

Malmö University
Department of IMER

IMER 41-80
Spring 06

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

A Comparative Study on the Somali and the former Yugoslavian immigrants'
Labour Market Attachment in Sweden and in the Netherlands

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Abstract

This study focuses on economic integration of foreign-born men and women from Somalia and the former Yugoslavia in Sweden and in the Netherlands. Many welfare states of Western Europe are experiencing that some groups of immigrants have had a hard time to integrating economically. This has been dictated by high unemployment rates and low incomes. The aim of this thesis is therefore to describe the migration and the economic integration for the chosen groups and countries and to analyse factors that can have an effect on the immigrants' labour market situation. Thesis also investigates institutional factors that can contribute to either positive or negative immigrant economic integration. For the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of the subject a comparative method is used, which is characterised by both descriptive and explanatory analysis on immigrant economic integration. The analysis is based on literature, earlier studies and statistical data. The theories used for explaining labour market integration are human capital theory, social capital theory as well as the destination countries institutional factors, specifically the immigration and integration policies. It was found that the Yugoslavian immigrant groups had a positive labour market attachment when compared to the Somali immigrant groups. The Dutch former Yugoslavs have the best labour market success. Out of the examined Somalis; the Swedish Somalis had the best labour market success while the Dutch Somalis have shown the poorest labour market attachment. It was also found that, especially, the relation between the degrees of education has an effect on the immigrants' economic integration. Furthermore, year of migration and age have also shown to have an effect on the investigated immigrants' economic integration. The examined institutional factors, on the other hand, were not believed to have any direct impact on the immigrants' labour market success.

Keywords: Economic Integration, Labour Market Attachment, Somali Immigrants, Former Yugoslavian Immigrants, Sweden, the Netherlands, Migration.

Characters: 208112

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS – Central Database of Statistics of the Netherlands

EU – European Union

ISEO – Institute for Sociological and Economic Research

SCB – Swedish Statistic Central Bureau

SPVA – Social Position and Use of Facilities by Immigrants

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USC – United Somali Congress

1. Introduction

International migration is growing in volume at the present time. Western European countries have since the late 1940's encountered a large number of immigrants. After the Second World War many European states have had labour migration supporting the growing industries but nowadays we can see that immigration has changed from labour migration to refugee and family migration (Brettell & Hollifield. 2003, p.1, Utrikesdepartementet, 1998, p.3 & 7-8) Immigration, for whatever reason, creates new challenges for the receiving countries as well as for the migrants. Some countries are better prepared than others are to economically integrate newcomers and in some countries it could be said that the integration-process is an absolute failure. A common fact for all European countries is that employment rates among foreign born is low when comparing to natives especially for refugees (Joly, Kelly & Nettleton, 1997, p. 5).

The economic integration of foreign-born men and women in the welfare state Sweden is a well-known and debated issue. Immigrants have had a hard time to economically integrate and the results are high unemployment rates and low incomes for immigrants in comparison to Swedes. According to Lundh et al. (2002, p 7-8), the integration of immigrant groups is seen as a big political failure since many large groups of immigrants are living in Sweden unemployed, segregated and dependent on welfare. Since the 1970's until today, foreign-born have shown higher unemployment rates than of natives. In the Netherlands, which is another well-organized welfare state and shares a large number of similarities with Sweden when developing migration and integration policies, we can see the same pattern with high unemployment rates among immigrants (Geddes, 2003, p.122).

Several studies such as Ekberg (2003) and Martens & Weijers (2000) report on the low employment rate of foreign-born and give explanatory factors of why the employment rate is so low among immigrants in these two countries. In such studies, the employment rate of immigrants and natives have been compared to each other, where factors have been found to explain why the immigrants' unemployment rate is higher than the natives are. In the year of 2004, 12, 9 % of the immigrant population in Sweden was unemployed while only approximately 5, 5 % of the natives in Sweden were unemployed (AKU, 2004). In the year of 2003 in the Netherlands, the unemployment rate of non-western foreigners exceed 14 % whereas the unemployment rate of western foreigners was at 7, 9 %. The native Dutch's unemployment rate was less than 4 % (CSB, Statline). The immigrants' high unemployment rates are creating problems not only for the immigrants themselves but also for the economy

of the welfare states. For these reasons, it is especially interesting to find out more about specific immigrant groups for the purpose of finding various explanations of failing economic integration. Furthermore, there are very few studies that have compared the same immigrant groups as chosen in this study in two different comparable environments.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is investigate the migration and the economic integration for two immigration groups in two countries. The research is limited describe and explain the Somali's and former Yugoslavians' migration and economic integration into the Swedish and the Dutch societies.

1.1.1 Definition of Economic Integration

The meaning of economic integration, in this paper, will involve that immigrant groups are incorporated into and have access to the majority society's the labour market. In other words, economic integration involve that immigrant group have access to and are involved into the labour market, on the same conditions as others. In the concept of economic integration; employment level, unemployment level and non-labour market attachment will be examined for the chosen immigrant group in Sweden and in the Netherlands for the purpose of describing the immigrants' labour market success.

1.1.2 Research Questions

- 1) What triggered migration from Somalia and former Yugoslavia and are there any relevant immigrant group characteristics for the Somali and for the former Yugoslavians living in Sweden and in the Netherlands. Are there any differences or similarities?
- 2) How does the economic integration look like for Somalis and for former Yugoslavians in both the Netherlands and in Sweden? Are there any differences or similarities?
- 3) What are the effects of age, education and year of migration on the Somalis' and former Yugoslavs' economic integration in Sweden and the Netherlands.
- 4) Are there any differences between Swedish and Dutch immigration and integration policies (institutional factors) that could contribute to or explain either the positive or negative economic integration outcome for the investigated immigrant groups?

1.2 Selections and Delimitations & Data and Method

In this section, selections and delimitations are discussed as well as the method and data used in this study. Negative and positive aspects of the chosen methods are also attended. The data used is presented together with a variable list and a table showing the number of respondents in the study.

1.2.1 Selections and Delimitations

In the process of this paper some selections and delimitations had to be made. First of all, the focus has been put on the migration and economic integration for *two* immigrant groups, as mentioned in the aim, instead of several immigrant groups. In order to get a better understanding of different immigrant groups' economic integration and their labour market success, more immigrant groups have to be investigated. However, in this paper, the focus is put not only on the migration and economic integration for the investigated groups but also on factors that can explain or have an effect on how well the immigrants succeed in the labour market. In this way, we should get a better picture of the two investigated immigrant groups instead of a broad picture of many ethnic groups' economic integration.

Secondly, two countries have been chosen for the purpose of comparison, namely, Sweden and the Netherlands. In many other comparative studies several countries are investigated for the purpose of a broader comparison. It would be interesting to make further investigations on the same issue in other countries, but some limitations must be made in order to achieve a more concise picture on the issue of economic integration and variables and factors that can have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration.

Thirdly, the concept of *former Yugoslavia* and *former Yugoslavians* has been used throughout the essay. Although this concept today include many countries and many immigrant groups, it has not been possible to neither find a better word for the assembly of countries or peoples nor to study the countries separately. The reason for this is because the respondents coming from states of former Yugoslavia are not or seldom individually presented in the statistic, neither before nor after the breakdown of former Yugoslavia.

Finally, the labour market performance of foreign born from Somalia and from former Yugoslavia, both women and men will be investigated as mentioned before. There are several reasons for why these two groups have been chosen in this investigation. Firstly, it is interesting to compare immigrants coming from different parts of the world. Secondly, the immigrants emigrating from Somalia and former Yugoslavia are interesting to investigate for

the reason that, the civil-war erupted in both countries during the same period of time producing many refugees. A comparison between the Dutch and the Swedish labour markets will be done, when looking further into the employment success of these two immigrant groups in order to achieve a greater understanding of the groups' economic integration. The two specific countries are chosen because Sweden and the Netherlands are comparable to each other not only because they are two welfare states with similar migration and integration policies but also because there are enough immigrants to study from both Somalia and former Yugoslavia. It is also interesting to investigate these specific groups and countries because there are very few studies made, that have compared the Somali and former Yugoslavians in two different equivalent environments, namely Sweden and the Netherlands.

1.2.2 Method & Data

In order to attain the relevant information, used in the background chapter, to describe what triggered migration from the emigration countries and to describe the immigrants in the host-countries and their demographic characteristics literature and document based examination was necessary. The positive aspects with this approach are that there is a lot of information to find about the emigrating countries and what triggered migration. On the other hand, it was difficult to find information regarding the immigrant groups living in the destination countries and specific demographic characteristics. Another negative aspect is that it is hard to find the most relevant and truthful material when there is too much and too many publications available and difficult to find the right kind of information in the aspects when there is too little information available. In this study, however, materials considered to be reliable have been used and originates mostly from official sources.

For the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of the immigrants' economic integration a comparative study of the two countries Sweden and the Netherlands was chosen. This examination is characterised by both a descriptive and explanatory view on immigrant economic integration in a quantitative and statistical analysis. Coming down to this chosen approach, it is appropriate to carry out a comparative examination of the subject of economic integration. To use a statistical and quantitative analysis is the most suitable when trying to study the variables on how the immigrants labour market attachment looks like and when trying to explain why it looks that way. However, statistical analysis is not without problems or critics. Aware of that statistics are only a tool and that the opponents of this approach are not impressed by numbers and other statistical values. Nonetheless, there are many positive

aspects with this approach. For example, a very large amount of data can be examined and analysed in a short period of time and still show a pattern of how things come about concerning the chosen subject.

The data in this study is characterised by both a descriptive and explanatory view on immigrant economic integration, as mentioned before. First, the focus will be put upon to describe the immigrants' labour market attachment. To begin with, the Somalis and the former Yugoslavs labour employment status will be observed in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. To be considered in the category of employed, any kind of employment counts, including self-employment. This kind of variable is examined in order to find out how many of the immigrants that actually are working or having a positive labour market attachment. Next, the immigrant groups' unemployment level will be scrutinized by looking at the rate of registered unemployed. This category includes people either getting unemployment compensation or those in search for work. Even though this group is unemployed they still are considered to have a labour market attachment since they are in search for work and therefore have not dropped their foothold to the labour market. Furthermore, the ethnic groups' non-labour market attachment will be examined. This category does not have a labour attachment, which means that the respondent neither seeks job nor have work. In the second part of the analysis, a number of variables will be tested in order to find explanations for either low or high economic integration. Differences and similarities between the Somalis and the former Yugoslavs when comparing integration development between the groups as well as some specific demographic characteristic in relation to the labour market position will be analysed. Variables such as education level, age group, and for how long the immigrants have been in the country in connection to the immigrant's labour market success will be examined in order to find out if these variables could explain or have an effect on the ethnic groups' labour market situation. The age variable is a specific demographic characteristic of the immigrant group, that is; if the immigrant group is young or old. Since this paper will study the labour market attachment, the age chosen to be examined involves a more specific age group. The age-demarcations are drawn on assumptions that persons below the age of 24 might still be in some kind of educational process and those who are older than 24 might have finished their studies and are supposed to take part in the activities of the labour market. Furthermore, individuals older than 60 years often experiences early retirement and might already have left the labour market in this age. The educational variable is divided into three different categories; elementary school, upper secondary school and university / college. In the Dutch school system one more category of education level is present, which is lower secondary

school that represents or is similar to the later years of the Swedish elementary school. For this reason, the lower secondary school has been included in the elementary category in the statistics. Year of migration will lastly be examined which is divided into classes for the purpose of getting a better picture of when the immigrants migrated into the investigated host countries and if year of migration can have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration.

As mentioned before, the analysis is based on statistical and quantitative data from two different sources. First, the data dealing with the Somalis and Yugoslavs living in Sweden has been brought from labour market statistics carried out by the Statistics Sweden (SCB) from the year 2000. The chosen sub-sample used in this study consists of individual data of Somali and Yugoslavian men and women in the age category 25 to 60 years old, which were living in Sweden during the year of 2000 in November /December. Second, the data, which was used to present the Somali and Yugoslavian immigrants in the Netherlands, comes from surveys of the Social Position and Use of Facilities by Immigrants (SPVA) that has been carried out by the Institute for Sociological and Economic Research (ISEO). The data comes from the year 2003 and contains sub-samples of Somali and Yugoslavian men and women in the age category 25 to 60.

The data material comprises 9396 individuals from surveys presented above. Out of these 1243 are Somali respondents (660 are living in Sweden and 583 are living in the Netherlands) and 8153 are former Yugoslavs (7354 is living in Sweden and 799 are living in the Netherlands). It is relatively even divided between men and women even though there is a little surplus of men as can be viewed in table 1.

1.2.3 Table of Respondents

Table 1. Number of Individuals by Country and Immigrant Group, men and women in the age 25-60.

	Men	Women	Total
Somalis in Sweden	364	296	660
Somalis in the Netherlands	276	307	583
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	3759	3595	7354
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	416	383	799

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

1.2.4 Variable List

Table 2: Variable List and Categories/ Classes

Variable	Categories/Classes
Countries	Sweden The Netherlands
Country of Birth	Somalia Former Yugoslavia
Sex	Men Women
Employment Status	Employed
Registered Unemployment	Registered as Unemployed/ Seeking Work
Non Labour market Attachment	Is not working/Does not seek for Work
Age	Continual 25-60 Years
Age Groups	25-40 Years 41- 60 Years
Education	Elementary School Upper Secondary School University/College
Year of Migration:1	1970-1990 1990-2003
Year of Migration:2	Up to 1970 1971 - 1989 1981 - 1990 1991 - 2003

1.3 Disposition

Subsequent to the parts of introduction, chapter two begins with relevant background information on what kind of factors that triggered migration from Somalia. Next section deals with the Somali immigrants living in Sweden and in the Netherlands and their demographic characteristics. Moreover, factors that triggered migration from former Yugoslavia and the Yugoslavian immigrants and their demographic characteristic are presented. In the third chapter, a description of the theoretical perspectives that will be used in relation to the subject of economic integration is assessed. First, the human capital theory is presented and next the social capital theory. After this, institutional factors related to immigration and integration for both Sweden and the Netherlands is attended. In chapter four the empirical material is examined in a statistical analysis of two parts. The first part deals with variables that describe the immigrants' labour market attachment and studies the immigrants' employment and unemployment level and the rates of non-labour market attachment. The second part of the analysis involves some explaining variables that can have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration such as age, education and year of migration. In chapter seven discussions of the empirical material together with a discussion of the findings is made and in the last part the main conclusions of the study is drawn.

2. Background

In this section, background information on the emigration country as well as possible factors that triggered migration from the emigration countries will be presented. Furthermore, the background profile of the Somali and the former Yugoslavian immigrants in their new host countries and some demographic characteristics will be presented. This will illustrate the purpose of finding any special characteristics or conditions that could have an effect on the immigrants' labour market attachment.

2.1 Factors that Triggered Migration from Somalia

In the past, Somalia was a country controlled by different European countries similar to many other African regions. Italy and Great Britain were controlling the largest areas of Somalia during the middle of the 17th century. Somalia was not considered to be an actual state the period before the land was occupied, neither by the Somalis themselves nor by the colonisers. In its place, different clans, whom all considered themselves to be descendants from the prophet Mohammed, were controlling the territory. The clans were living as nomads and did not have any actual authority or government ruling the area until the land was taken by European powers. Since Somalia was controlled by colonial power for over 60 years, this has had a great impact on the people living in the region. According to Helander (1993a) it changed the Somali's self picture, their worldview as well as their understanding of the meaning of colonialism. Dissatisfaction rapidly grew among the Somali people against the colonisers of Italy and Great Britain and a desire for sovereignty became a fact (Helander, 1993a, p. 10-12). In the year 1899, a man with the name Sayid Muhamad Abdille Hasan demanded that the Somali people should fight the foreign powers who were taking over their land. He built up an army of 5000 men attacking both the Italian and British colonial powers but without success. Despite that many other clans in the area did not follow his footsteps; Hasan could not be stopped by the colonial powers until 1920. However, Somalia had to still wait many years before they became a sovereign state (Davidson, 2001, p. 33). After the Second World War, Somalia became an area that the United Nations (UN) administered. The motive was that the UN should prepare the two colonies so it could turn into a self-governing state. Not until 1960, the Italian and the British part of colonised Somalia gained its independence and the two territories turned into the Republic of Somalia in 1961 (Schackt, 1993, p. 6-9, Utrikespolitiska Institutet: Somalia, 2002a, p. 10-11).

The new republic developed a democratic parliament with representatives from both the former colonies. The Somali people could for the first time in many years take pleasure from some kind of democratic government with the enjoyment of freedom of speech and freedom to travel and vote. However, the political climate within the parliament was not stable. It was characterised by many internal political problems because the representatives from the two former colonies could not strike a balance in important questions but requested support from different groups of the traditional clan system. Internal turbulence along with corrupt politicians came to mark the country during the 60's (Barcik & Normark, 1991, p. 30-34).

The democracy did not last for very long. A military action led by Siad Barre took control over the country in 1969. Barre's oppression was dominated by military rule, the development of a strong nationalistic movement and the fall back of the general service such as: the law and order, schools, water and electricity. The dictatorship produced hundreds of thousands refugees, which were either internally disordered or seeking asylum in different countries around the world. Barre's dictatorship lasted until the early 1991 after years of forceful political power (Barcik & Normark, 1991, p.1 &13).

Opposition leaders against Barre's regime such as Ali Mahdi Mohammed, a well-known businessman and elected as the President at the time, and Mohammed Farah Aideed, a member of the USC (United Somali Congress) competed for the power with clan-based military forces and civil war erupted (Helander, 1993b, p. 12-13). In the end of 1991, Said Barre gave up and the USC took over the control in the country claiming that they wanted a united democratic peaceful country. However, the civil war in Somalia continued because clan-based opposition groups resisted to be controlled by the USC. The republic of Somalia suffered a terrible struggle for power between 20 different clan-militias. The goal of the clans-militias was to take control over as much land as possible. Somalis, who did not belong to a clan or who belonged to a weak clan were abused, driven away or killed. In Northwest Somalia, the Somalia National Movement declared the area as an independent state, labelled as the republic of Somaliland. In the capital city, Mogadishu, more than 250.000 inhabitants fled the city and over 20.000 were killed and wounded during the last months of the year 1991. The whole country suffered from a total disorder, which resulted in that many civilians had to escape the country (Normark, 1993, p. 24- 25).

In January 1992, the UN intervened claiming that the situation where out of control. The weapon exports to Somalia were stopped and at the end of the year the first UN soldiers arrived. The transports of food and other kinds of aid had a hard time in trying to reach the starving Somali people since groups of bandits had become a big problem. Non-governmental

organisations criticised the UN's operation for being ineffective at the same time as the size of the starving catastrophe reach unlimited proportions. In the end of 1992, the intervention dramatically changed when the UN's Security Council placed 30.000 soldiers from 30 different countries in Somalia. For the first time the UN intervened in a civil war with the purpose of making peace without having the permission from the parties involved (Normark, 1993, p. 28 & 29, Utrikespolitiska Institutet: Somalia, 2002a, p. 14).

In the autumn of 1993, more than 100.000 Somalis were killed and many more were escaping their country. The UN officially left Somalia in 1995 without any success in their efforts to make peace. Since the central government broke down in 1991, Somalia has not had a working government or law and order. Different clan-militias are fighting and making new regimes in different parts of Somalia. Peace negotiations have been going on during the whole 1990's but without significant results. The people in Somalia have been experiencing conflicts and disturbances between the different clans-militias who were controlling the various areas of Somalia. In May 2000, a new peace congress was held in Djibouti where a new temporary government and president were installed. This new government was supposed to negotiate with the clan- militias in order to make peace, but the area of Somalia is still suffering of chaos disorder and anarchy (Utrikespolitiska Institutet: Somalia, 2002a, p. 15-17, Amnesty International Report, 2000, p. 367-368).

2.2 The Somali Immigrants in Sweden

The first Somalis came to Sweden in the end of 1960's and in the beginning of the 1970's. The major part came to the country for reasons such as education or for getting married and only a few came because of political dilemmas. It was not until the late 1980's the number of asylum applications started to increase due to the intensifying of political disorder as mentioned in the last section (Integrationverket, 1999:4, p. 14). At what time the civil war erupted officially in 1991, many Somalis started to arrive to the Swedish borders. According to the Swedish Immigration Board (Statens Invandrarverk, 1998. p. 35), the total number of asylum seekers during 1984-1997 from Somalia was 10.758. The total number of foreign born Somalis living in Sweden in 2003 was 14.809 whereas the majority of those came to Sweden during the 1990's. If to include all Somali living in Sweden, both those born in Somalia (foreign born) and those with citizenship from Somalia, there were 15.857 Somalis in 2003. The division between men and women are even, 8176 are men and 7681 are women. Half of the Somalis entered the country's borders in a very short period of time. 7.058 Somalis came

during the years 1990-1994. If to count foreign born Somalis (1:st generation) and Somalis born in Sweden with two Somali parents (2:nd generation) the total number of Somalis are 22.508. However, Somalis living in Sweden with only one Somali parent are not included in this statistics (SCB, Befolkningsstatistik, part 3, 2003). The exact numbers of Somalis living in Sweden is difficult to estimate. According to Lundqvist (1999) and Olsson, M & Wergilis, R (2001), the Somali population could be counted from 18.000 to 20.000. One of the problems encountered in identifying the exact number of Somali population in Sweden, is that Somalis from other countries, for example Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti, fall under a number of different statistical categories. Another problem is the Somalis who migrated before the war for reasons such as education or job opportunities and who hold many types of residence permits or are nowadays naturalized as nationals in their new country. Another category of Somalis are those who fled to Sweden after the war in Somalia. A few of them are still registered as asylum seekers, others holding temporary permits, some with full refugee status as well as others who have become nationals. Furthermore, there are also reasons to believe that there are some non-registered and illegal migrants (Olsson, M & Wergilis, R, 2001, p. 12-13). Several children have also arrived to Sweden as asylum seekers without their parents, nowadays adopted or residing in Sweden as nationals. During the period between 1991 and 1992, 400-500 children and youths came to Sweden seeking refugee status without their parents. The major part of them was between the ages of 16 to 18 years old. Consequently, it is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of the Somali population residing in Sweden and as a result the numbers are fairly accurate (Nordström, 1993c, p. 40).

According to Integration Board of Sweden, the Somalis immigrating to Sweden during the 1990's found it more difficult to integrate into the Swedish society if comparing to those arriving earlier. Contributing factors of why the Somalis arriving later found it more difficult to integrate is the unfavourable economic conditions in Sweden during the 90's in connection to the society that the Somalis came from and that was dominated by chaos and disorder (Integrationsverket, 1999:4, p. 40).

The Somali immigrants are well-spread all over Sweden even though the major parts are living in the cities; Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmoe. In the year of 1999, 30 % were living in Stockholm, 20 % in Gothenburg and 6 % in Malmoe. A pretty large group of the Somali population can be found in segregated areas nearby the larger cities such as Rinkeby or Rosengard, which are areas well-known in Sweden to be represented by immigrants. According to a study made by the Swedish Immigration Board the Somalis themselves like to live near other Somalis for several reasons. To live in the same area give safety and support as

well as it become easier in everyday situations. In neighbourhood represented by immigrants there are services and possibilities as being able to express ones religion in nearby mosques or in other locals. The Somali associations and private or independent schools are also located in such areas. There are also the possibilities to buy food in stores similar to their home countries (Somaliska Riksförbundet i Sverige, 1999, p. 15, Nordström, 1993c, p. 40-41, Olsson & Wergilis, 2001, p. 10, Integrationsverket, 1999:4, p. 15).

The Somali immigrants in Sweden have a low average age since there are only few elderly Somalis that have immigrated to Sweden. More than 50 % are below the age of 20 years and only 4% is above 50 years. In addition, many children with Somali background will grow up in the Swedish society. According to the Swedish Integration Board, the Somalis low age is a unique phenomenon in the Swedish society even when comparing to other immigrant groups. In other words, the Somalis in Sweden is a very young immigration group in the Swedish society (Integrationsverket 1999:4, p. 14-15, Nordström, 1993c, p. 40).

Besides the Somali's own language, many can make use of either the English or the Italian language. There are also a few that can speak Arabian. The education level among the Somalis in Sweden is surprisingly high considering that the Somali school system has not worked properly for many years because of war and general disorder. According to a study made in the year of 1999 of the Somali National federation, 69% had either upper secondary school education or university education. This study examined 500 adult Somalis in Sweden and was compared to the Swedish Statistic Central Bureau (SCB) where similar results could be found. 15, 6 % of the Somali in Sweden has a university-education and 47, 5 % has secondary school education while 36, 3% has elementary school (Integrationsverket, 1999:4, p. 41).

Despite the Somali immigrants' education level, they have experienced difficulties to economically integrate. In 1998, the integration centre of Sweden got an assignment from the government to stimulate the integration-process for Somalis living in Sweden and to write a rapport about their current situation in the Swedish society. The ambition was to locate possibilities and hinders for integration together with the immigrants from Somalia. According to this rapport called '*Delaktighet för Integration*', it is showed that the integration process of the Somali group have great potential for future integration since the group is young with relative good educational background. However, the rapport also indicates that the Somali's unemployment rate has been extremely high. The unemployment rate among the Somali people during the period 1992-1997 has been between 56, 6 % and 75, 5 % (Integrationsverket, 1999:4, p. 44-45).

2.3 The Somali Immigrants in the Netherlands

The Somalis started to immigrate to the Netherlands as refugees at the same time as in Sweden, in the late 1980's. Somalis immigrating before 1980 came to the Netherlands for marriage or work but this only occurred in a very small scale. Most of the Somali refugees came during the 1990's when the civil war erupted. Despite continuing conflicts in Somali, the number of asylum seekers decreased already in 1995 due to stricter immigration policies in the Netherlands. (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 11) Regardless of that many Somalis fled their country due to the war the major part did not flee to Europe. The main part of the refugees stayed in neighbouring countries and only a small group immigrated to Europe. In spite of this fact, in a very short period of time, the Somali community in the Netherlands increased by 10,000 persons within five years (1990-1995), according to Mohamoud & Nieuwhof (2000, p. 1). In Maagdenberg's & Groeneveld's study *Minderheden in beeld* (2004), it is examined that 85 % of the Somali immigrants came to the Netherlands for political reasons or for escaping war or military service. The Somali population in the Netherlands was counted to be 25.001 in January 2004 according to the Central Database of Statistics of Netherlands (CBS) as written in the study *Minderheden in beeld* (2004). Among them are 17.368 first generations and 3.920 second generations of immigrants. This suggests that 11 % of the Somalis were born in the Netherlands. Approximately, 55 % of the immigrants have been living in the country for 10-14 years and 35 % in 5-9 years (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 24 & 27 & 31).

In opposition to the numbers of Somali immigrants in the statistics of CBS another institution have found a different number of Somali immigrants. The Ministry of Home Affairs in the Netherlands states that there are approximately 27.500 Somalis living in the country. The reason for the differencing numbers depends upon how and whom is considered to be a Somali in the statistics. Similar to the Swedish case it is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of the Somali population in the Netherlands (Mohamoud & Nieuwhof, 2000.p. 2)

The majority of the Somalis in the Netherlands are younger than 20 years old, similar to the Somalis in Sweden. One explanation is that the Somalis were very young when immigrating to the Netherlands. Another reason is that many Somalis are born in the Netherlands. Almost no one is above the age of 65. To be more exact, 0, 8 % are above the age of 65 years old, which implies that 99 % of the Somali group is able to work or will be able to work in a near future. Only 6, 3 % are between the ages of 45-64. The largest group, 38, 6 %, they are in the

age between 0-14 years old. 25, 7 % are between the ages of 30-44. Among the second generation is nearly 80 % below the age of 14 (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 32).

The educational level among the Somali immigrants in the Netherlands is pretty low. The figures are from the year of 2003, 1st of January. According to these figures, 19 % has no degree of education at all. Around 36 % has elementary school education, 15 % have a shorter secondary school education and 23 % have 3 years or longer secondary school education. Only 8 % have a university education. There are no major differences between women and men (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 50).

Low educational levels seem to go hand in hand with the employment rate for the Somali group. Only 41 % of the Somali population was working in 2003. According to Maagdenberg & Groeneveld (2004), 60 % of the men are working, while, only 17 % of the Somali women are working. Consequently, there are large differences in the employment rates between men and women, despite, small differences between them in the educational levels. The unemployment rate among the Somalis on the labour market is 36 %, which is considered to be a high rate of unemployment. On the other hand, it is not unusual that some immigrant groups have high unemployment rates in the Netherlands. For example, similar unemployment rates can be found for the Iraqis (39 %) and the Afghans (37 %) (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 63).

According to Mohamoud & Nieuwhof (2000), many Somali in the Netherlands have adjustment problems and difficulties in the integration process. These problems can be explained by differences between Somali and Dutch societies. Social norms, behaviours and lifestyles in the Dutch society are different from Somali culture. Given that Somalis are coming from a nomadic culture, they are surely experiencing one of the biggest differences in the Dutch society, in contrast to other immigrant groups in the Netherlands. As a result, the Somalis have difficulties both in education and at the labour market. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs in the Netherlands, the Somali's narrow participation on the labour market and their miserable performance in educations is a potential danger for further segregation in the Dutch society. However, it is also believed that the Somali individuals have experiences and skills that are different from the mainstream population in the Netherlands and could be used in a positive way for Somali's participation in the country (Mohamoud & Nieuwhof, 2000. p. 2-3).

2.4 Factors that Triggered Migration from Former Yugoslavia

After the Second World War the federation of Yugoslavia was created and consisted of six sub-republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, and two minor provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina. All the republics had their own governments and parliaments but were controlled by the Communists. Despite that the republics had gained much more self-dependency and wanted to be autonomous, there were many different reasons and factors that had held together the federation of Yugoslavia until the 1990's. For example, Bosnia had the worst economic situation of all the republics with ineffective and non-profit agriculture and became dependent on economic support from the rest of the Federation. Another factor that played a significant role in keeping the country united was the Yugoslavian Communist Party, which was the only allowed political party that had members all over the Federation and had an army with soldiers from all the republics (Nordlöf-Lagerkrantz, 1995, p. 14-15, Utrikespolitiska Institutet, 2002b: Bosnien-Hercegovina, p. 10-11). The leader of this party was Josip Broz, known as Tito. His ambition was to create a unified Yugoslavia in trying to overrule the existing oppositions between the different ethnic groups within the country. Since it was not allowed with alternative political parties, besides the communist party, many left the country illegally for political reasons. Slovenia and Croatia had the best economic condition of all the other republics and had to financially support the other republics. In the beginning of the 1970's the Croats created an opposition group that demanded their right to become an autonomous state. Tito, still in charge, overruled the opposition group immediately (Harris, 1999, p. 15-16). Tito kept his power until his death in 1980. Tito's position was filled with communist leaders from the whole country representing the republics and the provinces. These leaders had a much harder time in trying to keep the country united and the Yugoslavian people lost their faith to the communist party and its leaders. In the beginning of the 1990's, when Yugoslavia started to fall apart, the members of the communist party could not agree and the Slovenians left the congress, which resulted in that the whole Party disrupted. The funds to Bosnia were blocked and this had serious consequences for the economy of Bosnia. The Federal army and the republic of Serbia had the same main objective, which was to keep a united Yugoslavia. The Serbs were the biggest group of people in Yugoslavia; still, 25 % lived outside the actual republic of Serbia. The Politicians' goal was to bring together all Serbs within the same state. The nationalism had become more aggressive, especially since Tito's death, and the Serbs voted for a nationalistic government. This resulted in that the other republics also voted for

nationalistic parties. The patriotic atmosphere made Slovenia and Croatia wanting to discuss the possibility of becoming a self-governing state. In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared themselves as independent states after taking many different popular votes and political elections into consideration. Milosevic, the leader of Serbia, wanted a unified Yugoslavia and ordered the military to attack the new states and the civil war broke out. The war in Slovenia only lasted a few days. The war in Croatia lasted much longer, mostly because there were over a half million Serbs living as a minority group in Croatia. Crimes against human rights and massive acts of cruelty took place against the civil population along with ethnic cleansing (Nordlöf-Lagerkrantz, 1995, p. 19-20). United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that 20.000 people were killed, 200.000 fled from the country as refugees and more than 350.000 became internally displaced in Croatia alone in the year of 1991 (UNHCR, 2000, p. 218). Since, both Slovenia and Croatia became recognised as autonomous states by other countries, it was unavoidable for Milosevic to stop the other republics from doing the same. In September 1991, Macedonian also declared independence from the Federation of Yugoslavia (Harris, 1999, p. 28). Economic sanctions from the other republics made the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina unstable and the wish for becoming a sovereign state intensified. In 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina turned in a declaration of independence and the war continued in the former Yugoslavia. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina resulted in an even worse disaster than in Croatia. The three major groups living in Bosnia-Herzegovina were Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The capital city; Sarajevo, was daily bombarded and attacked as well as the other major cities in the country. In April 1992, the Serbian military forces had forced 95 % of the Muslims and Croatian inhabitants in eastern Bosnia to leave their homes. By the summer 1992, one million residents had fled their homes and the Serbian forces controlled two-thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Once Bosnia-Herzegovina had left the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro created a new Yugoslavia (UNHCR, 2000, p, 218, Harris 1999, p. 33, Benson, 2004, p. 54).

The small province; Kosovo, lost its independence in the year 1989 and became directly controlled by the Serbs. At this time, Kosovo's population consisted of 90 % Albanians and many Muslims but only a few Serbs. When the other states gained independence in the beginning of 1990's, the Kosovo majority built up a liberty army consisted of Albanians. During many years, the Kosovo army tried to take back the control with military actions but the Serbs fought back. In 1998 after peace-negotiations Milosevic, broke his deal in letting the Kosovo-Albanians rule their own territory and another cruel war became a fact (Harris, 1999, p. 58-59). UNHCR (2000) reported that during the years 1989-1998, 350.000 Kosovo

Albanians left the province as refugees seeking asylum in Western Europe. Consequently, the war in Balkan resulted in many deaths, ethnic cleansing, torture and mass-murder. According to UNHCR (2000) the war in former Yugoslavia led to the largest refugee catastrophe in Europe since the Second World War. For example, the war killed more than 250.000 Bosnians only, whereas 90 % of the deaths were civilians and forced 2, 5 million Bosnians to leave their homes either as internal refugees or seeking asylum in other countries (UNHCR, 2000, p. 233-235).

2.5 The Former Yugoslavian immigrants in Sweden

The first Yugoslavian immigrants came to Sweden after the Second World War, leaving their country illegally, for political reasons. During the 1960's when Sweden needed labour force and the country of Yugoslavia had high unemployment rates, a bigger group of Yugoslavs came to Sweden as labour migrants. In 1970's the economic conditions in the republic of Yugoslavia got tightened and a new migration policy developed. The politicians in Yugoslavia tried to get their citizens back to their home country, which resulted in that many immigrants returned. However, more and more people from the Balkans came to Sweden than returned to their home countries. This phenomenon continued through the 1980's as well (Törnqvist, 1995, p. 38-39).

The migration wave from Yugoslavia to Sweden before 1990 was mainly composed of labour migrants. The immigrants in Sweden were called Yugoslavs during the 60's, 70's and 80's and if there were any tensions between, for example, a Serb or a Croat it was not evident. The second immigration wave from Yugoslavia was in connection to the civil war and the following conflicts and ethnic cleansing in the beginning of 1990. The total number of people arriving from former Yugoslavia was estimated to 138.000, in the end of 2003 (first generation immigrants). If to count foreign born and born in Sweden with two Yugoslavian parents the number are more than 173.000. The distribution of the 138.000 people of the recently formed states can not exactly be established. Immigrants coming to Sweden before the breakdown of Yugoslavia have Yugoslavia as their country of birth in the population statistics of Sweden even if they actually were born in, for example, Croatia. Therefore it is almost impossible to estimate the exact numbers of the different ethnic groups. However, according to the population statistic of Sweden, 54.000 people are from Bosnia-Herzegovina and 75.000 are coming from the former republic of Yugoslavia (Since 2003 Yugoslavia changed name to Serbia-Montenegro). The majority of the Yugoslavian immigrants came

together as families, when seeking asylum in Sweden. The reasons for settlement in Sweden were prominently for humanitarian grounds (70.000) or need of protection (18.000). There are also many immigrants staying in the country because of family ties (25.000). In comparison to the number of refugees, 25.000 tie movers is only a small number in view of family migration (Nilsson, 2004).

As mentioned before, immigrants from former Yugoslavia are coming from different parts of Yugoslavia and consider themselves as different ethnic groups. Therefore, a short description of Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Bosnians, Kosovo-Albanians and Slovenes living in the Swedish society will be offered.

The actual number of Kosovo-Albanians in Sweden is an unknown fact in the Statistics of Sweden. However, the Swedish Institute of Immigration has estimated the number of Albanians coming from Kosovo to about 35.000 - 40.000. The majority came to Sweden because of persecution and it is believed that the largest group originates from Macedonia from the beginning. The Swedish Kosovo Albanians are believed to keep on to their traditions and religion to a great extent. In both Malmoe and Gothenburg, the Kosovo Albanians has played an important role in Islamic congregations (Immigrant-Institutet, 2005).

There are no accurate data on how many Croats there are in Sweden, but numbers between 12.000 and 20.000 has been estimated by the Swedish Institute of Immigration. The Croats are concentrated to the southern and western parts of Sweden as well as to the regions around Gothenburg and Malmoe. The Croats are Christians and actively visits the Swedish churches (Immigrant-Institutet, 2005).

According to the Swedish Institute of Immigration (Immigrant-Institutet), there are approximately 20.000-25.000 Serbs living in Sweden today. The Serbs are well spread all over the country even if they mainly are concentrated around the middle of Sweden as well as in Malmoe and Gothenburg. The majority of the Serbs actively practice their religion in the Swedish society. There are four major Serbian congregations of the Orthodox Church. The Serbs also have access to newspapers and TV- programmes in their own language; Serbo-Croatian (Immigrant-Institutet, 2005).

A rough estimation of Macedonian living in Sweden is about 6.000. Among the Macedonian people there are also Macedonian Turks and Albanians. The majority of the Macedonian people lives in the southern and western parts of Sweden (Immigrant-Institutet, 2005).

According to the study of Slovenes in Sweden by Budja (2001) there were slightly more than 5.000 first generation Slovenians in Sweden in 1999. An estimation of both the first and

second generations was counted up to between 10.000 and 12.000 Slovenians. During the 50's and 60's 7000 Slovenians came as labour migrants to Sweden but most of them returned to their home country or are already dead. The majority of Slovenians today came during the ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia during the 90's (Budja, 2001, p. 26-28).

The Bosnians in Sweden are a young group of people. The majority (92 %) are below the age of 50 year. In the year of 2003 there were 53.949 Bosnians in Sweden and approximately 10.000 more if including the second generation. However, the exact number is difficult to estimate since those coming before 1992 are registered as Yugoslavs in the statistics. Many Bosnians immigrated as families and a large number of the Bosnian immigrants are parents with one or two children (80 %) and only a few Bosnians are singles (15 %). The Bosnians are well spread all over the country and are not showing a pattern of living in certain areas as other immigrant groups. The greater part of the Bosnian immigrants is Muslims and they have many congregations as well as social networks where Bosnians are helping Bosnians to integrate into the Swedish society. The division between the sexes is equivalent, 50 % are women. According to Immigrant-Institutet, the education level is relatively low among the Bosnians. Approximately 88 % have finished elementary school education (at least 9 years) and 23 % have finished upper secondary school (Immigrant-Institutet, 2005).

2.6 The Former Yugoslavian immigrants in the Netherlands

The immigration group from former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands is diverse, partly because the character of immigration first was constituted by labour migration and later by refugees escaping the civil war. In January 2004, there were slightly more than 76.000 former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands. The majority out of this number came during the 1990's as asylum seekers. This number includes both 1st and 2nd generations of Yugoslavian immigrants. Around 55.000 are 1st generation immigrants and 21.000 are 2nd generation immigrants. The reasons for migration to the Netherlands among the Yugoslavs are; 56 % for political reasons or for escaping war or military service and 11 % came as labour migrants while 8 % migrated as tie movers, and 8 % for marriage and 7 % arrived together with a family member (for example, immigrants below the age of 18 years). As mentioned before, the majority of the Yugoslavs came as asylum seeker during the 90's. Around 50 % has been in the country for 10-14 years and 25 % has been in the country for 5-9 years. The newly arrived, about 8 %, has been in the Netherlands between 1 and 4 years. The ones who have been here for a longer period of time did not come as asylum seekers came but as labour

migrants during the 60's and 70's. There are only a small amount of Yugoslavs registered as labour migrants, since, some have died and others have returned to their home-countries. Not many, 13 % have been in the country more than 25 years and only 3 % for 15-19 years. The age of the 1st generation of the Yugoslavian immigrants is well distributed. Approximately 49 % are between the ages of 0-29 years old and 48 % are between the ages of 30-64. However, there are not many elderly Yugoslavian immigrants in the country given that only 3 % is above the age 65 years old. The age of the 2nd generation Yugoslavs is very young. More or less, the entire group of 2nd generation Yugoslavs is below the age of 29 years old (Maagdenberg & Groeneveld, 2004, p. 10 & 27 & 31).

As mentioned before there are more than 76.000 former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands. It is difficult to establish which parts they have migrated from or which ethnic background they are coming from. However, the Statistic Netherlands has made an estimation, which will be presented subsequently. The biggest groups of former Yugoslavs are the Bosnians. Around 30.000 persons with Bosnian background are believed to live in the Netherlands today. The Bosnians started to enter the borders in large numbers after 1992 when the ethnic reorganisation took place in areas that today is called Bosnia-Herzegovina. The majority of the Bosnians are Muslims and many are active in religious congregations. The Bosnian organisations are more than 1.000 to its number and are not only religious but societal congregation. The organisations play an important role for Bosnians in the Dutch society since they actively functions as information centres and assist Bosnians to integrate and get help to manage in their new environment. There are also a small amount of Croat-Bosnians and Serb-Bosnians. For the reason that the Croat-Bosnians are Catholics and Serb-Bosnians are belonging to the Orthodox Church they often consider themselves to belong to the Croat's and Serb's congregations (CBS, 2004).

There are approximately 10.000 Croats in the Netherlands. The Croats is a divers group in the Dutch society since the largest group of Croats is coming from an area that today is considered to be Croatia but many other Croats are coming from other areas of former Yugoslavia. For these reasons, it has been hard for the Croats to identify themselves in the Dutch society as a minority group. The group of Serbs is about 14.000 persons. The Serbs are relatively well-spread over the country even though the majority lives in the bigger cities.

The Macedonian community in the Netherlands is estimated to 14.000 persons. Numerous Macedonians came during the 60 and 70's to the Netherlands as labour migrants. However, the majority came as asylum seeker s during the 90's. Macedonians are also well spread over the country even though a large number is concentrated to the cities of Amsterdam and

Rotterdam. During the latest years there has been an increase of women and young Macedonians in the Netherlands. The Slovenians in the Netherlands are very few in numbers. It is a very small group but also the oldest group among the former Yugoslavians. The majority of the Slovenes are descendents from labour migrants. The Slovenian art and culture has become popular in the Dutch society and many Slovenians make a living on works in such areas. The Slovenians are living in metropolitan areas such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht (CBS, 2004).

3. Theory

Since this study involves immigrant's economic integration success in the destination countries, the first part of this chapter will deal with economic theory. Many economists use the human capital approach when explaining labour market integration, which also will be the case in this study. In the second section of the theory, a sociological approach will be considered, focusing on how social capital can influence immigrant's economic integration. In the third section, institutional factors will be discussed, mainly, the destination countries' migration and integration policies.

3.1 Human Capital Theory

The economists belonging to the neoclassical framework, like Chiswick and Borjas emphasize that human capital factors are central for immigrants' economic integration. Human capital refers to individual characteristics such as language, education, professional working skills and knowledge about the receiving country. Chiswick also argues that there are other types of human capital, for example, the immigrant's motivation, ambition, and adaptability. These skills, qualifications and demographic characteristics are important factors on how well an immigrant will be assimilated into the host-country's labour market i.e. economically integrated. Since, skills not always are transferable from one country to another it will affect the immigrant's employment rate. Depending on if immigrants' human capital can be transferred to match the host-countries labour-market or not are therefore of great importance for labour market success. (Borjas, 2000, p. 226, Chiswick, 2000, p. 65)

Both Chiswick and Borjas argue that the immigrant's labour market success depends on whether they are favourably selected or not. The concept of selectivity concerns: the higher degree of positive selectivity the more successful the immigrant will be on the labour market and the reverse effect if there is a negative selectivity. If a receiving country gets favourably selected immigrants, i.e. immigrants with large amounts of human capital that could be harmonized into the receiving country's labour market, the economic outcome will be positive for both the immigrant and for host-society's economy, according to Chiswick (2000, p. 65). Accordingly, it is the most highly motivated immigrants with the largest amounts of ambition and with the most amounts of host-country specific skills that are the ones able to start a new life in a country more successfully on the labour market. Immigrants that are negatively selected, i.e. less transferable skills and low amounts of motivation or ambition will not

succeed on the labour market. Therefore, it is expected that tied-movers and refugees will have more difficulties in integrating into the receiving country in comparison to economic migrants that probably have planned their move and then are favourable selected (Borjas, 1994, p. 1672, Chiswick, 2000, p. 65).

Borjas (2000) also argue that it important to take cohort effects and period of time in to consideration. He argues that an immigrant who has been in the host country for many years is more able than an immigrant who is newly arrived to succeed in economical integration. The longer an immigrant has been in the host country the greater are the labour market attachment. The explanation is that newly arrived immigrants have not yet acquired country specific skills in contrast to immigrants that have migrated many years ago. Borjas also claims that, it is evident that some immigrant groups performs better than other because they are better suited to adjust to the host-country's labour market in terms of human capital. For example, some immigrant groups have similar traditions and religion as the host country; therefore, they already have more country specific skills than an immigrant group that have a much larger *cultural distance* to the host country. Immigrants that are not suited to compete in the host-countries labour market will witness negative effect of economic integration. Accordingly, human capital are seen by Economists as important determinants for successful individual economic integration on the micro-level (Borjas, 2000, p. 271).

3.2 Social Capital Theory

A different field regarding the immigrants' economic integration is the sociological view. The sociologist agrees with the economists in that the immigrants' economic integration refers to the acquirement and use of capital. However, it is not agreed upon what kind of motives that involves the economic action. In the sociological field, it is believed that the social network of the individual is of great importance for immigrants' economic integration. A social network is a social structure between actors which can be characterised by either individual actors or organizations. The network symbolizes the relations and ties that connect the different actors within. In comparison to the opposing colleagues of the human capital theory, the sociologists argue that social structures on the macro-level are determinants for economic achievement (Portes, 1995, p. 3 & 8).

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) argue that economic integration is based on that the individual is affected by structural factors that is: they are embedded in social relations/social networks. Although people are considered rational, social relations will influence their

economic choices and other structures will hinder them from doing what they like to do such as norms, values, and class that can work within a social formation (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1321, Portes, 1995, p. 3). Accordingly, the immigrant's economic ambitions are affected by social structure, which mean that social formations can support or disrupt an immigrant's economic integration. The immigrants' economic achievement depends on formations that they become integrated into, that is: social structures influence the act of an individual. There are different types of social formations in which economic action are fixed upon. These social formations are formed by different groupings of persons related to ties with family, work, culture and traditions. The associations are important for the immigrants' labour market integration for many reasons. Social networks produce different kind of information, capital and means that effectively can be spread to its members. The amount of members and the number of ties of such a formation is of course important as well as the degree in which the ties are related to institutional sphere. The immigrants' economic achievement is socially affected (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p.1322, Portes, 1995, p. 4).

Social capital refers to the individuals' ability to demand for insufficient means because of their membership in a social network. The social resources can be of many different formations, such as: economic gifts or loans, information or tips about occupational conditions or employment or other kind of friendliness gifts. Such social capital can be said to be the result of the social embeddedness. It is the immigrant's social capital that determines whether or not an individual will be successfully on the labour market (Portes, 1995, p. 12-13).

3.3. Institutional Factors related to Immigration and Integration

Principles, rules and conventions regulate individuals' travels and migration between states. These regulations of refugee-, immigration-, and return-migration structures are a state's migration politics. Integration politics regards those rules and principles, which comprehend legal actions, for the purpose to help and improve immigrants and refugees in the process of integrating into the new society (Utrikesdepartementet, 2002, p. 3). Since some suggests that institutional factors can play a vital role on whether the immigrants can have a positive labour market attachment or not, attention will be paid to immigration and integration policies in both Sweden and the Netherlands.

3.3.1 Institutional Factors related to Immigration in Sweden

Sweden was primarily an emigration country up to the 1930's. Between 1851 and 1930 1, 4 million Swedes emigrated, the largest part to America. The conditions for making a living had become worse in Sweden and the possibilities for a better life in America were attempting. The emigration from Sweden did not come to an end until the late 1920's, for the reason that the USA restricted the rules for immigration at that time. From the 1930's, Sweden moved on from being an emigration country to an immigration country even though the immigration to Sweden was narrow and mostly concerned return migrants from America. It was not until the Second World War that the immigration to Sweden increased. The Swedish borders were open for refugees escaping the horrors from neighbouring countries. At the end of the war, 34.000 refugees were evacuated from Europe and from different concentration camps in Sweden through different actions. After the war, the immigration to Sweden took another turn. In 1947, the Swedish labour-commission started to recruit workers mostly from Italy, Hungary and Austria but later also from Western Germany, Greece, Belgium and Holland, since the demand for labours increased enormously in the growing industries. By the year of 1954 the Nordic countries made an agreement on that citizens living in the Nordic states have the right to live and work in whatever Nordic country they want resulting in that many workers from Norway and Finland settled in Sweden. During the 1960, the large-scale labour migration to Sweden started and many workers from Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey entered the Swedish labour-market. Not until the late 1960's when the Swedish economy went down and new unexpected challenges came across because of the labour migration, such as questions of integration, that the immigration to Sweden became limited. In 1967, a policy of immigration came therefore into force. These regulations involved that migrants had to arrange employment, work permits and residence before entering the Swedish borders. However, these rules did not/ do not concern citizens living in the Nordic countries, which have the right to live and work in whatever Nordic country they want (Utrikesdepartementet, 2002, p. 6-7).

In 1969, the temporary Aliens Board was replaced by a permanent immigration agency. The labour-migration diminished when the demand for labour decreased in the 1970's in connection with the new immigration regulations and control mechanisms. During the 1970's the Swedish politicians continued to work on new regulations and legislations that would limit the labour- immigration to the country. Sweden's economic decline in combination of the fear of new immigration flows especially from the east and from the south were reasons

enough for Sweden to close its borders. Both external (visas) and internal (residence and work permit) control mechanisms were used to limit or put an end to the immigration (Hammar, 1999, p. 163 & 169, Utrikesdepartementet, 2002, p. 7, Geddes, 2003, p. 108).

In 1972, the benefits for labour migrants changed. Until this period the trade unions agreed upon the employment of foreign born on the terms that the labour-migrants should enjoy the same conditions as Swedes and that they should have the right to stay in the country when being unemployed and enjoy unemployment benefits. These benefits made Sweden a popular immigration-country. Since, migrants did not return to their sending countries Sweden had to stop the new immigration into the country by restricting the permanent residence permit. After the year of 1972, the only migration to Sweden that was allowed was family members (tied movers) and refugees. Family migration continued after the stop of the significant labour migration and changed the demographic characteristics of the immigrant population in terms of age and gender. Another important internal control mechanism was also used in order to stop illegal workers in Sweden as employers had to face the legislative consequences when employing workers without permit. The effect was that the Swedish labour market only has experienced a few illegal workers until the 1990's when such restrains became weakened as a smaller amount of capital were given to institutions regarding this matter (Hammar, 1999, p. 175-176, Geddes, 2003, p. 108-109).

The character of migration to Sweden changed from the mid-1970's as a consequence of the stricter migration policies that entered into force but also because the refugee immigration increased. Quota refugees that were agreed upon with the UNCHR and refugees recognized by the Geneva Convention were the two main asylum groups that could enter the Swedish borders. In the beginning of the 80's there were around 5.000 asylum seekers per year, which was tripled up to 15-20.000 per year in the mid-80's. Due to the heavy increase of asylum seekers political discussions on how to handle the refugee-issues was open for negotiation. In 1985, a new policy came into force. A policy that would manage to spread out the refugees to as many municipalities as possible in the country. The dispersal policy was favourable in the ways that immigrants gained additional and better contacts within the labour market. However, strong negative opinions grew in the late 80's against the immigrants/immigration/immigration politics and new radical movements were established within the politics. Some local politicians refused to take action in the national dispersal program and refused to let refugees settle in their municipalities. Sweden early began with external control mechanisms such as the visa system, which first applied to almost all countries in the world but after time passed on more and more countries became privileged. In

the 80's, however, the visa system as an external control became relevant again in stopping unwanted immigration. Immigrants were refused visa to their relatives and Sweden used the visa system as one of the most important external control to limit migration to Sweden. This new approach demonstrates that Sweden's external control policies have grown in sophistication and effectiveness. In the beginning of 90's the asylum seekers had increased to approximately 30.000 per year and reach up to 84.000 in the year of 1992 (Geddes, 2003, p. 110, Hammar, 1999, p. 176-178).

Since the late 80's and during the 90's several control policies entered into force, both external and internal, in order to take control over the increasing amount of refugees coming into the country. Due to the civil War in former Yugoslavia, there were 90.000 refugees living in camps in 1993. The refugee camp's price tag was approximately 21 million Swedish kronor per day. The Swedish government granted 18.000 permanent visas because there was inhumane waiting periods for the refugees but the Asylum Act was restricted and changed, in 1994, an effort to decrease the immigration once again. The control of foreign people living in Sweden was more controlled during the first years while waiting for a asylum decision but when the decision was made the control of these people were almost over. However, in the 90's, Sweden's internal control systems were intensified for immigrants who had been living in Sweden either as irregular or those that had been giving false information in their applications. A special agenda opened up that had the power to cancel residence permits of people living in Sweden. The police force was also given greater power to search for irregulars who had overstayed or gone underground. This agenda present that the internal control policies became reinforced and new ways to control irregular immigrants were constituted (Rooth, 1999, p. 20-24).

Since 1995, when Sweden became a member of EU (European Union), citizens from EU-countries have the right to work study and live in Sweden without work-permit. Moreover, the membership involves among other things to cooperate with the EU on migration related issues and decisions. In 1997, the Amsterdam treaty was signed, which means that Sweden together with the other member states are trying to harmonise regulations and decisions upon the most important issues concerning migration and immigration with the goal to one day having a common migration and asylum system. The Swedish Aliens Act changed again in 1997 for the purpose of making it more comprehensible and reliable. The new adjustments concerned changes for refugee protection. Two groups of refugees that before was protected by the Aliens Act were about to be abolished namely, the de facto refugees and the war refuters. Refugees seeking asylum on those ground could only be protected if there were

extraordinarily reasons. The practise of giving residence permit to refugees on humanitarian ground was also eliminated. These changes made the asylum policy more restricted. As a replacement, the Geneva Convention was changed to a more liberal interpretation. Another new amendment was the right to seek asylum on the ground of having a well founded fear of persecution and the state cannot or will not give protection. The right to asylum was also extended to those who risk penalty or torture or need protection because of war or environmental catastrophes. According to Hammar (1999) the changes of the Aliens Act was made to limit the number of asylum applications that resulted in granting protection. The present aim of the Swedish migration and asylum politics is according to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to protect the asylum right in Sweden and internationally and preserve a regulated immigration but also to try to harmonise the migration and asylum politics within EU (Utrikesdepartementet, 2000, p. 14, Utrikesdepartementet, 2004, p. 1).

3.3.2 Institutional Factors related to Integration in Sweden

Integration policies have not always been a natural matter in the politics of Sweden. Before 1945 there were almost no migration into Sweden and clearly no integration policies either. However, when immigration in essential numbers was a fact between the periods 1945 to 1964, assimilation was the expected outcome of the immigrants. It was expected that all immigrants would adapt to the Swedish society. Many immigrants were also seen as temporary immigrants that within a near future would return home again and therefore a specific integration plan was not necessary. The Swedish State was criticised for not paying enough attention towards different problems concerning immigrants especially due to the incensement of the labour recruitment. The immigrant's well-being and their cultural rights as minority groups to preserve their traditions was discussed and debated issues as well as the restrictions for immigrants of being naturalised. In 1964 up to 1974, assimilation was slowly exchanged towards a beginning of a kind of shared acceptance. According to Geddes (2003) the Swedish government changed the principles in a bureaucratic way and without serious political debates. Immigrants had the opportunity to language education and home language instruction. Immigrants created local immigrants associations. Former restrictions for naturalization were taken away. On the contrary, it turn out to be easier and it went quicker to become a Swedish citizens (Diaz, 1993, p. 26-28, Geddes, 2003, p. 120-121).

In 1974, new multicultural principles were introduced by the Swedish state. The new ideas relied upon concepts as equality, freedom of choice and partnership. Equality implied that immigrants were given equal rights as to Swedes concerning living conditions. Immigrants

were granted the same possibilities, rights and obligations as native Swedes. Freedom of choice refers to that immigrants should be able to retain their cultural customs and their ethnic identity, which implies that they have the right to develop and practice their mother tongue as well as other cultural activities. The partnership meant that immigrants and native Swedes should work together as teams and collectively struggle for shared aims. This multicultural policy implied the state's effort in trying to construct social equal opportunity among the diverse ethnic groups. As consequences to the new multicultural policy, step taking the multicultural ideas into effect were made. Immigrants were, for example, granted voting rights after 36 month of authorised residence. The qualification time for Swedish citizenship were reduced to 5 years. Immigrants were given the rights to learn their native language up to upper secondary school. Swedish authorities should also pay attention to special need among immigrants and ethnic groups (Diaz, 1993, p. 32, Geddes, 2003, p. 121, Esping, 1995, p. 56-59, Rooth, 1999, p. 28-29).

Nevertheless, in the beginning of the 1980's, the ideas of multiculturalism and how they worked in practice had contributed to the struggle of social inequality, discrimination, racism and xenophobic reactions were discussed. Theories of that the multicultural policy did not function as social inclusion of the immigrant population but rather the opposite. At the same time as the asylum applications increased heavily and the unemployment rate of foreign born citizens were taken to negative levels. The authorities in Sweden realised that the Swedish multicultural policy was double-edged and ambiguous. The immigrant policy promoted at one hand the adaptation of the immigrants into the Swedish society, on the other hand, the freedom of choice for immigrants to develop and practice their native language and cultural traditions. Therefore, in the mid 1980's, there was a shift in the discourse of immigrant integration. The main focus was put on Swedish language and culture and on the immigrant's adaptation rather than on the unclear multicultural policy (Rooth, 1999, p. 29-30, Geddes, 2003, p. 122). According to Diaz (1993), the focus of the Swedish immigration policy must be put on the main problems of the integration of immigrants, such as: the economic, social and political areas rather on cultural issues.

In 1993, a parliamentary committee was appointed to analyse and investigate the legislation then in force especially regarding issues concerning integration and the immigrants' situation on the Swedish labour market as well as the Swedish language skills among immigrants and its importance for successful integration. This investigation was finished in 1995 with the results that a new integration policy was needed because failing integration was a fact. Among many other issues, the immigrants' unemployment rate had reached its peak. In 1996, a

special selected minister with the intention of being in charge for integration issues was established. For the purpose of encouraging immigrants' integration and participation in Swedish society the concept self-support was highlighted. Still, a new legislation concerning integration was not established until 1998. A National Integration Office was created with responsibilities to supervise the immigrants' integration as well as improve and develop future integration policies. At the time 27 % of the immigrants were unemployed, therefore, policies focusing on labour market situation were made. A new anti-discrimination policy was developed and entered into force in 1999, which made direct and indirect discrimination illegal. The newly installed National Integration Office emphasised a move from immigration policy towards an integration policy (Geddes, 2003, p. 122).

According to the National Integration Office (2004), the distance between the native and the immigrants has become smaller concerning the unemployment rates during the last years. However, it is also argued that there is a classification on the labour market, which involve that foreigners born in Africa or Asia have higher unemployment rates than other immigrants, despite characteristics such as gender, education, age or how long they have been in the country. The Government's goal is to reach an employment rate on 80 % for immigrants and natives on the Swedish labour market. Among many other things the national Integration Office will, therefore, focus on the improvement on integration on the labour market. Investments such as to create better conditions for the immigrants' entrance on to the labour market and to support them within the working life as well as to make discrimination visible and to set aside discrimination are only some measures that are taken for future integration improvements (Integrationsverket, 2004, p. 11 & 20-22).

3.3.3 Institutional Factors related to Immigration in the Netherlands

Historically, the Netherlands has to a high degree been an emigration country as many other European countries. The Dutch emigrated mainly to USA, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which was encouraged by the Dutch government. Today, the Netherlands is seen as an immigration country with an immigration population of 17 %. This means that 1 out of 6 is belonging to an ethnic group either as a 1st or as 2nd generation immigrant in the Netherlands. As a result of the colonialism are a larger part of the immigrants or repatriates from former colonies. From 1945 the Netherlands experienced a decolonisation process, which produced many immigrants to the Netherlands. In 1954, Dutch law accepted only one type of citizenship, which meant that people from the colonies Surinam and Dutch Antilles could

freely immigrate to the Netherlands. During the 50's approximately 60.000 immigrants and repatriates entered the Dutch border from Indonesia. The immigrants from Surinam also increased during this period, which at last in 1975 was one main reason to why Surinam became an independent state. However, previous to the independence the Surinamese people migrated in a gigantic numbers (Geddes, 2003, p. 104, Amersfoort, 1999, p. 135).

The Netherlands in the same way as many other European states during the 60's started with recruitment agreements due to the growing industries. The labour migrants or the guest workers came mainly from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, Morocco, Yugoslavia and Tunisia. In order to regulate the labour migration work permit was initiated. These recruitment agreements specified that in order to come and work a work permit was necessary, which potential guest workers had to apply for in their home countries. These work permits became the most important control mechanism to regulate and control labour migration. The guest workers were by the Dutch government seen as temporary inhabitants that would return home in a near future. However, when the economic conditions had changed (especially after the oil crises) and the time had come for the labour workers to return home many temporary residents became permanent inhabitants. In order to take control over the situation (1975), the government introduced restricting policies that should stop the labour migration. The regulations concerned a new kind of work permit and negative consequences for employers that hire illegal workers. In 1975 were 15.000 undocumented workers illegally in the country. Despite attempts to stop immigration to the country, the family migration continued. The family migration or family reunification changed the shape of the immigrant population in the Netherlands regarding to age and gender. In addition, efforts to control the family migration were made, for example, by reducing the age limit from 21 to 18 but also by encouraging return migration (Geddes, 2003, p. 104-106, Amersfoort, 1999, p. 135 & 143).

As an exchange to the diminishing of labour migration and the reduction of migrants from former colonies, the asylum applications started to increase in the beginning of the 80's, due to the changing international conditions. Since 1965 until 2001 the Dutch aliens act has regulated the asylum policy and the recognition as to who is granted refugee status. Two kinds of asylum seekers are granted refugee status in the Netherlands. Firstly, around 500 refugees per year that UNHCR has granted refugee status, secondly, asylum seekers that grant refugee status under the Geneva Convention. In the mid 80's the asylum seeking became a political argued concern since the numbers of asylum seekers were only increasing. It is argued by Geddes that the Dutch welfare system, the economy and the labour market, which had a negative decrease, affected the practise that goes under immigration and immigration

control. In 1994, the numbers of asylum applications reach its peak to 52.000, to a large extent as a result of the civil war in Yugoslavia. The Dutch asylum policies were characterised by being humane but very strict. Asylum seekers were given necessary means for making a living but were treated with suspicion and were not integrated into the Dutch society until refugee status was established. Furthermore, the waiting period were to long for getting a decision on whether to stay or not. The 1965 Aliens Act lasted until 2001 when a new Asylum Law came into force. The 2001 Aliens Act is more adjusted to Dutch law and to the principles within EU. Moreover, the new Aliens Act are characterised by having clearer rules and shorter procedures. The largest groups among the refugee population today are the Iranians, the Iraqis, the Somalis and the Vietnamese (Amersfoort, 1999, p. 150-153, Geddes, 2003, p.106-107).

3.3.4 Institutional Factors related to integration in the Netherlands

The Netherlands has moved from one extreme policy to another on the subject of incorporation into society. The policy changes concerns the development from minorities policy to integration policy. These policies changes will further be discussed in a historical perspective. The post-colonial immigrants started to arrive from 1945 and were then given full Dutch citizenship with the aim that the immigrants should culturally assimilate (Geddes, 2003, p. 113, Vasta, 2006 , p.3).

As mentioned before, the Netherlands arranged recruitment agreements with other countries to support the growing industries, especially during the 60's. The assumptions were that the guest workers only should fill in shortages on the labour market temporarily and then return to their countries of origin. The integration policies at that time promoted return migration and different benefits such as; giving education in the immigrants' native languages. However, many labour migrants stayed, and for example, in Sweden and in Germany, there was not any particular assimilation system, in contrast to the Netherlands. The guest workers who stayed in the Netherlands actually had access to a system of incorporation that included both cultural recognition and social programs. This system was called 'pillarisation' or *verzuiling* in Dutch, and is an old system arising from 17th or 18th century. The pillarisation involved that the society was divided in several smaller segments or pillars to manage the multiethnic society. These pillars had their own religious premises, newspapers, political parties, unions, schools, hospitals and all other kinds of social institutions. The membership of

a certain pillar gave protection and social belonging (Geddes, 2003, p. 113-114, Vasta, 2006, p. 3-4).

In 1978, a committee on ethnic minorities was established by the Ministry of Culture in order to write a report on how to include ethnic minorities in society. The minority policies were shaped from the standpoint that the Netherlands were considered to be a multi ethnic society and that different minority groups had to develop and practice their ethnic differences. In 1983, an ethnic minority policy was developed, which was based on multicultural ideas. The main aim was integration while preserving the cultural pluralism. This integration approach meant that immigrants were given funds for social and cultural associations. Moreover, they should enjoy equal privileges, opportunities and rights as the native Dutch. In the mid 1980's, the criticism towards the multicultural policy grew. The unemployment was high, education level low and segregation increased, especially among ethnic minorities. By the early 1990, the policy was considered to be a weak instrument for immigrant integration (Geddes, 2003, p. 114-115, Vasta, 2006, p, 3-4).

The Dutch authorities realised that too much weight had been put on the protection and preservation of ethnic culture and too little on immigrant integration in the society. In 1994 a new integration policy was introduced, which aimed at social and economic integration. The minority policy was exchanged for an integration policy. This new approach emphasised citizenship and shared values as well as socio-economic integration. It focused more on the individual integration and not so much on integration for the ethnic groups. This was an important shift; going from the meaning of collective rights to the individual rights in terms of integration. The main element in the 1994's integration policy was a kind of civic education for immigrants. Education in form of various courses gave immigrants 500 hours of training in being Dutch. Language courses, social orientation and career training were only some courses in the training of being a Dutch. When immigrants failed in taking the classes, welfare benefits could be taken away. Improvements within education and better labour market position were of great concerns in the new policy. Another feature was that special and separate services for immigrants were taken away and replaced by ordinary services applicable for all citizens in the Netherlands. The new approach aimed to encourage the immigrants to participate more in the society and become more like a 'Dutch' in order to become fully 'integrated' (Geddes, 2003, p. 116-117, Vasta, 2006, p. 5-6).

The shift of the integration policies in the Netherlands has during the 90's been moving away from pluralism and multiculturalism. Despite this fact, the European approach is inclining towards the opposite direction. In 2001 the Council of Europe presented a program

called 'the European Year of Languages'. The programme aims at protect and to promote cultural enrichment in the European cities as well as to promote and develop plural lingualism. To improve mutual understanding and to be able to cooperate in democracies the communicative abilities in a number of languages are of great importance according to the European council rapport (Yagmur, 2005, p. 7-8).

In 2002 / 2003 the integration policy were again seen as a big failure. This time, considerations were made about that the problem lied in the non-existing will of the immigrants to integrate. It was believed that some immigrants did not want to integrate at all. The new policy (the Bill), therefore, forces the immigrants to take more responsibility for their integration into the Dutch society (Vasta, 2006, p. 8) The result of the Dutch Cabinet's Agreement on a new policy was that every person who wants to stay in the Netherlands on permanent conditions must learn Dutch and be aware of Dutch customs and values and to actively take part in society. The Bill involves an obligation to take an integration test. In other words, it is obligatory for immigrants to take an integration test in their country of origin before the arrival. They have to prepare and educate themselves in order to achieve the knowledge necessary for the integration test. The civic integration test consists of two sub test. The first test includes the awareness of the Dutch language. The second test deals with the knowledge of the Dutch society. This test applies for immigrants who come to the country on voluntary basis and therefore, it does not affect, for example, asylum seekers. The integration test is an attempt for the authorities in the Netherlands to make sure that immigrant take more responsibilities in the integration process.

4. Descriptive Statistical Analysis

General differences in the labour market attachment will be analysed for both the Somalis and for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden and in the Netherlands. Variables such as employment level and if the respondent is registered as unemployed, can reflect the situation on the labour market for the two investigated groups in both the examined countries. The analysis will consist of two parts as mentioned before. The first part will deal with the examination of variables showing the respondents labour market attachment and the second part will deal with variables that could explain the immigrants' labour market situation, as mentioned before. Furthermore, discovered differences and similarities between the groups but also between and across the investigated countries will be made throughout the analysis as well as revealed connections and/or variations found among men and women will be presented all the way throughout the analysis.

4.1 Employment Status

In this section, the employment status for both the immigrant groups in Sweden and in the Netherlands will be examined, starting with Somali immigrant group's employment level. The employment variable defines whether the respondent is working or not. Individuals are considered to be employed when they have any kind of employment, including self-employment.

In table 3, the employment level is calculated both for the Somali and former Yugoslavian groups living in Sweden and in the Netherlands. For the Somali groups, it is observed that there are low employment rates while the Yugoslavian groups have much higher employment rates.

The employment rate for being employed for the Somalis living in Sweden, all in all, is 30, 5 %. The figures for women are even lower. No more than 20, 9 % of the Somali women in Sweden are employed. The Somali men have somewhat higher employment rates, 38, 2 % are employed. Evidently, the figures for not being gainfully employed are very high, especially for women. With this information it can be assumed that the Somalis to a large extent have high unemployment rates. Reason for low employment rates among the Somalis will be investigated later on in the analysis. The comparable data of the employment success for the Somalis living in the Netherlands demonstrate similar result as for the Somalis in Sweden; low levels of employments.

In table 3, the percentages of employed Somalis in the Netherlands are almost 29 %, which is comparable data to the employed Somalis in Sweden with 30, 5 %. However, the employment success differs largely when comparing men to women. The employment rate for the Somali men in the Netherlands is 48, 0 %, which is a rather high rate if compared to the Somali group in total. The employed proportion of Somali women in the Netherlands are only 11, 6 %, which is an extremely low number of employment. Accordingly, almost half of the Somali men in the Netherlands are working while only a very small number of Somali women are employed. When comparing the Somali women to each other, it can be viewed in table 3 that almost twice as many of the Swedish Somali women are employed when comparing to the Somali women living in the Netherlands. If putting the men side by side there are also large differences. Around 38, 2 % of the Swedish Somali men are employed which is 10 percentage points less than the Dutch Somali men that have an employment rate of 48, 0 %.

Table 3. Employment Status Somalis and for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the Age 25 - 60.

		Employed in %
Somalis in Sweden	Men	38, 2 %
	Women	20, 9 %
	Total	30, 5 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	48, 0 %
	Women	11, 6 %
	Total	28, 6 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	62, 1 %
	Women	50, 7 %
	Total	56, 5 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	69, 7 %
	Women	55, 9 %
	Total	63, 0 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

The employment level for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden is much higher if comparing to the Somali group. In table 3 the employment level has been calculated for former Yugoslavian immigrants living in Sweden and in the Netherlands. More than half of the former Yugoslavian immigrants in Sweden are employed, in exact numbers, 56, 5 %. Provided that around 62 % of former Yugoslavian men have employment and more than 50 % of the women are working proves that the former Yugoslavs are better attached to the labour market than the Somalis.

When the employment percentages for former Yugoslavs living in Sweden are weighed against the Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands, it is evident that Dutch Yugoslavs have better labour market attachment than the Swedish Yugoslavs. In table 3, the labour market attachment for Yugoslavs in the Netherlands is calculated to 63%, which signifies a higher employment level for Yugoslavian immigrants on the Dutch labour market. Furthermore, there a distinction between men and women in this case as well. Men are more often than women gainfully employed. Approximately 70 % of the former Yugoslavian men in the Netherlands are gainfully employed but around 56 % of the Yugoslavian women are working.

To sum up, the ethnic groups' employment level in the two investigated countries several parallels can be made. First, the Somalis, as groups in total, in Sweden and in the Netherlands have almost identical employment rates. The differences in the employment rates are positioned within the issue of gender. The Somali men have higher employment rates than women. In the Netherlands the differences in employment rates between women and men are higher when comparing to Somalis in Sweden where it is more equally divided. The former Yugoslavs have higher employment levels than the Somalis. The fact that men have a higher employment rate than women is well known; therefore, it is not surprising that women have lower employment rates than men.

However, there are dissimilarities between the ethnic groups and across the countries within gender, which need a closer examination. It is evident that there is large gender difference if comparing the Somalis in Sweden and in the Netherlands. The Somali men living in the Netherlands have higher employment rates compared to the Somali men in Sweden. On the other hand, the Somali women in Sweden have a 10 percentage points higher labour market attachment than the Somali women living in the Netherlands. This distinction might indicate that the Somali women have more troubles on the Dutch labour market than the Somali women in Sweden or the Somali women might be better integrated in the Swedish society than in the Dutch. Moreover, Somali men might be less economically integrated on the Swedish labour market than on the Dutch. The Yugoslavian men and women as separate

groups demonstrate that the Dutch levels of employment are higher even when comparing gender by gender across the countries.

4.2 Registered Unemployment

In this section the unemployment variable will be examined. The statistical measurement for registered unemployment might be slightly different in the two investigated countries. The registered unemployment in the Swedish case concerns the once given unemployment compensation and in the Dutch case, involving those registered as unemployed and in search for work. In the Swedish case it is worth to mention that the unemployment compensation only can be paid out to a person that has been working for at least 6 months, moreover, being a member of the unemployment compensation union for a minimum of 1 year. Apparently, if there are low rates of unemployment, it is an indication on that the respondents never have been employed nor have been employed for a very long time and, therefore, are not given unemployment compensation but are rather supported by somebody else or are living on welfare beneficial or social allowances. Moreover, even if the respondents in this category are not working, they have some form of attachment to the labour market, because they have been working and are looking for a job. It could be said that their labour market attachment is weak but existing because they have not given up and are actually available for work. The registered unemployment will be presented, group by group in both Sweden and in the Netherlands.

The employment levels introduced in table 3 do not assert any actual rates of unemployment for the investigated groups. Put differently, the figures do not affirm that all other that do not work are unemployed. In order to create a better picture of the immigrants' labour market attachment, an unemployment variable will further be examined. The unemployment variable do only affirm the immigrants' labour market attachment from how many that are given unemployment compensation and are looking for job. The respondents that are registered as unemployed and are seeking job have a connection to the labour market even if that connection is weak.

The majority of the Somali immigrants living in Sweden are not registered as unemployed or seeking work. In table 4 it is shown that the amount of persons that are registered as unemployed are 17 %. However, when comparing men and women to each other we find attention-grabbing data. Less Swedish Somali women are actually registered as unemployed.

Only 7, 8 % of the women are registered as unemployed/looking for job while 24, 5 % of the Somali men are registered.

Table 4. Registered Unemployment Level for Somalis and former Yugoslavs in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the Age 25-60.

Registered Unemployment		
		Registered as Unemployed/ Seeking work
Somalis in Sweden	Men	24, 5 %
	Women	7, 8 %
	Total	17, 0 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	30, 4 %
	Women	33, 3 %
	Total	31, 0 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	15, 4 %
	Women	18, 0 %
	Total	16, 7 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	14, 8 %
	Women	14, 7 %
	Total	14, 8 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

Furthermore, it is shown in table 4 that 31 % of the Somali group living in the Netherlands is registered as unemployed. Contrary to the Somalis living in Sweden, there are no large differences between men and women. The women's registered unemployment rate is slightly higher with 33,3 % against men's rate on 30,4 %, but they do not differ as much as in the Swedish case. Moreover, the registered unemployment of the Somali group in the Netherlands is not similar to the rate found in Sweden. The registered unemployment in the Netherlands,

for the Somali group, is almost twice as large as the Somali group in Sweden. When comparing the Somali women to each other there are large differences. The Somali women registered as unemployed in the Netherlands more than 4 times as many as to the Swedish Somali women.

Unemployment measurements have also been made for the Yugoslavian group in Sweden and in the Netherlands. Table 4 shows registered unemployment for former Yugoslavs living in Sweden and in the Netherlands both men and women in the age 25-60. The amount of former Yugoslavian in Sweden that are registered as unemployed are 16, 7 % for the entire group. There are small differences between men and women. Among the former Yugoslavs, 15, 4 % of the men are registered as unemployed while the women's rate are slightly higher with 18, 0 %. The unemployment rate of registered unemployed in the Netherlands among the former Yugoslavs is similar to the Swedish Yugoslavs. In table 4, it is calculated that about 15 % is registered as unemployed, which match with the Swedish Yugoslavs that had about 16 %. The differences between men and women among the former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands are very small or almost non-existing.

If comparing the Yugoslavs with the Somali, the rate does not at all correspond to the Somali group in the Netherlands. Half as many Yugoslavs are registered as unemployed or seeking work if compared to the Somalis in the same country. There are almost no differences between men and women. Concerning the former Yugoslavs in Sweden there are, however, small differences where 15, 4 % is registered as seeking work while among women 18 %.

Consequently, the rate of former Yugoslavs in Sweden that are registered as unemployed are 16, 7 % for the entire group, as mentioned before. This is almost the same number as for the Somalis in Sweden. The rate of registered unemployment for the Somalis living in Sweden is 31% for the group in total. This rate is twice as high as the registered unemployment is for the former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands. The Swedish Somali women's registered unemployment rate is very low compared to both the Somali men in both Sweden and in the Netherlands but also if compared to the Yugoslavian rates for both men and women. Among the immigrant groups that have been investigated it seems that male Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands have the strongest connection to the labour market. Dutch Somalis and Swedish Somali men especially seem to have the highest rates of registered unemployment.

4.3 Non-Labour Market Attachment

The employment and registered unemployment rates have been analysed in order to find out if the immigrants' labour market attachment is weak or strong. However, these variables do not tell anything about how big the group is that do not have any attachments to the labour market at all. Therefore, in this section, the category of people that do not have a labour market attachment at all will be calculated. This group does not work and do not seek for a job either on voluntary or non-voluntary basis. Respondents belonging to this category have a non labour market attachment. The calculations for finding out the rates for non labour market attachment is done by adding up the rates for the two variables '*employment*' and '*registered unemployment*' among the respondents. The figure which is left shows the rate for the respondents' non labour market attachment.

According to table 5, more than half of the entire group of Somali respondents living in Sweden has no attachment to the labour market at all. The highest rate of non-labour market attachment has the Somali women with 71, 3 % while men's rate only is 37, 7%.

The Somali group in the Netherlands shows much stronger labour market connection than the Somalis respondent in Sweden. Among the entire group of Somalis in the Netherlands 40, 4% have no labour market connection which is more 10 percentage points lower than to the respondents in Sweden. Nevertheless, the female immigrant group in the Netherlands shows similarly to the women in Sweden higher rates than to men. Women's rate is around 55 % while men's rate only is 21, 6%. However, if comparing the women in Sweden to the women in the Netherlands, there are huge differences. The women in Sweden show 25 percentage points higher rates of no labour market attachment than the women in the Netherlands. There are also huge differences between the Somali men in Sweden and in the Netherlands. The Swedish Somali men have more than 15 percentage points higher rate of no labour market attachment.

The non labour market attachment has correspondingly been calculated for the immigrant groups coming from former Yugoslavia living in both Sweden and Yugoslavia. According to table 5, almost 27 % of the entire group of former Yugoslavian respondents living in Sweden has no attachment to the labour market at all. The highest rate of non labour market connection has the Yugoslavian women where 31, 3 % have no labour market attachment at all while men's rate only is 22, 5 %.

The respondent from former Yugoslavia living in the Netherlands shows much stronger labour market connection than Yugoslavian respondents in Sweden. Among the entire group

of Yugoslavs in the Netherlands, 22, 2 % have no labour market connection whatsoever, which is lower than the respondents in Sweden. Nevertheless, the female immigrant group in the Netherlands shows similarly to the women in Sweden higher rates than to men. Women's rate is 29, 4 % while men's rate only is 15, 5 %. However, if comparing the men in Sweden to the men in the Netherlands, there are huge differences. The Yugoslavian men in Sweden show 7 percentage points higher rates of non labour market attachment than the men in the Netherlands. The women show more similar result to each other, where the former Yugoslavian women in Sweden have a little higher rate with 31, 3 % while the former Yugoslavian women in the Netherlands show 29, 4 %.

Table. 5. Non Labour Market Attachment for the Somalis and for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the Age 25-60.

Labour market attachment				
		Employed	Unemployed/ Seeking work	Non labour market Attachment
Somalis in Sweden	Men	38, 2 %	24, 5 %	37, 3 %
	Women	20, 9 %	7, 8 %	71, 3 %
	Total	30, 5 %	17, 0 %	52, 5 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	48, 0 %	30, 4 %	21, 6 %
	Women	11, 6 %	33, 3 %	55, 1 %
	Total	28, 6 %	31, 0 %	40, 4 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	62, 1 %	15, 4 %	22, 5 %
	Women	50, 7 %	18, 0 %	31, 3 %
	Total	56, 5 %	16, 7 %	26, 8 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	69, 7 %	14, 8 %	15, 5 %
	Women	55, 9 %	14, 7 %	29, 4 %
	Total	63, 0 %	14, 8 %	22, 2 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

To sum up the differences and similarities between the Somali immigrants and the Yugoslavian immigrant rates of non labour market attachment a summary will subsequently be presented. The differences between the immigrant groups are obviously sizeable. It is evident that that the Swedish Somalis are the ones with the highest rates of no connection to the labour market while the Dutch Somalis show a slightly better picture with lower rates of non labour market attachment than the Swedish. Clearly, the former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands show the lowest rates, while the Swedish former Yugoslavs have not as good figures when compared to the Dutch former Yugoslavs. Moreover, in total it is shown that the Somalis have much higher rates of non labour market attachment than the former Yugoslavs in both the countries. Among all the investigated sub-groups it is also noticeable that women to a larger extent than men have no attachment to the labour market.

4.4 Summary of Descriptive Statistical Analysis

To sum up the ethnic groups' picture on the labour market, in general, the former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands have the best labour market attachment, especially the men. In other words, the Dutch Yugoslavs have the highest rates of being gainfully employed (63 %) and the lowest rate of non labour market attachment (22, 2 %). The Yugoslavian men in the Netherlands show the best labour market attachment of all men within the ethnic groups. It could be worth to mention that almost 70 % of the Dutch Yugoslavian men have employment and that 15,5 % have no attachment to the labour market at all, while 14,8 % are registered as unemployed. The Dutch Yugoslavian women, furthermore, show the best labour market attachment of all the women within the ethnic groups. Almost 56 % have employment and around 29 % have no attachment to the labour market at all, while around 15 % are registered as unemployed. The Yugoslavs in Sweden, on the whole, demonstrate a poorer result than of the Yugoslavs in the Netherlands. More than 56 % are in total employed while almost 27 % have no labour market attachment at all. Once again, the Swedish Yugoslavian men show better labour market attachment than of the women.

The ethnic group that has the weakest labour market attachment in total is the Dutch Somalis. Only 28, 6 % have employment and 40, 4% have no labour market attachment at all and over 30 % is registered as unemployed. The lowest rates of employment have the Dutch Somali women. Only 11, 6 % are employed while 55, 1 % has no labour market attachment at all. The Dutch Somali men on the other hand show much better result. Almost half have

employment and only 21, 6 % have no labour market attachment at all which is the rate as the former Yugoslavs in Sweden. Surprisingly, among the Somali women living in Sweden 71, 3 % have no labour market attachment and only 7, 8 % is registered as unemployed and in seek of work while 20, 9 % are employed. Accordingly, despite that the Somali women in Sweden have the highest rates of non labour market attachment they have twice as many who are gainfully employed. The Somali men living in Sweden have weaker result than the Somali men in the Netherlands when it comes to the employment rate. The Swedish Somali men have an employment rate on 38, 2 % against the Dutch Somali men that have 48 %. On the other hand twice as many Dutch Somali men are registered as unemployed compared to Swedish Somali men. In total the Swedish Somali group have the best labour market performance among the Somali groups while the former Yugoslavian in the Netherlands show the best labour market success of all groups.

5.0 Statistical Effects of Age, Education and Years of Migration

There are variables that can partly explain the immigrants' labour market attachment. Independent variables such as age, education level and the period of time an immigrant has been in the country will be examined, linked to the immigrants' labour market attachment. The variables will be examined after variable and not group.

5.1 AGE

The immigrants' age can be of importance when it comes to their success on the labour market. If an immigrant group is relative young it is easier to get into the labour market, since it is harder to succeed in finding employment the elder one turn. For example, if an immigrant is above the age of 40 years old it is harder to obtain a job than for a person that is between 25 – 40 years old. On the other hand, if an individual is elder, it is supposed that he/she might have education and professional working skills and relevant knowledge regarding work and therefore will find work easier if compared to a young non-educated individual without working experience.

5.1.1 Average age

In order to get a better understanding of the investigated groups' age and the relevant differences between the groups and any variation between men and women, the average age has been calculated and is shown in table 6. The average age is calculated for the age group between 25-60 years old, that is, the investigated group in this study. For this reason, the average age is not comparable with the average age of a whole immigrant group if it is not the same specific age group as chosen in this study.

In table 6 it is shown that the Somalis average age in total is around 35 years old in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. For the Yugoslavian groups it can be displayed that the Yugoslavs in Sweden have a higher average age than the Yugoslavs in the Netherlands. The Swedish Yugoslavs average age is around 41 years old while the Dutch Yugoslavs average age is around 39 years. The Yugoslavian group in general show a higher average age if comparing to the Somali groups. There are no relevant age differences between the men women within the groups.

Table 6. Average Age by Immigrant Group in Sweden (2000) and the Netherlands, for both Men and Women, in age 25-60.

	Average age		
	Men	Women	Total
Swedish Somalis	35, 1	34, 3	34, 8
Dutch Somalis	35, 5	34, 2	34, 8
Swedish Yugoslavs	41, 3	41, 0	41, 2
Dutch Yugoslavs	38, 7	38, 8	38, 8

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

5.1.2 Age Composition

In order to better understand the age composition among the Somali and former Yugoslavian respondents living in Sweden the ages have been calculated and as mentioned earlier they have also been categorized into two different age groups.

As table 7 shows, it is evident that the Somalis in general are a very young immigrant group in both Sweden and in the Netherlands, which is in accordance with the background information made earlier in the study. The Somalis in Sweden and the Somalis in the Netherlands presents similar results. In total, more than 80 % of the respondents are below the age of 40 years old and less than 20 % are above the age of 41 years old. The age symmetry is weak and unbalanced. In other words, the Somali groups in both Sweden and in the Netherlands are young immigrant groups. There are some age differences between men and women as can be revealed in table 7. In general, the men are overrepresented in the older age categories while women underrepresented. This indicates that women are younger than men in total. Age calculations for the former Yugoslavs have also been made, which will be presented subsequently for the same reasons as for the Somalis. In general, there is among the former Yugoslavs a better balance between the age groups than for the Somali groups as shown in table 7. Around 50, 4 % of the Swedish former Yugoslavs are between 25-40 years old while 49, 6 % are between 41-60 years old.

Table 7. Age Category for the Somali and former Yugoslavs in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the Age 25-60.

Age group		25-40	41-60
Ethnic Group			
Somalis in Sweden	Men	68, 3 %	21, 7 %
	Women	84, 2 %	15, 8 %
	Total	80, 9 %	19, 1 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	80, 1 %	19, 9 %
	Women	84, 6 %	15, 4 %
	Total	82, 5 %	17, 5 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	49, 5 %	40, 5 %
	Women	51, 2 %	48, 8 %
	Total	50, 4 %	49, 6 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	62, 5 %	37, 5 %
	Women	62, 1 %	37, 9 %
	Total	62, 3 %	35, 7 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

Additionally, half of the respondents of former Yugoslavs in Sweden are between the age of 25 to 40 and that the other half are between 41-60 years old. When comparing to the former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands there are differences. More than 62, 3 % of the former Yugoslavian respondents are between 25 and 40 years old while 35, 7 % are between 41-60 years old. In both Sweden and in the Netherlands there are only very small differences between women and men.

5.1.3 Statistical Effects of Age

For the purpose of finding out if age have any effect on the immigrants' economic integration, a cross-tabulation has been made. Table 8 show the connection between the age groups and the employment level, the unemployment level and the non-labour market attachment level

for the Somali and the former Yugoslavian immigrant groups in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. The Somalis living in Sweden that are between the ages of 25- 40 years old, it is shown in table 8 that 32, 4 % are employed while 16, 7 % are unemployed and more than half have no labour market attachment at all. In the age group of 41- 60 around 22, 2 % are employed while 18, 3 % is unemployed and almost 60 % have no labour market attachments. This indicates that the Somalis in Sweden in the age between 25- 40 have a better labour market success than the ones in the ages between 41- 60, since the elder group have lower rates of being employed and higher rates of unemployment and almost 10 percentage points higher non-labour market attachment rate. There are large differences between men and women when it comes to labour market success. The women have a much lower employment rate than men and much higher levels of unemployment and non-labour market attachment within the group; however, since there are large differences between men and women in both age categories, it does not have any effect on the result in total.

Out of the Somali immigrants in the Netherlands in the age group of 25- 40, 29, 3 % are employed, while 32, 9 % are unemployed and 37, 8 % have non-labour market attachment at all. If comparing to the age group 41- 60 years old, 27, 5 % are employed while only 20 % are unemployed and more than half have no labour market attachment at all. The elder group of Dutch Somali has higher rates of non- labour market attachment if compared to the younger group, but lower rates of unemployment and employment. Since the employment rate almost is the same for the young and for the elder group the differences exists between the unemployment and those having non- labour market attachment at all. It can be viewed that more than half of the Somalis in the age group 41-60 have no labour market attachment at all, on the other hand, only 1/ 5 are unemployed. Consequently, both the age groups have similar result of employment even though the younger group has a little higher rate. The age group 25-40 has higher rates of unemployment while the age group 41-60 has large number of individuals that do not have any labour market attachment at all.

In table 8, the former Yugoslavs in Sweden in the age between 25- 40, around 62, 4 % are employed, 20, 6 % are unemployed while 17 % do not have any labour market attachment at all. There are differences when comparing this result to the age group of 41-60. Among the former Yugoslavian immigrants in the age 41- 60, more than half are employed, only 12, 7 % are unemployed while 36, 7 % have no labour market attachment at all. The age has an effect on the labour market success for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden. The younger former Yugoslavs have higher rates of being employed and half as many have non-labour market attachment at all if compared to the elder Yugoslavs.

Table 8. Age and Labour Market Attachment for Somali and former Yugoslavian Immigrant Groups in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), men and Women in the Age 25-60.

Age Group by Immigrant group	Status of Labour Market Attachment			
		Employed	Unemployed	Non-Labour market Attachment
Age group 25 – 40				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	42, 8 %	24, 2 %	33, 0 %
	Women	20, 5 %	8, 0 %	71, 5 %
	Total	32, 4 %	16, 7 %	50, 9 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	50, 7 %	32, 4 %	16, 9 %
	Women	11, 2 %	34, 8 %	54, 0 %
	Total	29, 3 %	32, 9 %	37, 8 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	68, 4 %	17, 8 %	13, 8 %
	Women	56, 3 %	23, 3 %	20, 4 %
	Total	62, 4 %	20, 6 %	17, 0 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	71, 5 %	15, 4 %	13, 1 %
	Women	55, 9 %	16, 2 %	27, 9 %
	Total	64, 1 %	15, 7 %	20, 2 %
Age Group 41 – 60				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	21, 5 %	25, 3 %	53, 2 %
	Women	23, 4 %	6, 4 %	70, 2 %
	Total	22, 2 %	18, 3 %	59, 5 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	38, 2 %	18, 5 %	43, 3 %
	Women	14, 9 %	34, 8 %	50, 3 %
	Total	27, 5 %	20, 0 %	52, 5 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	56, 0 %	13, 0 %	31, 0 %
	Women	44, 7 %	12, 5 %	42, 8 %
	Total	50, 6 %	12, 7 %	36, 7 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	66, 0 %	15, 0 %	19, 0 %
	Women	50, 3 %	14, 5 %	35, 2 %
	Total	58, 5 %	14, 8 %	26, 7 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

Among the former Yugoslav in the Netherlands it is shown in table 8 that the younger age group has higher rates of being employed than the elder age group with 64, 1 % against 58, 5 %. The unemployment rates only differ with around 1 percentage points. The major differences is again that the age group 25-40 years old has lower rates of individuals that do not have any labour market attachment at all, that is; the age group 25- 40 have only around 20, 2 % of individuals with non-labour market attachment while the age group 41- 60 have 26, 7 %.

To sum up, among all the immigrant groups, it is evident that the age group 25-40 years old has the highest employment rates if compared to the same immigrant groups in the age group 41-60. Concerning the unemployment level there is no clear pattern. However, if not counting the Swedish Somalis, the highest unemployment rates are within the younger age groups. Concerning the non-labour market attachment variable, there is an obvious connection. The age group 41- 60 have the highest rates of individuals that have no labour market attachment at all. Accordingly, age can have an effect on the immigrants' labour market success. Immigrants which are below the age of 40 years old have a greater chance of being employed but are also the ones with higher unemployment rates and in search for work. The immigrants that are above the age of 40 and have not succeeded in finding a job show low rates of unemployment but high rates of non-labour market attachment, which indicates that the immigrants above 40 have harder time to integrate economically and have often given up in their search for work.

5.2 Educational Level

The educational level can be of interest and one important factor when explaining why immigrants' labour market attachment seems to be in a certain way. Therefore, the educational level among the respondents have been calculated and divided into three different educational categories; that is, elementary school, upper secondary school and university/college.

5.2.1 Educational level

In table 9, the educational level among the Somalis and the former Yugoslavs in Sweden and in the Netherlands both men and women are presented.

It is shown in table 9 that less than half of the Somali immigrants in Sweden have at least upper secondary school education. Only about 19 % have university education while 1/3 have

finished elementary school. In other words, there are a bigger proportion of the Swedish Somalis in the categories of elementary school and upper secondary school. There are large differences between men and women among the Somali respondent in Sweden. Men seem to be better educated than the women. In the category of elementary school men are underrepresented with only 26 % against 43 % women while in the category of university education there are more than twice as many men to women.

Table 9. Education Level among the Somali and former Yugoslavian Respondents in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the Age 25-60.

		Education Level		
		Elementary School	Upper Secondary School	University/ College
Somalis in Sweden	Men	26, 2 %	50, 3 %	23, 5 %
	Women	43, 6 %	45, 0 %	11, 4 %
	Total	33, 1 %	48, 2 %	18, 7 %
Somalis the Netherlands	Men	60, 0 %	27, 6 %	12, 4 %
	Women	80, 0 %	16, 6 %	3, 4 %
	Total	70, 8 %	21, 7 %	7, 5 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	19,7 %	56,6 %	23,7 %
	Women	32,9 %	47,2 %	19,9 %
	Total	26,1 %	52,1 %	21,8 %
Former Yugoslavs the Netherlands	Men	49, 0 %	31, 2 %	19, 8 %
	Women	49, 5 %	29, 8 %	20, 7 %
	Total	50, 3 %	30, 3 %	19, 4 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

If comparing the Somali respondents in the Netherlands with the Swedish Somalis there are also large differences. More than 70 % of the Somalis in the Netherlands have finished elementary school and only 21, 7 % have finished upper secondary school while only 7, 5 %

have a university degree. In comparison, the Somali respondents in the Netherlands are less well educated than the Swedish Somalis. Many more than twice as many of the Swedish Somalis have a university education if compared the Dutch Somalis. In the education category of upper secondary school education, the Swedish Somalis have 27 percentage points higher than the Somalis in the Netherlands. Among the Dutch Somalis there are, similarly, to the Swedish Somalis large differences between men and women. In the category of elementary school, the women are over represented with almost 20 percentage points' higher values. Correspondingly, in the categories of upper secondary school and university education men are over represented. In the category of university education the Somali men in the Netherlands show more than 3, 5 times higher values than the women, which really implies that men are better educated than women among the Dutch Somali.

There are not as large differences between the former Yugoslavs in Sweden and in the Netherlands as there is between the Somali groups compared to each other. First, the former Yugoslav in Sweden show that more than half of the respondents have at least finished upper secondary school while around 26 % have finished elementary school and almost 22 % have a university or college degree. There are differences in the educational categories if comparing men and women to each other. Men are better educated than to women seeing that once again, men are over represented in the higher educational categories and women in the lower.

The former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands seem to be less educated if comparing with the Yugoslavs in Sweden. More than half have finished elementary school which is a much higher value if compared to the Yugoslavs in Sweden. More than 30 % of the Dutch Yugoslavs have finished upper secondary school which is more than 20 percentage points higher than to the Swedish Yugoslavs. However, in the university/college educational category 19, 4 % have finished university or college, which only are a little lower result as for the former Yugoslavs in Sweden. In total, the former Yugoslavs in Sweden are better educated than the Dutch former Yugoslavs. This is also true if comparing men and women. The Yugoslavian women in Sweden are better educated than the ones in the Netherlands. Moreover, there are only very small differences between men and women among the Yugoslavs in the Netherlands. For example, in the elementary school category, there are almost no differences at all and in the upper secondary school category there are only 1 percentage points that differ between men and women. However, a surprising fact, in the university/ college category, it is actually the women that have higher rates even if the difference only is around 1 %.

Clearly, there are differences not only between the groups but also across the countries. First, if comparing the Somalis and the former Yugoslavs living in Sweden, it is evident that the two immigrant groups show differences in their educational level. However, the differences between the two immigrant groups do not differ as much as between the immigrant groups in the Netherlands. There are some percentages points of distinction between the educational categories of the Somali and former Yugoslavs living in Sweden, which implies that the immigrant groups in Sweden have not identical but similar educational levels. The result of the educational levels among the Somali and the former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands do not prove the same fact as in the Swedish case. On the other hand, there are large differences between the two immigrant groups. The Somali in the Netherlands do not show as good statistics as the former Yugoslavs illustrate. More than 70 % of the Dutch Somalis have only finished elementary school and 21, 7 % have finished upper secondary school. No more than 7, 5 % have university or college education. If comparing these statistics with the Dutch Yugoslavs there are many differences. More than twice as many Yugoslavs have a university education and almost 30 % have at least upper secondary school while only around 1/5 only have elementary school education. Consequently, the immigrant groups in the Netherlands do not at all share any similarities in the educational rates. The Dutch Somali immigrant seem to be the once which have the lowest educational rates and the Swedish former Yugoslavs seem to be the once which are best well educated.

5.2.2 Statistical Effects of Education

For the purpose of finding out if education have any effect on the immigrants economic integration a cross-tabulation has been made that shows the connection between education and the immigrants' labour market attachment. Among the Swedish Somali immigrants that only have finished elementary school more than 60 % have no labour market attachment at all while 13, 0 % is unemployed and only 26, 1 % is gainfully employed. The labour market success of the Swedish Somali immigrants that have finished upper secondary school is much better. More than 38 % are employed which is much better if compared to the Swedish Somalis that only have finished elementary school, however, the rate of unemployment is higher in the educational category of upper secondary school with 18, 7 %. On the other hand, the rate of having no labour market attachment at all is much smaller with 43 %, which is almost 20 % points less if compared to the ones that have finished elementary school. The Swedish Somali immigrants that have finished University / College show the best labour

Table 10. Education and Labour Market Attachment for Somali and former Yugoslavian Immigrant Groups in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003, Men and Women in the age 25-60.

Educational Level	Status of Labour Market Attachment			
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-Labour market Attachment	
Elementary School				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	32, 8 %	17, 2 %	50, 0 %
	Women	19, 7 %	9, 0 %	71, 3 %
	Total	26, 1 %	13, 0 %	60, 9 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	42, 6 %	43, 1 %	23, 3 %
	Women	10, 5 %	34, 9 %	54, 6 %
	Total	23, 1 %	34, 3 %	42, 6 %
<hr/>				
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	48, 6 %	13, 1 %	38, 3 %
	Women	38, 1 %	13, 5 %	48, 4 %
	Total	42, 3 %	13, 4 %	44, 3 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	58, 5 %	14, 5 %	27, 0 %
	Women	37, 9 %	16, 0 %	46, 1 %
	Total	48, 1 %	15, 0 %	36, 9 %
<hr/>				
Upper Secondary School				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	39, 2 %	25, 6 %	35, 2 %
	Women	37, 0 %	7, 9 %	55, 1 %
	Total	38, 3 %	18, 7 %	43, 0 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	59, 6 %	22, 4 %	18, 0 %
	Women	21, 2 %	33, 3 %	45, 6 %
	Total	43, 8 %	25, 0 %	31, 2 %
<hr/>				
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	66, 3 %	15, 4 %	18, 3 %
	Women	59, 5 %	21, 4 %	19, 1 %
	Total	63, 3 %	18, 1 %	18, 6 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	70, 9 %	13, 3 %	15, 8 %
	Women	60, 9 %	12, 6 %	26, 5 %
	Total	66, 1 %	13, 0 %	20, 9 %
<hr/>				
University / College				
Somlis in Sweden	Men	45, 0 %	23, 8 %	31, 2 %
	Women	24, 0 %	12, 0 %	64, 0 %
	Total	40, 0 %	21, 0 %	39, 0 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	52, 4 %	23, 1 %	24, 5 %
	Women	30, 8 %	20, 0 %	49, 2 %
	Total	47, 3 %	22, 6 %	30, 1 %
<hr/>				
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	66, 0 %	17, 6 %	16, 4%
	Women	57, 1 %	18, 0 %	24, 9 %
	Total	62, 0 %	17, 8 %	20, 2 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	62, 4 %	19, 5 %	18, 1 %
	Women	63, 9 %	19, 7 %	16, 4 %
	Total	63, 0 %	19, 6 %	17, 4 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

market attachment since 40 % are employed and only 39 % have no labour market attachment at all. However, for the Swedish Somali, the unemployment rate is the highest within all educational categories with 21 % of unemployed. There are large differences between men and women. Men have better labour market attachment when comparing to the women that have lower rates of being employed and high rates of having non- labour market attachment, therefore, they have also lower rates of unemployment. This fact is true for all educational categories.

The Dutch Somali immigrants have lower rates of being employed, higher unemployment rates and lower rates of individuals with non- labour market attachment when comparing to the Swedish Somalis in the educational category of elementary school. Among the Dutch Somalis that have finished elementary school only 23, 1 % is employed, more than 43 % are unemployed and more than 42 % have no labour market attachment at all. However, in the upper secondary school category the labour market attachment is much better. Almost 44 % have employment, which is the highest rates of all categories and groups if only counting the Somali respondents. This group has also the lowest rates of non-labour market attachment with 31, 2 % and around 1/4 are unemployed. Similarly to the Swedish Somalis, there are large differences between men's and women's labour market attachment in connection to education. Men have much higher rates of being gainfully employed. In the elementary school category, only 10, 5 % are employed while 42, 6 % of the men are employed and in the upper secondary school category, only 21, 1 % women are employed and 59, 6 % of the men. Similarly, in the university/ college category where 30, 8 % of the women are employed while 52, 4 % of the men are employed.

The Swedish former Yugoslavian immigrants have much higher labour market attachment when comparing to the Somali groups and they are also much better well educated. In the educational category of elementary school 42, 3 % are employed and only 13, 4 % are unemployed while 44, 3 % have no labour market attachment. In the upper secondary school category, the employment success is much higher with 63, 3 %. The unemployment rate is little higher in this educational category with 18, 1 % while only 18, 6 % have no labour market attachment at all which is one of the lowest rates of all groups. In the university category of former Yugoslavs in Sweden it is shown that only 62 % have employment which is lower when compared to the upper secondary school category. The unemployment rate is 17, 8 % and the non labour market attachment variable is 20, 2 %. There are differences between men and women also within this immigrant group but they are not as large if compared to the Somali groups.

The former Yugoslavian immigrants in the Netherlands have shown to be the one which have the best labour market attachment of all the investigated immigrant groups, but not the highest rates of being well educated. In the elementary school category, 48, 1 % have employment, 15 % are unemployed and 36, 9 % have no labour market attachment at all. In the upper secondary school category, the Dutch former Yugoslavs have better labour market success than the ones that only have finished elementary school. 66, 1 % have employment, 13 % are unemployed while 20, 9 % have no labour market attachment. In the university / college category, there are surprisingly less individuals that are employed when comparing to the upper secondary school category. Around 63 % are employed; less than 1/5 of the Dutch Yugoslavians are unemployed and 17, 4 % have non- labour market attachment. In the elementary school category as well as in the upper secondary school category, there are large differences between men and women. Men have higher employment rates compared to women while women are overrepresented in the non-labour market attachment category. However, in the university category there are almost no differences between men and women.

To Sum up, it is evident that education have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration. The Swedish and Dutch Somalis show better labour market attachment the better educated they are. The Swedish and Dutch former Yugoslavian have in total a much higher educational level compared to the Somali groups. The Swedish former Yugoslavs show better labour market integration the higher educated they are, with one exception. The Swedish former Yugoslavs' rate of employment is not rising from the category of elementary school education to upper secondary education. In other words, the Swedish Yugoslavs are not to the same degree as the Somali immigrants affected by the degree of education level when it comes to economic integration. The Dutch former Yugoslavs on the other hand show similar patterns as the Somalia groups, that is; the higher degree of education the better attachment on the labour market.

5.3 Year of Migration

Year of migration can be of importance when looking at immigrants' labour market attachment. If an immigrant have been staying in the host country for a longer period of time he/she have better opportunities to have a strong labour market attachment than an immigrant that just arrived since the newly arrived immigrant may not have enough knowledge or experience as an immigrant that has been in the host country for a long time. For this reason, the migration year will be calculated for both the investigated groups in both Sweden and in

the Netherlands, in order to find out if migration year have any affect on the immigrants labour market attachment.

5.3.1 Year of Migration in Categories

When examining the Somali immigrants, it is evident that almost the entire immigrant group came during the years 1991-2003. According to table 11, around 85 % of both the Swedish and Dutch Somalis came during this period of time, which implies that they have been living in the host- countries for a rather short period of time. None of the Swedish Somali respondents and only 1, 5 % Dutch Somalis came before 1970. Almost none or up to 0, 5 % of the Somali immigrant came during 1971-1980. Among the Swedish Somalis around 15, 5 % arrived during the years of 1981-1999. Around 13 % of the Dutch Somalis came during the same period of time. Consequently, the Somali immigrants in both Sweden and in the Netherlands are relative young immigrant groups, which not have been living in their host-countries for a longer period of time. When comparing men to women, it can be realized that men are over represented in the categories of the earlier years of migration while women are over represented in the later years of migration. In general, the Somali men came earlier than the women. For example, during the years of 1991-2003, almost 8 percentage points more women arrived to their new host countries if compared to men.

When examining the former Yugoslavian immigrants, it is once more obvious that almost the entire immigrant group came during the years 1991-2003. According to table 11, around 67 % of both the Swedish former Yugoslavs arrived during this period of time. However, many Yugoslav arrived early, mostly due to labour migration. Among the Swedish Yugoslavs more than 15 % came before 1970 and little less than 11 % came between the years of 1971-1980. Around 8 % of the Yugoslavian respondents came from 1981-1990. However, as mentioned earlier, the largest group came during the 90's. There are almost none or very small differences between the men's and the women's migration years for the Swedish Yugoslavs.

The statistics for the former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands looks a little different if compared to the Swedish Yugoslavs. Only around 5 % of the former Yugoslavs migrated to the Netherlands before 1970. Between the periods of 1971 up to 1990, in total, 14, 4 % former Yugoslavs immigrated to the Netherlands. The biggest group came during the 90's, that is, more than 80 % came in the period of 1991 - 2003. Among the former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands there are no major differences between men and women. Consequently, the

Yugoslavians immigrants in both Sweden and in the Netherlands are also relative young immigrant groups, which have not been living in their host-countries for a long period of time.

Table 11. Year of Migration for the Somali and former Yugoslavian respondents in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the age 25-60

		Year of Migration			
		Up to 1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2003
Somalis in Sweden	Men	-	0, 5 %	17, 9 %	81, 6 %
	Women	-	-	10, 8 %	89, 2 %
	Total	-	0, 5 %	14,7 %	85, 0 %
Somalis the Netherlands	Men	1, 4 %	0, 4 %	17, 4 %	80, 8 %
	Women	1, 6 %	0, 3 %	9, 1 %	88, 9 %
	Total	1, 5 %	0, 3 %	13, 0 %	85, 1 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	15, 6 %	8, 9 %	7, 7 %	67, 8 %
	Women	15, 5 %	10, 8 %	7, 8 %	65, 9 %
	Total	15, 5 %	10, 8 %	7, 8 %	66, 9 %
Former Yugoslavs the Netherlands	Men	5, 0 %	6, 5 %	7, 7 %	80, 8 %
	Women	5, 2 %	9, 4 %	5, 2 %	80, 2 %
	Total	5, 1 %	7, 9 %	6, 5 %	80, 5 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

It is clear that the major part of the investigated immigrants arrived 1991-2003. Some Somali immigrant started to arrive to Sweden and the Netherlands already from the 1980 but more than 85 % came during the 90's. Concerning the former Yugoslavs, it is apparent that many arrived earlier than the Somalis. The Swedish Yugoslavs seems to have immigrated earlier than the Dutch Yugoslavs. Accordingly, the Yugoslavian immigrants arrived earlier than the Somalis did, but in total, the investigated immigrants came during the 90's and can therefore be considered to be relative newly arrived immigrants.

5.3.2 Statistical Effect of Year of Migration

For the purpose of finding out if year of migration have any effect on immigrants' economic integration a cross-tabulation has been made, which shows the immigrants labour market attachment in connection to year of migration. Since a large number of the immigrants arrived during the 1990's a new categorisation of the year of migration has been made, the first, from 1970 to 1990 and, the second, from 1990 to 2003.

The Somalis in Sweden that arrived between 1970 and 1990 have a better employment rate compared to those arriving later. Almost half of the Swedish Somalis that migrated into Sweden between the years 1970-1990 are unemployed while only 26, 5 % among those migrating between the years of 1990-2003 are employed. Concerning the unemployment level, it is evident that the ones arriving before 1990 have higher unemployment if compared to those arriving after 1990; however, the Swedish Somali that arrived early, only 23, 8 % have no labour market attachment while those migrating between 1990-2003 more than 61 % have no labour market attachment. There are larger differences between men and women in the category of those arriving later when compared to the Somalis arriving early. Swedish Somali women migrating to Sweden during 1990-2003 have half rates of being employed compared to the men. Men are more than 3 times unemployed compared to women at the same time showing very high rates of non- labour market attachment. Consequently, year of migration have an effect on the Swedish Somali immigrants' economic integration.

The Dutch Somalis show similar employment level as to the Swedish Somalis both those arriving during 1970-1990 and those arriving during 1990-2003. The Dutch Somalis that migrated during 1970-1990 have lower rates of unemployment, 20, 8 %, and higher rates of non- labour market attachment, 31, 9 %, compared to the Swedish Somalis. The Dutch Somalis that migrated during 1990-2003 have much higher rates of unemployment, 31, 8 % and much lower rates of having no labour market attachment, if compared to the Swedish Somalis. The differences between men and women are evident. Women show again low rates of being employed and high rates of having no labour market attachment compared to men. Among the Somalis in the Netherlands that arrived during the earlier years of 1970-1990, 47, 3 % are employed. The employment level is much lower among the Somalis in the Netherlands that arrived during the later years, only 26 % are employed. There are large differences between men and women. Women in general have much lower rates of employment compared to men and have more than twice as high rates of non-labour market attachment.

Table 12. *Year of Migration and Labour Market Attachment for Somali and former Yugoslavian Immigrant Groups in Sweden (2000) and in the Netherlands (2003), Men and Women in the age 25-60.*

Year of Migration by Immigrant Group	Status of Labour Market Attachment			
	Employed	Unemployed	Non-Labour market Attachment	
1970 - 1990				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	43, 7 %	36, 6 %	19, 7 %
	Women	55, 9 %	11, 8 %	32, 3 %
	Total	47, 6 %	28, 6 %	23, 8 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	55, 6 %	23, 1 %	21, 3 %
	Women	35, 1 %	14, 3 %	50, 5 %
	Total	47, 3 %	20, 8 %	31, 9 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	61, 5 %	13, 7 %	24, 8 %
	Women	56, 0 %	15, 4 %	28, 6 %
	Total	58, 7 %	14, 6 %	26, 7 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	67, 1 %	13, 1 %	19, 8 %
	Women	58, 8 %	11, 6 %	29, 6 %
	Total	63, 3 %	12, 5 %	24, 2 %
1990 - 2003				
Somalis in Sweden	Men	34, 2 %	18, 3 %	47, 5 %
	Women	18, 3 %	5, 7 %	76, 0 %
	Total	26, 5 %	12, 2 %	61, 3 %
Somalis in the Netherlands	Men	44, 4 %	30, 4 %	25, 2 %
	Women	10, 6 %	36, 7 %	52, 7 %
	Total	26, 0 %	31, 8 %	42, 2 %
Former Yugoslavs in Sweden	Men	60, 4 %	16, 2 %	23, 4 %
	Women	47, 1 %	19, 0 %	33, 9 %
	Total	53, 9 %	17, 5 %	28, 6 %
Former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands	Men	62, 0 %	16, 2 %	21, 8 %
	Women	46, 7 %	16, 5 %	36, 8 %
	Total	54, 4 %	15, 6 %	30, 0 %

Source: SCB; Labour market Statistics. 2000, SPVA/ISEO, 2003

The employment level among the former Yugoslavs in Sweden that arrived during 1970-1990 are 58, 7 %, only 14, 6 % are unemployed and 26, 7 % have non- labour market attachment. When comparing these results to the same ethnic group but those arriving during 1990-2003, it is evident that the ones arriving later have more difficulties to integrate economically. Of those arriving during 1990-2003, 53, 9 % are employed, 17, 5 % are unemployed and 28, 6 % have non- labour market attachment. It is clear that the Swedish Yugoslavian immigrants that migrated later have more difficulties to integrate economically, however, the result do not differ as much as between the Somali groups. Although age can have an effect on immigrants' economic integration, it seems to have less effect on the former Yugoslavian immigrants in Sweden if compared to the Somalis in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it is shown that the labour market success does not change much for men depending on year of migration and therefore, former Yugoslavian men in Sweden are not as affected by year of migration if compared to women. However, female Yugoslavian immigrants' economic integration is more dependent on year of migration if compared to men.

Former Yugoslavs living in the Netherlands and arrived during 1970-1990, the employment level are 63, 3 % while of those arriving during 1990-2003, the employment level is lower with only 54, 4 %. The former Dutch Yugoslavian that migrated during the earlier period have lower rates of unemployment and non-labour market attachment compared to those arriving later. Once again, the year of migration have an effect on immigrants' economic integration.

To sum up, it is evident that year of migration have an effect on all the investigated immigrants' economic integration. The longer immigrants have been in the host country the better success on the labour market. It is also true that some immigrants' economic integration more or less is dependent on year of migration, for example, the former Yugoslavs are less dependent and the Somalis are. Another fact, men's economic integration is less dependent on the variable of year of migration when comparing to women.

5.4 Summary of Statistical Effects of Age, Education and Year of Migration

Taking into account that the Dutch Yugoslavian group has shown the strongest labour market attachment out of the investigated groups, it is interesting to sum up the group's result relating to the examined variables such as age, education and migration year. The average age for the investigated former Yugoslavs is 38, 8 years. The largest part is between the ages of 25-40

years old, more than 60 %, which implies that the group is a relatively young group available to the labour market. The former Yugoslavians are affected by the variable age since it is shown that the younger they are the better rates of being employed and the stronger labour market attachment do they have. Bearing in mind that the Dutch Yugoslavian group has shown the strongest labour market attachment, it is suggested that this group also should be the ones which are best well educated. However, only half have finished elementary school, 30, 3 % have finished upper secondary school which is lower rates when compared to the Swedish Somalis. Less than 1/5 has a university education which is a relative high number if compared to the other immigrant groups. There are relevant differences between men and women when it comes to the educational level, surprisingly women and men have similar results of education and in the university category the women have higher values than men. The educational level do not have the same effect on the former Dutch Yugoslavian immigrants' economic integration when compared to the other groups, even though it is clear that education have a connection to whether there is a success on the labour market or not. Regarding the year of migration, more than 80 % arrived during 1991-2003. Consequently, the biggest part of the Yugoslavian inhabitants in the Netherlands arrived during the 1990's, still; small groups also arrived before 1970 and up to 1991. Year of migration have shown to be an important factor for the Yugoslavian immigrants in the Netherlands and their labour market success. It has been shown that the former Dutch Yugoslavs that have been in the Dutch society for a longer period of time also are the ones having the best labour market attachment and best economic integration.

If comparing the Yugoslavian respondents in Sweden, which have proven a poorer labour market success than to the Dutch Yugoslavian respondents, the average age is higher, 41 years. On the contrary to the Dutch Yugoslavs, the Swedish Yugoslavs are older since 50 % is below the age of 40 years. This suggests that there is a much bigger group that is near the age of retirement. The age variable have a clear effect on the Swedish former Yugoslavian immigrant's economic integration since the younger former Yugoslavs have better labour market attachment if compared to the elder ones. Swedish Yugoslavs are better well educated, in fact the best well educated among all the investigated groups. More than 50 % have upper secondary school education and more than 1/5 have university education. Yet again the educational level differs among men and women, where the Yugoslavian men are better educated than the women are. The educational variable has proven to have an effect on the Swedish former Yugoslavs' economic integration, given that the better well educated the better labour market success. Even though the largest part of the Swedish Yugoslavs arrived

during the 1990's, many also came much later to Sweden. Around 15, 5 % came before 1970 and more than 10 % during 1971-1980 and 7, 8 % during 1981-1990. Among the Swedish Yugoslavs there are many that arrived before the 1990's than if weighed against the Dutch Yugoslavs. Year of migration have an effect on the Swedish former Yugoslavs because immigrant arriving earlier have better labour market attachment than those that are newly arrives or have arrived during the later years.

The Dutch Somali respondents have proven to have the weakest labour market attachment. The average age, for the Dutch Somalis is 34, 8 % which is much lower if contrasted to both the Dutch and the Swedish Yugoslavs. Only 17, 5 % is above 50 years old while more than 80 % is below the age of 40. The Dutch Somali respondent is a very young immigrant group in the Dutch society at least if comparing to the former Yugoslavs. The variable age have an effect on the Dutch Somali immigrates economic integration even though the connection is not as strong as for the other investigated groups. In regard to the education level, more than 70 % have finished elementary school, around 21, 7 % have finished upper secondary school and only 7, 5 % a university education. The Dutch Somalis have, therefore, proven to be the ones with the poorest degree of education, especially the women. The educational level has proven to have an effect on the Dutch Somalis' economic integration since the higher degree of education they have the better labour market attachment. More than 85 % of the Dutch Somali came during 1991-2003 while around 13 % arrived during the 80's and less than 2 % came before 1980. There are many similarities with the Dutch Somali and the Swedish Somali respondents. The average age is exactly the same, that is, 34, 8 years and more than 80 % is below the age of 40. The Swedish Somalis is pretty well educated at least when comparing to the Dutch Somalis. Little less than half have upper secondary school and almost 19 % have as minimum finished university/college education. Similarly to the Dutch Somalis, the Swedish Somalis are also affected by the educational level to a great extent. The majority of the Swedish Somalis came during 1991-2003 as all the other investigated groups. Almost no one came before 1981, around 15 % came during the 1980's and 85 % during the 1990's. It is proven that year of migration have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration. The Swedish Somalis have stronger labour market attachment if migrating in the years of 1970-1990 than if arriving after 1990.

6. Discussion & Conclusion

The first question posed in this study was first and foremost for the purpose of answering why the chosen immigrant groups migrated, but also with the function of finding relevant background information and specific characteristics on the investigated immigrant groups. Somalia as a country has had a long history of a political chaos led by different clan based military actions and dictatorships. Even though the internal turbulence and corrupt politicians coloured Somalia for many years and produced many internal displaced refugees, it was not until the beginning of 1990's when the civil war erupted that the Somalis started to migrate to Western Europe and to Sweden and the Netherlands. Despite interventions of the UN from 1992 until around 1995 and peace negotiating during the whole 1990's until today, the people of Somalia are still experiencing chaos, disorder and anarchy.

In contrast to the people of Somalia, the former Yugoslavs started to migrate to Sweden and to the Netherlands in a much earlier stage. During the 60's and 70's, due to bad economic conditions in the different sub republic of former Yugoslavia and because of the growing industries and the labour market demand in Sweden and in the Netherlands, many Yugoslavians moved as labour migrants with the purpose of returning home after a couple of years. However, even if many of the labour migrants actually did return, many labour migrants also stayed. Nonetheless, the majority of the Yugoslavian immigrants came to Sweden and the Netherlands during the 90's when Yugoslavia started to fall apart. In the beginning of 1990's, the sub republics of former Yugoslavia, declared themselves as independent states one by one starting with Slovenia and Croatia in June 1991. Milosovic, the leader of Serbia wanted a unified Yugoslavia and civil war broke out producing a lot of refugees. During the whole 1990's there were military actions and civil war in different parts of former Yugoslavia resulting in that many had to flee their country in order to survive. Consequently, the majority of the Yugoslavian immigrants arrived to Sweden and the Netherlands in the beginning of the 1990's, due to the civil war in former Yugoslavia.

Accordingly, both Sweden and the Netherlands have experienced immigration especially in the 90's due to the numerous conflicts in the world that produced a large amount of refugees and both countries have developed immigration and integration policies in response for the purpose of taking control over the immigration- and the integration- process of foreign born people. As mentioned in the introduction, many academics believes that the integration process of immigrants is a big political failure in both Sweden and in the Netherlands, since there are big differences in the labour market success of foreign born when comparing to

natives. In order to find out how the economic integration looks like for the chosen immigrants groups in the compared countries, a statistical and quantitative method was used.

The second question in this study was therefore posed in order to find out how the economic integration looks like for the chosen immigrants. In other words, do the Somalis and the former Yugoslavs have a positive labour market attachment in Sweden and in the Netherlands and are there any differences between the groups and across the countries. As presented in the first part of the analysis above, the former Yugoslavs in the Netherlands have the best labour market attachment and especially the men, while the Somali immigrants in the Netherlands have the weakest labour market attachment, especially the women. The Yugoslavs in Sweden show a poorer labour market attachment than the Dutch Yugoslavs while the Swedish Somalis show the most positive labour market attachment out of the two Somali groups. In total, the Yugoslavian groups have a more positive labour market attachment than the Somali groups.

In order to explain or at least partly explain why the immigrants' labour market attachment looks this way, the human capital theory and the social capital theory together with institutional factors of the two compared countries was presented. The human capital theory put forward certain skills, qualifications and demographic characteristics that are important factors on how well an immigrant is economically integrated into the host countries labour market. The social capital theory focuses on social networks and social relations and how these relations affect the individual's economic integration. The institutional factors rely upon how the host countries immigration policies and integration policies affects the immigrants' possibilities to, at one hand reach their destination and at the other hand to integrate into the new host society and into the labour market.

In order to find out if human capital factors and specific demographic characteristics have an affect or can explain the investigated immigrants' labour market attachment; variables such as age, education, and year of migration was evaluated and will answer the third question posed in this study.

First, the variable age was observed. Age is an important variable to examine and can provide a lot of information, for example, about the available working force. According to the human capital theory, motivation, ambition and adaptability are important factors on how well the immigrants' will economically integrate into the host society labour market. These factors can be affected and dependent by age. If an immigrant group has a very low average age, it is believed that they will have greater motivation, ambitions and easier to adapt than an immigrant group that have a high average age. Similarly, a young immigrant group will be able to work or can work in a near future while an elderly immigrant group will find it harder

to economically integrate. On the other hand, an immigrant group with a high average age has often education, proficiencies, qualifications and professional working skills that a young immigrant group might lack. However, if these skills and qualifications not are transferable into the new host country's labour market it will certainly affect the immigrants' employment rate. Among the investigated Yugoslavian immigrant groups, it is shown that the former Swedish Yugoslavs have the highest average age and a majority below the age of 40 years old but they also have the weakest labour market attachment when compared to the former Dutch Yugoslavs. The Somali groups have much lower average age and a great majority (80 %) below the age of 40 years old when compared to the former Yugoslavian groups. There are almost no differences between the Somali groups concerning age even though the Dutch Somali group have much weaker labour market attachment when compared to the Swedish Somalis. The immigrants' age, evidently, have proven to affect the economic integration of the investigated immigrants. The Yugoslavian groups are better economically integrated even though they have a higher average age and generally are older compared to the Somalis immigrant group, therefore, it is not true that younger an immigrants have better labour market attachment do the individual have. Rather it is evident that immigrants by all ethnic groups belonging to the category of 25-40 years old are better labour attached. However, the major part of the investigated Somali immigrants belongs to the younger age group and for this reason, age can not explain the why the Somali groups have weaker labour market attachment.

Second, education is another important human capital factor that was interesting to examine. The Dutch Yugoslavs have the best labour market attachment and surprisingly are not the ones with the highest levels of education. The Swedish Yugoslavs have the highest educational levels. The Dutch Somali group has shown the poorest labour market attachment and has also the poorest educational levels of all investigated groups while the Somali group in Sweden is much better educated and correspondingly is better economically integrated than the Dutch Somali. Accordingly, it is evident that the education level is an important factor and has an effect on immigrants' labour market attachment. For all immigrant groups the sentence; the higher educational level the better labour market attachment is true and is an important factor when explaining the different degrees of economic integration for the investigated immigrants.

Third, year of migration is also a significant factor when further looking at explanations of economic integration. According to the human capital theory, it is argued that an immigrant that has been in the host country for many years is more able than an immigrant who is newly

arrived to succeed on the labour market. In other words, the longer an immigrant has been in the new country the greater are the labour market attachment since the immigrant has learned country specific skills. The Somali groups are pretty newly arrived since more than 85 % arrived during 1990-2003 while the former Yugoslavs as a group have been in the host countries for a longer period of time. These results are in accordance with the human capital theory. However, among the Swedish Yugoslavs, there are many more that arrived earlier if compared to the former Dutch Yugoslavs despite the fact that the Dutch have a better labour market attachment than the former Swedish Yugoslavs. Year of migration have an effect on the immigrants' labour market success. That is, the longer the investigated immigrants have been in the host country the better labour market attachment do they have. However, the Somali groups are more affected by this factor than the former Yugoslavs mostly because there are very small amounts of Somali migrating to Sweden and the Netherlands during 1970-1980 if compared to the former Yugoslavians.

Social capital factors are also important to take into consideration before drawing any major conclusion on why the immigrants' economic integration looks in a specific way. The social capital theory argues that it is social structures that are determinants for economic integration success. Norms, values and class are examples of social structures that can influence an individual's economic choice and can force or disrupt an immigrant's economic integration. The majority of the Somali immigrant groups can be found in the segregated areas in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. In such segregated areas the Somali immigrants have access to a Somali social network in which they can get support, safety and different kinds of services in everyday situations. Since tradition and certain values are of great importance for an individual in Somali, the Somali immigrant can feel a specific pressure to show solidarity to the Somali group or behave in accordance with the larger group's beliefs and values. As mentioned before, the Somalis' difficulties to become integrated into the new host-societies can probably to a great extent depend on that the Somali norms, values, traditions, culture, religion and way of life is very different from the Swedish and Dutch societies and might hold back the Somalis in their way to successful economic integration. This might be true especially when it comes to the Somali women that have shown the weakest labour market attachment, which traditionally in Somalia are expected by the majority society to stay home with the children. Given that the Somali are coming from a nomadic culture, during many years have been characterised by violence and chaos in contrast to how people live in the west, it is not strange that the Somali immigrants find it harder to economically integrate. The

Somali immigrants are surely having the most difficulties to economically integrate when comparing to other immigrant groups in both Sweden and in the Netherlands.

The former Yugoslavs do not have so many dissimilarities in their way of life when compared to the western lifestyle as the Somali immigrants have and might therefore find it easier to integrate in the Swedish and Dutch societies. Specific traditions and cultures are certainly affecting the former Yugoslavian immigrants but maybe not to the great extent that the Somali group. On the other hand, the former Yugoslavians have formed many social networks and congregations in both Sweden and in the Netherlands. The networks can provide the Yugoslavian immigrants with support and help to, for example, find work, a place to live and to get help with everyday situations. The Yugoslavian congregations in both Sweden and the Netherlands are often divided by ethnic group and can often provide newspaper in the immigrants own language, education for children in their home language, and specific traditional and cultural gatherings. Since the networks often are big and national they can also often provide newly arrived immigrant to get in touch with working connections which makes it easier for a successive labour market attachment.

Consequently, both human capital factors and social capital factors can influence the economic integration of foreign born people; however, it is not only the specific characteristics and social relations and networks that can have an affect on how well an immigrant can succeed on the labour market. As a response to immigration the hosts countries have develop specific institutional policies and rules which can either support or hinder the immigrants' economic integration. For the purpose of answering the fourth question in this study, the Swedish and the Dutch immigration and integration policies was examined. The Netherlands and Sweden are both well-organised welfare states and have shared a large number of similarities when developing migration and integration policies. As a reply to immigration, both countries have developed multiculturalism which has during the years turned out by underlining socio-economic integration. The development of migration and integration policies in both the Netherlands and in Sweden is connected to conditions that affect the welfare states. For these reason, the subject on whether or not there are any differences between Swedish and Dutch immigration and integration politics that could contribute to either a positive or negative economic integration outcome will be discussed.

First, both Sweden and the Netherlands were from the beginning emigration countries and did not develop any migration policies that should regulate the immigration. Nonetheless, in the late 1960's and in the beginning of 1970's due to worse economic conditions and unexpected challenges; such as how to deal with the integration process of the immigrants

that stayed turned up on the agenda. In order to regulate or put an end to the immigration both Sweden and the Netherlands developed different control mechanisms such as work permits and residence permits and later also visas. Due to the stricter migration policies the character of migration changed from labour migration to only family migration and refugees. The difference between Sweden and the Netherlands when it comes to the developing of migration policies the Dutch state had to accept immigration from people from the former colonies of Surinam and the Dutch Antilles, from around 1945 when the Netherlands experienced a decolonisation process, while Sweden almost could put a halt to the immigration. In the 1980's and especially the 1990's a great amount of asylum seekers entered the borders. Both Sweden and the Netherlands recognised asylum seekers by the Geneva Convention and quota refugees that were agreed upon with the UNHCR. Due to the heavy increase of the asylum applications and an enormous pressure to handle all the refugees both the states of Sweden and the Netherlands realised that something had to be done in order solve the problems of the unwanted non-integrated immigrants. Consequently, there are no major visible differences in the developments of the Swedish and the Dutch migration policies.

Second, in terms of integration, both Sweden and the Netherlands have developed multiculturalism as a response to immigration which in the later years has been high lightened by socio-economic integration. The response to immigration during the late 1970's and in the 1980's was multiculturalism, both in Sweden and in the Netherlands, using the main idea of integrating foreign born while preserving cultural pluralism. In other words, immigrants should enjoy the same rights and obligations as natives but with the right to practise their own culture and traditions. However, during the 90's with the countries developed different integration policies, with the purpose of aiming more at social and economic integration. The immigrants' situation on the labour market as well as the Swedish and Dutch language skills became the main issue when talking about immigrant integration. Accordingly, both Sweden and the Netherlands have had the same kinds of politics concerning immigrant integration.

Third, in both countries, immigrant integration has been seen as a political failure in view of the fact that many foreign born persons still are unemployed or living at social allowance. As a result, from the late 90's and beginning of 2000 new integration policies started to develop. In Sweden, the Government's goal is to reach an employment rate of 80 % for both immigrant and natives on the Swedish labour market. Investments have therefore been made to economically integrate immigrants and to make discrimination visible. In the Netherlands, the investments is placed on that the immigrants themselves henceforth must take more responsibility for their integration trough a method that forces every person that want to stay

in the Netherlands on permanent conditions must learn Dutch language and customs. Immigrant will have an obligation to take an integration test where the immigrant first must educate themselves in order to get the specific knowledge needed in order to pass. However, these recent developments and differences between the Swedish and the Dutch integration policies have not affected the immigrants in this investigation and can therefore not be considered to have any contribution to either a positive or negative economic integration outcome. Accordingly, the Dutch and Swedish integration policies show no visible differences that can have an effect on the investigated immigrants failing or successive economic integration.

In both Sweden and in the Netherlands some academics believe that there have been big political failures when it comes to immigrant economic integration. The immigrants have experienced unemployment and difficulties on the host countries labour markets and many have given up in the search for work and are only living on social allowance. Many studies confirm immigrants' weak labour market attachment and explanations for their failure on the labour market when compared to natives. The aim of this paper was to investigate the migration and the economic integration for two immigration groups in two countries. For the purpose of finding various explanations for failing economic integration among immigrant, the first object was to describe the migration and the economic integration for the Somali and former Yugoslavian immigrants in both Sweden and in Sweden. The second object was to analyse factors that can explain or have an effect on the immigrants' labour market situation and the third object was to investigate institutional factors that can contribute to either positive or negative immigrant economic integration.

Finally, it was found that the investigated Yugoslavian group had the strongest labour market attachment if compared to the examined Somali groups. The best labour market attachment had the Yugoslavian immigrants living in the Netherlands, especially the men, while the Swedish Yugoslavs had lower rates of positive economic integration. The best labour market attachment, out of the examined Somalis, had the Swedish Somalis while the Dutch Somalis have shown weaker labour market attachment. It was also found that the women have a much lower labour market attachment rate than if compared to men. For the purpose to a certain extent explain why the immigrants' labour market situation looks this way, variables such as age, education and migration year was examined. It was found that especially the relation between the degrees of education and the result of the immigrants' labour market attachment has an effect on the immigrant economic integration. The relation between the variable age and the immigrant labour market success show a weaker connection

even if it is true that the younger age group of 25-40 have better labour market success, this variable can not alone explain the differences between the groups. The year of migration show connection with the immigrants' labour market success, since immigrants arriving early have better labour market success than those arriving later. In view of the fact that the majority of the immigrants in this study arrived during the 90's, especially the Somali groups, it is clear that year of migration affects the immigrant economic integration. Consequently, there is a connection between the variables tested in this study that can partly explain why there are so great differences between the immigrants labour market success. However, it has to be mentioned that the reason for why the immigrants' economic integration look in a certain way can not alone be explain by the variables tested in this study nor by the literature examination made, but must rather be explained by many different aspects. The migration and integration policies developed by the Netherlands and by Sweden have shown similarities and not unlikeness, therefore, the policies are not believed to have any direct impact on how the immigrants' labour market success looks like. The examination of the Dutch and the Swedish immigration and integration policies could, however, be done in a much deeper level, for the purpose of finding differences that have not been visible in this study and that actually could have an effect on the immigrants' labour market attachment. Other factors such as different characteristics of the immigrants and specific traditions, religion and culture or social relations is suggested to have an effect on the immigrants' economic integration, however, since not tested these factors are not to be proven. The issue of direct or indirect discrimination is another factor that also must be evaluated and taken into consideration when discussing possible explanation for failing integration.

For the purpose of finding explanation for failing integration in specific host countries, paper similar to this one is necessary. For the same reason, this paper is important, meaningful and useful. This paper, once more proves that much more has to be done within the area of immigrant economic integration. It is in everybody interest; especially for the best interest of the welfare state to take action in the subject of immigrant economic integration. Since, international migration is growing at present time and the problems of unwanted immigration and failing immigrant integration is a fact in western welfare state the issue must be discussed and evaluated. The western welfare states must take action but most importantly take their responsibility when it comes to the integration of immigrants. Questions and issues that must be discussed are on national, regional and international levels are; how international migration in the future can be seen as a positive aspects and how immigrants easily can be incorporated or function in a new society without being seen as a burden.

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