

CHAPTER 3

IN THE PICTURE – RESETTLED REFUGEES IN SWEDEN

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Introduction

In 2007, over 1.2 million Swedish people (13.4% of the population) were born abroad. Almost one hundred thousand immigrants moved to Sweden in this year resulting in a net migration of 54,067 individuals, the highest number of the post World War period. Most immigrants (almost 29,000 individuals) came to Sweden to reunite with family members. In this same year slightly more than 18,000 people received asylum. Of these 18,000 1,845 were so-called resettled refugees. Most of these resettled refugees were from Iraq but Burma, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Colombia and Ethiopia were also represented. Over the past two decades, Sweden has resettled over 37,000 refugees, a process carried out in close cooperation with the United Nations Commission for Refugees UNHCR.

As described in chapter 1 of this book, in spite of the high political interest generated by resettled refugees, in Sweden and internationally, limited knowledge is available on their labour market integration relative to other immigrant admission categories. Hence, the main idea with this chapter is to map the demographic, educational and geographic variation among resettled refugees in Sweden in relation to other refugees and relatives of refugees and/or immigrants. Moreover, it will provide a descriptive analysis of the employment attachment of resettled refugees relative to other classifications for the year 2007.

The data used in this chapter is derived from individual registers held by Statistics Sweden for the year 2007. The main register used is STATIV, the statistical integration database. This database includes among other factors, demographic, geographic and socio-economic information for each individual. In the case of immigrants, immigrant-specific information such as country of birth, citizenship, years since obtaining residence permit, admission category or admission status, and years in asylum are incorporated in the database.

In most studies the concept of “refugee” has an operational meaning larger than its strictly juridical sense. It includes all immigrants from refugee countries, irrespective of whether they have refugee status or residence permits based on humanitarian reasons or family reunion. In this study we have admission permit information for all immigrants who arrived after 1987. This information allows us to distinguish between:

1. individuals directly resettled from (primarily UNHCR) refugee camps in different parts of the world – resettled refugees
2. individuals who seek asylum at the Swedish border and subsequently obtain residence permit - refugees
3. individuals who are relatives of refugees and immigrants – relatives
4. individuals who moved to Sweden to obtain employment or for educational reasons, adoptees, and a rest group.¹³

Table 3.1 shows the total number of immigrants in 2007 by admission category. It is clear that nearly 50 percent of all immigrants to Sweden obtained a residence permit through family reunion. 40 percent received asylum and only 5 percent came for labour market reasons. Nearly 10 percent of all refugees came to Sweden as resettled refugees.

¹³ It is the first three categories that are primarily used in the description in latter sections.

Table 3.1, Number and percentage of individuals by admission category, 2007¹⁴.

Resettles refugees	29,637	4
Refugees	232,358	36
Relatives	315,601	49
Labour migrants	32,025	5
Guest students	14,710	3
Other	8,142	1
Adoptees	14,463	2
Total	646,936	100

Source: Stativ, SCB

Since table 3.1 indicates only limited numbers in the admission categories of labour migrants, guest students, other, and adoptees, the following statistical analysis will focus on comparing the situation of resettled refugees in Sweden with refugees and relatives.

The chapter starts with a background including a short overview of Sweden's migration history and some facts and figures related to refugees and asylum in a Swedish context. After this we describe the variation in demographic, geographic and educational aspects of the resettled refugees compared to other refugees and immigrants. The following part of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of the employment integration of resettled refugees relative to other refugees and immigrants. The chapter ends with a summary and some concluding remarks.

Immigration

After the Second World War, most refugees from neighbouring countries who had fled to Sweden during the war returned home or left for new destinations. The Swedish population at that time appeared to be homogeneously native and ethnically Swedish. However, the massive immigration of the post-war period changed the composition of the Swedish population once and for all. As we have said, in 2007, about 13 percent of the total population consisted of immigrants. About one fourth of this immigrant

¹⁴ All immigrants since 1987 and resident in Sweden in 2007.

population was of Nordic origin, one third from other European countries, and the rest from non-European countries.

Post-war immigration to Sweden came about in two waves. In the 1940s, 50s and 60s immigration from Nordic and other European countries was a response to excess demand for labour due to the rapid industrial and economic growth of that time. Organized recruitment of foreign labour and a general liberalization of immigration policy facilitated movement to Sweden. The lower rate of economic growth and increased unemployment in the early 1970s diminished the demand for foreign labour. As a consequence, migration policy became harsher (Castles and Miller 2003). Labour immigration from non-Nordic countries ceased in the 1970s while the number of labour immigrants from other Nordic countries also decreased gradually. Since the early 1970s, refugees and tied-movers have dominated the migration inflow, coming primarily from Eastern Europe and non-European parts of the world (see Table 3.2 for an overview of the change in stock of immigrants by country of birth in Sweden for 1960-2005).

Table 3.2 Stock of Native Born and Selected Groups of Immigrants (foreign born) 1960-2005.
(Absolute numbers)

Country/Year	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005
Sweden	7,195,250	7,539,318	7,690,282	7,800,185	7,878,994	7,921,890
Denmark	35,112	39,152	43,501	43,931	38,190	42,598
Finland	101,307	235,453	251,342	217,636	195,447	183,675
Norway	37,253	44,681	42,863	52,744	42,464	44,852
Germany	37,580	41,793	38,696	36,558	38,155	41,578
Greece	266	11,835	15,153	13,171	10,851	10,744
USA	10,874	12,646	11,980	13,001	14,413	15,518
Italy	4,904	7,268	6,062	5,989	6,337	6,596
F.Yugoslavia	1,532	33,779	37,982	43,346	131,772	74,023
Bosnia- Herzegovina	-	-	-	-	-	54,800
Turkey	202	3,768	14,357	25,528	31,894	35,844
Chile	69	181	8,256	27,635	26,842	27,811
Poland	6,347	10,851	19,967	35,631	40,123	46,177
Czechoslovakia	3,562	7,392	7,529	8,432	7,304	6,608
Ethiopia	59	346	1,797	10,027	11,907	11,214
Vietnam	1	195	1,602	6,265	10,898	12,352
Iran	115	411	3,348	40,084	51,101	54,417
Iraq	16	108	631	9,818	49,372	72,531

Source: Statistics Sweden

In the 1970s, the major contributors to the immigrant population in Sweden were refugees from Chile, Poland and Turkey. In the 1980s, the lion's share of this new immigration came from Chile, Ethiopia, Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. Individuals from Iraq, former Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe countries dominated the 1990s. These countries continued to dominate immigration to Sweden in the first five years of the new millennium. Iraqi refugees and immigrants from Poland and Denmark are now coming in increasing numbers. Relatively liberal asylum rules could explain the comparatively high number of Iraqis seeking asylum in Sweden. The entry of Poland into the EU is the main reason for the movement of Poles. The increase of Danes in Sweden has a more local explanation and is mainly due to lower real estate prices in the Malmö region (Sweden) compared to Copenhagen (Denmark). The construction of the bridge connecting Malmö and Copenhagen, in 2000, has also made commuting easier thus encouraging migration.

Asylum and Admission

Like many other countries, Swedish refugee policy is based on the UN Geneva Convention of 1951 (which Sweden signed in 1954), established in the Swedish Alien Act of 2005 (Law 2005:716). According to this act (which has been amended and reinterpreted considerably), Sweden may give asylum to one category of refugees only, so called *convention refugees*. These are individuals who are either stateless or outside the country of their nationality or former habitual residence, and who have a well grounded fear of persecution in that country due to their race, nationality, membership of a particular social group, religious beliefs or political opinion. These refugees have entered Sweden individually, applied for asylum and subsequently obtained a residence permit. Outside this act, Sweden obviously cooperates with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR, and admits its share of *resettled refugees*. In contrast to convention refugees, the resettled refugees are individuals who often come directly from a refugee camp and who have not individually entered the country. The size of the quota is decided annually by the Swedish government in agreement with UNHCR.

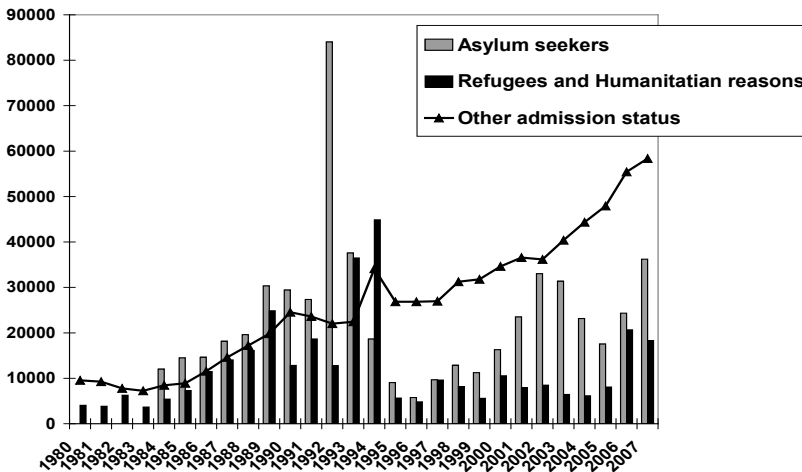
Over time the Swedish legislation has been interpreted in a wider sense than the original Geneva Convention, creating an established practice that has enabled other refugees beyond convention and resettled refugees to obtain permanent residence in Sweden. If they are unable to receive asylum according to the restricted interpretation of the Geneva Convention, asylum seekers could be granted refuge as so called *de facto refugees* or as *war-rejecters*. De facto refugees are individuals who can cite political conditions or other circumstances in their country of origin that weigh heavily in support for claiming asylum. War-rejecters are individuals who have fled war or impending military service. Both these categories were codified in 1976. Since 1997 a new category has been created called “refugees in need of sanctuary,” encompassing individuals with “refugee-like” reasons, such as mass flight situations due to environmental catastrophes or civil war, as well as individuals who fear risk of persecution due to their gender or sexuality. Individuals can also obtain a permanent residence for *humanitarian reasons*¹⁵, for example a state of war in their home country. In addition, the Swedish government may grant *temporary protection* to individuals.

More specific data on the admission status of refugees and the number of asylum seekers in Sweden has become available from the early 1980s. At this time countries in Western Europe started to observe an increase in asylum seekers and, at the same time, were faced with few and mainly unreliable statistical sources about the actual numbers. In figure 3.1 the relative proportions of asylum seekers, refugees, and other types of admission status (tied movers, labour migrants, guest students, EU/EES nationals, and adoptees) are shown. From the figure a clear connection between the number of asylum seekers and the number that are granted refugee status can be established with a lag time of one to two years. Like other European countries, Sweden has seen an increase in the number of asylum seekers during the second half of the 1980s. However, if it were not for the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and the subsequent increase in asylum seekers all over Europe during 1992 and 1993 (see also table 3.2), the number of refugees would have

15 From 31st of March 2006 *particularily distressing circumstances*.

decreased up until 1996. At this point the number increases again from 1997 to 2002. A drop is visible for the years 2003 to 2005 after which it increases once more in 2006 and 2007. In connection to figure 3.1, table 3.2 shows that approximately one third of all immigrants since 1980 are refugees and that over 50 percent of all accepted asylum seekers owe their acceptance to humanitarian reasons. The table also suggests that the number of convention refugees is rather stable over time. However, the number that gained asylum as de facto refugees decreased in real numbers while the number in need of protection increased in the analysed period.

Figure 3.1 Asylum seekers, Refugees and Humanitarian reasons and immigrants with other admission status, 1980-2007. (Absolute numbers).



Source: The Swedish Migration Board, <http://www.migrationsverket.se/pdf/filer/statistik/>

Figure 3.1 also indicates that over time non-refugee immigration also increased. This was mainly due to family reunification. Almost 50 percent of all non-Nordic immigrants who gained a residence permit in Sweden between 1980 and 2007 (see also table 3.3) were of this category. To some extent, this increase could be due to the entrance of Sweden into the EES/EU in 1994/1995 (see also table 3.3). Guest students increased as well in the studied period.

Table 3.3, Residence permits by admission category, 1980 - 2007. (Absolute numbers).

Year	1980-1990	1991-1995	1996-2001	2002-2007	1980-2007
Total	248,855	247,466	234,707	350,752	1,081,780
Refugees	109,951	118,453	46,705	68,122	343,231
- <i>by category</i>					
- <i>UN quota (resettled)</i>	5,947*	15,458	7,072	8,540	37,017
- <i>UN convention</i>	11,270*	3,977	4,002	4,541	23,790
- <i>war-rejecters</i>	2,999*	49	- ^a	-	3,036
- <i>de facto refugees</i>	21,351*	14,724	1,651 ^a	-	37,726
- <i>in need of protection</i>	-	-	4,496	17,340	21,836
- <i>human. grounds</i>	30,213	84,257	29,484	23,464	167,418
- <i>Other</i>	-	-	-	14,237	14,237
Tied movers	119,218	106,370	128,444	146,787	500,819
Labour migrants	4,896	965	2,288	2,116	10,291
Guest students	7,005	6,403	16,676	39,203	69,287
Adoption	7,785	4,560	4,818	4,444	21,607
EU/EES	-	10,689 [#]	35,776	90,080	136,545

Source: The Swedish Migration Board, <http://www.migrationsverket.se/pdf/ffiler/statistik/>

* Since 1987. ^a Since 1997 in category *in need of protection*. [#] Since 1994. ~ Deportation impediments (2007) and Amnesty for children and families (2005-2007).

Almost 400,000 individuals sought asylum in Sweden between 1984 and 2007. 33 percent of them originated from the former Yugoslavia, 8 percent from Iran and 14 percent from Iraq. These countries are the main contributors to the total numbers of asylum seekers during the years 1984-2007. Asylum seekers from Chile, Iran, Lebanon and Ethiopia dominated in the period 1984-1990. Individuals from Yugoslavia and Iraq have the highest percentages among asylum seekers in the subsequent periods, 1991-1995 and 1996-2001 while Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia are the countries that have the highest numbers of asylum seekers in 2002-2007. For the year 2007 almost half of the total number of asylum seekers, 48 percent, obtained a residence permit. For the period 1991-2007 this is 55 percent (Bevelander 2010).

Size and composition

Table 3.1 showed the size of the immigrant population by admission category. The following table (3.4) depicts the number of individuals by admission category and sex for the major resettled refugee groups in 2007.¹⁶ Bosnian refugees in general as well as those who are classified as resettled refugees came mainly during the civil war in the 1990s. Iraqi refugees have been coming to Sweden for the last 20 years, due to several wars as well as internal conflicts between ethnic and religious groups. Iranian refugees came to Sweden in large numbers during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s due to repression by the Islamic regime. The Iranian population in Sweden consists of guest students, war refugees, ethnic refugees (Kurds) and relatives (Eyrumlu 1997). Vietnamese immigrants came mainly during the 1970s, after the Viet Nam War and during the establishment of a communist regime.

The age distributions for natives and resettled refugees, for the four selected immigrant countries and other countries together for the year 2007, are depicted in figures 3.2 to 3.7. For natives the age pyramid demonstrates the characteristics of a developed country, having fairly stable age groups of similar size. In contrast, the age pyramids for the resettled refugees instead show a more circular

¹⁶ The immigrant group has to consist of more than 2,000 resettled individuals.

shape. This circular age distribution shape is in general characteristic of refugee groups which tend to include children and individuals in older ages as well as a majority of working age. The age distribution of labour migrant groups shows a diamond shape with few children and older individuals but with a clear majority in the “migrant” ages, 20-40.

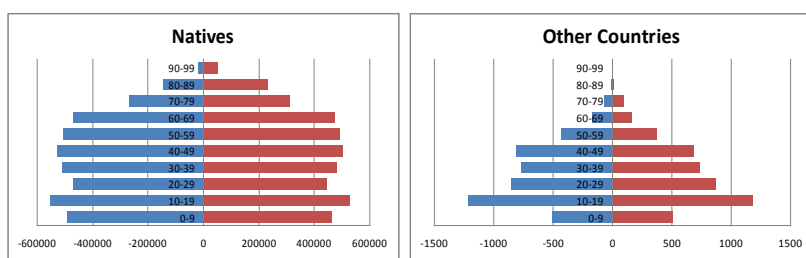
Table 3.4, Number of individuals, selected countries by sex and admission category, 2007¹⁷.

	Males			Females		
	Resettled refugees	Refugees	Relatives	Resettled refugees	Refugees	Relatives
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	3,027	19,588	4,181	3,340	18,680	5,551
<i>Iraq</i>	3,987	32,076	14,114	2,645	15,050	22,505
<i>Iran</i>	2,940	12,136	5,411	1,842	8,336	10,785
<i>Vietnam</i>	1,369	276	1,588	1,005	307	2,916
<i>Other countries*</i>	4,846	68,750	100,508	4,636	57,159	148,042
<i>Total</i>	16,169	132,826	125,802	13,468	99,532	189,799

Source: Stativ, SCB

* Other countries contributing resettled refugees are: Afghanistan (1,350), Colombia (1,013), Yugoslavia (807) and Myanmar (595).

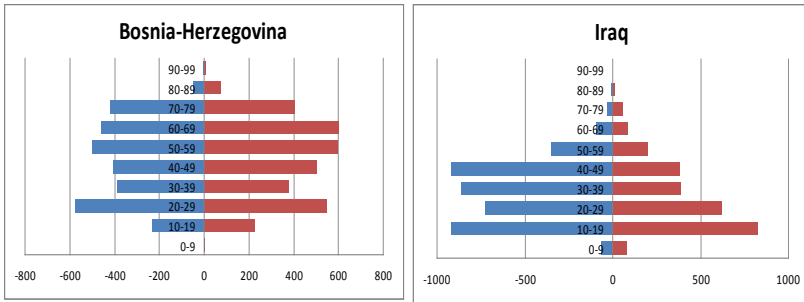
Figure 3.2 and 3.3, Demographic composition, natives and other countries (resettled refugees), 2007.



Source: Stativ, SCB

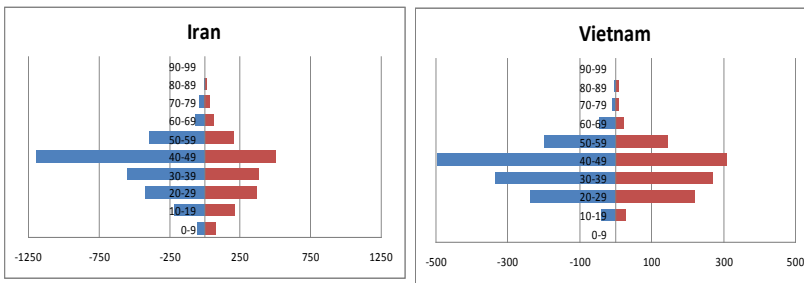
17 The selected countries have the largest number of resettled refugees in Sweden.

Figure 3.4 and 3.5, Demographic composition, resettled refugees, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, 2007.



Source: Stativ, SCB

Figure 3.6 and 3.7, Demographic composition, resettled refugees, Iran and Vietnam, 2007.



Source: Stativ, SCB

In table 3.5 the marital status of natives, immigrants from the selected groups, and immigrants from other countries are shown. In general the immigrant groups have a higher percentage of married individuals and a lower percentage of unmarried individuals compared to natives. Only the Bosnia-Herzegovina group (both resettled and relatives) has a higher percentage of widowed persons than the native group. It is this immigrant group that, relative to the other groups, has a high number of individuals in the older age groups normally associated with widowhood (see figure 3.4).

Table 3.5, Marital status, Swedes, selected countries and admission category, 2007 (percentage)¹⁸.

		Not married	Married	Divorced	Widow
<i>Sweden</i>		42	40	11	7
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	26	60	6	8
	<i>Refugees</i>	34	56	8	3
	<i>Relatives</i>	20	60	12	9
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	39	49	10	2
	<i>Refugees</i>	30	59	9	2
	<i>Relatives</i>	29	62	8	1
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	27	54	18	1
	<i>Refugees</i>	32	45	21	2
	<i>Relatives</i>	20	54	22	4
<i>Vietnam</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	25	39	35	1
	<i>Refugees</i>	27	52	17	4
	<i>Relatives</i>	25	51	23	1
<i>Other countries</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	42	48	7	3
	<i>Refugees</i>	34	50	14	2
	<i>Relatives</i>	30	52	16	2

Source: Stativ, SCB

¹⁸ All 16 years of age or older.

The generally high divorce percentages that can be seen in the table for a number of groups are an indication of increased stress in family relations in the process of migration. Both immigrants from Vietnam and from Iran show high divorce rates. With the exception of Vietnamese resettled refugees, no substantial differences among resettled refugees, refugees or relatives of the same immigrant group are visible.

Educational level

A key component of labour market integration is the level of human capital the individual has achieved. Research suggests that the higher the level of education the easier it is to obtain employment and the faster an individual can obtain income levels comparable to natives. A comparison between natives and other groups by admission category shows Iranian refugees and relatives have a higher percentage of individuals with university degrees relative to natives and that Bosnian refugees and Iraqi refugees and relatives have comparable percentages of university education to natives. Immigrants from Vietnam, irrespective of admission category, have the lowest education level with basically fifty percent of the population having only primary education. For most groups the percentages with university degrees are lower than natives while the percentage with lower degrees is higher for resettled refugees compared to the other admission categories. (The exception here is resettled refugees from other countries.) The lower general educational level for resettled refugees is in line with the fact that the Swedish authorities do not select resettlement recipients by education.

Table 3.6, Educational level, Swedes, selected countries and admission category, 2007 (percentage)¹⁹.

	Primary	Secondary		University		Not available
		low	high	low	high	
<i>Sweden</i>	20	22	19	11	15	12
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>						
<i>Resettled refugees</i>	25	20	23	8	7	17
<i>Refugees</i>	21	20	30	12	13	4
<i>Relatives</i>	16	22	21	11	10	21
<i>Iraq</i>						
<i>Resettled refugees</i>	42	13	16	9	10	9
<i>Refugees</i>	30	11	12	13	19	16
<i>Relatives</i>	37	10	12	11	13	17
<i>Iran</i>						
<i>Resettled refugees</i>	33	19	18	10	12	9
<i>Refugees</i>	12	17	27	17	24	3
<i>Relatives</i>	14	14	23	15	23	10
<i>Vietnam</i>						
<i>Resettled refugees</i>	50	21	16	6	5	3
<i>Refugees</i>	43	28	12	6	6	5
<i>Relatives</i>	46	14	14	6	8	13
<i>Other countries</i>						
<i>Resettled refugees</i>	33	16	13	11	13	13
<i>Refugees</i>	32	18	20	10	12	8
<i>Relatives</i>	25	16	15	13	21	11

Source: Stativ, SCB

¹⁹ All 20 years of age or older.

Geographic variation

It is a well known fact in the migration literature that migrants tend to settle in larger cities and Sweden is no exception to this general rule. Moreover, certain immigrant groups have a propensity to concentrate in particular cities or even areas in cities (Duncan and Lieberson 1959). Both cultural as well as broader contextual factors have been brought forward to explain this phenomenon and different hypotheses argue whether this tendency helps or hinders integration. Asylum seekers in Sweden may live with family or friends while awaiting the decision on their case. A majority of those who eventually obtain a residence permit stay in the municipality of arrival and contribute to the concentration of their particular immigrant group. However, the resettlement of refugees in Sweden involves to a high degree smaller municipalities as well and it could be expected that a comparison by admission category would show substantial differences between admission category and municipality size.²⁰

Table 3.7 shows the percentages of immigrants living in the three largest cities in Sweden (Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö) and the rest of the municipalities (290) divided by population size. Individuals from Bosnia-Herzegovina are, compared to natives, overrepresented in Malmö and Gothenburg and underrepresented in Stockholm. No differences by admission category are visible. One important factor that might explain this situation is that Bosnian resettled refugees came mainly in the first half of the 1990s and over time have moved to other municipalities where relatively more individuals of the Bosnian immigrant group have settled. When scrutinizing the table, we see that Iraqi resettled refugees have a substantially lower share in Stockholm, but no difference is measured compared to the other admission categories for the cities of Gothenburg and Malmö. In general Iraqi refugees and relatives are overrepresented in the three big cities and in other large cities. If about 50 percent of all natives live in these cities, more than 75 percent of all Iraqi migrants do. Iranian resettled refugees tend to live in larger cities whereas refugees and relatives settle more in the three big cities. Also more than 75 percent of Iranian immigrants

²⁰ The comparison between admission category and municipality size shows where individuals lived in 2007.

Table 3.7, Municipality size, Sweden, selected countries and admission category, 2007 (percentage)²¹.

	Stock- holm	Gothen- burg	Malmö	Other large cities	Medium sized cities	Larger muni- cipalities	Smaller muni- cipalities	Rural area
<i>Sweden</i>	8	5	2	36	26	13	4	5
<i>Bosnia- Herzegovina</i>	4	9	10	34	27	12	3	1
	5	11	10	34	25	11	3	1
<i>Refugees</i>	6	13	11	34	24	9	3	1
<i>Relatives</i>	8	9	8	50	16	7	1	2
<i>Iraq</i>	16	10	8	46	14	4	1	1
<i>Refugees</i>	17	19	5	42	13	2	0	0
<i>Relatives</i>	10	12	3	51	17	5	1	1
<i>Iran</i>	17	20	6	41	14	2	1	0
<i>Refugees</i>	18	19	5	42	13	2	0	0
<i>Relatives</i>	3	7	6	36	31	9	8	1
<i>Vietnam</i>	3	13	15	32	23	9	5	0
<i>Refugees</i>	5	12	7	34	25	9	6	1
<i>Relatives</i>	4	4	3	40	24	13	4	10
<i>Other countries</i>	13	8	8	40	20	8	2	1
<i>Refugees</i>	18	9	7	38	17	7	2	2
<i>Relatives</i>								

Source: Stativ, SCB

²¹ All 20 years of age or older and see table 8.1 in chapter 8 for municipality division by population size.

have settled in larger or big cities in Sweden. The last selected group, immigrants from Vietnam, shows a more diversified settlement pattern. Relative to natives, a higher percentage of Vietnamese settle in Gothenburg and Malmö, but also in smaller municipalities. Finally, resettled refugees from all “other countries” together are clearly overrepresented in the rural area of Sweden.

Employment integration

This section of the chapter will focus on the employment integration of resettled refugees, refugees, and relatives compared to natives for the year 2007. It starts with an overview describing the employment and self-employment rates by admission category and sex. The next section is devoted to an examination of the employment levels of immigrants by intake class and sex and how they are affected by the human capital of the individuals. Finally, the section will determine whether immigrants who have lived more years in the country have higher employment rates than those with fewer years of residence.

Table 3.8 shows that no immigrant group reaches the employment level of native born males (84) and females (80) aged 20-64. The general level for resettled refugees in the same age group (52 percent for men and 43 percent for women) is substantially lower. For the refugee class, the employment rate is somewhat higher, 57 percent for males and 51 percent for women. Among relatives, the employment rate is 60 percent for males and 46 percent for females. When comparing male and female immigrant groups by intake we discover that, except for Iraqi immigrants and relatives from other countries, refugees have higher employment rates than both resettled refugees and relatives. So the statistics reveal that refugees who sought asylum at the border and who subsequently obtained a residence permit have somewhat better employment integration than resettled refugees and relatives of the same group. Women have lower employment rates compared to males for all groups and admission categories.

Table 3.8, Employment, Swedes, resettled refugees, refugees and relatives, by country, 2007 (percentage)²².

		Males	Females
<i>Sweden</i>		84	80
<i>Resettled refugees</i>		52	43
<i>Refugees</i>		57	51
<i>Relatives</i>		60	46
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	67	55
	<i>Refugees</i>	76	70
	<i>Relatives</i>	68	54
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	44	32
	<i>Refugees</i>	39	29
	<i>Relatives</i>	47	25
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	58	46
	<i>Refugees</i>	65	59
	<i>Relatives</i>	55	50
<i>Vietnam</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	61	57
	<i>Refugees</i>	77	65
	<i>Relatives</i>	59	47
<i>Other countries</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	40	33
	<i>Refugees</i>	60	50
	<i>Relatives</i>	63	50

Source: Stativ, SCB

As stated before, when settling into a new society, immigrants have a tendency to group together in certain geographical areas. Some research argues that this concentration of ethnic minorities and immigrants in specific areas reinforces ethnic community ties, protects them from social alienation and provides easier access to employment and social mobility (Wilson and Portes 1980). In the research on “immigrant entrepreneurship” geographic concentration and social connection to one’s own group are seen as productive resources and the more abundant these resources, the greater the entrepreneurship of a group (Light and Rosenstein 1995). Table 3.7 demonstrates a high concentration of Iraqis and Iranians irrespective of admission category in big and larger cities in Sweden. Not surprisingly table 3.9 shows

²² Age 20-64.

that both these groups have above native rates of self-employment for both males and females. Immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina do not have the same propensity to be self-employed. Less prominent concentration could explain these lower self-employment rates. In general (except for Vietnamese women), resettled refugees have lower self-employment rates than other admission categories.

Table 3.9, Self-employment of those employed, Swedes, resettled refugees, refugees and relatives, by country, 2007 (percentage)²³.

		Males	Females
		Only self-employed	Only self-employed
<i>Sweden</i>		9	4
<i>Resettled refugees</i>		8	3
<i>Refugees</i>		10	4
<i>Relatives</i>		10	6
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	2	1
	<i>Refugees</i>	4	2
	<i>Relatives</i>	3	2
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	12	4
	<i>Refugees</i>	14	6
	<i>Relatives</i>	11	7
<i>Iran</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	12	3
	<i>Refugees</i>	16	7
	<i>Relatives</i>	13	7
<i>Vietnam</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	10	11
	<i>Refugees</i>	10	8
	<i>Relatives</i>	7	8
<i>Other countries</i>	<i>Resettled refugees</i>	3	2
	<i>Refugees</i>	9	3
	<i>Relatives</i>	10	6

Source: Stativ, SCB

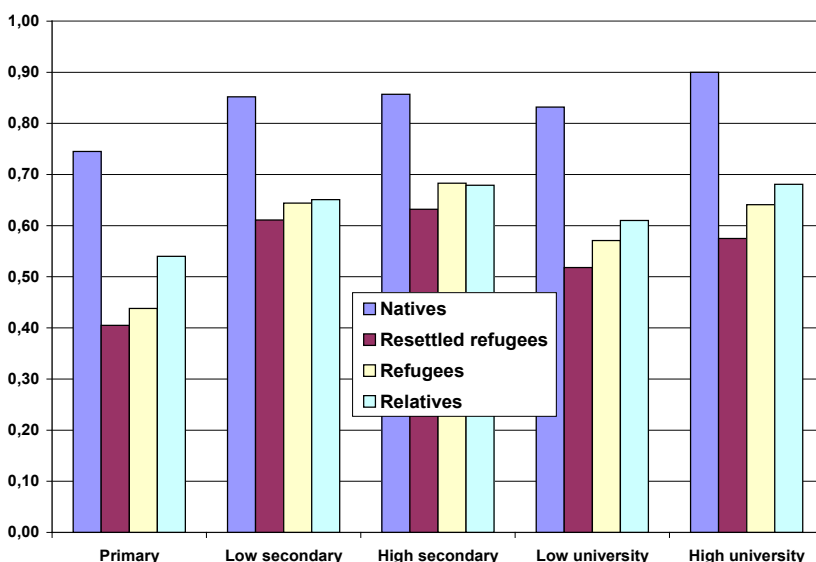
²³ Age 20-64.

Employment by educational level

In the migration and integration literature, the “selection” of human capital by either the migration policy of a country or by self-selection is an important factor in explaining the differences in labour market performance, i.e. employment integration, in a new country. In the following section, the relationship between human capital and employment is examined with the help of 10 figures (figure 3.8-3.17), which show the percentage employment for each educational level by intake class, group and sex.²⁴

Figure 3.8 reveals that the possession of a higher degree translates into an increase in employment level for both native-born and immigrant males. The exception is the lower university degree. However, the employment levels for resettled refugees, refugees and relatives are substantial lower than the level for natives in all educational categories. Differences by admission category show that resettled refugees have the lowest employment level in every educational category and relatives the highest. The figures 3.9-3.12 show the same relationships but calculated for selected immigrant groups.

Figure 3.8, Employment by educational level, Natives, Resettled refugees, Refugees and Relatives, age 20-64, males, (percent).



24 Source of figure 3.8 - 3.17, Stativ, SCB

Figure 3.9 and 3.10, Employment by educational level, Natives, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, age 20-64, males, (percent).

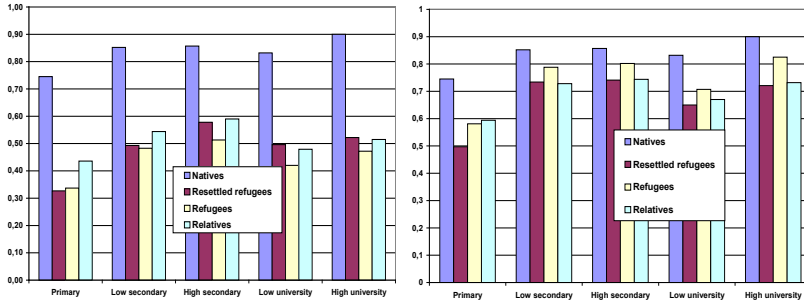
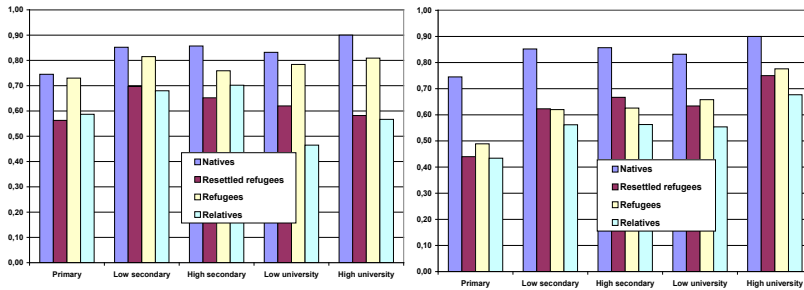


Figure 3.11 and 3.12, Employment by educational level, Natives, Iran and Vietnam, age 20-64, males, (percent).



Figures 3.9 and 3.10 show the employment rates by education for Bosnian and Iraqi males and illustrate different patterns by admission category. For Bosnians the refugees category has the highest levels in every educational category (except primary education) whereas for Iraqi refugees the relatives category has the highest employment rate in every educational category (except university). For Iranian males figure 3.11 displays that resettled refugees have the same employment rate as refugees in all educational categories. Vietnamese male refugees have by far the highest employment rates of all immigrant groups and are closest to the native employment rate in a number of educational categories. Resettled male Vietnamese refugees have substantially lower employment rates than refugees but similar to relatives.

Figure 3.13, Employment by educational level, Natives, Resettled refugees, Refugees and Relatives, age 20-64, females, (percent).

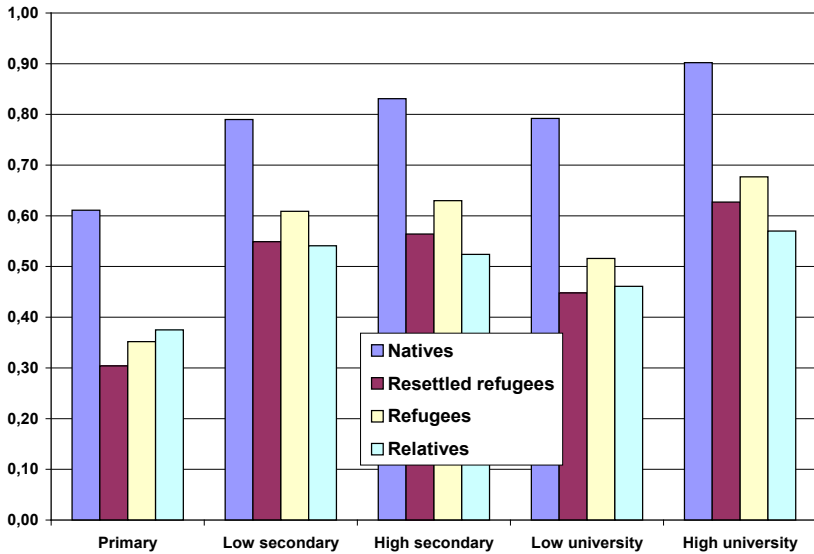


Figure 3.13 depicts the employment rate by educational level for women born in Sweden compared to resettled refugee women, refugee women, and women who have come to Sweden for family reasons. Comparable with figure 3.8 for males, again Swedish native women have substantially higher employment rates in all educational categories. Resettled refugee women have the lowest share in employment in almost all categories. The exception is the high university category where women in the relatives class show worse results.

The general performance by admission category shown in figure 3.13 is again displayed by the four major resettled refugee groups in figures 3.14-3.17. For female immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, in general refugees do better than resettled refugees and these, in turn, do better than relatives. For Iraqi females, the resettled refugees do better than refugees and relatives. As indicated in table 3.10, in general Bosnian women have substantially higher employment rates than Iraqi women. Figure 3.16 reveals that for Iranian women lower educational categories show no differences by admission category but in higher educational categories resettled

refugees have somewhat higher employment rates compared to the other admission categories. Vietnamese immigrant women, as presented in figure 3.17, who came as refugees have clearly higher employment levels compared to those who came as resettled refugees and those who came for family reunion reasons.

Figure 3.14 and 3.15, Employment by educational level, Natives, Natives, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, age 20-64, females, (percent).

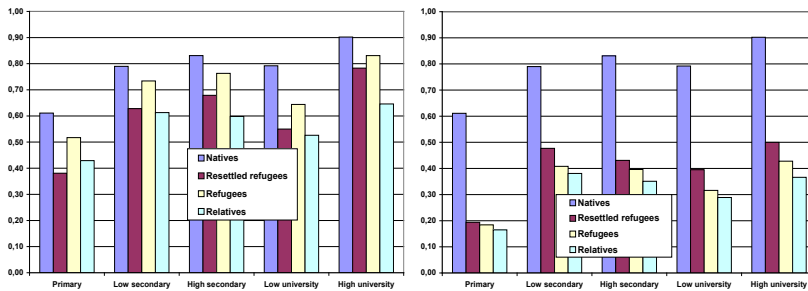
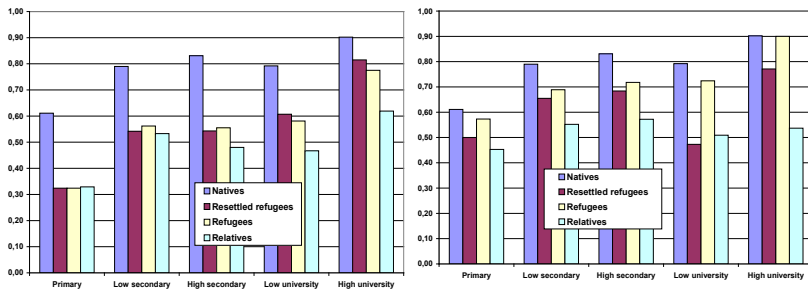


Figure 3.16 and 3.17, Employment by educational level, Natives, Iran and Vietnam, age 20-64, females, (percent).



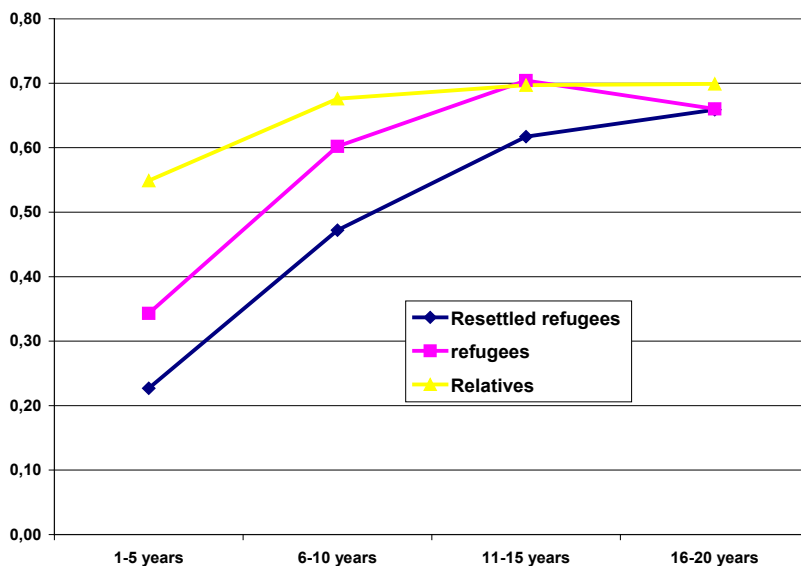
Employment by years since migration

The state of the labour market of the host society when an individual arrives as well as the length of time an individual has been in a new country are important influences on labour market incorporation. Individuals can arrive at times when the economy is in recession, with few labour market opportunities, or when the economy

is booming, which should facilitate employment integration. Moreover, individuals who have been in the country over a longer period of time should have easier access to employment, since they should have obtained basic language proficiency and other skills.

In figure 3.18, the employment rate by years in the country is shown by admission category for males.²⁵ Since many immigrants are engaged in language training during their first years in Sweden, only individuals who have been at least one year in the country are included. The figure shows clearly that during the first five years more than 50 percent of relatives obtained employment, compared to only one third of the refugees and almost a quarter of the resettled refugee males. In due time, however, both refugee and resettled refugees do “catch up” and for those that have been in Sweden between 15-20 years the employment rate is close to 70 percent.

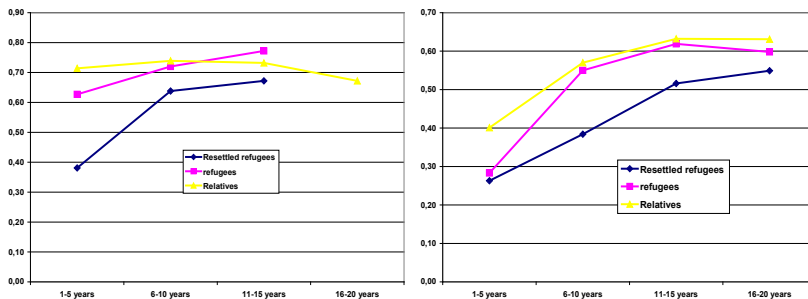
Figure 3.18, Employment by years in the country, Resettled refugees, Refugees, Relatives, age 20-64, males, (percent).



²⁵ Source of figure 3.18 - 3.27, Stativ, SCB.

While figure 3.18 gave a general picture by admission category and years since migration for males, the following figures 3.19-3.22 show a more detailed picture for selected immigrant groups. In figure 3.19 we see that for Bosnian immigrants, relatives seem to have a better start compared to refugees and resettled refugees. Refugees however, reach the same employment rate level as relatives after 5 years in the country. Resettled refugees show a substantial increase in employment levels after having been in Sweden more than 5 years compared to those with fewer years in the country. Nevertheless, resettled refugees that have been in the country more than 10 years still have lower employment rates relative to refugees and relatives. Refugee males that have been in the country more than 10 years have an employment rate of almost 80 percent, which is close to the general native male employment rate of 83 percent. For Iraqi immigrants, the general levels of employment are substantially lower, topping out at 60 percent. Also, for Iraqi men, relatives have a higher employment rate in the first years of their settlement in Sweden. Refugees catch up to the same level as relatives as time goes on. Resettled refugee males from Iraq also have a gradually increasing employment rate with more years in the country, but their level never reaches the levels of the two other admission categories.

Figure 3.19 and 3.20, Employment by years in the country, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, age 20-64, males, (percent).²⁶



Figures 3.21 and 3.22 show the same pictures for Iranian and Vietnamese males. Iranian resettled refugees have, like Bosnians and

²⁶ For a number of years very few immigrants arrived and no employment rate could be calculated.

Iraqis, low employment rates compared to refugees and relatives but catch up in subsequent years, whereas Iranian immigrants who came as relatives have a lower employment rate than refugees after being in the country more than 10 years. For resettled refugees from Vietnam, the employment rate by years in the country can only be calculated for those with more than 10 years in the country; they have lower employment rates compared to relatives and refugees.

Figure 3.21 and 3.22, Employment by years in the country, Iran and Vietnam, age 20-64, males, (percent).

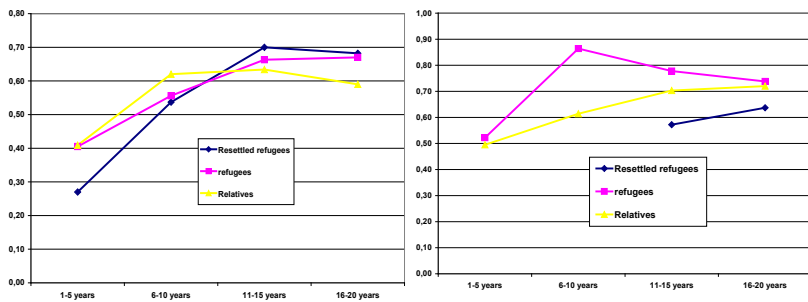


Figure 3.23, Employment by years in the country, Resettled refugees, Refugees, Relatives, age 20-64, females, (percent).

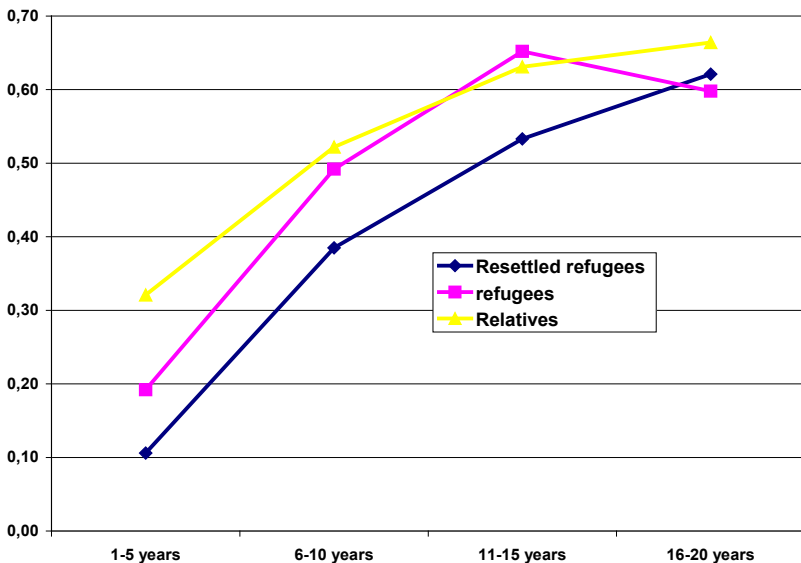
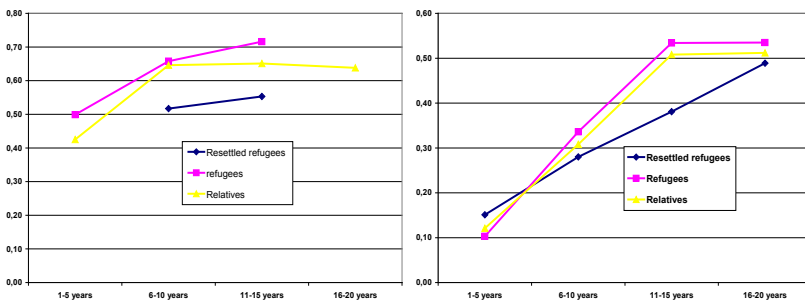


Figure 3.23 shows the employment by years in the country for women by admission category. Resettled women have the lowest employment rate in the first 5 years of settlement. Only 10 percent have obtained employment compared to 20 percent for refugee women and 30 percent for women who came for family reasons. As with men it can be observed that the “slow start” of resettled refugee women is followed by a “catch up” period resulting in an employment rate after 15-20 years that is very similar to those of the other admission categories.

Figures 3.24 and 3.25, depicting the employment rate by years in the country for Bosnian and Iraqi women, show that Bosnian refugees have higher employment rates than relatives and that this group, in turn, has higher rates than resettled refugees.²⁷ Iraqi resettled refugees have, like refugees and relatives, very low employment rates during the first years in the country. Resettled refugees demonstrate in the coming years a gradual increase in employment levels. Refugees and relatives display a somewhat faster increase in employment levels but seem to reach a “plateau” after 15 years in the country.

Figure 3.24 and 3.25, Employment by years in the country, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, age 20-64, females, (percent).

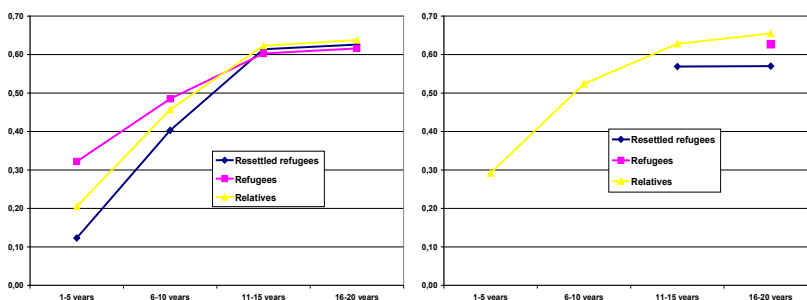


As with Iranian men, Iranian immigrant women display a similar process of employment rate increase with more years in the country. Refugees have the highest rate of the three categories in the first years and resettled refugees the lowest. With more years in the

²⁷ The small number of individuals in some categories does not allow the employment rate to be calculated.

country relatives and resettled refugees “catch up” with refugees and after 10 years no differences in employment rate are observed between admission categories. For Vietnamese refugees and resettled refugees, the employment rate can only be calculated for those who have been in the country more than 10 years. The figure indicates only small differences between relatives and refugees from Vietnam. It also shows that resettled refugees have an employment rate close to the other admission categories after individuals have been more than 10 years in the country.

Figure 3.26 and 3.27, Employment by years in the country, Iran and Vietnam, age 20-64, females, (percent).



Summary

As of 2007, approximately one out of every seven individuals living in Sweden was born abroad. This represents the effect of substantial immigration to Sweden over the last five to six decades. A majority of the immigrants arriving in Sweden in the first decades after the Second World War were labour migrants from Nordic and other European countries. For the most part, these migrants were driven by economic factors. On recommendation from the Labour Organisation of Sweden (LO), a change in the admission legislation took place at the end of the 1960s, when a relatively liberal policy was replaced by one more restrictive towards non-Nordic labour migrants.

Internal conflicts, warfare and various geo-political developments have led to a general increase in the number of asylum seekers in the world. Unaffected by the change in admission policy, and based on a

relatively greater willingness to grant asylum, together with a liberal family reunification policy, most immigrants who arrived during the 70s, and especially the 80s and 90s were refugees and relatives from East European and non-European countries. Statistics reveal that relatives and refugees together make up 80 percent of those granted a residence permit in the last decades. The economic crisis of the early 90s and the dramatic increase of asylum seekers during the same period led to a more restrictive attitude in refugee policy, where temporary protection of asylum seekers replaced permanent residence permits. In spite of this more restrictive attitude the number of asylum seekers in the new millennium increased. In addition, over 37,000 individuals from UNHCR camps in different parts of the world were resettled in Sweden.

With the use of Statistics Sweden's database STATIV, the main idea of this chapter was to provide a descriptive overview of the demographic, educational, geographical and employment situation of non-economic migrants: resettled refugees; refugees who sought asylum at the Swedish border; and migrants who came for family reunification reasons. We focus on migrants from the four largest resettled refugee groups, namely immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq, Iran and Vietnam.

Summarizing the mapping exercise, the statistics on age and marital status of these four groups shows that the age composition of the resettled refugees category shows a circular shape which generally implies the presence of individuals in both younger and older age groups but where the majority of population is of working age. Resettled refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina have an, on average, older population than the other resettled groups. This group also has a higher percentage of widowed individuals than other groups and a divorce rate comparable to the native population. Resettled refugees have a higher share of married persons relative to native-born Swedes. Divorce rates for individuals from Vietnam and Iran are substantially higher relative to other groups.

An important asset in today's labour market is human capital. Social science research has shown that the more human capital possessed by the individual the easier it is to obtain employment. A comparison of immigrant groups shows that immigrants from Vietnam, irrespective of the admission category, have lower

educational levels than other groups. Resettled refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran and Iraq have relatively lower educational levels compared to the other admission categories of the same immigrant group. One explanation for this result could be that the Swedish Migration Board does not select the applicants for resettlement by educational skills.

The four immigrant groups monitored in this chapter have, in line with earlier research, a higher propensity to live in larger cities irrespective of admission category. Since resettled refugees are primarily resettled in smaller municipalities during their first years in the country, we would expect settlement patterns to differ by admission category within each immigrant group. However, internal migration could even out the initial difference in settlement patterns shown by admission category groups. Although not in line with what was expected for our four main immigrant groups, resettled refugees from other countries are relatively overrepresented in smaller municipalities and the rural area.

In the final part of this chapter I summarize the results of the employment situation of the four immigrant groups. Irrespective of the admission category or country of birth, all groups have substantially lower employment rates compared to natives. Moreover, in general, refugees who sought asylum at the border and subsequently obtained a residence permit have a somewhat higher employment rate compared to resettled refugees and relatives of the same group. On average the employment gap between native women and immigrant women is larger than for men. For some groups (Iraqis, Iranians, and Vietnamese), the self-employment is substantially higher than for other groups and natives. Males of these groups, as with native men, have higher shares of self-employment. Resettled refugees have slightly lower shares of self-employment relative to other admission categories of the same group. As discussed earlier, the higher the educational level of the individual the greater the probability of employment. The general pattern that has come forward in this chapter supports this proposition, although individuals with lower university degrees do not raise their employment chances relative to those with high secondary schooling. This general pattern is visible for natives, immigrants, and admission category groups as well as for both men and women.

Moreover, for most groups, the refugees who sought asylum at the border and subsequently obtained a residence permit generally have a higher employment rate compared to resettled refugees and those who came for family reunion reasons. Employment gaps between natives and immigrant groups are in general smaller with higher levels of education. Last but not least, immigrants do better over time. In general, with Vietnamese males as an exception, family reunification class immigrants have a better start in the labour market and have higher employment rates during the first five years in Sweden. One reason for this faster adaptation could be that these migrants draw on earlier labour market networks established by their co-ethnics which provide them with vital information of the Swedish labour market. Asylum seekers who subsequently obtain a residence permit have a somewhat slower employment integration process, but, in general, resettled refugees have the slowest start of all. However, both refugees and resettled refugees “catch up” to employment levels of family reunion immigrants in later years. Regardless of admission status all groups show an employment rate of nearly 70 percent after 15 years in the country.