborhood as treatment	For boys, 1 SD higher youth conviction rate in the assignment area raises conviction probability at ages 15–21 by about 2–4 pp (5–9%; 4.3 pp with municipality FE); no detectable effect for girls; especially linked to exposure to convicted violent offenders

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Daysal et al. (2026) Denmark	Refugee children aged 0–17 at arrival (status partly inferred), followed into adulthood	12,415 children; 10,474 with adult income ranks	Initial placement in municipalities with higher intergenerational income mobility, measured using earlier resident cohorts	Adult income rank and earnings; employment; education; crime; teen parenthood	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (1986–98); quasi-random municipal assignment, controlling for arrival year, origin, and family characteristics; predetermined opportunity measured at arrival; municipality-clustered SEs	2 SD higher local opportunity: income rank +2.93 percentile points and annual earnings +$1,726 (8.8%; 2015 PPP USD) at ages 26–30; employment +4.0 pp at age 26; convictions through age 30 −14%, with no significant change in any-conviction probability; modest education effects; teen parenthood −0.6 pp (19%; $p < 0.10$)
Degenhardt (2026) Austria	Male refugees and subsidiary-protection holders aged 18–55	Over 35,000 individuals	Initial seasonal hospitality demand at work access	Employment; cumulative earnings; job quality	Conditional quasi-random placement and seasonal demand; region-year and month fixed effects	Up to +3 pp early employment per SD demand; fades after about one year. Higher cumulative three-year earnings; access timing inferred from insurance records.
Dustmann et al. (2023) Denmark	Refugee children assigned before age 15 (status inferred)	8,172 children (4,380 boys; 3,792 girls); 8,173 in adult-outcome panel	Assignment to municipalities with higher gang crime rates	Criminal convictions for crimes committed at ages 15–18 (any, violent, group, property); teenage motherhood; inactivity, earnings, and welfare receipt at ages 19–28	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); OLS with municipality FE; gang crime rate in assigned municipality as treatment	1 SD higher gang crime: boys assigned at ages 7–14 have 6 pp (17.5%) higher conviction probability before age 19; girls have 2 pp (41%) higher teenage motherhood. Later effects include male inactivity and female earnings/welfare claims
Eckert et al. (2022) Denmark	Male refugees aged 19–55 from eight origin countries, arriving 1986–1998	20,493 individuals (5,530 assigned to Copenhagen; 14,963 elsewhere); 97,402 person-year wage observations	Initial placement in the Copenhagen commuting zone rather than elsewhere under the 1986–1998 dispersal policy	Log hourly wage; log annual earnings; never employed (1986–2012)	Quasi-random municipal assignment; OLS of log wages on years of Danish work experience, initial assignment to Copenhagen, and their interaction, with nationality and arrival-year FE; SEs clustered by initial commuting zone	No initial hourly-wage difference; among those who work, wages grow 0.81 pp faster per year of work experience for those assigned to Copenhagen (SE 0.15; about 35% faster). Annual earnings start about 7 log points lower and catch up after about 3.5 years of work experience. Low-educated refugees assigned to Copenhagen are 3.7 pp more likely never to work

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Edin et al. (2003) Sweden	Likely refugees aged 18–55 (status inferred)	9,883 individuals; 6,393 in earnings models (positive earnings); 2,205 low-educated	Assignment to municipalities with a higher share of co-ethnics	Log annual earnings (8 years post-arrival)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Sweden); 2SLS using assigned ethnic concentration as IV for enclave size eight years after arrival	1 SD increase in ethnic concentration: earnings +13% for less-skilled immigrants; enclave quality matters
Edin et al. (2004) Sweden	Refugee immigrants aged 18–55 at entry, identified by origin country; arrival cohorts 1987–1989 (reform) and 1981–1983 (pre-reform)	9,883 individuals in the 1987–1989 cohort and 2,679 in the 1981–1983 cohort; 54,448 in the main regressions including the comparison group (42,587 for earnings)	1985 reception reform as a package: assignment to an initial municipality away from the big cities, with income support and language courses during an introductory period	Log annual earnings (those with positive earnings); idleness; welfare receipt; all eight years after arrival	DiD comparing the 1987–1989 and 1981–1983 refugee arrival cohorts with non-OECD immigrants who arrived 1975–1980; decomposition into a location component, identified from initial placement, and a residual common component	Eight years after arrival: earnings −0.285 log points (SE 0.035; authors: about 25%) among those with positive earnings, idleness +6.2 pp, welfare receipt +10.8 pp. Location component: −0.077 log points, +3.0 pp, +3.9 pp; the remainder is common to all locations, which the authors tentatively relate to a shift from labor-market integration to income support
Foged et al. (2024a) Denmark	Refugees and accompanying family migrants aged 18–55 at arrival (status partly inferred)	Placement: 15,571, 15,082, 14,722 individuals over successive 5-year windows	Assignment to strong labor markets and proximity to other refugees	Employment probability; annual earnings (long-run follow-up)	Multi-policy evaluation (Denmark): staggered DiD (ALMP "Industry Packages"); RD (welfare payment cuts; language training expansion); dispersal-based quasi-experiment (initial placement)	Placement in the top versus bottom quartile of municipal non-Western immigrant employment (about 1.3 SD) raised employment by about 2 pp and annual earnings by US$1,070 (2015 prices) in years 11–15; expanded language training: employment +5–6 pp and earnings up to +$3,000/year; ALMP job-matching: positive short-run; welfare cuts and co-ethnic housing: no long-run effect
Foverskov et al. (2024) Denmark	Infants born to refugee women (maternal refugee status inferred)	15,118 infants of 7,002 women; 7,947 infants within 5 years	Assignment to neighborhoods with higher disadvantage	Low birth weight; preterm birth; small-for-gestational-age	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); linear probability models; linked maternal settlement and birth registers	1 SD higher neighborhood disadvantage: low birth weight +0.61 pp (18%) and preterm birth +0.64 pp (15%) for births within 5 years of resettlement; +0.38 pp and +0.35 pp for all births within 20 years; estimates attenuate with municipality fixed effects

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Foverskov et al. (2022) Denmark	Refugee children aged 0–16 at resettlement (status inferred)	18,709 children and adolescents	Assignment to neighborhoods with higher disadvantage	First psychiatric diagnosis before age 30 (inpatient or outpatient)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); Cox proportional hazards; neighborhood disadvantage index; register follow-up to age 30	1 SD neighborhood disadvantage: psychiatric disorder hazard +11% (HR 1.11) among children/adolescents
Foverskov et al. (2023) Denmark	Refugees aged 18+ at arrival (status inferred)	42,067 individuals	Assignment to neighborhoods with higher socioeconomic disadvantage	Psychiatric diagnoses; psychiatric medication usage (up to 30-year follow-up)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); Cox proportional hazards & LPM; municipality FE; neighborhood disadvantage index	High versus low disadvantage: psychiatric-diagnosis HR 1.14; psychiatric-medication HR 1.05. These are category contrasts, not per-SD effects.
Godøy (2017) Norway	Quota refugees aged 18–55 at immigration	7,394 individuals	Assignment to labor-market regions with higher non-OECD immigrant employment rates	Annual labor earnings (thousands of NOK), measured for up to 10 years after arrival	Quasi-random placement of quota refugees (Norway); OLS with characteristics of the assigned labor-market region (46 regions); non-OECD immigrant employment rate as treatment	Simulation assigning everyone to the region with the highest immigrant employment rate: predicted earnings +26% relative to actual allocation. Does not impose regional capacity constraints; not a realized assignment treatment.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hasager and Jørgensen (2026) Denmark	Refugees aged 18–64 at arrival (status inferred)	21,965 individuals	Assignment to low-income vs. high-income neighborhoods	Lifestyle-related disease incidence (circulatory, nutritional/ endocrine/ metabolic, COPD, hip arthrosis, alcohol-related; effect driven by hypertensive disease; 8–15 years post-arrival); mechanism tests	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); register-based hospital diagnoses; LPM with municipality-of-assignment FE, bottom vs. middle/top third of parishes by median income; mechanism tests via effects on intermediate outcomes (labor market, transfers, education, GP and psychologist visits) and by varying the neighborhood unit down to apartment buildings	Low- vs. high-income neighborhood allocation raises lifestyle-related disease risk by 12% at years 8–15; patterns suggest neighborhood interactions/environment as mechanisms, without separately identifying those channels
Jaschke et al. (2026) Germany	Refugees and asylum seekers	6,679 survey respondents; 3,184 linked to administrative employment records	Assignment to regions with varying hostility (anti-immigrant parties, hate crimes)	Cultural preferences (stated values convergence); employment; monthly gross earnings; job characteristics	Quasi-random dispersal across German regions (2013–2016); OLS with region FE; composite threat index (historical & contemporaneous xenophobia); survey + administrative data	Refugees in hostile regions (75th vs. 25th percentile of threat) converge culturally 39% faster; employment rises by ∼9 pp per year regardless of threat, but earnings growth is 22% slower in high-threat regions
Kanas and Kosyakova (2023) Germany	Working-age refugees and asylum seekers	2,730 individuals	Assignment to counties with greater supply of integration courses	Employment; German language proficiency; integration course completion; language certificate; contacts with Germans	Quasi-random dispersal (Germany); LPM with federal-state, survey-year, survey-sample and origin FE plus county-level controls; supply of integration courses in the initial county of residence as treatment; IAB-BAMF-SOEP survey	1 SD higher county supply of integration courses increases employment probability by 2.97 pp; effect persists over duration of stay

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Khalil et al. (2022) Germany	Refugees and asylum seekers	6,985 individuals	Rural versus urban residence at the time of interview, with differing language exposure	German language skills (self-assessed speaking, reading, writing); language course participation; contacts with Germans	Observational comparison of current residence in the IAB-BAMF-SOEP survey, movers included; regression-adjustment ATE estimator with DAG-based covariate selection (IPW/ IPWRA robustness); rural–urban contrast	No significant rural penalty on language; rural areas reduce BAMF course access by 3.2 pp but increase German contact by 4.6 pp, offsetting each other
Kim et al. (2023) Denmark	Refugees aged 40+ at arrival (status inferred); immigrant and native-born comparison cohorts	9,854 refugees in primary cohort	Assignment to neighborhoods with higher disadvantage	Dementia incidence; all-cause mortality (up to 30-year follow-up)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); Cox proportional hazards; neighborhood disadvantage index	Per one-unit increase in the disadvantage index (range −8 to 5.7): no statistically detectable dementia association; mortality HR 0.96 for refugees versus 1.11 for native-born Danes (correlational comparison)
Martén et al. (2019) Switzerland	Temporarily admitted people (F permits), freely assignable to cantons	8,593 individuals	Assignment to cantons with more co-nationals (larger existing co-national network)	Employment probability (years 1–5 after arrival)	Quasi-random canton assignment (Switzerland, F-permit holders arriving 2008–2013); OLS (linear probability) with country, canton and year FE, processing-center controls; log number of co-nationals in the assigned canton in the previous year as treatment; 5-year residence restriction	10% more co-nationals in the assigned canton: employment about +0.3 pp at year 3 (about 2% relative); the effect peaks at year 3 and remains positive but imprecisely estimated by year 5; co-nationals disproportionately share employers, which suggests networks transmit job information

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Meyer and Winkler (2023) Germany	Refugees aged 18–30	5,126 individuals in 309 districts	Residence (at survey) in districts with higher GDP per capita, lower unemployment, and more small enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants	Transition to vocational education and training (VET or apprenticeship)	Observational (not assignment-based); multilevel discrete-time event history analysis with district random intercepts; IAB-BAMF-SOEP 2016–2020; district (NUTS-3) characteristics	In the full model, district GDP and unemployment predict VET transition (log-hazard coefficients 0.551 and −0.083). The small-firm coefficient is positive but not significant (0.275)
Müller et al. (2023) Switzerland	Refugees with different residence-permit statuses	89,407 individuals; 13,615 in survey-linked subset	Assignment to cantons with higher unemployment, more restrictive attitudes, and larger co-national networks	Employment probability (over the life cycle, up to 20 years)	Quasi-random canton assignment (Switzerland 1998–2018); OLS with canton FE; administrative social security data; unemployment rate, attitudes, & log number of co-nationals as treatments	Higher initial unemployment predicts persistently lower employment. Attitude estimates differ by contrast: within-canton increases in restrictiveness correlate positively with employment; the between-canton relationship is negative. No single welcoming-attitudes effect summarizes both. The size of the co-national network at arrival has no significant effect on employment overall (positive for women, negative for men).

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Schilling and Stillman (2024) Germany	Refugees aged 18–65	3,188 individuals in economic models; 2,728 in social-integration models	Assignment to municipalities with higher vote shares for right-wing parties	Economic integration index (employment, integration-course enrollment, German skills, hours studying German); social integration index (feeling welcome, trust, feeling disadvantaged due to heritage, time with Germans and German neighbors)	Quasi-random dispersal (Germany); OLS; AfD vote share as proxy for native attitudes; IAB-BAMF-SOEP survey	10 pp higher AfD vote share: social integration −0.13 SD in the preferred specification with local controls and state FE (−0.15 SD with individual controls only; −0.19 SD with county FE). Economic integration is −0.09 SD with individual controls only but not significant once state or county FE are added; local unemployment matters more for economic integration
Schmid (2023) Switzerland	Working-age African refugees with subsidiary protection (F permit) from French-/English-speaking countries	5,043 individuals	Assignment to language regions (language border)	Employment level (first 5 years post-arrival)	Natural experiment; quasi-random assignment to Swiss cantons; DiD comparing French-speaking refugees across language regions, adjusted with English-speaking refugees; administrative panel data	French-speaking African refugees assigned to French- rather than German-speaking Switzerland: employment +10.5 pp (167%) in the first 5 years
Schofield et al. (2024) Denmark	Refugees, including families (status partly inferred)	44,033 individuals	Assignment to neighborhoods with fewer co-nationals	Non-affective psychosis; PTSD; mood disorders; stress disorders (register-based diagnoses, follow-up to 2019)	Dispersal-based quasi-experiment (Denmark 1986–1998); multilevel Poisson regression; co-national/refugee share in assigned neighborhood	Lowest vs. highest co-national-density quartile: higher incidence of psychosis (IRR 1.25) and PTSD (IRR 1.21)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Tsolak and Bürmann (2023) Germany	Working-age refugees with a pre-migration occupation	2,251 individuals (employment); 466 employed individuals (occupation match)	Assignment based on various general local characteristics	Employment; occupational match (employed in pre-migration occupation)	Quasi-random dispersal (Germany); LPM with region and/or occupation FE; local-occupational labor market characteristics; IAB-BAMF-SOEP survey	Employment: 1 SD (5.3 pp) lower general local unemployment raises employment probability by about 11% (about +1.9 pp on a 17.4% base), whereas general local labor demand has no detectable effect; occupational match: 1 SD higher local foreign share in pre-migration occupation raises match probability by about 25% (about +3.6 pp on a 14.4% base)
Vogiazides and Mondani (2020) Sweden	Refugees aged 18–59: assigned housing, self-settled, and quota refugees	61,699 individuals	Residence in region types (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, large-city and small-city/rural labor market areas); assigned, self-arranged and quota refugees	Entry into first employment (time to event)	Observational; discrete-time event history models; Swedish register data, arrival cohorts 2000–2009 followed for up to nine years; regional & neighborhood context; region-type (LMA) contrast	Among men with self-arranged housing, Malmö has 7.5 pp lower first-employment probability than Stockholm. Higher non-Western neighborhood share is negatively associated with employment; small-city/rural regions are also favorable

Table A2: Studies of Matching Schemes for Refugee Allocation

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
A. Preference-based matching						
Delacrétaz et al. (2023) Resettlement (general framework)	Refugee families and resettlement localities (theoretical model); simulations use families resettled by HIAS (US)	Simulations: 329 HIAS families (839 refugees) across 20 localities, October 2016–October 2017; preferences simulated	Preference-based mechanisms with multidimensional (knapsack) capacity constraints and location priorities	Efficiency (preference satisfaction); strategy-proofness; respect for locality priorities (interference-freeness) under multidimensional capacity constraints	Theory & mechanism design; simulations of matching trade-offs	Preference-based matching mechanisms can improve refugee–locality match efficiency under knapsack constraints
Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Rapoport (2014) International refugee resettlement (general); EU member states in the 2015 application	International migrants/refugees and receiving countries (theoretical model)	Not applicable (theory and numerical illustrations)	Hybrid policy proposal: tradable immigration quotas coupled with a two-sided matching mechanism (migrants' preferences over destinations; countries' preferences over migrant types)	Burden-sharing efficiency; preference satisfaction	Theory (tradable quotas + matching) with numerical examples; proposed applications to UNHCR resettlement, climate displacement, and an OECD visa lottery; EU application with a Malta (EUREMA) illustration in the 2015 CESifo paper (Fernández-Huertas Moraga and Rapoport, 2015)	Tradable immigration quotas reveal countries' comparative advantages in hosting and, coupled with matching, exploit them efficiently (theory)
Jones and Teytelboym (2018) Local allocation (general)	Refugees and resettlement communities (conceptual design)	Not applicable (conceptual paper)	Preference-based "clearinghouse" matching refugees to localities subject to capacities/ priorities	Preference satisfaction (efficiency); strategy-proofness; feasibility under locality capacities/priorities; legitimacy	Conceptual/design paper; clearinghouse matching mechanism; institutional prerequisites	Two-sided matching system proposed to respect refugee preferences and locality priorities (mechanism design)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Jones and Teytelboym (2017) International resettlement and EU responsibility sharing (general)	Refugees and receiving countries (policy proposal)	Not applicable (policy/market-design proposal)	Preference-based matching refugees to states (and/or states to refugees) under quotas	Preference satisfaction; efficiency; participation incentives	Policy/market-design proposal; preference-based matching under quotas	Centralized matching clearinghouse proposed for international refugee–state burden-sharing (mechanism design)
B. Outcome-based matching						
Ahani et al. (2021) United States	HIAS refugee families without prior US ties; working-age employment outcomes	Backtest: 329 cases (498 working-age refugees); training: 2,486 individuals	Outcome-based: ML predictions + integer optimization under location capacities	Short-run employment (90-day); feasibility under capacity constraints	Backtesting on HIAS administrative data; optimized vs. status quo assignments; models trained on 2010–2016 arrivals and evaluated on FY2017 arrivals	Annie MOORE software predicts +22%–38% improvement in short-run employment via optimized placement
Ahani et al. (2024) United States	Refugee families resettled by HIAS	Backtests: 1,670–4,150 refugees (640–1,630 cases) per year	Outcome-based (dynamic): online/dynamic assignment under sequential arrivals and capacities	Employment probability under dynamic sequential arrivals	Simulation/algorithmic evaluation; online assignment under capacity constraints; six annual HIAS arrival sequences, FY2014–2019	Algorithmic evaluation: two-stage stochastic programming achieves 98–99% of hindsight-optimal predicted employment vs. 89–92% for the greedy baseline (99% in FY2018, when capacities were slack); accommodates families, batching, and arrival uncertainty
Bansak et al. (2018) United States; Switzerland	Working-age resettled refugees (US) and subsidiary-protection holders (Switzerland)	Backtests: 919 in US, 888 in Switzerland; full data: 33,782 and 22,159 people, respectively	Outcome-based: ML predictions + optimal matching under location capacities exploiting person×place complementarities	Employment: 90 days (US); end of third calendar year (Switzerland)	Backtesting with primary held-out samples restricted to freely assignable refugees	Predicted employment: 34% to 48% (US) and 15% to 26% (Switzerland), about +14 and +11 pp; 40–70% relative gains, not realized trial effects
Bansak et al. (2026a) Switzerland	Adult recognized refugees and subsidiary-protection holders in freely placeable fast-track cases	2,000 analyzed cases (2,156 adults); 2,050 eligible randomized cases by cutoff	GeoMatch employment-optimized canton recommendations vs. quota-matched status quo recommendations	Case-mean share of adult months employed over 3 years; employment at month 36	Double-blind case-randomized RCT, 2020–2023; separate mirrored canton/origin quotas; officers retain final authority	Primary ITT: +2.19 pp (95% CI 0.05–4.33), control mean 22.3%. Month-36 any-adult employment: +5.2 pp (1.10–9.25; secondary). Realized effects, distinct from backtests.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Bansak and Paulson (2024) United States; Switzerland	Freely assignable refugee cases in US and Swiss agency data	Backtest: 1,175 US and 1,502 Swiss cases (2016)	Outcome-based (dynamic): minimum-discord sequential assignment under quotas, with an allocation-balancing variant	Employment; quota balance over time	Algorithm + backtesting on US and Swiss data; minimum-discord online placement (the rule used in the Swiss GeoMatch RCT) and allocation balancing; 2016 test cohorts, 2015 arrivals as sampling pool	Backtests: minimum-discord placement attains 95–98% of hindsight-optimal employment, roughly 40–50% above actual placements; the balancing variant achieves near-perfect balance over time at a cost of 2–5% of that employment. Algorithmic counterfactuals, not realized intervention effects
Bansak et al. (2026b) United States (agency setting)	Working-age refugees resettled by a US partner agency; tied and free cases	Backtests: 3,819 cases (2015), 4,980 cases (2016); about 70% tied	Outcome-based (dynamic): sequential placement under quotas with post-allocation service capacity (congestion)	Employment match value; congestion/ over-allocation penalties	Algorithm + backtesting on partner-agency data; learning-based online method; 2015–2016 backtests, 2014 tuning; working-paper version, Oct. 2025	Backtests predict about 50% higher free-case employment vs. actual placement (the authors caution against reading this at face value, since actual placements faced unobserved constraints) and a 20–48% better combined objective vs. a sampling-based benchmark adapted from Bansak and Paulson (2024). In 2015, over-allocation and backlog are 34% and 16% lower vs. that benchmark
Bansak et al. (2024) Netherlands (asylum seekers)	Adult asylum-permit holders in the Netherlands; family reunifiers excluded from the test cohort only	Approximately 46,000 individuals in refugee dataset; test cohort June–August 2018	Outcome-based matching (modeling): proxy/ hybrid outcomes to handle delayed policy-outcome labels under distribution shift	Fraction of time worked in first two years; short-run employment proxy	Prediction/backtesting under distribution shift; Dutch asylum-seeker application using COA/ CBS data, June–August 2018 test cohort; separate Project STAR illustration	Hybrid predictions combining short-run proxy and long-run outcomes have 20–25% lower mean-squared prediction error than standard or proxy-only predictions under distribution shift and, in a counterfactual assignment of the 2018 test cohort (status quo two-year employment 14.26%), yield the largest simulated gain in two-year employment. Simulated, not realized, gains.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Ferwerda et al. (2020) Canada	Economic-immigrant principal applicants; not refugee-specific	Simulation: 17,640 Express Entry applicants; estimation: 203,290 applicants	Voluntary destination recommendations for economic immigrants, combining predicted earnings with acceptable-location preferences	Employment income in the first full calendar year after arrival	Administrative-data modeling and simulations across 52 economic regions; Express Entry 2015–2016 cohorts	Simulated mean cohort earnings gains of about C$1,100 with 10% assumed uptake and 10 acceptable destinations, or C$3,400 with 15% uptake and 25 acceptable destinations. Predicted gains, not observed intervention effects
Freund et al. (2023) United States; Netherlands	Adult refugee cases (US) and asylum-seeker cases (Netherlands)	Backtests: 1,175 US and 1,543 Dutch free cases (2016)	Outcome-based (dynamic): employment-maximizing assignment with group-fairness constraints under quotas	Employment; fairness across groups defined by country of origin (US) or age and education (Netherlands)	Algorithm + backtesting on US/Netherlands data; bid-price methods with fairness constraints; 2016 free-case cohorts	Group-fair algorithms yield ≈1%–2% global loss while substantially improving subgroup fairness (US/Netherlands; EC '23/working-paper version; the December 2023 arXiv version reports ≈1%–5% against an offline fairness-constrained benchmark)
C. Hybrid preference–outcome schemes						
Acharya et al. (2022) United States (resettlement agency data, 2011–2016; also Tennessee school assignment)	US refugee families; separate Tennessee student illustration	Refugee backtest: 561 families (919 adults); student illustration: 1,000 students	Hybrid: constrained priority mechanism combining preferences/priorities with an outcome floor	Predicted employment; welfare/priority objectives	Method paper + simulated illustration; mechanism applied to 2016 Q3 US refugee arrivals, with preferences inferred from secondary migration; separate Tennessee student illustration	Constrained priority mechanism combines outcome-based and preference-based matching; strategy-proof and constrained efficient

Table A3: Studies of Housing, Accommodation, and Community-Based Reception

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Reception centers and housing type						
Bakker et al. (2014) Netherlands	Refugees who previously lived in asylum accommodation	2,709 respondents (employment/benefits); 950 workers (job quality); 2,907 eligible respondents	Asylum-accommodation duration; residence status	Employment; social-benefit dependency; occupational status; permanent contract; mental health (mediator)	SEM on the 2009 SING cross-sectional survey	Duration: no adverse direct path from length of stay to employment or benefit receipt (small positive association between 3–5-year stays and employment, $\beta = .06$); stays over 5 years relate to worse mental health, with modest indirect associations with lower employment ($\beta = -.06$) and higher benefit receipt ($\beta = .06$). Temporary status relates to lower employment ($\beta = -.10$) and greater benefit dependency ($\beta = .06$); mental health relates to employment ($\beta = .23$) and benefit dependency ($\beta = -.22$), but these are not direct accommodation-duration effects
Bevelander et al. (2019) Sweden	Refugees: self-housed, agency-housed, and resettled	$N = 87{,}150$ refugees (52,795 men; 34,355 women)	Self-arranged vs. assigned housing	Employment probability (by gender)	Logistic regression with individual and location controls; joint location/employment model (SURE) as a robustness check. Comparison of self-arranged housing (EBO), agency-assigned housing (ABO), and resettled refugees; unobserved selection into housing remains possible	Men in self-arranged housing (EBO) have higher odds of employment in 2012 than men in agency housing (ABO) (odds ratios 1.50 vs. 1.31 relative to resettled refugees; difference significant at 5%); for women, EBO and ABO do not differ (both 1.36). Outcome measured in 2012 for 1998–2010 arrivals (at least two years after arrival). Self-selected housing and existing networks limit causal interpretation.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
de Vroome and van Tubergen (2010) Netherlands	First-generation refugee household heads aged 18–65 from five origin countries	$N = 3{,}269$ household heads; 1,439 employed (occupational status)	Reception center duration	Employment probability; occupational status (ISEI)	Logistic and Heckman-corrected OLS regression on the 2003 SPVA cross-sectional survey	>2 years in reception centers: employment −0.53 (logit) and occupational status −11.8 ISEI points vs. never in center; statistical adjustment for post-migration human capital accounts for much of the employment association
Khalil and Tjaden (2025) Germany	Asylum seekers and refugees in the IAB-BAMF-SOEP panel	8,672 baseline people; main analysis: 11,975 person-years (distinct N not reported)	Reception center duration (time until move to private housing)	German language proficiency; contact with host population; employment status	Inverse probability weighting on IAB-BAMF-SOEP panel data, with balance and overlap checks and alternative matching estimators. Supplementary staggered difference-in-differences analysis of moves into private housing, subject to sample-size restrictions and potentially unmet identifying assumptions. Outcomes observed at least 24 months after arrival.	At most 12 vs. at least 19 months in reception centers, outcomes measured ≥24 months after arrival (on average 3–4 years): host-population contact +4.0 pp and good/very good self-rated language +5.7 pp; no statistically detectable employment effect. Effects shrink at longer post-arrival horizons: contact loses significance after 36 months, while language remains significant at 49+ months (+4.2 pp, $p = 0.011$). Effects are driven by 7–18-month rather than 1–6-month stays
Private hosting						
Foged et al. (2025) Denmark	Ukrainian refugees; first adult arrivals in their families	10,349 adults; employment and transfer estimates use 7,553 (quarter 1) and 5,871 (quarter 6); survey outcomes about 3,200	Private hosting vs. public housing (Ukrainian refugees)	Employment; earnings; public transfer receipt; psychological well-being; social integration	Capacity-driven placement within municipalities, conditional on household characteristics and municipality and arrival-month effects; balance checks on additional pre-arrival characteristics support identification. Comparison of private hosting, pop-up shelters, and conventional public housing over 18 months	Private hosting vs. conventional housing: first-quarter employment +10 pp (29%), conditional log earnings +0.166, transfers −17 pp. At 18 months, employment difference is not significant and transfers remain −12 pp; depression symptom severity and navigational integration improve, while language enrollment and self-rated Danish skills decline

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Herpell et al. (2025) Germany	Ukrainian refugees who applied to a private-hosting platform and remained in Germany	N = 1,700 survey respondents; outcome-specific N varies	Private hosting via matching platform (Ukrainian refugees)	Multidimensional integration index (social, psychological, navigational, linguistic, economic, political dimensions)	Comparison exploiting platform matching, conditional on observed registration characteristics (selection on observables); balance checks on additional pre-arrival characteristics. Survey nonresponse weighting; IPL-12 survey in June 2023, median 14 months after arrival	Receiving a host match increases the overall IPL-12 index by ≈0.20 SD (ITT); estimated effect of actual hosting ≈0.50 SD among those induced to move in (LATE). Main estimates show gains in social (0.31 SD), psychological (0.16 SD), and navigational (0.10 SD) integration; no statistically detectable linguistic, economic, or political effects
Private sponsorship programs						
Dillon et al. (2026) United States	Resettled refugees; working-age principal applicants and their cases	N = 14,987 cases in 29 locations; 965 received either support type; outcome-specific N varies	Agency-assigned co-sponsorship; sponsors do not name cases	Employment (90-day); outmigration; English-class and school enrollment; travel-loan repayment (November 2024)	Selection on observables grounded in pre-arrival agency assignment: researchers observe staff's administrative information; team availability varies. DML estimates ATT conditional on case characteristics, location, and arrival timing; 2015–2024.	Pooled ATTs: 90-day employment +6.2 pp (95% CI: 3.0–9.3), spousal employment +3.2 pp, English-class enrollment +4.6 pp, outmigration −1.8 pp; all school-age children enrolled +1.6 pp (95% CI: −0.2–3.5). Employment: formal cosponsors +4.8 pp, support groups +7.9 pp. Loan repayment −8.6 pp in primary specification; not reproduced with causal forests or the post-March-2022 sample.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Kaida et al. (2020) Canada	Privately sponsored and government-assisted refugees	Year-1 sample: $N = 283{,}834$ refugees; longitudinal sample varies by outcome	Private vs. government-assisted refugees	Employment rate; annual earnings (tracked up to 15 years post-arrival); heterogeneity by education and language	OLS regression on Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) administrative records; PSR vs. GAR comparison with compositional controls	PSR–GAR employment gaps in year 1 are 19 pp for men and 25 pp for women (unadjusted); the adjusted employment advantage narrows sharply in years 1–3 but remains statistically significant through year 15. Adjusted year-15 log-earnings gaps among the employed are 0.05 for men and 0.04 for women, larger among less-educated refugees. The advantage varies little by official-language knowledge at landing (the hypothesis of larger gains for those without English/French is rejected; in the long run PSRs with English/French have the larger earnings advantage)
Picot et al. (2019) Canada	Working-age refugees from 13 origin groups	$N = 258{,}910$ refugee tax filers (rounded to nearest five)	Private vs. government-assisted refugees	Employment rate; annual earnings (by source country, admission class, and refugee program type)	OLS regression on Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB); comparison across 13 refugee source countries and admission categories	PSR vs. GAR (adjusted for human capital, source country, and local economic conditions): the PSR annual-earnings advantage of about $2,800 (men) and $2,400 (women) in year 1 falls to $300–400 by year 10 ($900–1,400 at year 15); the authors conclude that program of entry has little effect on earnings after a decade. Descriptive origin-country heterogeneity: after 15 years, the five highest-earning refugee-origin groups earn 80–110% of family-class immigrant earnings; the five lowest earn 50–70%

Table A4: Studies of Asylum Processing, Employment Bans, Mobility Restrictions, and Work-Permit and Regularization Policies

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Ahrens et al. (2023) Switzerland	Refugees and asylum seekers	67,771 people; smaller wage subsample	Employment opportunity restrictions set by cantons: temporary employment bans, priority for residents, sector and geographic limits	Employment rate; annual earnings; hourly wages; wage gap with natives	Exogenous cantonal assignment and within-canton variation in employment bans and sector, geographic, and priority restrictions; AHV–ZEMIS panel, 1999–2016; hourly wages from linked SESS, 2012–2018.	Months under an employment ban: −12 pp employment; priority enforcement: −5.6 pp (32% of the 17.2% mean); removing about 30% of potential jobs: −1.6 pp ($p < 0.1$). Sector and geographic restrictions that remove 10% of accessible jobs reduce refugee hourly wages by 2.8%, via reduced outside options
Amuedo-Dorantes and Bansak (2011) United States	Newly legalized Latino immigrants and Hispanic U.S.-born comparison workers	2,782 male and 2,333 female observations (employment); 923 men and 521 women (wage growth)	IRCA regularization of undocumented immigrants	Employment; unemployment; labor-force participation; hourly wages	Panel DiD, 1987–1992, comparing LPS respondents with NLSY79 controls; wage-growth analysis conditions on employment in both periods.	Employment −6.1 pp for men and −10.7 pp for women; male unemployment +5.7 pp; female labor-force nonparticipation +8.0 pp. Log hourly-wage growth +0.104 for men (SE 0.053) and +0.189 for women (SE 0.089). Detailed estimates from March 2011 manuscript
Åslund et al. (2024) Sweden	Adults granted protection	20,720 people; 62,694 in supplementary sample	Asylum waiting duration (processing-time shock)	Accumulated earnings; employment; participation in language training & active labor market programs; psychiatric and other prescribed medications; inpatient hospitalizations (psychiatric and non-psychiatric)	IV using the rapid increase in pending asylum applications as an instrument for processing time; main application cohort April–September 2014.	Each additional month of asylum waiting lowers cumulative earnings in the four years after application by 2.6%; results emphasize delayed entry rather than persistent human-capital loss

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Bahar et al. (2025) Colombia	Native Colombian workers; Venezuelan migrants in policy counterfactuals	24 departments (aggregate analysis)	Work permits for displaced Venezuelans	Formal/ informal employment; tax revenue; skill matching	Synthetic IV and triple differences; distinguishes permit-policy exposure from migrant-arrival shocks; complementary structural counterfactuals.	Permits increased native informal and reduced native formal salaried employment (triple DiD); model-based quantification implies about 24,440 net formal jobs and about US$43m annual tax revenue (assuming mean formal wages); suggestive evidence of reduced skill mismatch.
Borjas and Edo (2026) France	Low-skilled French and non-French workers, ages 18–64	20 regions (employment analysis)	1981 regularization of undocumented immigrants	Employment and wages of resident workers	Synthetic control, regional DiD, and synthetic DiD; Paris compared with other regions using LFS and DADS-EDP, 1978–1988.	Low-educated French men's employment +4 pp in 1982–1983; wages +3–5% in 1984–1988 in samples accounting for employment selection. Regional spillovers; French status denotes citizenship, including naturalized immigrants
Brücker et al. (2020) Germany	Recognized refugees	3,300 people in adjusted models	Regional residence obligation (*Wohnsitzauflage*, §12a AufenthG)	Employment; private housing; German language skills; integration course participation	IAB-BAMF-SOEP 2018 survey: OLS with individual and regional controls and IV using state group × asylum-decision month; compares self-reported residence obligations.	Regional residence obligation: employment −6.1 pp (OLS) or −11.7 pp (IV, SE 5.8; not statistically different from OLS); private housing −8.4 pp (OLS) or −14.8 pp (IV); integration-course participation −6.1 pp (OLS) but +5.0 pp, n.s. (IV); no statistically significant language effect

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Couttenier et al. (2019) Switzerland	Asylum seekers with pending claims; male and female cohorts analyzed separately	13,720 male and 9,503 female cohort-year cells; about 34,300 asylum seekers per year; 23–25 cantons (work access)	Cross-canton variation in employment access policies	Violent crime rates (by nationality of perpetrator and victim); property crime	Nationality × age × year crime regressions with age and nationality × year FE; conflict exposure identified within nationality across birth cohorts. Exogenous cantonal allocation addresses sorting; work-access interactions use nonrandom cantonal policy differences after the federal three-month ban (2009–2016).	Childhood conflict exposure: 35% higher violent-crime propensity among adult male asylum seekers; more open work access is associated with roughly two-thirds attenuation, with potential policy confounding
Devillanova et al. (2018) Italy	Recently arrived undocumented immigrants visiting a free clinic in Milan; refugees and asylum seekers not identified	581 individuals (118 arriving in the amnesty year 2002)	Prospective eligibility for the 2002 amnesty (employer-sponsored work and residence permit; required arrival before 11 June 2002)	Employment (self-reported paid job at the clinic interview), observed after applications closed and before permits were granted	DiD: April–May versus July–August arrivals, 2002 versus non-amnesty years (2000–2004); linear probability model	The prospect of regularization raised the probability of being employed by 26 pp (SE 10), against 40% employment among 2002 arrivals who missed the cutoff; no difference before the announcement; placebo cutoffs and years show no effect
Elias et al. (2025) Spain	Non-EU immigrants; EU immigrants and natives in comparison groups	50 provinces; individual samples vary	2005 regularization of undocumented non-EU immigrants	Formal and informal employment; tax revenue; migration	Policy-exposure comparisons across worker groups and locations around the 2005 regularization.	Formal immigrant employment rises; no detectable loss of aggregate or low-skilled native formal employment, though a small decline among high-skilled native women is detected; low-skilled informal employment falls; payroll-tax revenue about EUR 4,000 per regularized immigrant per year.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Fasani et al. (2022) Europe (multi)	Refugees and other foreign-born adults	67,284 people, including 5,223 refugees	Dispersal-type asylum policies / mobility frictions at arrival	Employment; unemployment; labor force participation; occupational quality; income decile	EU-LFS 2008/2014 repeated cross-sections in 20 countries; linear probability models with host-country × cohort and origin × cohort FE; triple differences for refugee exposure to dispersal policy at arrival.	Refugees exposed to a dispersal policy at arrival: refugee–migrant employment gap 4.5 pp larger ($p < 0.1$) and participation 5.3 pp lower ($p < 0.01$) than for non-dispersed refugees; effects concentrated in the first 10 years of residence; no significant effect on unemployment or skilled occupation. Overall refugee–migrant gap (not a policy effect): employment −7.8 pp, unemployment +3.1 pp, persisting 10–15 years
Fasani et al. (2021) Europe (multi)	Refugees identified by reported migration reason	4,242 people; 3,665 in IV sample	Initial employment restrictions for asylum seekers	Employment probability; labor force participation; unemployment; occupational quality (high-skill occupation, temporary job, overqualification)	Cross-country DiD using variation in employment-ban presence and duration in 19 European countries; IV uses the 2003 EU directive's 12-month cap interacted with pre-directive ban duration.	Post-ban employment −8.9 pp (15.2% of the sample mean); the penalty remains detectable 5–7 years after arrival, with a smaller and imprecise estimate at 8–10 years
Gulek (2025) Türkiye	Native Turkish workers; Syrian refugees in structural counterfactuals	26 regions (empirical analysis)	Work-permit counterfactual for Syrian refugees	Formal and informal jobs; firm entry	IV for refugee location using travel distance; structural counterfactuals of formal work access.	Model predicts up to 120,000 additional formal jobs with work permits; not a realized permit-treatment estimate.
Hainmueller et al. (2016) Switzerland	Asylum applicants (1994–2004) later granted subsidiary protection	17,360 people	Asylum processing time	Employment rate (annual; registry panel data)	Natural experiment using exogenous batch-processing variation in asylum decisions, with origin × arrival-week FE.	One additional year of asylum waiting reduces employment by 3.4–4.9 pp (16–23% of the 21% mean employment rate; 3.4 pp with origin×arrival-week FE)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hilbig and Riaz (2022) Germany	Recognized refugees near the approval-date cutoff	194–242 people per outcome; 67 for job prospects	Freedom-of-movement restriction	Feeling welcome in Germany; home-country identification; participation in five types of social activity; contact with natives, co-nationals and other immigrants; perceived employment prospects; employment status (binary); relocation	Exact matching within two months of the 1 January 2016 approval cutoff (November 2015–February 2016), with block-FE OLS (ITT); RD-in-time robustness check; IAB-BAMF-SOEP 2017/2018.	Movement restrictions reduce feeling welcome by 0.5 SD and increase home-country identification; lower social engagement in 2017 but not 2018; no effect on relocation; perceived employment prospects −0.61 SD in 2017 ($N = 67$); employment unchanged in 2017 (+3 pp, n.s.) but +15 pp in 2018 ($p < 0.01$), which the authors attribute to the employment exemption from the ban and note is mostly low-wage work
Hvidtfeldt et al. (2018) Denmark	Recognized refugees	14,528 people	Waiting time in the asylum system	Employment rate (annual; administrative register data)	Register-based FE analysis conditioning on origin × arrival week and municipality; separates processing delay from waiting conditions.	One additional year of waiting is associated with employment −3.2 pp, mostly delayed entry; individual-level confounding remains possible
Kaushal (2006) United States	Noncitizen men aged 18–64 from Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador; legal status inferred, not observed	3,545 target and 23,160 comparison person-observations (employment); 2,666 and 18,016 (earnings)	Eligibility for amnesty under the 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act	Employment; weekly hours; real hourly wage; real weekly earnings	DiD (CPS outgoing rotation groups, 1996–2002): men from the four eligible countries versus noncitizen men from other Latin American and Caribbean countries, before and after the Act took effect; intention-to-treat	No detectable employment effect (−0.5 pp, SE 1.4); real hourly wage +2.7% (SE 1.8, not significant) and weekly earnings +4.1% (SE 2.2, significant at 10%); wage gains concentrated among men with 12 or more years of schooling (+4.9%, significant at 10%)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark (2002) United States	Formerly undocumented Mexican/Central American men and Latino male comparison workers	1,375 legalized men; 792 controls (working paper)	IRCA regularization of undocumented immigrants	Wages	Adjusted panel wage comparisons and changes in wage determinants before and after legalization.	Estimated wage benefit of legalization about 6%; distinct from the larger estimated wage penalty associated with unauthorized status
Marbach et al. (2018) Germany	Likely adult asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia, inferred from origin and arrival	1,748 unique respondents (2000–2014). The interaction model includes 1,645 respondents (2001–2014).	Employment bans during asylum process	Employment rate (years 1–16 after arrival); marginal social-cost calculation (welfare transfers, foregone taxes)	Natural experiment around the March 2000 ruling and December 2000 replacement of the indefinite ban with a 12-month wait; 1999 versus 2000 arrivals differ on average by 7.1 months of waiting. Mikrozensus 2000–2014; ITT estimates are lower bounds because asylum status is unobserved.	Additional seven months of prohibition: employment about 20 pp lower five years later; gap disappears over up to ten years. Estimated EUR 40m annual fiscal cost for the affected sample.
Mossaad et al. (2020) United States	Adult resettled refugees	447,747 people	No legal relocation restriction after initial resettlement placement; secondary (interstate) migration	Retention rates; secondary migration patterns; determinants of relocation (employment, co-national networks, welfare, partisanship)	Descriptive linked arrival and LPR-application records, 2000–2014; agency assignment limits initial self-selection; linear probability and state-pair gravity models are associational.	Secondary migration from initial placement driven by employment opportunities and co-national networks; no strong effect of welfare generosity or partisanship
Pan (2012) United States	Latino immigrants in California cities who arrived at age 15 or older; not refugee-specific	21,220 people (1990); 18,506 (2000), descriptive samples	IRCA eligibility based on arrival before 1982	Hourly wages; employment; English proficiency	Arrival-cohort discontinuity at the IRCA eligibility threshold in the 1990 and 2000 censuses; eligibility contrast with individual legal status unobserved.	In 1990, eligible cohorts have about 4.5% higher male wages, higher female employment (positive annual wage income), and higher male English proficiency; advantages diminish by 2000

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Ukrayinchuk and Havrylchyk (2020) France	Adult recognized refugees receiving residence permits in 2009	848 people at baseline; outcome samples vary	Variation in asylum processing times	Employment; French language fluency; new French friendships; studying in France	IV probit for share of time since arrival in limbo; instruments are self-reported long prefecture-appointment wait and asylum appeal (the authors note appeal is unlikely to be random); ELIPA 2010/2011/2013.	1 pp higher limbo share: employment probability −0.7 pp (IV marginal effect, $p = .06$) and probability of new French friendships −0.4 pp ($p = .04$); no statistically detectable average effect on French fluency or studying. Employment effect concentrated among men; friendship effect among women

Table A5: Studies of Welfare Benefits and Benefit-Access Restrictions Affecting Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Andersen (2025) Denmark	Refugee children aged 5–20 at residency and their parents	N = 5,362 children in 2,793 families	Welfare benefit reduction for newly arrived refugees (2015); effects on refugee families with children	Household income; parental employment and criminal charges; children's school absence and crime; healthcare contacts	Comparison of children whose parent became benefit-eligible within one year before vs. after September 2015 (municipality and settlement-year fixed effects; RD as robustness); register data	Benefit cut: household income −22% in year 1; no parental employment response; parental charge risk roughly doubled. School absence +19% (about 0.16 days per month, driven by residual absence), with a smaller, less precise estimate in the RD check. No detectable effect on children's charges or convictions
Arendt (2024) Denmark	Refugees, protection recipients, and reunited family members receiving welfare	N = 12,181 adults (7,400 men; 4,781 women)	Welfare benefit reduction for newly arrived refugees (2015); staggered implementation	Employment; disposable income; health care utilization; hospitalization; property crime; family formation	RD exploiting staggered eligibility cutoff from 2015 benefit reduction (first for new arrivals, then for longer-term residents)	Benefit cut: male employment rate about 50% higher at 10 months; no female employment response. Female charges +2.5 pp by 22 months (baseline 0.8%; $p < 0.10$), GP contacts +17%, hospitalization +60%; disposable income about −20% for both genders
Auer et al. (2024) Switzerland	Temporarily admitted people aged $\geq$ 10, resident for no more than ten years	N = 33,934 people (2009–2016)	Cantonal social-assistance levels and reforms	Quarterly criminal charges; employment and earnings (DiD)	Placement and within-person policy variation; reform DiD	CHF 100 higher benefits: −0.072 pp charges. Pooled inference sensitive: conventional p = .004, wild-bootstrap .102, jackknife .085; charges are not convictions. Zurich increase: −0.37 pp charges; Lucerne cut: overall n.s., subsistence and petty charges up significantly; no significant employment or earnings response to either reform.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Dustmann et al. (2024a) Denmark	Adult refugees and family-reunified spouses aged 18–55 at residency	N = 4,843 adults; couples analysis: 4,072 adults (2,036 couples)	*Start Help* (Start Aid) cash-transfer cuts for newly recognized refugees (2002) and later repeal	Employment rate; poverty rate; subsistence crime; earnings; heterogeneity by local labor demand	Cohort discontinuity (asylum approval date relative to July 2002 Start Aid enactment) + long-run administrative follow-up including reform repeal	40% benefit cut raised first-year earnings by about US$1,100 and employment from 10.3% to 19.5%. Gains faded by about year 5. Poverty (income below $750/month in year 1: 9% to 56%) and subsistence crime rose in years 1–5, most sharply in year 1
Dustmann et al. (2024b) Denmark	Refugee parents aged 18–45 and their children aged 0–18 at residency	N = 3,482 children and 3,406 parents (6,888 total); outcome-specific N varies	*Start Help* (Start Aid) cash-transfer cuts for newly recognized refugees (2002); effects on their children	GPA; educational attainment; well-being; adult employment and earnings; violent and property crime convictions	Cohort discontinuity (parental asylum approval date relative to July 2002 Start Aid enactment); administrative register follow-up over ∼18 years	Benefit cut: GPA −0.18 SD, well-being −0.23 SD, preschool attendance −24%; schooling about −0.57 years and adult earnings −25%. Any conviction rises 16.0% to 28.1% (+12.1 pp, 76%); conviction counts more than double
Fatima et al. (2026) Türkiye	Married adult Syrian refugees living outside camps	Local RD: 327 women and 427 men in 418 households	ESSN eligibility at demographic thresholds	Employment of married women (25–49, self-reported) and married men (25–54, spouse-reported)	Discrete local RD; 2018 TDHS; eligibility ITT. Complementary middle-income setting.	No statistically detectable effects; MDEs 8.9 pp (women), 11.7 pp (men). Discrete-cell comparability required; same program as the CVME study.
Foged et al. (2024a) Denmark	Refugees and family-reunified immigrants aged 18–55 at admission	Welfare RD: N = 4,787, 4,642 and 4,558 adults in years 1–5, 6–10 and 11–15	Comparative evaluation of integration policies, including initial cash-transfer cuts for refugees	Employment; earnings (long run)	RD on asylum-grant date around 1 July 2002 (548-day bandwidth) within a multi-policy comparison; administrative follow-up to 15 years	Start Help cut: employment +4.8 pp and earnings +$1,900/yr in years 1–5; no significant effects in years 6–15 (long-run point estimates negative). Placement in the top versus bottom quartile of municipal non-Western immigrant employment raised employment by about 2 pp and annual earnings by US$1,070 (2015 prices) in years 11–15; ALMP job-matching: positive short-run

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Gallegos Torres et al. (2026) Austria	Refugees and subsidiary-protection recipients; family reunifications excluded	Analytic N = 39,694 adults (41,212 before five-year coverage restriction)	Initial potential benefit levels and local labor demand	Employment; internal mobility	Conditional quasi-random placement plus state benefit reforms/ reversals; district and protection-time controls	At 12 months, EUR 300 higher benefits: −1.51 pp employment (wild-bootstrap and state-clustered CIs include zero; shrinks to about one third and n.s. controlling for arrival-time benefits); 0.2 higher vacancy/unemployment ratio: +4.2 pp (robust to all clustering). Effects fade around 30 months; few reform shocks.
Hızıroğlu Aygün et al. (2026) Türkiye	Adult members of refugee households in Türkiye; mixed nationalities	Main RD: N = 2,078 households (dependency ratio 0–3)	ESSN dependency-ratio eligibility and receipt	Any man working; share of men working; female employment	Fuzzy RD with discrete local-comparison robustness; CVME rounds 3–5; distinguish eligibility ITT from receipt effects. Complementary middle-income setting.	Local ITT: any man working +6.2 pp (95% CI 1.5–10.9), composition-adjusted 4.0 pp (p = 0.08); share working men +10.9 pp (6.1–15.7; inflated by composition differences, within-cell 4.2 pp). Parametric share effect n.s. under wild bootstrap (p = 0.24). Female response undetected; household-composition comparability required.
Huynh et al. (2007) Denmark	Refugees and family members reunited with refugees	Main 16-month RD: N = 2,607 people (±6-month window); 5,892 (±12 months)	July 2002 Start Aid reduction in welfare benefits	Employment probability at 16 and 28 months after residence permits	Parametric RD around the 1 July 2002 residence-permit cutoff; alternative DiD using earlier refugee cohorts	Employment rises by 3.4–6.2 pp at 16 months across main specifications (35–70% relative increase); estimates at 28 months are smaller and less robust
LoPalo (2019) United States	Likely refugees; status inferred from origin and arrival year	N = 50,878 employed respondents (earnings); 78,129 respondents (employment)	Variation in state-level cash assistance generosity	Log annual earnings among employed likely refugees ("wages"); employment probability; occupational mean education and wage	Changes in state TANF maximum benefits across arrival cohorts; two-way fixed effects (state, arrival-year and survey-year FE, state trends; event-study checks); Census/ACS; intent-to-treat	Additional $100/month TANF maximum benefits associated with 5–8% higher annual earnings among the employed (may include hours adjustments); no effect on employment probability

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Rosholm and Vejlin (2010) Denmark	Refugees aged 18–65 granted asylum in 2002	$N = 1{,}637$ adults (850 before cutoff; 787 after)	July 2002 Start Help reduction in welfare benefits	Exit from assistance to employment/education or nonparticipation	Competing-risk duration model exploiting the 1 July 2002 residence-permit cutoff; monthly records through December 2004	Small absolute employment/education-entry effects in the first two years, larger thereafter; exits to nonparticipation increase early. Refugees with the poorest labor-market prospects respond least

Table A6: Studies of Language Training and Integration Programs

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Language training programs						
Åslund and Engdahl (2018) Sweden	Adult immigrants, ages 18–64; not refugee-specific	104,507 people in 28 municipalities (13 treated)	Performance bonuses for passing language levels	Passing Sfi courses within the bonus time limits (within 15 months of arrival and 12 months of course start)	Block-randomized municipal pilot combined with DiD around July 2009; 13 randomization blocks; register data on 2006–2010 arrivals regardless of Sfi enrollment.	No detectable average effect on passing any course within the time limits (+2.0 pp, $p = 0.22$, on a 20% base). Most advanced course (3D): +2.2 pp. Passing any course: metropolitan areas +3.2 pp (Stockholm was the only treated metropolitan municipality), EEA migrants +3.1 pp ($p = 0.014$), and non-EEA migrants +1.6 pp ($p = 0.41$). Gains may have been temporary.
Dang (2025) Norway	Adult refugees and family members; their Norway-born children	4,965 adults; 4,892 births; RD N varies	Mandatory 300-hour training: 250 hours of language and 50 hours of social knowledge	Cumulative primary care visits (years 2–13); premature birth; low birth weight; short birth length	RD at the 1 September 2005 eligibility cutoff for the mandatory 300-hour training requirement.	Primary-care use +44% over years 2–13; next-generation prematurity −33.9% (−1.9 pp), low birth weight −45.8% (−4.4 pp), and short birth length −21.2% (−3.2 pp). These estimates are significant at 5% with adjustment within the outcome table and at 10% across child outcomes
Foged et al. (2023) Denmark	Children of refugees affected by the language-training reform	5,902 children; outcome samples vary	Expanded language instruction for parents	Children's lower-secondary final-exam participation; juvenile crime rates; grade point averages	RD at the January 1, 1999 cutoff in parents' date of recognition, with intergenerational linkage.	Parental language training raises children's lower-secondary final-exam participation by 9.5 pp overall (completion +6.2 pp), concentrated among boys (+15–22 pp; no effect for girls); educational gains are stronger among older children, with GPA gains for older girls. Separate estimates show reduced juvenile crime among younger boys

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Foged et al. (2024b) Denmark	Adult refugees	8,558 people; outcome-specific RD bandwidths	Reform expanding language training intensity	Earnings; full-time-equivalent employment; job complexity (communication-intensive occupations); obtained formal education in Denmark (ages 18–29 at admission)	RD at the 1 January 1999 recognition cutoff; language expansion coincided with temporary welfare and placement changes.	FTE employment +4.2 pp (23%; $p < .10$ only), earnings about +$2,500/year in 2000 prices (34%), and complex-job employment +9.2 pp, averaged over years 1–18; stronger gains for linguistically distant mother tongues
Foged and van der Werf (2023) Denmark	Refugees granted asylum in 2003–2013	10,170 people	Access to language training (travel time)	Danish fluency index; class hours attended; post-training education; employment; residential mobility	IV (2SLS) using public-transport travel time to the assigned language center, exploiting quasi-random placement and center openings/closings.	100 additional hours increase Danish fluency by 8–9% and subsequent human-capital investment by 11–13%; no detectable employment gain; lower mobility to immigrant-dense cities
Heller and Slungaard Mumma (2023) United States	Adult immigrants applying to a public English-language program; refugee status not observed	4,761 first-time lottery applicants (1,248 winners; 3,513 non-winners)	Publicly funded adult English classes (Framingham Adult ESL Plus, Massachusetts)	Annual earnings recorded in Massachusetts; voter registration and voting; simulated tax payments	Admission lotteries (16 lotteries, fall 2008 to spring 2016); 2SLS with a first-lottery win as instrument for ever enrolling (first stage 50 pp); up to 10 years of follow-up	Enrolling raised annual earnings recorded in Massachusetts by $2,388 in years 2–10 (control mean $4,147, nominal dollars). The separate log-earnings estimate implies about a 56% gain using the authors' interpretation. Voter registration increased by 9.0 pp (control mean 7%). Program cost about $4,500 per induced enrollee (2019 prices); modeled taxpayer internal rate of return 6%
Kanas and Kosyakova (2023) Germany	Working-age refugees and asylum seekers	2,730 people	Local supply of integration courses	Employment; language proficiency; course completion; contacts with Germans	Dispersal-based analysis with state, survey-year/sample, and origin FE and county controls.	1 SD higher course supply: employment +2.97 pp; no detected attenuation over observed duration in the 2016–2019 survey period

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Lochmann et al. (2019) France	Newly arrived immigrant integration-contract signatories	2,168 people; 67–76 in local RD samples	Mandated training hours (integration contract)	Labor force participation (employed or registered unemployed); employment; job type	Fuzzy RD (2SLS) at the entry-language-test pass threshold, instrumenting assigned training hours.	100 additional assigned hours: labor-force participation about +15–27 pp in the main significant RD specifications; one specification is not significant. Separately, 1 SD more assigned hours implies about +0.4 SD participation; gains concentrate among highly educated immigrants; no significant effect on employment among labor-force participants, which the authors read as no gain in employability (outcomes measured in 2013, three years after the entry test)
Marbach et al. (2025) Germany	Refugees ages 18–35 from Syria, Eritrea, Iraq, and Iran	210,369 people (ad hoc); 50,000 (intensive comparison)	Ad hoc vs. intensive integration courses	Employment (RDD: 6–22 months after arrival; DiD: months since enrollment, headline at 12 months)	RD at the ad hoc program's eligibility-date cutoff; DiD comparison for intensive BAMF training.	Ad hoc course eligibility: no detectable employment effect (RD ITT); enrollment in the established course: employment +4.8 pp at 12 months (DiD, SE = 0.9)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Tumen et al. (2025) Türkiye	Syrian refugee schoolchildren	46,761 refugee pupils; mental-health survey: 3,246 pupils in 66 schools	Turkish language training for refugee children	Turkish language grades; math grades; school absences; parent-reported mental-health index (concentration, sleep, eating, peer conflict, unhappiness, willingness to attend school); bullying involvement	Staggered DiD using phased rollout of language training across schools in Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa.	School-level ITT: Turkish grades +0.186 SD, math grades +0.128 SD ($p < .10$), absences −1.9 days/ semester (18.5%); parent-reported mental-health index +0.31 (0.067 SD)
Integration contracts and civic orientation						
Emeriau et al. (2025) France	Adult non-EU immigrants; separate recognized-refugee survey	Observations: 1,200,176 census; 21,479 LFS; 739–791 refugee survey; fewer in year-1 estimates	Reception and Integration Contract (CAI): mandatory 1-day civic training; language training (up to 400 h) for the roughly 30% assessed as needing it; optional Living in France session	Employment; naturalization; intermarriage	RD around department-specific integration-contract rollout dates, 2003–2006.	Broader immigrant samples: employment +5.5 pp (s.e. 1.7; census) at year 1, about 3–4 pp at year 2 and close to zero from year 3 onward; separate, less precise refugee-survey estimates

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Ferwerda and Finseraas (2025) Norway	Refugees ages 18–55 at arrival	3,784 people; outcome samples vary	Introductory Program: 2-year full-time (language, vocational, civic)	Earnings; citizenship acquisition; electoral turnout; intermarriage; residential segregation; political attitudes (survey)	IV (2SLS): time between arrival and assigned municipality's program start instruments enrollment during staggered rollout; municipality, arrival-month, and origin FE; LATE for compliers arriving September 2002–September 2004.	Integration courses increase annual earnings by 49,500 NOK at year 4 and 61,000 NOK (26%) by year 14; no gains in naturalization, turnout, union membership, or intermarriage over up to 15 years; enrollees more likely to live in ethnic enclaves in the years after completion (difference gone after about 10 years); no attitude shifts in a separate 2016 survey DiD
Ugreninov and Turner (2023) Norway	Refugee and family-reunited women from Asia or Africa, aged 18–55 at settlement	9,780 women (2,544 refugees; 2,021 family-reunited; 2,854 controls; 2,361 placebo group)	Introduction Programme from 1 September 2003: language and social-studies courses, education or on-the-job training, and a participation allowance	Employment (earnings above one National Insurance basic amount) and mean earnings among the employed, 4–6 and 7–9 years after immigration	DiD across arrival cohorts: women arriving in the 18 months after versus before the start date, compared with women who immigrated to marry Norwegian men (not eligible); placebo on a second ineligible group	Eligibility raised employment by 8.4 pp (refugees) and 8.6 pp (family-reunited) at 4–6 years and by 8.9 and 8.1 pp at 7–9 years; no detectable effect on earnings among the employed; no effect in the placebo group

Table A7: Studies of Active Labor Market Policies for Refugees and Broader Immigrant Populations

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Abbiati et al. (2025) Italy	Adult asylum seekers	1,262 people in 260 centers (53 randomized institutions); 1,132 linked records; 404 endline survey respondents	FORWORK pilot: job mentoring + placement assistance + subsidized internships for asylum seekers	Employment rate; contract type (fixed-term, open-ended); Italian language proficiency; social networks with natives	Cluster-randomized eligibility (66% take-up); headline event-study DiD compares participants and non-participants, corroborated by randomization-based IV and survey estimates; 18-month follow-up	Employment +10 pp (30% over baseline) 18 months after the first mentoring meeting, counting program-subsidized internships as non-employment (+20 pp, 61%, if counted as employment); randomization-based estimates average +7.3 pp over 21 months; job quality also improves
Andersson Joona and Nekby (2012) Sweden	Refugees, humanitarian migrants, and reunited family members	1,288 people analyzed (1,542 enrolled); 9 municipalities	Intensive coaching by PES caseworkers with reduced caseloads	Employment probability; participation in PES training programs	RCT with imperfect individual assignment by PES office managers (about 70/30; balance tests fail on age and origin); intensive coaching with reduced caseloads versus regular introduction programs	Regular employment +3.2 pp at 12 months and +6 pp at 22–30 months after registration; +6.7 pp for men, no significant female effect; authors call the effect tentative and of uncertain size. Transition-to-employment HR 1.23 not significant
Arendt and Bolvig (2023) Denmark	Refugees; reunited family members excluded	16,157 adults; labor income observed for 11,970 at 42 months	Local use of early on-the-job training (work practice in firms within the first year), added to compulsory language courses (work-first vs. language-first emphasis)	Employment; earnings; language course hours; course level completed; language exam GPA	Dispersal-policy design: reduced-form OLS on lagged local propensity to use early on-the-job training, with municipality and arrival-semester FE and local labor-market controls; supplementary IV. Coefficients halve after restricting arrivals to periods following the filling of 10 municipal quotas	Higher local work-first propensity is associated with higher employment at 13–18 months (earnings gain only marginally significant), but gains fade from 24 months; it is associated with fewer language-course hours, a lower completed course level, and lower exam GPA among exam-takers; the authors discuss language-course crowd-out as a possible reason for the lack of persistent gains

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Arendt (2022) Denmark	Refugees and reunited family members	9,250 adults (4,485 men)	Work-first policy increasing job search and on-the-job training requirements	Employment (regular jobs); monthly work hours and labor income; hourly wage/ industry; weeks in classroom (mainly language) training; education enrollment (student grants)	Quasi-experimental cohort comparison around the October 2016 work-first policy introduction; monthly administrative panel	Work-first policy raises the probability that men have ever worked within the first year by 10 pp; jobs have few hours and language training is crowded out; no statistically significant female employment effect; men's education enrollment (student-grant receipt) rises 3–5 pp, so long-run human-capital effects are ambiguous
Battisti et al. (2019) Germany	Refugees, asylum seekers, and people with tolerated status	420 people randomized; 298 and 195 respondents at 6 and 12 months	Job search assistance through NGO matching services	Employment and work-related contact with a German employer at 6 and 12 months (follow-up surveys); secondary: wages, employment duration, time to first job	Individual RCT of NGO-provided CV distribution and employer matching in Munich	No significant employment effect at 6 months; at 12 months, +12 pp for full sample ($p < 0.1$), +20 pp for unrecognized refugees ($p < 0.05$), and +15.6 pp for lower-educated ($p < 0.1$)
Bratu et al. (2025) Sweden	Refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection	1,535 women; 1,883 men (optimal RD bandwidths)	Integration program reform: individualized benefits + early PES registration for refugee women	Annual earnings; employment probability; PES program participation	RD using the residence-permit cutoff for eligibility under the 2010 Introduction Program reform	Women (ITT, average over years 3–9 after permit; no effect in years 1–4): employment +10 pp, earnings +30%; no significant effects for men

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Butschek and Walter (2014) Europe (multi)	Immigrants; not refugee-specific	33 studies; 93 estimates	Meta-analysis of ALMPs for immigrants (training, search assistance, wage subsidies, public employment)	Short-run (up to 2 years after programme start) employment probability or hazard; estimates coded by sign and significance	Meta-analysis of short-run employment effects across training, job search assistance, wage subsidies, and public employment	Meta-analysis of 93 estimates: only wage subsidies can be confidently recommended for immigrant employment in Europe
Clausen et al. (2009) Denmark	Newly arrived refugees and family-reunified immigrants	21,568 adults; 13,734 receiving assistance on arrival	Six ALMP types: private-sector wage-subsidy jobs, special (subsidized) private-sector employment, public direct employment, education and training, mixed special programmes, counselling and upgrading	Hazard rate into regular employment; restricted mean duration until employment	Timing-of-events duration model (Abbring–van den Berg); administrative data with controls for Danish-language proficiency progression	Private-sector wage subsidies shorten mean time to employment by 14–24 weeks. Other programs have heterogeneous lock-in and post-program effects; special-employment programs also shorten duration in some specifications
Dahlberg et al. (2024) Sweden	Newly arrived refugees with low education	140 people randomized (70 per arm)	Early-intervention program: intensive language training + work practice + job search assistance	Employment probability; Swedish language proficiency; program cost per participant	RCT of program offer versus usual services; 44 of those offered participated	Offer effect: employment about +15 pp in the year after completion; 6.6–8.6% associated with measured language grades in suggestive mediation; cost SEK 27,000 per participant

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Dahlberg et al. (2023) Sweden	Newly arrived refugees with low education	140 people randomized (same cohort; 70 per arm)	Long-run follow-up of the same 2017 language/work/JSA experiment	Monthly employment and income; partial fiscal accounting through December 2021; survey-based multidimensional integration index (IPL-12) more than 3 years after the program	Long-run follow-up of the same randomized program-offer cohort as Dahlberg et al. (2024); not an independent experiment	Employment gains persist for about 3 years after completion, driven mainly by men (effects for women fade quickly); comparison group catches up by almost 4 years. Documented language skills explain about 7% of the employment effect in year 1 but about 40% from year 2 onward (suggestive decomposition). No detectable effect on the overall IPL-12 integration index (survey, $N = 107$); only self-reported political integration is higher among (male) participants. Partial fiscal accounting estimates net public savings of about SEK 20,550 per participant through December 2021; no uncertainty interval and some cost components omitted
Drange and Telle (2015) Norway	Immigrant-background families; native children in some comparisons	8,950 children and linked parents; 12 districts	Free childcare (4 hours daily) for 4–5 year-olds in high-immigrant districts (immigrants, not refugee-specific)	Childcare enrollment; parental employment (earnings thresholds); parental educational attainment (completed high school/college); school-entry test scores (grades 1–2)	Within-child DiD before versus after age-4 eligibility in 5 treated and 7 comparison districts; test scores use cross-district and immigrant–native DiD comparisons	Free childcare increases immigrant children's enrollment by about 15% (11.5 pp); no effect on parental employment or education; immigrant-background children in treated districts score about 0.1 SD higher on 1st/2nd-grade tests (cross-district comparison, suggestive only)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Foged et al. (2026b) Denmark	Refugees and reunited family members without university education	8,205 adults at 12 months; 30 municipalities	Municipal Industry Packages: occupation-specific training and employer links addressing labor shortages	Employment probability at 12, 18 and 24 months (at least 4 hours; excluding wage subsidies; at least 80 hours; full-time equivalent); unemployment	DiD using staggered municipal adoption of Industry Packages; requires credible untreated municipal trends. Estimates from the February 2022 NBER working paper	Employment +5–6 pp at 1 year, +10 pp at 2 years from occupation-matching to local labor shortages
Gambaro et al. (2021) Germany	Refugee parents of preschool children; pending asylum applicants excluded	1,178 parents in 821 households (576 mothers)	Early childhood education and care (ECEC) attendance	Maternal language proficiency; maternal employment prospects; paternal integration outcomes	IV: pre-arrival county ECEC supply score (PCA of attendance rates and child-to-caregiver ratios); dispersal limits sorting. County controls and state FE; requires excluding other local influences	Maternal integration index: OLS association about 35% of mothers' sample average; IV estimate 67% (compared with the difference associated with >6 years in Germany). Gains concentrate in language proficiency and perceived employment prospects; father estimates n.s.
Gambaro et al. (2026) Germany	Ukrainian refugee mothers of preschool children	2,205 mother-wave observations (two waves)	Childcare services for refugee mothers (Ukrainian refugees)	Language and integration course participation; employment; social interaction with Germans; maternal well-being	IV: age-specific county childcare coverage in 2021; regional controls, county-FE robustness and placebo tests. Requires exclusion of other local influences	IV estimates suggest +73 pp language/integration-course participation, +14 pp employment/training, +41 pp speaking some German, and +0.55 SD time with Germans (OLS: 26, 6, 15 pp, 0.22 SD); no detectable well-being effect. LATE for mothers induced by local childcare supply

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hainmueller et al. (2026b) Germany	Unemployed refugees (status inferred from nationality); other immigrant groups as comparisons	300 job centers; monthly group-level panels	Job-Turbo program: large-scale fast-track employment initiative with intensive casework	Exit-to-job rate; job placements; sustained employment; caseworker–refugee contact frequency	Interactive-fixed-effects DiD around the national October 2023 introduction; 23-month follow-up	Ukrainian monthly exit-to-job rate +1.8 pp (95% CI 1.7–1.9), or 113% of 1.6% pretreatment mean; other refugees +1.0 pp (95% CI 0.9–1.2), or 28% of 3.7% mean, concentrated among men and low-skilled jobs. Increased caseworker contact and mostly unsubsidized job placements.
Kasrin and Tübbicke (2024a) Germany	Unemployed male refugees receiving welfare	Participants: 747 in-firm, 424 vocational, 6,118 provider, 465 public jobs; 27,135–29,903 controls each	In-firm training; further vocational training; schemes by providers; public employment	Regular employment rate; monthly labor earnings (at 33 months post-entry)	IPW under selection on observables; separate comparisons for in-firm training, vocational training, provider schemes, and public jobs. Program groups are not mutually exchangeable	At 33 months: in-firm employment about +18 pp, earnings +EUR 480/month; vocational employment about +14 pp, earnings +EUR 830/month. Provider schemes about +3.8 pp and +EUR 68; public-job (One-Euro-Job) effects significantly negative for most of the first 30 months, insignificant by month 33. Earnings use corrigendum.
Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen (2016) Finland	Unemployed immigrants; not refugee-specific	16,615 adults (earnings RD); N varies by outcome	Reform (1999 Integration Act): mandatory individualized integration plans prepared with a caseworker for unemployed recent immigrants, drawing on the existing ALMP menu plus courses outside the Labor Administration	Cumulative earnings (10-year); cumulative social benefits; days in training	RD exploiting the arrival-date cutoff in reform phase-in rules (May 1, 1997)	For compliers at the reform cutoff, cumulative earnings +47% and benefits −13% over 10 years (RD/IV local average treatment effects)

Table A8: Studies of Mental Health and Psychosocial Interventions for Refugees

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Foged et al. (2026a) Denmark	Adult Ukrainian refugees in Denmark; native adults provide a comparison benchmark	N = 4,533 refugees; 136,746 native comparison adults	Probable PTSD among displaced Ukrainians; no intervention	Employment; hours; earnings; hourly wages	Adjusted observational comparison; early-2023 symptom screening linked to tax records. Rich controls, nonresponse weights, and omitted-variable sensitivity analyses.	At month 24, probable PTSD: employment −7.4 pp (SE 1.5 pp); conditional log hours −0.063, no detectable hourly-wage difference. Prevalence-weighted decomposition: 27.7% of adjusted refugee–native employment gap.
Bruhn et al. (2026) Denmark	Unemployed adult refugees with PTSD receiving specialist outpatient care	219 people randomized; 195 included in modified ITT	Integrated specialized mental-health treatment and employment-service coordination versus usual treatment	Functioning (WHODAS); clinical outcomes; dropout and satisfaction	RCT; modified ITT.	Primary functioning difference 0.30 (95% CI −2.40 to 3.00; p = .825) pre- to post-treatment: no detectable benefit; secondary clinical outcomes, incl. PTSD (HTQ difference −0.02), also null. Lower early dropout (3% vs. 10%) and higher satisfaction; employment outcomes not yet reported (follow-up paper pending).
Bryant et al. (2023) Multi-country	Refugees with PTSD or trauma-related symptoms across settings	Not reported (narrative review)	Comprehensive review: PTSD prevalence, risk factors, mechanisms, and treatment in refugees	PTSD prevalence; neural/cognitive mechanisms; treatment response across modalities	Narrative review (Annual Review of Clinical Psychology); synthesizes epidemiological, neuroimaging, and treatment evidence	Review: PTSD prevalence elevated in refugees; trauma-focused treatments effective but access remains limited

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Coventry et al. (2020) Multi-country	Adults exposed to complex trauma, including refugees, veterans and abuse survivors	116 studies; pairwise: 94 RCTs ($n = 6{,}158$); component NMA: 18 RCTs ($n = 933$)	Psychological and pharmacological interventions for PTSD following complex trauma (war, displacement, abuse)	PTSD symptom reduction; depression; anxiety; quality of life; sleep quality; positive/negative affect	Systematic review; pairwise meta-analyses and component network meta-analysis; review includes nine non-RCTs	Across complex-trauma populations, not refugees alone, post-treatment PTSD SMD = −0.82 vs. inactive controls (95% CI −1.02 to −0.63, $k = 46$) and −0.35 vs. active controls; refugee subgroup (19 studies): interventions reduce PTSD vs. control in 7 trials at post-treatment and 3 at 6-month follow-up, TF-CBT largest at post-treatment (2 trials) but not maintained at 6 months, EMDR large post-treatment effects (3 trials); component analysis favors some trauma-focused combinations but has no refugee-specific analysis
Demetry et al. (2026) Multi-country	Arabic-speaking refugee and migrant youth aged 15–29, mainly in Sweden and Germany	125 people randomized/ ITT; 108 post-treatment respondents; 77 at six months	Guided culturally adapted internet CBT versus waitlist	Anxiety and depression (HSCL-25)	RCT; ten-week contrast	Post-treatment $d = 1.43$ (95% CI 0.97–1.89); 17 missing assessments. Waitlist crossover prevents a controlled six-month durability estimate.
Genç (2022) Multi-country	Refugee children and adolescents receiving trauma treatment	20 studies: 7 RCTs, 1 quasi-experimental, 12 pre-experimental	Systematic review: trauma treatments for refugee children/adolescents (NET, EMDR, TF-CBT, art therapy)	PTSD symptoms; depression; treatment feasibility across modalities (TF-CBT, NET, EMDR, art therapy)	Systematic review with narrative synthesis; pre-experimental evidence includes three case reports and eight uncontrolled pre-post studies	Review of 20 studies (7 RCTs) finds NET/KIDNET most consistently supported by RCTs with follow-up; EMDR and TF-CBT evidence mostly uncontrolled (no TF-CBT RCTs with refugee children); small samples and heterogeneous evidence limit firm conclusions

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Giosan et al. (2026) Romania	Adult Ukrainian refugees in Romania with subclinical PTSD; predominantly women	156 people randomized/ITT; 70 post-intervention and 43 follow-up observations	Virtual-reality or in-person support versus waitlist	Social support; well-being and symptoms	Three-arm RCT; major loss to follow-up	In-person groups raise perceived social support at post-treatment ($g = 0.82$) but show lower WHO-5 well-being than waitlist in several models; virtual-reality effects small and nonsignificant; most comparisons nonsignificant. Attrition 53–61% post-treatment, 65–81% at follow-up; inconclusive given attrition and cohort clustering; no equivalence claim.
Goodkind et al. (2020) United States	Adult Afghan, Iraqi/Syrian and Great Lakes African refugees in the United States	$N = 290$ adults in 143 randomized households	Refugee Well-being Project: multilevel intervention pairing refugees with university students for mutual learning, resource mobilization, and community advocacy	Depression symptoms (HSCL-25); anxiety symptoms; English proficiency; social support; cultural connection	RCT; household randomization stratified by three origin groups; four time points over 12 months; multilevel modeling ITT analysis	At the 6-month post-intervention follow-up, home-culture acculturation $d = .31$, perceived English proficiency $d = .19$, and Iraqi/Syrian-subgroup depression $d = -.45$. Non-ethnic support improves at post-treatment ($d = .60$), not significantly at follow-up
Hamid et al. (2019) Multi-country	Adult torture survivors; not restricted to resettled refugees	15 RCTs; 1,373 participants at treatment end (1,585 started)	Psychological interventions for torture survivors	PTSD symptoms and diagnosis; depression; functioning; quality of life	Systematic review and meta-analysis of randomized trials	Small-to-moderate PTSD-symptom (SMD −0.31) and moderate functioning (SMD −0.38) benefits at end of treatment; PTSD-symptom benefit not maintained at follow-up (7 trials) and functioning follow-up from one small trial only; no benefit on PTSD caseness, depression, or quality of life

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hinton et al. (2004) United States	Vietnamese refugees with treatment-resistant PTSD and panic attacks	$N = 12$ participants	Culturally adapted CBT for Vietnamese refugees with treatment-resistant PTSD and comorbid panic attacks	PTSD (HTQ); anxiety sensitivity (ASI); depression and anxiety (HSCL-25 subscales); panic attack severity	Pilot RCT with cross-over design; two cohorts with staggered treatment onset	Culturally adapted CBT for treatment-resistant PTSD: $d = 2.5$ (HTQ), $d = 4.3$ (ASI), $d = 2.2$ (anxiety), $d = 2.0$ (depression)
Hinton et al. (2005) United States	Cambodian genocide survivors with treatment-resistant PTSD and panic attacks	$N = 40$ refugee participants	Culturally adapted CBT for Cambodian refugees with treatment-resistant PTSD and panic attacks	PTSD (CAPS); anxiety sensitivity (ASI); anxiety/ depression (SCL-90-R anxiety and depression subscales); culturally specific panic attacks	RCT with cross-over design; immediate vs. delayed treatment; single therapist	Culturally adapted CBT for Cambodian refugees: $d = 2.17$ (CAPS), $d = 3.78$ (ASI), $d = 2.77$ (SCL-90-R anxiety/depression composite) (cross-over RCT)
Nickerson et al. (2026a) Australia	Adult Arabic- or Farsi-speaking refugees/asylum seekers with PTSD	$N = 71$ randomized participants (ITT)	STAIR-R + NET versus supportive problem solving + NET	PTSD and related symptoms	Assessor-blinded RCT; active comparison; three-month follow-up	No overall between-arm advantage; underpowered pilot. High-insecurity subgroup exploratory. Within-arm improvement does not identify benefit versus no treatment.
Nickerson et al. (2026b) Indonesia	Adult Farsi-speaking refugees in Indonesia with moderate/high distress (92% Afghan)	$N = 303$ randomized participants (202 intervention; 101 control)	Guided Doing What Matters versus repeated assessment	Distress and functioning	RCT; 2:1 assignment; masked assessors; five-week intervention	Distress improvement $d = 0.56$ post-treatment, 0.45 one month later; 88% follow-up retention. Bundled attention/content effect; no employment outcomes.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Nosè et al. (2017) Multi-country	Adult refugees/ asylum seekers with PTSD resettled in high-income countries	14 studies (12 RCTs, 2 CCTs); primary synthesis: 12 studies, $n = 543$	Meta-analysis: psychotherapy for PTSD in refugees	PTSD symptom severity (SMD); number needed to treat	Systematic review and meta-analysis of psychosocial interventions; primary synthesis includes the two CCTs	Post-intervention PTSD SMD=−1.03 vs. inactive controls (RCTs only: −0.81, 10 studies); NET best-supported (SMD=−0.78, 5 RCTs); follow-up PTSD-symptom estimate null and imprecise; GRADE low to very low (meta-analysis)
Patel et al. (2014) Multi-country	Adult torture survivors; broader than resettled refugees	9 trials, 507 adults; six-month PTSD synthesis: 4 trials, 86 adults	Psychological interventions for torture survivors	PTSD and distress; immediate and six-month outcomes	Systematic review of psychological interventions	No clear immediate benefit; six-month PTSD SMD −0.52 (95% CI −0.97 to −0.07), very-low-quality evidence.
Thompson et al. (2018) Multi-country	Refugees/asylum seekers with PTSD in multiple host settings	16 RCTs, 1,111 participants (15 trials contributed to meta-analysis)	Psychological interventions for PTSD in refugees/asylum seekers (NET, EMDR, TF-CBT)	PTSD symptom severity (clinician- and self-rated); subgroup analyses by therapy type (NET, EMDR, TF-CBT)	Systematic review and meta-analysis	Systematic review of 16 RCTs (15 in meta-analyses): trauma-focused psychotherapy reduces post-treatment PTSD symptoms vs. inactive control (SMD = −1.14, $k = 8$) but not vs. active control (SMD = −0.03, $k = 7$); EMDR large effect (SMD = −1.48, $k = 2$) from two Turkish refugee-camp trials, no difference vs. active stabilisation; NET moderate effect at follow-up (SMD = −0.62, $k = 2$, one trial in a Ugandan settlement) and n.s. vs. waitlist post-treatment in three high-income trials (SMD −0.80; 95% CI −1.65 to 0.05); GRADE low to very low; limited evidence for non-trauma-focused approaches

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Turrini et al. (2017) Multi-country	Asylum seekers and refugees across age groups and host-country income levels	27 systematic reviews (13 prevalence; 14 intervention)	Umbrella review: prevalence and treatment of mental disorders among asylum seekers and refugees	PTSD prevalence; depression prevalence; anxiety prevalence; intervention efficacy (psychosocial and pharmacological)	Umbrella review across low-, middle- and high-income settings	Umbrella review (2017): NET/CBT show positive effects against inactive (waitlist/usual-care) controls but not against active comparators (2 of 10 RCTs); depression evidence mixed; evidence heterogeneous and drawn from existing systematic reviews
Turrini et al. (2019) Multi-country	Adult and child asylum seekers/refugees with psychological distress	26 randomized studies; $n = 1{,}959$ participants	Psychosocial interventions for distressed asylum seekers and refugees	PTSD, depression and anxiety symptoms; acceptability	Systematic review and meta-analysis of randomized studies across host-country income levels	Post-intervention benefits for PTSD (SMD -0.71; 95% CI -1.01 to -0.41; $k = 20$), depression (SMD -1.02) and anxiety (SMD -1.05), moderate-certainty evidence, against waitlist/usual-care but not psychological-placebo comparators; NET subgroup not significant; substantial heterogeneity and limited functioning evidence constrain treatment and economic comparisons
Turrini et al. (2025) Multi-country	Adult migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers	103 RCTs, 19,230 participants; 96 studies contribute to meta-analysis	Psychosocial interventions for adult migrants, including refugees/asylum seekers	Post-treatment PTSD, depression, anxiety; acceptability	Systematic review/network meta-analysis; search through October 2024	Several therapies improve symptoms versus usual care; PTSD SMDs -0.69 to -0.60. Confidence generally low; head-to-head comparisons inconclusive. Refugee/asylum-seeker subgroup benefits do not establish high-income PTSD benefits, whose intervals are wide. Broad migrant population; no employment synthesis.

Table A9: Studies of Educational Programs for Refugee Children

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Interventions targeting refugee children						
Alan et al. (2023) Türkiye	Refugee and host pupils in grades 2–4 in ethnically mixed Turkish schools	5,034 pupils (659 refugees); 192 teachers, 73 schools; refugee $N = 337$–659 by outcome	Random assignment of refugee children to teachers with varying ethnic prejudice (IAT)	Interethnic social ties; homophilic ties; social exclusion; peer violence victimization	Natural experiment exploiting within-school random assignment of refugee children to teachers; teacher prejudice measured by IAT	A 1-SD increase in teachers' implicit ethnic bias (IAT) reduces refugee friendship ties by 0.24 (18%), increases host homophily by 0.09 (13%), raises refugee bullying by 5 pp, and lowers refugee Turkish test scores by 0.15 SD; refugee math scores −0.07 SD (n.s.)
Alan et al. (2021) Türkiye	Host and refugee pupils aged 8–12 in grades 3–4 (about 16% refugees)	$N > 6{,}500$ pupils; 80 randomized schools (40 per arm), 222 classrooms	Perspective-taking curriculum in ethnically mixed schools	Peer violence; interethnic social ties; prosocial behavior (trust, reciprocity, altruism); perspective-taking ability	Cluster RCT of a perspective-taking curriculum in ethnically mixed Turkish elementary schools	Perpetrated high-intensity violence falls by 1.21 events per 10 school days (64%); victimization falls 50%. Emotional/academic support ties increase by 4.6/5.6 pp; donations to anonymous refugee peers rise 10 pp
Hızıroğlu Aygün et al. (2024) Türkiye	Refugee households in Türkiye; child outcomes concern ages 6–17	Main RD window: 2,448 households; full sample: 2,681	Unconditional cash transfers (ESSN)	School enrollment (ages 6–17); child labor participation; extreme poverty; coping strategies	Fuzzy RD exploiting ESSN program eligibility criterion (household demographic composition threshold)	Non-enrollment: boys 28.4% to 10.4%, girls 24.9% to 10.3%. Market work: boys 17.0% to 2.4%, girls 3.3% to 0.2%
Mühlrad et al. (2026) Sweden	Refugee, other migrant-background, and Swedish-background pupils	63 municipal pairs (126 assignments; controls may re-enter); pupil N varies by outcome	Municipal school-development offers	Core-subject and mathematics tests	Pairwise RCT across seven waves; guaranteed high-priority recipients excluded	Years 1–7: core tests +0.021 SD (SE .008), math +0.032 SD (SE .011), Swedish +0.011 SD (SE .008, n.s.). End pair follow-up at control crossover; mixed student population, not refugee-specific.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Schilling and Höckel (2026) Germany	Primary-school refugee children in Hamburg, inferred from origin and immigration year	$N = 707$ pupils (main grade-five scores); 1,509 in full student sample	Separate preparatory classes (Vorbereitungsklassen) vs. direct regular-class integration with language support	Standardized test scores (5th grade); secondary school track placement (academic vs. non-academic)	Quasi-experimental school assignment and preparatory-class availability; outcome-specific samples differ	Preparatory classes reduce grade-five achievement: pooled score −0.26 SD (SE 0.11); math −0.37 SD; German −0.42 SD. Grade-7 gaps in a subsample of about 240 are small and not significant (pooled −0.04 SD, SE 0.24). Academic-track attendance 6–8 pp lower; not significant with school FE (−0.06, SE 0.04).
Pavese et al. (2026) Netherlands	Refugee children arriving in 2003–2010 at ages 6–17	7,801 children; 2,963 girls for contraception	Full or semi-integrated primary schooling versus temporary specialist schools	Diplomas; tracking; hormonal-contraceptive use	Quasi-random municipal allocation; arrival-age and municipality-by-arrival-year FE; secondary-school arrivals form comparison group	Age-18 diplomas −7.0 pp (SE 2.5). Persistent contraceptive use +4.3 pp (SE 2.4; $p < .10$); fully integrated schools +7.7 pp (SE 2.2). Specialist teaching is a possible mechanism.
Tumen et al. (2025) Türkiye	Syrian refugee pupils in Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa	$N = 46{,}761$ refugee pupils; mental-health survey: 3,246 pupils in 66 schools	Turkish language training for refugee children	Turkish language grades; math grades; school absences; parent-reported mental-health index (concentration, sleep, eating, peer conflict, unhappiness, willingness to attend school); bullying involvement	Staggered DiD using phased rollout of Turkish language training program across schools	School-level ITT: Turkish grades +0.186 SD, math grades +0.128 SD ($p < .10$), absences −1.9 days/semester (18.5%); parent-reported mental-health index +0.31 (0.067 SD)

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Native-student outcomes: peer exposure and regional refugee inflows						
Figlio et al. (2024) United States	U.S.-born English-speaking-at-home pupils with siblings in Florida public schools	Distinct pupil N not reported; 1,347,286 math and 1,450,138 reading student-years	Immigrant student exposure	Standardized math and reading scores of U.S.-born students	Sibling FE using linked birth–school records from Florida; within-family variation in immigrant peer exposure	Moving from the 10th to 90th percentile of immigrant exposure raises math scores by 2.8% and reading by 1.7% of a SD (sibling FE); the standardized beta coefficient of 0.012 equals 8.5% of the maternal-education achievement gap
Hassan et al. (2023) Denmark	Non-refugee pupils in Danish public schools, in school cohorts with and without newly arrived refugee peers	N = 432,284 pupils (Danish); 377,599 (math)	Arrival of newly resettled refugee children in the school cohort	Standardized test scores in Danish and math (native students)	DiD with school fixed effects exploiting variation in timing of refugee children's entry into school cohorts; full-population Danish register data; Danish grades 2 and 4 (cohorts 2008–2015), math grades 3 and 6 (cohorts 2007–2013)	No significant effect of refugee peers on native students' test-score growth in Danish or math (grade × refugee interactions −0.009 to −0.015 SD, SE about 0.01), despite refugees clustering in lower-performing schools
Tumen (2021) Türkiye	Native Turkish 15-year-old students in four PISA waves	Broadest specification: 14,876 students (2009–2015); 21,766 (2009–2018); narrower regional samples vary	Regional Syrian refugee inflows and native adolescents' schooling incentives	PISA Math, Science, and Reading scores of native Turkish adolescents	DiD using regional refugee intensity, plus IV-2SLS in which the instrument combines the national refugee total in each year with a population-weighted index of inverse travel distances from Syrian governorates; distance to the nearest border crossing enters separately as a control. Pre-2016 waves distinguish labor-market incentives from classroom exposure.	Native PISA effects for 2009–2015 (labor-market channel only; no refugee classmates yet): math +0.11–0.19 SD, science +0.14–0.18 SD, reading +0.14–0.22 SD (DiD); IV-2SLS: a 1 pp higher refugee/population ratio raises math by 0.048 SD (about 0.22 SD for the total inflow), concentrated in the lower score distribution. Adding 2018 (refugees enrolled), estimates shrink and remain significant only for males

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Reviews						
Palik and Østby (2023) Multi-country	Refugees, forced migrants and internally displaced children aged < 18	8 included studies (1,873 records screened)	Scoping review of educational interventions	School enrollment/ attendance; learning outcomes (e.g., second-language acquisition)	Scoping review of quantitative impact evaluations, 1990–2021	Scoping review: only 8 of 1,873 studies meet criteria; cash transfers increase attendance; limited robust evidence on refugee education interventions

Table A10: Studies of Permanent Residency, Naturalization and Citizenship, and Family Reunification: Refugees and Broader Immigrant Populations

Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Arendt et al. (2025) Denmark	Adult refugees	767 people	Tightened eligibility criteria for permanent residency (employment and language requirements)	Employment (annual FTE); Danish language proficiency (passing the intermediate-level test or higher)	DiD around the 2007 reform tightening permanent-residency criteria; compares the 2003 and 2004 residence-permit cohorts.	Stricter 2007 permanent residency rules reduced employment by ∼30% (in FTE); 3 pp (11%) improvement in language proficiency (insignificant); disincentive effect driven by those unlikely to meet the 2.5-year cumulative employment requirement
Kilström et al. (2023) Denmark	Adults granted asylum who applied between November 2001 and June 2002, aged 16–60 at application	635 people (263 under the new rules; 372 under the old rules)	2002 reform: wait before eligibility for permanent residency extended from three to seven years, applied retroactively to asylum applications lodged from 28 February 2002	Ever employed and ever enrolled in education within 12 years; annual labor earnings after 3 and 7 years; permanent permit within 7 years	RD in asylum application date around the retroactive cutoff; linear fit on each side, 119-day bandwidth, with and without covariates	No evidence of positive labor-market effects: ever employed −4 to −10 pp and earnings at years 3 and 7 lower, all imprecise and insignificant. Ever enrolled in education +17 pp (sensitive to specification). Permanent permit within seven years −24 to −25 pp
Matheny (2026) Germany	Working-age refugees	2,082 people (202 controls; 1,880 treated)	2016 permanent-residence waiting-time and integration requirements	Employment; full-time work	Historical-cohort DiD comparing 2013 with 2005–2011 arrivals; individual and duration FE; pre-period employment largely from retrospective SOEP spell data.	No statistically detectable employment gain. Different calendar years/cohort composition and short pre-period weaken causal certainty; reform-bundle effect.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Fasani et al. (2023) Europe (20 countries)	Working-age immigrants born outside the EU, North America, and Oceania; refugees identified by reported migration reason	114,209 people, including 13,434 refugees	Variation in citizenship laws across countries, time, and migrant groups	Employment; unemployment; labor force participation; skilled occupation probability	IV from predicted eligibility under country × time × group variation in citizenship laws; MTE analysis; EU-LFS 2008/2014/2021 in 20 countries.	Naturalization effects are larger for refugees than other immigrants: 2SLS interaction coefficients +14.7 pp employment, +11.4 pp labor-force participation, and −8.1 pp unemployment; returns for non-refugees are small and insignificant. These are differential, not total refugee effects
Gathmann and Keller (2018) Germany	Immigrants who arrived before age 23; not refugee-specific	55,231 observations (employment); 55,025 (naturalization)	Reductions in residence requirements (1991, 2000 reforms)	Employment rate; working hours; job stability; earnings; language & vocational training investment	Reduced-form ITT estimates of reform-induced residency requirements (8–16 years), using arrival-year × birth-year variation from the 1991 and 2000 reforms; Microcensus 2005–2010.	Faster citizenship access raises female immigrant employment by 3.5 pp and earnings by 0.098 log points over a 7-year shorter residency requirement; for men, employment and monthly income are unaffected, although weekly earnings and job tenure rise (+1.7 years) and hours fall slightly (about 0.9 h/week)
Gathmann and Garbers (2023) Europe (multi)	Immigrants and their children; not refugee-specific	Number of studies not reported	Review: citizenship policies across contexts	Economic, educational, political, and social integration outcomes	Review of quasi-experimental and field-experimental evidence on citizenship policies in Europe.	Review finds that easier citizenship access can increase take-up and improve economic, political, and social integration; effects vary by population, outcome, and institutional setting
Hainmueller et al. (2019) Switzerland	Immigrant naturalization applicants; not refugee-specific	3,814 matched applicants	Referendums on naturalization applications	Annual earnings (social security records; up to 15 years post-referendum)	RD within ±10 pp of the referendum threshold and DiD; ITT of winning the first referendum; votes in 1970–2003 linked to social-security earnings in 1981–2015.	Winning the initial referendum raises annual earnings averaged over 15 years by about CHF 5,615 (RD, $p = 0.047$) or CHF 4,426 (DD, $p = 0.004$); effects concentrated among marginalized immigrants

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hainmueller et al. (2015) Switzerland	Immigrant naturalization applicants; not refugee-specific	474 applicants in ±15 pp window (768 surveyed)	Referendums on naturalization applications	Voting in last federal election (formal participation); political efficacy; political knowledge; informal participation incl. petitions (no significant effect); summary index	Fuzzy RD and IV at the margin of Swiss municipal naturalization referendums; 2011–2014 follow-up survey.	Naturalization increases voting by 58–64 pp, political efficacy by 0.25–0.39 (57–89% over baseline), and political knowledge by 0.28–0.52 (104–193% over baseline) long-term (IV–fuzzy RD range); informal participation +12–17 pp, not significant
Hainmueller et al. (2017) Switzerland	Immigrant naturalization applicants; not refugee-specific	474 applicants in ±15 pp window (768 surveyed)	Referendums on naturalization applications	Social-integration scale: plans to stay permanently, perceived discrimination, club membership, Swiss vs. home-country newspaper reading; distrust of people, local authorities and courts (alienation check; null)	IV using the first referendum result to instrument naturalization, with leaflet covariates and municipality/period FE; fuzzy-RD checks; 2011–2014 survey.	Naturalization increases long-term social integration by 0.51 on the integration scale (≈1 SD; IV, $p <$ 0.0001; fuzzy RD 0.74, $p < 0.033$); reduces perceived discrimination by 28 pp and shifts newspaper readership by 0.51 points toward Swiss papers (IV estimates)
Hainmueller et al. (2018) United States	Low-income lawful permanent residents applying for naturalization support	863 registrants in voucher RCT; 1,760 registrants in nudge RCT	Fee vouchers and information nudges for low-income immigrants seeking naturalization	Naturalization application (self-reported in a follow-up survey 5–7 months after the lottery)	Randomized fee-voucher lottery and a separate information/behavioral-nudge experiment with five nudge arms and a control group.	Voucher offer raises applications from 37% to 78%; five additional nudges have no significant effects among registrants already informed about fee-waiver eligibility. Applications differ from subsequent citizenship acquisition.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Hainmueller et al. (2026a) United States	Low-income lawful permanent residents eligible to naturalize	2,802 registrants randomized; 2,081 people in credit panel; survey N varies	Lottery assignment of fee vouchers	Income; credit score; access to credit; financial distress; employment; deportation fears; multidimensional integration index	Randomized voucher offers, 2016–2018; linked credit-bureau and survey follow-up; distinguishes ITT offer effects from IV citizenship effects.	No detectable economic or broader integration gains over three to five years; reduced deportation fears
Hainmueller and Laitin (2026) Multi-country	Immigrants across multiple settings; not refugee-specific	31 studies; 60 preferred earnings estimates	Synthesis of citizenship earnings estimates	Earnings premiums by identifying design	Multilevel random-effects meta-analysis; underlying studies also appear separately in this review.	Pooled premium 9.9% (95% CI 5.1–14.9); randomized 1.9% (−1.3 to 5.3); Swiss RD 11.3% (5.2–17.8). Excluding observational IV: 6.0% (3.8–8.2). Design dependence prevents a universal causal forecast.
Helgertz et al. (2014) Denmark, Sweden	Immigrants from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America	68,795 people (41,334 Denmark; 27,461 Sweden)	Individual naturalization timing (within-person), estimated separately for Denmark (stricter regime) and Sweden (more liberal regime)	Log annual earned income	Individual-FE panel regressions using longitudinal registers, 1986–2001 (Sweden) and 1986–2007 (Denmark).	Individual-FE estimates show consistent positive selection into naturalization. Premiums appear mainly for Asian and African immigrants: +2.7% (men) and +4.7% (women) for Asian immigrants in Denmark (all earners), and +1.9% (Asian) and +4% (African) for men in Sweden (earnings above two base amounts). No consistent premium for Eastern European or Latin American immigrants, some negative shifts (e.g., African men in Denmark), and results are sensitive to the income restriction
Hotard et al. (2019) United States	Very-low-income, fee-waiver-eligible lawful permanent residents	1,537 registrants randomized; 935 usable follow-up responses	Information nudge about fee waiver eligibility for low-income immigrants	Citizenship application rate; fee waiver usage	Randomized information about naturalization fee waivers.	Applications +8.6 pp (95% CI 1.7–15.4; baseline about 25%); fee-waiver use +10.1 pp from a 15.1% baseline (not prespecified). Effects concern information assignment.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Mossaad et al. (2018) United States	Resettled refugees eligible to naturalize by age	380,781 people	Linked administrative records, full refugee population 2000–2010	Naturalization rates; demographic and locational determinants of citizenship acquisition	Descriptive linked administrative analysis of 2000–2010 arrivals; associations with location and individual characteristics do not identify naturalization-policy effects.	66% of eligible refugees resettled 2000–2010 naturalize by 2015; rates shaped by education, gender, origin, and resettlement location
Peters et al. (2020) Netherlands	Immigrants; not refugee-specific	74,531 people (40,204 men; 34,327 women)	Variation in naturalization timing	Log monthly labor income (employed migrants); working hours and labor-market sector as controls in mechanism checks	Individual-FE panel regressions using Statistics Netherlands registers, 1999–2011.	Among employed migrants, naturalization is associated with a one-time earnings shift of 1.8% (men) and 1.4% (women), and 3.2% and 4.7% for migrants from less-developed origin countries; including unemployed spells (zero labor income) raises the coefficient to 0.092 (men) and 0.094 (women) on the paper's common-log scale (roughly 24%), which the authors read as citizenship mainly easing labor-market access (subject to floor-effect caveats). Within-person observational estimates; earnings rise faster before than after naturalization and peak around it
Steinhardt (2012) Germany	Immigrant full-time employees; not refugee-specific	93,429 people (62,875 men; 30,554 women)	Individual naturalization (within-person timing)	Log real gross daily wage	Individual-FE wage regressions and pooled OLS using IAB employment records, 1975–2004; separate specifications model pre- and post-naturalization wage trajectories. Causal interpretation requires common wage trends absent naturalization.	Men: FE wage coefficient 0.0145 (about 1.5%); a specification allowing different wage trajectories estimates 0.49 pp faster annual wage growth after naturalization, with no significant immediate jump. No significant wage effects for women; the author attributes their unadjusted premium primarily to positive selection.

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Study / setting	Population	Sample size	Policy	Outcomes	Design / method	Main findings
Yasenov et al. (2019) United States	Low-income immigrants eligible to naturalize, inferred from ACS	461,089 people; 739,301 in event study	Standardization of federal fee-waiver application form (2010 USCIS reform)	Naturalization status (ACS); fee-waiver take-up and substitution assessed only in auxiliary analyses (separate New York registrant survey; back-of-envelope decomposition)	DiD of fee-waiver eligibility (≤150% FPG or means-tested benefits versus 150–300% FPG), comparing 2009–2011 with 2012–2014 around the 2010 reform; ACS 2007–2016.	Fee-waiver standardization increases naturalization by 1.5 pp (95% CI 1.1–2.0); larger effects among low-income and less-educated immigrants, with limited substitution
Gallegos Torres et al. (2024) Austria	Male refugees who could sponsor family reunification	602 subsidiary-protected and 2,667 Convention refugees (RD samples)	2016 family-reunification reform: longer wait and new conditions for subsidiary protection; new conditions after a three-month application window for Convention refugees	Regular and irregular family reunification; employment; monthly earnings; welfare-benefit receipt, years 1–5 after protection	Reduced-form RD at status-specific protection-date cutoffs, with local linear trends, a 255-day bandwidth, and nationality and individual controls; linked records proxy family reunification.	Subsidiary-protected refugees: regular reunification −7.1 pp at year 3 (imprecise), −12.5 to −13.6 pp at years 4–5; no detectable employment or earnings gains. Convention refugees: reunification +7.5 pp at year 1 and about +6 pp at years 3–5; employment +9.5–10.0 pp at years 4–5. No significant welfare-receipt effects in either group.
Hasager (2024) Denmark	Family-reunified women subsequently granted independent refugee status	1,349 women	Granting independent refugee status to women whose existing residence rights depend on their refugee husbands	Employment, quarterly earnings and work hours; divorce; recorded violent victimization	Staggered DiD using variation in asylum-processing times among successful applicants; compares women newly granted status with women granted status later; parallel trends required.	Over the first 18 months, employment +2.4 pp (53% of a 4.5% baseline), quarterly earnings about +US$270 (2015 prices), divorce +3 pp, and recorded violent victimization −0.8 pp per quarter.