



Reception and integration policies for displaced persons from Ukraine in the Nordic countries – a comparative analysis

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- **How have the Nordic countries responded to the high influx of displaced persons from Ukraine?**
- **What policies have they changed and adapted for this group, and are there differences between the Nordic countries?**
- **Are policies for displaced persons from Ukraine more liberal and generous or more restrictive than for other protection seekers?**

In February 2022, the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine led to millions of people fleeing the war – both internally in Ukraine and across the borders to other European countries, including the Nordic countries.

This policy brief compares policy changes related to the influx of displaced persons from Ukraine in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, and discuss Nordic similarities and differences.



Summary

Although the European response to the high influxes of displaced persons was more unified in 2022 than in 2015, with the introduction of collective temporary protection, the Nordic analysis shows that there were still great cross-national differences in the rights and restrictions for displaced persons from Ukraine.

After Sweden received over 200,000 asylum seekers in 2014–2016, they have moved away from their historically liberal path and towards a more restrictive one. Sweden's approach towards displaced persons from Ukraine has really substantiated Sweden's change from having one of the most liberal immigration and integration policies in Europe, to having one of the most restrictive regulations for displaced persons from Ukraine. Contrary to others who are granted protection in Sweden, this group does not transition to get the same financial and integration rights as other protection holders, and they have limited access to healthcare.

Although Norway and Denmark generally have different policies towards protection seekers (where Denmark generally has had more restrictive and less generous policies than Norway), they have

taken a rather similar approach in their reception of displaced persons from Ukraine. For instance, both countries introduced more flexible options for this group to find their own accommodation. Otherwise, contrary to many other European countries, their approach has been to provide displaced persons from Ukraine with the same rights as other protection holders, e.g., related to financial assistance and integration measures.

However, after Norway experienced a relatively high increase in arrivals from Ukraine during the fall of 2023, the Norwegian government proposed several new restrictions to ensure that Norway did not have more favourable policies than other countries.

Finland has taken a middle road. Displaced persons from Ukraine have some restricted rights the first year of residence (although not to the same degree as in Sweden). Upon arrival, they are integrated into the same system as other protection seekers waiting for a decision on their claim. After one year of residence, they may be registered in a municipality, which means that they get the same rights to social welfare and other services as all permanent residents.

Comparative policy analysis

European countries have met the situation in 2022 with a more unified response than earlier influxes. Most importantly, they have provided displaced persons from Ukraine with temporary collective protection, either through the EU Temporary Protection Directive or by national legislation largely mirroring the directive. Still, there has been great variety in the reception and policies towards this group.

To analyse the Nordic countries' immigration, reception and integration policies for displaced persons from Ukraine, we discuss the policy development on two dimensions derived from the migration literature¹:

1) Are the Nordic policies for displaced persons from Ukraine liberal/generous or restrictive?

2) Are the policies for displaced persons from Ukraine selective or "universal"?

The latter question explores whether the countries introduce specific policies for displaced persons from Ukraine or include them in the general policies targeting persons who seek or are granted protection.

Based on two research projects

This policy brief is based on analyses from two larger research projects:

First, the **GOVREIN project (2023)** compared eight European countries' response to the influxes of protection seekers the last decade, and included policy analysis of asylum, immigration and integration policies for protection seekers from 2014 to June 2023. The GOVREIN project was financed by the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity, and the reports from the project were published in January 2024².

Second, the ongoing **NOR-RETIN-project³** is financed by NordForsk. This three-year research project (2023–2026) investigates how displaced persons from Ukraine and policymakers alike tackle the dilemma of whether one should have a short- or long-term perspective on their stay in their host countries. The dilemma is explored through comparative and longitudinal analyses of the four Nordic countries, including policy analyses, interviews with and surveys of displaced persons from Ukraine, and statistical analyses of Nordic register data.



The individual country reports are available on oda.oslomet.no

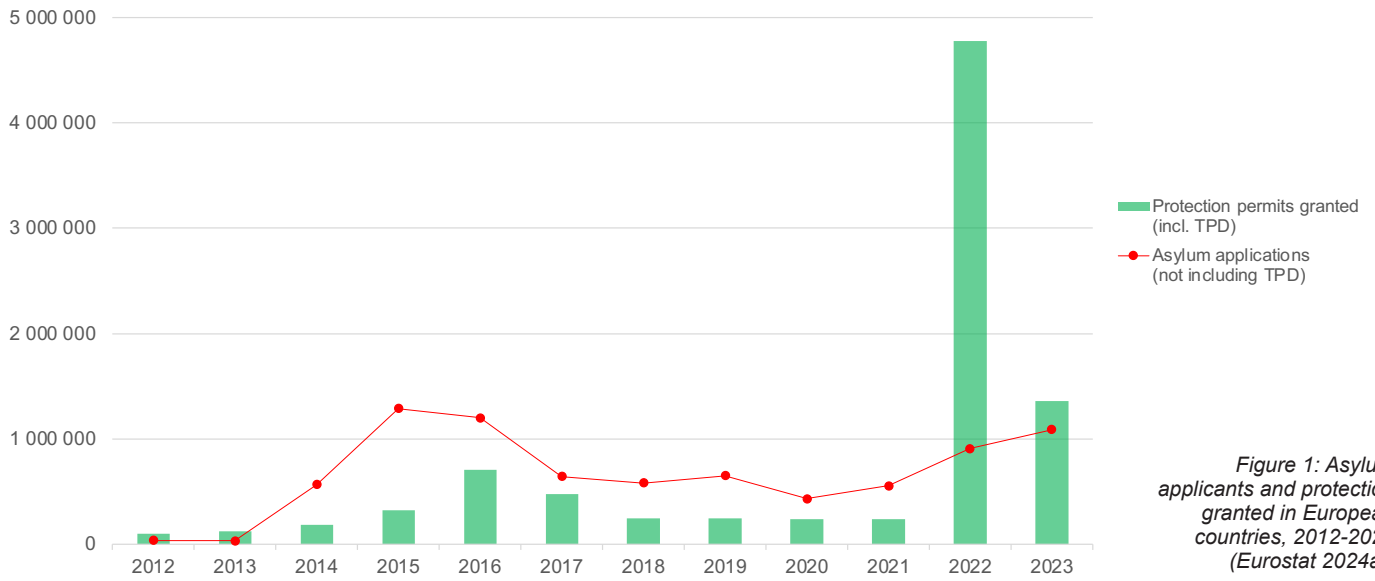


Figure 1: Asylum applicants and protection granted in European countries, 2012-2023 (Eurostat 2024a⁴)

Large difference in forced migration flows

The Nordic countries – along with other European countries – have experienced large fluctuations in the asylum inflows over the past ten years, with 2015/16 and 2022/23 being the absolute peak years.

The red line in figure 1 portrays the number of asylum applicants – and these do not include displaced persons from Ukraine. The green stacks show the number of protection permits granted – here displaced persons from Ukraine are included. The figure illustrates that the number of protection seekers in particularly 2022 is unprecedented, where a large majority were people fleeing from Ukraine.

The Nordic countries have also experienced similar fluctuations as the rest of Europe over time. There have been large differences in the relative numbers of persons seeking and granted protection, meaning the variation in how many protection seekers the four Nordic countries have received relative to its population size.

Figure 2 shows that traditionally, Sweden has received a disproportionately larger share of protection seekers than the other Nordic countries, also compared to the EU average (illustrated by the black line). However, Sweden's relative share has declined after 2021, and they now receive a lower share than other European countries. Except for in 2015, Finland has had a lower share of protection seekers than the EU average. Both Norway and Denmark have had a relatively high share compared to the EU average up until 2016 but dropped

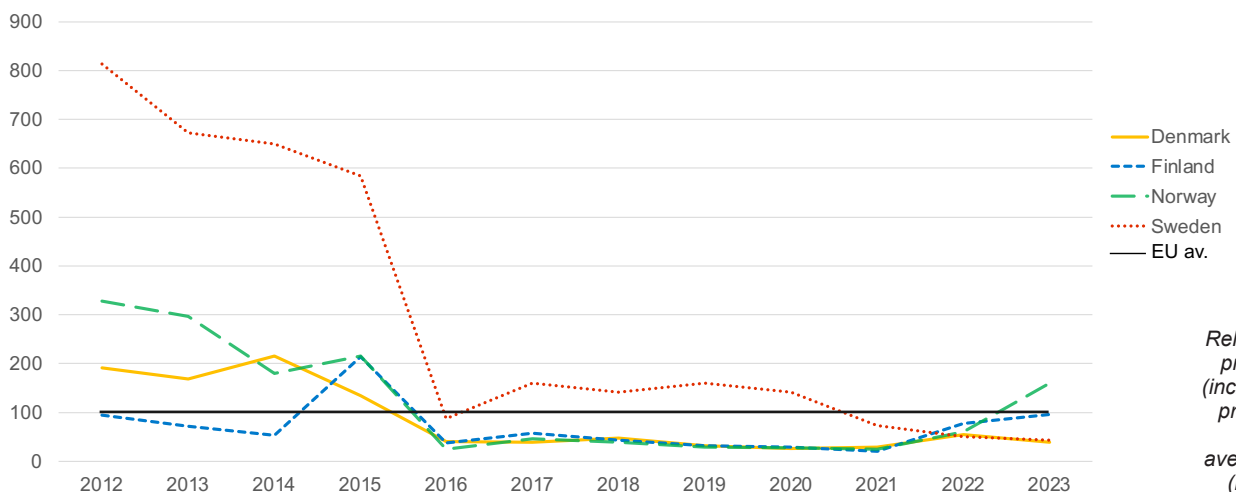
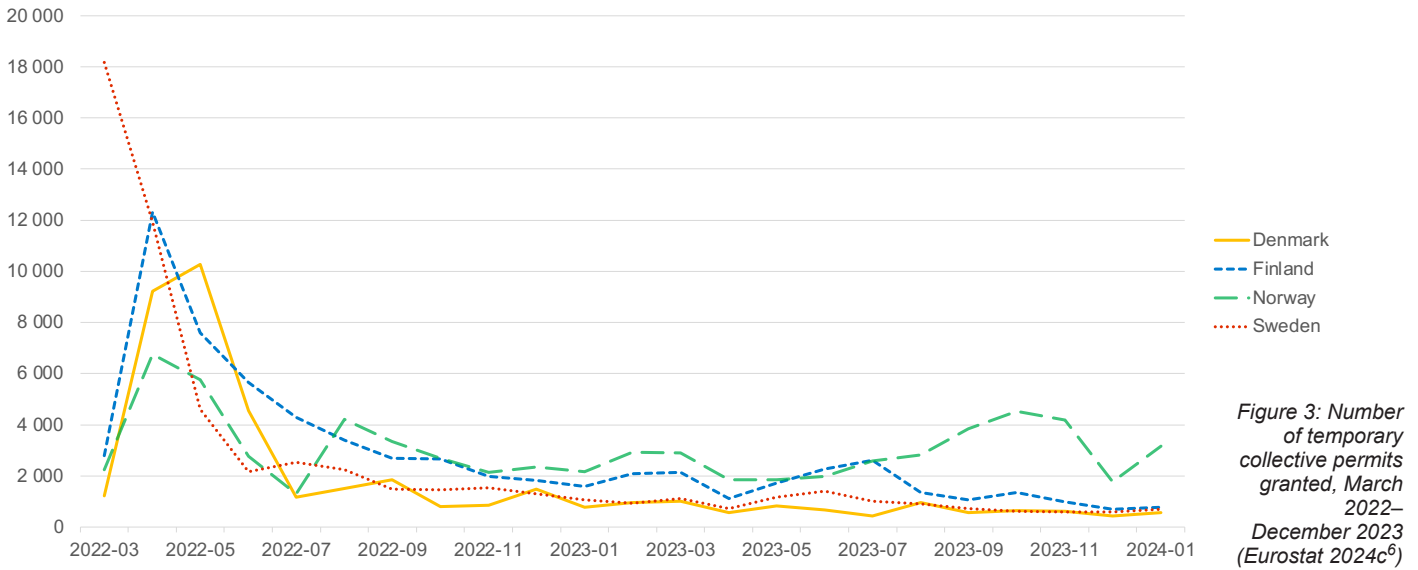


Figure 2: Relative numbers of protection seekers (including temporary protection holders) compared to EU average, 2012-2023 (Eurostat 2024b⁵)



below the average in the following years. However, Norway experienced a higher share in 2023, caused by a particularly high number of protection seekers from Ukraine during the fall of 2023.

Thus, there have been large differences in asylum flows – both in absolute and relative terms – to the Nordic countries during the last decade.

But what has been the development when focusing on displaced persons from Ukraine since February 2022?

Figure 3 shows large fluctuations in the numbers who have been granted collective temporary protection in the Nordic countries during the first two years after the Russian full-scale invasion – both over time and cross-nationally. All countries experienced the highest peak in March and April 2022, before a drop in May and June 2022. Sweden received the largest number directly after the full-scale invasion in March 2022. However, except for this initial peak, Sweden has received relatively low numbers compared to the other countries, particularly when considering that Sweden has almost twice the population as the other three Nordic countries (appr. 10.5 million in Sweden compared to appr. 5.5–6 million in Norway, Denmark and Finland). Finland and Norway have generally had higher inflows than Denmark and Sweden from August 2022. Further, one year later, from August 2023, Norway received a substantially higher share of the total number of arrivals in the Nordic countries, with over 60% of the total arrivals in September to November 2023.

Table 1 shows the total number of temporary protection permits granted in the Nordic countries as of January 2024, and the percentage this constitutes of the total population (calculated by the total number of permits divided by the population on 1 January 2023). It shows that Denmark has received the lowest number of displaced persons from Ukraine in absolute numbers, but Sweden and Denmark have received a similar share compared to the population size (0.6% and 0.7% respectively). Finland and Norway have a rather similar share in both absolute and relative numbers. As of December 2023, they have received around 65 000–70 000 displaced persons from Ukraine, which constituted around 1.2–1.3% of the total population. It is important to note that this reflects the total number of permits granted, not the current stock of displaced persons from Ukraine currently living in these countries, as some have returned or moved elsewhere after the permit was granted.

Table 1: Total number of registered temporary protection permits and % of population as of December 2023 (Eurostat 2024d)

	Temporary protection permits granted (Jan 2024)	% of total population
Norway	70 120	1,3 %
Finland	64 965	1,2 %
Denmark	41 865	0,7 %
Sweden	58 915	0,6 %

Permits and connected rights

After the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine in March 2022, there was a unified European response concerning the type of permits given to displaced persons from Ukraine. All EU-member states implemented the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) for this.

EU member states – including Sweden and Finland – were bound by the EU TPD. Denmark, which is an EU member state, has opted out of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and is therefore not bound by the directive. However, both Denmark and Norway (a non-EU member) passed national legislations that largely mirrored the TPD.

Concerning those who are eligible for collective protection, Denmark introduced from the start a more restrictive target group compared to the other countries. The Danish Special Act does not apply to third-country nationals unless they have been recognised as refugees in Ukraine, nor to Ukrainians who have dual citizenships or a residence permit in a country other than Ukraine.

Finland and Norway initially had a more liberal

target group but introduced some restrictions in the fall of 2023.

In September 2023, Finland stopped issuing temporary protection status to third-country nationals who have fled Ukraine and who were not granted international protection or a permanent residence permit by Ukraine.

As a reaction to the increased inflow of displaced persons from Ukraine to Norway the fall of 2023, the Norwegian government imposed a series of new restrictions. One restriction involved that persons with dual citizenship who had citizenship in another safe third country would no longer be eligible for temporary protection. Also, persons with dual citizenship who had previously been granted temporary protection would not get their protection permits renewed after March 2024.

In Sweden however, the government has recently decided that additional persons will receive temporary protection in Sweden. This primarily concerns Ukrainian citizens who are already residing legally in Sweden, but who have not yet received any protection⁸.

The TPD specify the target group as:

Ukrainian nationals residing in Ukraine who have been displaced on or after 24 February 2022 and their family members.

Stateless persons, and nationals of third countries other than Ukraine, who benefited from international protection or equivalent national protection in Ukraine before 24 February 2022 and who have been displaced from Ukraine on or after 24 February 2022, and their family members.

Stateless persons and nationals of third countries other than Ukraine who can prove that they were legally residing in Ukraine before 24 February 2022 on the basis of a valid permanent residence permit issued in accordance with Ukrainian law, and who are unable to return in safe and durable conditions to their country [of origin] or region [within their country] of origin.



No current path to permanent residency

In all countries, the temporary collective protection does not count as residence time when applying for permanent residency. Consequently, those who have temporary collective protection currently have no path to permanent residency in the Nordic countries. This differs from other protection statuses as it only targets persons with temporary collective protection.

Access to other types of permits

Sweden has more restrictive practices concerning other types of permits for this group. The target group of the TPD cannot apply for other types of permits.

In Finland, Denmark and Norway there are no such restrictions. Displaced persons from Ukraine can apply for a residence permit based on family ties, study, or work if they meet the respective national criteria.

Temporary visits to Ukraine

The Nordic countries (initially) provided displaced persons from Ukraine with more liberal rights than other groups of protection holders regarding the possibility for temporary visits to their home country.

In all the countries (except for Finland), protection holders are normally subject to restrictions concerning temporary travels back to their home country, as this may involve a risk of cessation of their protection status.

Norway, Denmark and Sweden made exceptions from these restrictions for displaced persons from Ukraine. Those who were granted residence permits were allowed to visit Ukraine without losing their protection status or permit.

However, in December 2023, Norway abolished this exemption, which implied that those with temporary protection were no longer allowed to travel back and forth to Ukraine without being at risk of losing their protection status and thereby their residence permit in Norway. Only persons with a “legitimate purpose” for their visit to Ukraine – subject to very strict criteria – are allowed to visit their home country.



Registration and application

The introduction of collective, temporary permits implied larger changes in the registration and application procedure. The permit was in itself an easing of requirements and made the path to granted protection shorter and less extensive, as it did not require an individual assessment.

Contrary to the procedure in many other European countries, where Ukrainians only had to register to receive temporary protection, the Nordic countries channelled Ukrainians through the regular asylum system. They formally had to apply for protection, although the collective protection simplified the procedure.

In Sweden and Denmark, online registration was made possible and encouraged.

In Sweden, the Migration Agency developed an online application portal where displaced persons from Ukraine could apply for protection if they had a biometric passport. Persons applying through the online portal, and who had made their own accommodation arrangements, did not need to physically meet with the Migration Agency until after they had their application processed. If they needed help with accommodation or financial support, they had to visit the Migration Agency in person.

In Denmark, temporary protection seekers could also apply through an online scheme. After the protection seeker had filled out and delivered the scheme, they had to book a physical appointment with the Immigration Service for an identity check.

In Norway, the government first opened up for

registration at multiple new locations, but later removed this option again during the fall of 2023. Initially, new arrivals had to apply for protection at one single National Arrival Centre. The government quickly decided to allow de-centralised registration procedures at regional police districts around the country. However, in December 2023 (as part of the new restrictions), the government removed the possibility for registering at local police stations and reintroduced the rule that all applicants had to go through the National Arrival Centre.

Lastly, in Finland, the application for temporary protection was to be submitted at a police station or at the border upon arrival to the country. Following registration, the Finnish Immigration Service decided on the application in a simplified process, where the only required document was a passport or some other identity document.



“The Nordic countries altered existing regulations to involve the municipalities in the initial phase to a larger degree than previously.”

Accommodation during the application process

In all the Nordic countries, national immigration agencies have the responsibility of providing accommodation and other support in the period from registration of an asylum application until granted protection and subsequent settlement in a municipality. In Sweden, the responsibility for unaccompanied asylum-seeking children is handed over to the municipalities immediately after registration.

To accommodate the large influx of displaced persons from Ukraine, all the Nordic countries upscaled the capacity of existing service providers and increased the use of new non-public service providers (e.g. NGOs, hotels, etc.).

Furthermore, the countries introduced new schemes for initial accommodation, including 1) a more formal role for the municipalities during the initial phase, and 2) increased flexibility for living privately.

Increased municipal responsibilities

The Nordic countries altered existing regulations to involve the municipalities in the initial phase to a larger degree than previously.

Finland introduced a “municipal model” that has been intact since Spring 2022. It was a temporary solution where the Finnish Immigration Service compensated municipalities for the costs of providing accommodation and other reception services for those seeking and receiving temporary protection. It was discontinued in late 2023, when there was no longer the need for this

supplementary model.

In Denmark, many municipalities established emergency accommodation to accommodate the large influx during the first months, for example in community centres or in closed schools. In this way, the municipalities took responsibility for running accommodation, reminiscent of asylum centres, but without initially having the authority or finances to do so. However, in March 2022, the parliament quickly adopted a legislative change, which gave the municipalities the necessary authority and funding to initiate accommodation for this group. This new arrangement was not an obligation for the municipalities, as the municipalities could refer persons to the state-run reception centres.

In Sweden, the government introduced legislation providing the municipalities with increased responsibilities for accommodating displaced persons from Ukraine.

Norway did not introduce new rules concerning the municipalities' roles in the initial phase. However, in the fall of 2023, a new legislative change was sent out for a public hearing, which would give the County Governor the authority to order municipalities to establish and operate temporary accommodation centres for asylum seekers in situations with high influxes (at the time of writing, this proposal was still in process)?

Living privately

As in most European countries, many initial arrivals from Ukraine lived privately, with either family, friends and acquaintances or through volunteers offering accommodation.

“As in most European countries, many initial arrivals from Ukraine lived privately, with either family, friends and acquaintances or through volunteers offering accommodation.”

Sweden and Finland did not alter their rules for living in different forms of accommodation during the application period.

In Finland, settlement in private accommodation was possible, but no financial support was given to cover the costs of the rent, and one still had to be a client of a designated reception centre and report there regularly.

Sweden has also allowed settlement in private accommodations during the application period. However, the asylum seeker must cover their own living expenses but will still keep their rights to a daily allowance and other special contributions.

Norway and Denmark generally stand out in a European context by limiting rights to live privately during the application process. Both countries (temporarily) liberalized these restrictive rules specifically for displaced persons from Ukraine. Thus, these changes involved increased selectivity between different groups of protection seekers in the two countries (but only temporarily in Norway).

Denmark generally has the most restrictive rules for living outside the public reception system. The main rule in Denmark was that asylum seekers should reside in reception centres during the application procedure, and exceptions were only made if strict requirements were met. The new flexible regulations for displaced persons from Ukraine meant that they did not have to fulfil any of the strict requirements that other groups of protection seekers had to fulfil. They were free to live with family, friends and other networks during the application period, and they could also be entitled to financial support while living privately. Furthermore, as a new measure, the Danish government introduced the possibility

for private households which accommodated displaced persons from Ukraine to receive financial support to partially cover the hosts' costs for food and rent.

In Norway, asylum-seekers are generally not obligated to reside in reception centres during the application process, but normally they forfeit their access to all financial assistance if they opt out of the public reception system. Norway had an exception, a system called 'alternative reception placement' (AMOT), but the application was subject to very strict criteria. As many Ukrainians stayed with friends and family (particularly the initial months after the full-scale Russian invasion), the government decided to expand the AMOT system and introduced a 'temporary alternative reception placement' (MAMOT) in March 2022. MAMOT involved that displaced persons from Ukraine who found a place to live in a municipality – either with family members, other private persons, or a home organised by voluntary organisations, or by the municipality – could apply to be registered for MAMOT. This extended right included less restrictive criteria than the original AMOT system (which still applied for other asylum seekers), implying that displaced persons from Ukraine had more freedom to find alternative housing without losing rights to public assistance. However, the MAMOT system in Norway was abolished late January 2024, which meant that displaced persons from Ukraine no longer can find their own accommodation during their application period and still receive financial benefits¹⁰.

There are now equal rights for all protection seekers in Norway regarding private accommodation during the application period.

Settlement after granted protection

In many other European countries, the general distribution of protection seekers to regions or local communities takes place after the initial registration. However, in all the four Nordic countries, the distribution and formal settlement in a municipality happens after granted protection.

Other than this similarity, the countries have very different settlement models, which mainly revolves around two main questions:

- 1) Do those who are granted protection have the right to freely settle wherever they want in the country?
- 2) If there are restrictions, and for those who need public assistance to find housing, what models of publicly steered settlement does the country follow?

First, contrary to the Swedish and Finnish settlement models, the Norwegian and Danish settlement models stand out in a European context by restricting rights to free settlement after being granted protection. In both countries, persons who are granted protection may settle freely in the country, but only if they forfeit their right to financial assistance and integration measures. However, if the person needs public assistance during the initial period (which is the case for the majority), they have to be settled through the countries' respective public settlement systems. Further, their right to move freely – meaning without losing rights to financial assistance and integration measures – is restricted during the

period when they participate in the introduction programme.

Second, in Denmark and Sweden, the central government allocates the protection beneficiaries to municipalities based on defined distribution criteria. This model emphasises central steering and rapid settlement¹¹.

In Norway and Finland, municipalities enter into voluntary agreements with the central government to settle those granted protection. This model emphasises local autonomy and central-local cooperation.



“Denmark made formal changes in the settlement policies particularly for displaced persons from Ukraine.”

New solutions for Ukrainians

Denmark made formal changes in the settlement policies particularly for displaced persons from Ukraine. First, the transition from a reception centre until the municipality took over the responsibility was reduced from a maximum 60 days to four working days. For the municipalities to be able to provide housing in such a short amount of time, municipalities offered emergency accommodation in unused schools, refurbished sports facilities and welfare facilities. Second, Denmark changed the dispersal criteria for displaced persons from Ukraine. For this group only, the distribution criteria were calculated based on the municipalities' total population, and not the existing criteria which was the share of “non-Western residents”. Thus, municipalities were able to settle displaced persons from Ukraine even though they already had a high number of non-Western residents, while this was not possible with other groups of protection holders.

The Norwegian settlement model did not undergo any legislative changes in 2022, but the Norwegian government used other strategies to ensure enough settlements. The Norwegian government reintroduced the whole-country strategy, where all municipalities were asked to settle protection beneficiaries. It also reintroduced a financial incentive urging municipalities to agree to more settlements – a per capita bonus for every person they settle above the number that they were petitioned by the government. There was also an increased use of the new system of so-called “agreed self-settlement”. This opportunity was introduced already in 2015, but it was rarely used. As many displaced persons from Ukraine to a much larger extent than previous protection seekers

lived with family and other networks before being granted protection (at least the initial arrivals), the practice of “agreed self-settlement” increased. The increased use of “agreed self-settlement” was, however, not due to an active national policy change, but a change in practice.

Finland and Sweden already had more liberal/flexible conditions regarding self-settlement after granted protection compared to Denmark and Norway. Therefore, changes in schemes and practices to make the settlement process more flexible both for the responsible agency and for the displaced persons from Ukraine, have been more prominent in Denmark and Norway.

One specific arrangement in Finland, is that displaced persons from Ukraine mainly continue on asylum seeker rights the first year of residence. After one year of residence, they are entitled to register in a municipality where they will get extended rights similar to other citizens. However, they are not automatically transferred to a municipality, but must actively apply. Thus, they may also choose to continue to live in reception centres instead of transitioning to a municipality.



“In Sweden, displaced persons from Ukraine did not have general rights and obligations to integration measures.”

Integration measures

Many European countries do not include displaced persons from Ukraine in the target group of those who have the right and/or obligation to participate in different integration measures, such as integration programmes, and language and civics training.

Denmark, Finland and Norway all provide rights to integration measures also for displaced persons from Ukraine, although in some moderated form in Norway and Finland. Sweden stands out in this regard, and do not provide displaced persons from Ukraine with access to the general integration programmes or the same integration measures that other protection holders are entitled to.

In Denmark, after being granted protection, displaced persons from Ukraine had the same rights and obligation to participate in integration programmes as other protection holders.

In Norway, displaced persons from Ukraine had the right to integration programmes, but a Special Act in 2022 included some adjustments. Overall, the amendments included somewhat shorter and more limited rights to certain measures, but with more flexible options for displaced persons from Ukraine than for other groups. The introduction programme should still contain language and work-oriented elements, but the language training was limited to one year, consistent with the duration of their initial permit. The group also had less obligatory courses, such as civics classes. Unlike the case for other introduction programme participants, they could complete the introduction programme on a part-time basis; and if they left the programme, they did not lose the right to return to the programme.

However, new amendments introduced in the fall of 2023 removed the previous exception for Ukrainians to participate in the programme on a part-time basis. The government also intensified the work-oriented focus by introducing a minimal requirement of 15 hours work-oriented elements.

In Finland, the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration applies to all persons with a valid residence permit in Finland. Municipalities, and the Employment and economic development offices (ELY Centre/TE Office) are to provide immigrants with appropriate guidance and advice concerning measures and services promoting integration and working life. Consequently, displaced persons from Ukraine were also entitled to such services, including an initial assessment and integration plan. They could also participate in integration training. If the temporary protection holders became residents of a municipality (possible after 1 year), they received more services that were like the services provided to all other residents.

In Sweden, displaced persons from Ukraine did not have general rights and obligations to integration measures. They could be offered some courses (e.g. CV courses and language training). However, this was not a right, but often depended upon non-public efforts or availability and local capacity. By July 2023, Sweden increased the funds to Swedish for Immigrants (SFI), making it possible for municipalities to offer SFI to displaced persons from Ukraine.

Financial rights

Sweden is the only Nordic country where displaced persons from Ukraine continue on asylum seeker benefits and do not transition to the other financial benefits that other protection holders in Sweden are entitled to.

Denmark and Norway provide displaced persons from Ukraine with the same financial rights as other protection holders.

In Finland, displaced persons from Ukraine continue on asylum seeker benefits the first year, but may transition to general social benefits after one year of residence.

In Denmark, the financial rights for protection holders are means-tested. However, Denmark generally provides all immigrants who have not lived in Denmark the last 7 out of 8 years with financial benefits at about 35-50% lower levels than regular social benefits.

Norway and Sweden generally operates with an individual integration benefit which is given the first initial year(s), and which is conditional on participation in an integration programme. These integration benefits are given at fixed rates and are often higher than regular social benefits. In Norway and Sweden, this specialised integration benefit is not means-tested, but is exclusively linked to participation in the integration programme.

In Denmark and Norway, displaced persons from Ukraine were covered by the same rules as for other protection statuses, implying an individualised integration benefit in Norway and a means-tested integration benefit in Denmark.

In Sweden, however, those granted temporary protection continued to be covered by the same financial assistance as asylum seekers were subject to, which is generally lower than regular social benefits. However, at the time of writing, there is an ongoing policy process proposing that those on temporary protection permits can be registered in the Population Register after one year of residence, which may affect the group's financial rights.

In Finland, displaced persons from Ukraine continue on asylum seekers benefits the first year of residence. After this first year, displaced persons from Ukraine are included in the regular welfare system and are entitled to the same means-tested benefits as the general population – if they apply for municipal residence. The process is not automatic, so they have the option of continuing in the system where they live in a reception centre and receive the benefits available to asylum seekers.



“Norway, Denmark and Finland have not made any restrictive amendments for displaced persons from Ukraine regarding healthcare rights.”

Health care

In all the four countries, protection seekers are entitled to emergency healthcare during the application period. Minors also have full access to primary and specialist healthcare services. After being granted protection, all countries generally provide all legal residence permit holders with full access to both primary and specialist healthcare, on par with other residents.

Norway, Denmark and Finland have not made any restrictive amendments for displaced persons from Ukraine regarding healthcare rights. Thus, they receive the same rights as other protection seekers before being granted protection and the same rights as the general population after being granted protection.

In Sweden, however, adult persons who are granted temporary protection continue on the same rights as other asylum seekers and do not get extended healthcare rights after being granted protection (as other protection holders do). This restriction means that displaced persons from Ukraine are not entitled to primary and specialist healthcare, but continue to be entitled only to emergency healthcare.

Dilemmas going forward given a prolonged war in Ukraine

Although the European response to the high influxes of displaced persons was more unified in 2022 than in 2015, with the introduction of collective temporary protection, the Nordic analysis shows that there were still great cross-national differences in the rights and restrictions for displaced persons from Ukraine.

The introduction of collective temporary protection for displaced persons from Ukraine was a solution to – as the name of the permit directly states – quickly and temporarily provide protection for this large group. With little prospect of a rapid end to the ongoing war in Ukraine, European countries soon have to decide on what to do when the collective protection permits expire. The temporary permit had a three-year limit, and at the time of writing this policy brief (March 2024), it is still unclear what will happen when the three-year period expires.

An important question going forward – both politically and academically – is how this increased temporary focus will affect long-term integration if the protection beneficiaries actually turn out to remain in the Nordic countries long-term, as it may be challenging to combine policy and ambitions for both integration and return at the same time – both for the individual, the local communities and the national policymakers.

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