

## CHAPTER 8

# THE EMPLOYMENT ATTACHMENT OF RESETTLED REFUGEES, REFUGEES AND FAMILY REUNION MIGRANTS IN SWEDEN

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### Introduction

The integration of immigrants and refugees in Swedish society at large and the labour market in particular has been the subject of many debates and constitutes one of the major political challenges faced in the last two decades. Much of the debate has revolved around the question of asylum seekers, in both a social and an economic context. Issues related to provision of housing, social services, and access to employment are hotly debated in the press as well as in parliament. A further issue arises when asylum seekers obtain residency permits. At this point, the issue shifts to one of integration – are the social services and training (including language training) adequate to allow full integration of these new residents.

The latest public investigations have dealt with the reception of asylum seekers in Sweden as well as the situation of immigrants and refugees in the first years after obtaining residence permits.<sup>114</sup>

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114 *Aktiv väntan – asylsökande i Sverige*, Betänkande av Asylmottagningsutredningen, Swedish Government Official Reports 2009:19 och *Egenmakt – med professionellt stöd*, Betänkande av Utredningen om nyanländes arbetsmarknadsetablering, Swedish Government Official Reports 2008:58.

Both investigations are reactions to the generally lower labour market attachment of immigrants versus natives and the even lower labour market integration of *refugees*. This situation is similar to that seen in many other European countries (Guiaux *et al.* 2008). Refugees are more likely to be unemployed or have temporary jobs and have generally lower incomes. In the economic literature, this situation has been attributed to deficiencies in human capital (particularly native language skills), less access to mainstream networks, and discrimination by the majority population.

Most studies of immigrant economic integration have been undertaken at the national level, examining labour market outcomes of immigrants by place of birth, but not by admission status. However, more detailed analyses suggest that there are substantial differences among immigrant groups, and large variations across regions and migration categories (Bevelander and Lundh 2007). Thus, the ideal analysis of immigrant economic integration should take into account both geographic and ethnic variations, as well as the reason for settlement in Sweden.

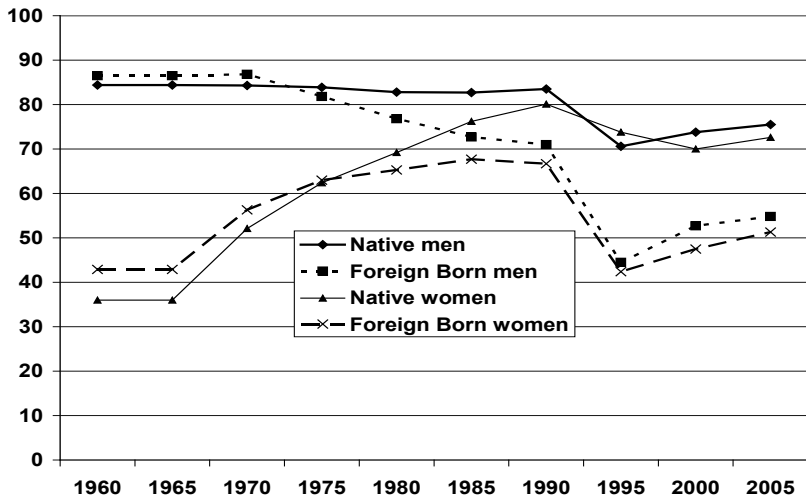
With regard to admission status, this study examines outcomes for resettled refugees, asylum seekers (who may subsequently obtain a residence permit) and family reunification immigrants, controlling for time spent in the country before obtaining a residence permit. Using logistic regression methods we estimate the probability of employment after controlling for a set of personal and immigrant intake characteristics as well as contextual factors.

### **Previous studies**

Prior to the 1960s, labour migration to Sweden was primarily from the Nordic countries and Western Europe (Lundh and Ohlsson 1999). In the 1960s, immigrants from the Balkans joined the mix. These labour migrants typically had few difficulties finding employment and settling in Sweden with their families. According to Wadensjö (1973), foreign-born men and women had higher employment rates than natives in 1970 (see figure 8.1). However, a gradual decrease in the employment rate of foreign-born men can be seen beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present day. For foreign-born women we see an increase in employment up to

the middle of the 1980s, but this increase is not in parity with the increase in employment of native women. Both natives and foreign-born were negatively affected by the economic crisis of the early 1990s but the relative decline of the immigrant employment rate was greater. The employment gap between natives and the foreign-born has narrowed since the middle of the 1990s. The lower employment integration of immigrants who arrived in the 1970s caused the average immigrant employment rate to decrease in the 1990s and early 2000s (Bevelander 2000; 2010).

**Figure 8.1. Age Standardised Employment Rate for Foreign Born and Native Born Men and Women Aged 16-64, 1960 - 2005. (Percent.)**



Source: Bevelander 2010.

Variation in employment outcomes by place of birth is reasonably well understood. Indeed, a simple snapshot of today’s employment integration by country of birth indicates that almost all foreign-born groups, and in particular newly arrived refugees, have lower employment rates than natives. Generally, Europeans have the second highest employment rate, followed by non-Europeans. There are, however, variations in the degree of employment integration

within these categories (Lundh *et al.* 2002; Bevelander and Lundh 2004; Bevelander and Lundh 2006).

What is less well understood is the impact of refugee status on employment outcomes. Few studies have looked at the employment integration of different types of refugees. In the following section we introduce some theoretical concepts that have been used to explain differences in economic and employment integration between natives and immigrants (especially refugees) and among different immigrant groups in Sweden.

Neo-classical human capital theory is the most common starting point for explaining differences in the economic integration of immigrants. The migration decision by the individual is seen as a rational choice in which the potential immigrant, given individual characteristics and migration barriers, calculates the costs and benefits of migration. If the discounted value of future income exceeds the costs, i.e. if the net benefit is positive, the individual will choose to migrate. Thus, in the human capital approach migration is seen as an investment, expected to yield a positive return in employment opportunities or relative income in the future. The home country human capital of the individual is often not perfectly transferable between countries though, and individuals will adjust to the new labour market by investing in the modification of existing skills and the acquisition of new skills (for example language skills). During the early years, it is expected that immigrants will be less productive, and have higher labour market turnover and lower employment rates than one would expect given their formal educational level. With time and the concomitant increase in host country human capital, immigrants establish careers and catch up with native income levels.

Chiswick (1978) in an American study, shows that immigrants from English-speaking countries have a higher mean income than natives after eight years in the country and that this fast adaptation to the US labour market is due to the positive selection of immigrants by their human capital. Differences in the “quality” of the human capital of different immigrant groups, which affect their economic integration, have also been emphasized (Borjas 1985). Later studies have stressed the importance of skill transferability as well as the

investments in education and language proficiency that migrants make after arrival (Chiswick and Miller 1995; Dustman 1994; Lindley 2002). A decade later, Chiswick (2008) examined the self-selection of immigrants arguing that labour migrants are more likely to be self-selected than refugees, whose main reasons for migrating are non-economic.

Looking at Sweden, Rooth (1999) studied the labour market integration of refugee claimants and concluded that integration into the labour market is dependent on both the human capital achieved in the home country and the investment in host country human capital and labour market experience. Others studies stress the internal migration of immigrants/refugees as an important factor in employment acquisition (Ekberg and Ohlsson 2000a; Åslund 2004). Åslund and Rooth (2007) show that choice of city and the labour market situation are important factors in explaining labour market integration. Hammarstedt and Mikkonen (2007), studying short-term mobility of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, found that males who moved to another place shortly after arrival in Sweden had a lower probability of employment compared to those who stayed. They argue that this is because language and labour market knowledge take time to acquire. Mobility, timed correctly, can have a positive effect on the labour market integration of immigrants. By moving to larger cities, former refugees can connect with a larger co-ethnic population and take advantage of ethnic networks.

The idea that social capital and access to ethnic networks may be important for the integration process is one emphasized by several scholars (Putnam *et al.* 1992; Portes 1995; Putnam 2000). Academics operating from within the classical assimilation perspective claim that segregation and economic enclaves limit opportunities for contact and participation in host societies and serve as obstacles to immigrants' adaptation. Other scholars see both positive and negative effects on immigrant integration through enclaves and segregation. For example, for groups who are culturally and racially more distinct from the mainstream population, living within an enclave may serve to reinforce ethnic community ties, protect immigrants from social alienation, and provide easier access to employment and social mobility (see for example: Bonacich and

Modell 1980; Light 1997; Wilson and Portes 1980; Borjas 1998 for the US, Pendakur and Pendakur 2002 for Canada and Edin *et al.* 2003 for Sweden).

Finally, rules and regulations surrounding the labour market could either augment or hinder the integration of immigrants in the host society. According to the MIPEX indicator<sup>115</sup>, Sweden scored highest of all European countries and Canada on all six studied indicators<sup>116</sup> including the labour market access indicator for immigrants and ethnic minorities. However, other studies have shown that labour market regulations (as well as the dispersal policy employed in Sweden during the period 1985-1991) had negative effects on the labour market integration of immigrants (Bevelander *et al.* 1997; Edin *et al.* 2000). Regulations with regard to housing also affect the immigrant's interaction with the labour market. Bevelander *et al.* (2008), studying Swedish register data for 2006, find that asylum seekers who lived with family and friends during the asylum seeking period had higher odds of being employed than asylum seekers who had to live in housing arranged by the Migration Board. This may be because the arranged housing was often in areas with lower labour market prospects where accommodation was easier to find. When interviewed, the asylum-seekers themselves expressed a preference for living with family or friends over state-sponsored housing.

### **Data, method and model**

Our data are drawn from the 2007 Swedish register STATIV, the statistical integration database held by Statistics Sweden. These data contain information for every legal Swedish resident and include information on age, sex, marital status, children in the household, educational level, municipality of residence, employment status, country of birth, years since migration, admission status and years the individual has been in the asylum-seeking process in Sweden. The sample we employ in the analysis is the population between 25 and 64 years of age.

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115 The MIPEX is a composite of scores for best policy practices for a number of integration areas including the labour market (MIPEX 2007).

116 The six indicators of MIPEX are: Labour market access, Family reunion, Long term residence, Political participation, Access to Nationality and Anti-discrimination.

Our study has two main goals. First we wish to understand if admission status may be a factor in attaining employment. Second we wish to understand the degree to which the asylum seeking period of the individual affects employment probabilities across different immigrant groups. In order to do so, we ran two regressions. First we ran logistic regressions for all immigrants who have arrived since 1987 where the dependent variable is whether or not the respondent is employed. Second, we ran a similar set of regressions for the immigrant population who have arrived since 1997 and include a variable that describes the number of years an individual has been in Sweden, in the asylum seeking process, before obtaining a residence permit. In this way we can see the impact of admission status and the pre-residence period on the employment prospect of an individual. In both sets of regressions we control for the municipality of residence.

Statistics Sweden did not collect information on admission status prior to 1987. We therefore limit our sample to refugees (both resettled and asylum seekers) and family class immigrants arriving after 1986. From 1987 to 1997, it is possible to determine the entry class of all immigrants (resettled refugees, refugees, relatives, and labour market and educational migrants). However, information is not available for asylum seekers prior to obtaining residency. As of 1997, Statistics Sweden has augmented this data by including the number of years an asylum seeker has been in Sweden prior to obtaining residency. We therefore divide our analysis by these time periods. The first includes all refugees and family class intake from 1987 to 2007. The second includes the same immigrant categories but only from 1997 to 2007. In this latter period we include a variable that identifies the number of years an asylum seeker has been in Sweden prior to obtaining residency.

We include nine variable types in our models. Demographic variables include age (four dummy variables), marital status (four dummy variables) and presence of children in the household (dummy variable).

Socio-economic variables include schooling (six dummy variables). For regressions with all immigrants, we include country of origin (5 dummy variables), years since immigrating and years since migration squared.

A contextual variable, indicating whether individuals live in the three big cities of Sweden or in other types of municipalities according to size of population, is shown in table 8.1 (eight dummy variables).

**Table 8.1 Municipality types.**

Municipality type	Number of municipalities	Population	Definition
Big cities	3	1,502,751	>200,000
Other larger cities	39	3,237,288	50,000-200,000
Medium sized cities	73	2,274,339	20,000-50,000
Larger municipalities	83	1,143,816	10,000-20,000
Smaller municipalities	44	344,842	<10,000
Country side	48	455,334	< 7 individuals per km <sup>2</sup>

Source: Statistics Sweden.

A set of 3 dummy variables indicates whether an individual came: according to the resettlement agreement Sweden has with UNHCR; as an individual asylum seeker at the border who subsequently received a residence permit; or as part of the family reunification category (three dummy variables).<sup>117</sup>

Finally, the analysis includes a variable indicating how many years (from 0 to 5) an asylum seeker has been in Sweden prior to receiving a residence permit (6 dummy variables).

<sup>117</sup> See also page 50 in chapter 3.



Table 8.2 Employment rate in 2007 for individuals aged 25-64, by country of birth and admission status, arrivals since 1987 and since 1997.

	<i>Females</i>			<i>Males</i>			Relatives '87	Relatives '97
	Resettled '87	Resettled '97	Refugees '87	Resettled '87	Resettled '97	Refugees '87		
Bosnia-Herzegovina	56	48	72	67	60	78	70	70
Iraq	31	20	29	45	33	40	31	46
Iran	47	29	59	60	42	66	45	56
Vietnam	56	32	58	62	43	74	64	59
Other countries	34	17	51	42	27	61	45	64

Source: STATIV, Statistics Sweden.

## RESULTS

### Descriptives:

Table 8.2 provides information on the percent of men and women who are employed by country of birth and admission status in 2007. Employment rates are shown for those that arrived since 1987 and those since 1997. The most important thing to note in this table is the substantial variation in employment probabilities across groups. As reference, over four-fifths of Swedish men and women are employed. Only asylum claimants from Bosnia-Herzegovina are close to that level. With the exception of people from Iraq, asylum claimants in general have higher employment rates relative to the two other admission categories. No clear difference in employment level is visible between those who were resettled and those who came due to family reunion. If we compare those who came during the last ten years with those who came during the last twenty years, employment rates are higher for those who have been in Sweden during the last twenty years. In other words, with longer years in the country, irrespective of admission status category and country of birth, employment rates are increasing. In the next section, we deepen our analysis by using multivariate logistic regressions. Our specific question is whether admission status and number of years in the asylum-seeking process before obtaining a residence permit affect the probability of employment, controlling for a number of individual and context related factors.

### Regressions:

Table 8.3 shows the results from four regressions, two for each sex and split by years in the country (one with all individuals who immigrated since 1987 and one with all who immigrated since 1997). The dependent variable is whether or not the respondent is employed. As independent variables we include demographic characteristics (age, marital status and presence of children), education, geographic and immigrant specific factors such as country of birth and years since migration.

First looking at the coefficients for geographical area, compared to Stockholm, individuals living in Gothenburg and Malmö have

significantly lower probabilities of employment, while individuals living in smaller areas and the countryside have higher probabilities of employment.

Looking at personal characteristics we see that among women, age is negatively associated with employment. However, being single is generally associated with a higher probability of being employed. Generally, higher university levels of schooling are correlated with higher probabilities of being employed compared to lower university degrees and secondary school degrees.

As compared to immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, women from all other countries have lower probabilities of employment with coefficients ranging from -1.14 for women from Iraq to -0.26 for women from Vietnam. If we look at the regression for women arriving in the last 10 years, women from Bosnia-Herzegovina do relatively better, since all coefficients for the other immigrant groups are significantly lower.

Looking at men, we see a similar pattern for age, but not for marital status. Coefficients for age are of about the same magnitude and level of significance. The coefficient for marital status shows that being married increases the probabilities of employment significantly.

The impact of schooling is somewhat weaker for men as compared to women, with coefficients ranging from 0.50 at the low end of the education spectrum to 0.85 at the upper end.

As was seen for women, compared to immigrant men from Bosnia-Herzegovina, men from other countries all have lower probabilities of employment. Again individuals from Iraq have the lowest probability of employment.

Table 8.3 Results from logistic regressions on the probability of employment for immigrants in Sweden (arriving either since 1987 or 1997), 2007.

	women			men			in Sweden < 10 years					
	all			all			B S.E. Sig. odds ratio					
	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.			
Cox and Snell R2	18.1			16			13.7			12.7		
age												
35-44	0.17	0.01	***	0.12	0.02	***	0.13			-0.33	0.02	**
45-54	-0.05	0.02	***	-0.11	0.02	***	0.90			-0.59	0.02	**
55-64	-1.07	0.02	***	-1.19	0.04	***	0.31			-1.29	0.02	**
Marital Status												
Married	0.01	0.02	***	-0.18	0.02	***	0.84			0.36	0.02	***
Divorced	-0.15	0.02	***	-0.16	0.03	***	0.85			0.08	0.02	***
widow	-0.29	0.04	***	-0.36	0.06	***	0.70			-0.08	0.09	
Have children	-0.14	0.01	***	-0.42	0.02	***	0.66			0.45	0.01	***
Low secondary	0.71	0.02	***	0.53	0.02	***	1.70			0.54	0.02	***
High secondary	0.73	0.02	***	0.50	0.03	***	1.65			0.68	0.02	***
Low university	0.68	0.02	***	0.46	0.02	***	1.58			0.58	0.02	***
High university	1.17	0.02	***	0.83	0.02	***	2.29			0.89	0.02	***
Not available	-0.79	0.03	***	-0.75	0.04	***	0.47			-0.11	0.03	***
Country of birth												
Iraq	-1.14	0.02	***	-1.54	0.04	***	0.22			-0.95	0.02	***
Iran	-0.62	0.03	***	-1.10	0.05	***	0.34			-0.48	0.03	***
Vietnam	-0.26	0.04	***	-0.49	0.07	***	0.61			-0.38	0.05	***
Other countries	-0.31	0.02	***	-0.32	0.04	***	0.59			-0.33	0.02	***
Other larger cities	-0.06	0.02	***	-0.10	0.02	***	0.90			-0.07	0.02	***
Larger municipalities	0.06	0.02	***	0.01	0.03		1.01			0.04	0.02	*
Middle	0.08	0.02	***	-0.03	0.03		0.97			0.10	0.03	***
Small	0.19	0.04	***	0.04	0.05		1.04			0.19	0.05	***
Country side	0.35	0.04	***	0.28	0.05	***	1.33			-0.16	0.05	***
Gothenburg	-0.24	0.02	***	-0.26	0.03	***	0.77			-0.19	0.02	***
Malmö	-0.50	0.02	***	-0.58	0.04	***	0.56			-0.55	0.02	***
Years since migration												
Years since migration	0.31	0.00	***	0.45	0.01	***	1.57			0.24	0.00	***
Years squared	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.02	0.00	***	0.98			-0.01	0.00	***
Constant	-1.73	0.03	***	-1.24	0.05	***	0.29			-0.89	0.03	***

Significance: \* : 0.1 level; \*\* : 0.05 level; \*\*\* : 0.01 level

Note: comparison group in parentheses

In table 8.4 we include the admission status category for every individual in the regressions in order to see if this affects the employment probability of immigrants. From the table it can be discerned that generally few coefficients change in magnitude and significance. Admission status has a clear and significant effect on the probability of employment. Looking at the column for all immigrants we see that both family class and refugee women have higher odds of employment than resettled refugee women (coefficients of 0.26 and 0.40 respectively). These differences are far greater if one looks at women entering Sweden in the last ten years. For this period, family class and refugee women are much more likely to be employed than resettled refugee women (coefficients of 0.44 and 0.62 respectively).

For males the effect of admission status category is even stronger, with figures of 0.36 for all immigrants versus 0.61 for refugees who came in the last ten years. Family reunion migrants have higher coefficients again - 0.70 and 1.07 for all immigrants and immigrants arriving in the last ten years respectively.

Table 8.4 provides a bird's eye view of the impact of characteristics on the probability of employment. Table 8.4 allows us to understand the average degree to which the probability of employment differs across immigrant groups. However, it does not allow for the possibility that payoffs for different characteristics are different across admission status categories. Results from Table 8.4 do not allow us to see if resettled refugees have a very different payoff to schooling as compared to relatives or refugees.

Table 8.5 and 8.6 resolve this situation by providing selected coefficients from 6 separate regressions – a separate regression for admission status category group split by sex. The dependent variable remains employment status and independent variables include all the variables from Table 8.4. Thus we allow each of the coefficients to vary independently for each of the admission status categories (equivalent to results from Table 8.4, but where each characteristic is interacted with the admission category).

Table 8.4 Results from logistic regression on the probability of employment for immigrants in Sweden (arriving either since 1987 or 1997), 2007, by admission status.

	women					men									
	all					all									
	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds ratio	< 10 years in Sweden	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds ratio	< 10 years in Sweden	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds ratio	
Cox and Snell R2	0.18					0.16					0.149				
age															
	(25-34)	35-44	0.17	0.01 ***	1.19	0.14	0.02 ***	1.15	-0.23	0.01 ***	0.80	-0.27	0.02 ***	0.77	
		45-54	-0.03	0.02 **	0.97	-0.08	0.02 ***	0.93	-0.53	0.02 ***	0.59	-0.69	0.02 ***	0.50	
		55-64	-1.06	0.02 ***	0.35	-1.15	0.04 ***	0.32	-1.24	0.02 ***	0.29	-1.57	0.04 ***	0.21	
Marital Status	(single)	Married	-0.01	0.02	0.99	-0.19	0.02 ***	0.83	0.35	0.02 ***	1.42	0.15	0.02 ***	1.16	
		Divorced	-0.17	0.02 ***	0.84	-0.18	0.03 ***	0.84	0.04	0.02 **	1.04	-0.07	0.03 **	0.94	
		widow	-0.30	0.04 ***	0.75	-0.34	0.06 ***	0.71	-0.06	0.09	0.94	-0.21	0.14	0.81	
Presence of children	(none)	Have children	-0.14	0.01 ***	0.87	-0.40	0.02 ***	0.67	0.45	0.01 ***	1.57	0.27	0.02 ***	1.31	
Schooling	(primary)	Low secondary	0.71	0.02 ***	2.03	0.52	0.02 ***	1.69	0.53	0.02 ***	1.70	0.50	0.02 ***	1.65	
		High secondary	0.73	0.02 ***	2.07	0.49	0.03 ***	1.63	0.67	0.02 ***	1.96	0.62	0.03 ***	1.86	
		Low university	0.66	0.02 ***	1.94	0.43	0.02 ***	1.54	0.55	0.02 ***	1.74	0.44	0.03 ***	1.55	
		High university	1.15	0.02 ***	3.15	0.80	0.02 ***	2.22	0.85	0.02 ***	2.34	0.65	0.02 ***	1.91	
Country of birth	(Bosnia-Herzegovina)	Not available	-0.79	0.03 ***	0.46	-0.74	0.04 ***	0.48	-0.16	0.03 ***	0.86	0.01	0.04 ***	1.01	
		Irak	-1.19	0.02 ***	0.30	-1.56	0.04 ***	0.21	-0.92	0.02 ***	0.40	-1.01	0.04 ***	0.37	
		Iran	-0.68	0.03 ***	0.51	-1.09	0.05 ***	0.34	-0.48	0.03 ***	0.62	-0.75	0.05 ***	0.47	
		Vietnam	-0.29	0.04 ***	0.75	-0.58	0.07 ***	0.56	-0.32	0.05 ***	0.72	-0.57	0.10 ***	0.57	
		Other countries	-0.41	0.02 ***	0.67	-0.58	0.04 ***	0.56	-0.47	0.02 ***	0.62	-0.56	0.04 ***	0.57	
City	(Stockholm)	Other larger cities	-0.04	0.02 ***	0.96	-0.09	0.02 ***	0.92	-0.04	0.02 **	0.96	-0.13	0.02 ***	0.88	
		Larger municipalities	0.08	0.02 ***	1.09	0.03	0.03	1.03	0.08	0.02 ***	1.08	-0.02	0.03	0.98	
		Middle	0.10	0.02 ***	1.11	-0.01	0.03	1.00	0.16	0.03 ***	1.17	0.00	0.04	1.00	
		Small	0.21	0.04 ***	1.23	0.06	0.05	1.06	0.24	0.05 ***	1.27	0.02	0.07	1.02	
		Country site	0.37	0.04 ***	1.44	0.32	0.05 ***	1.37	-0.09	0.05 *	0.92	-0.18	0.07	0.83	
		Gothenburg	-0.24	0.02 ***	0.79	-0.26	0.03 ***	0.84	-0.18	0.02 ***	0.84	-0.24	0.03 ***	0.79	
		Malmö	-0.49	0.02 ***	0.61	-0.57	0.04 ***	0.57	-0.53	0.02 ***	0.59	-0.69	0.03 ***	0.50	
Years since migration	(none)	Years since migration	0.31	0.00 ***	1.36	0.44	0.01 ***	1.56	0.24	0.00 ***	1.27	0.41	0.01 ***	1.51	
		Years squared	-0.01	0.00 ***	0.99	-0.02	0.00 ***	0.98	-0.01	0.00 ***	0.99	-0.02	0.00 ***	0.98	
Admission status	(Resettled refugees)	Refugees	0.26	0.03 ***	1.30	0.44	0.05 ***	1.55	0.36	0.02 ***	1.43	0.61	0.04 ***	1.84	
		Family reunion	0.40	0.03 ***	1.49	0.62	0.05 ***	1.86	0.70	0.03 ***	2.01	1.07	0.04 ***	2.91	
constant			-2.01	0.04 ***	0.13	-1.74	0.07 ***	0.18	-1.37	0.04 ***	0.26	-1.51	0.07 ***	0.22	

Significance: \*, 0.1 level; \*\*, 0.05 level; \*\*\*, 0.01 level

Note: comparison group in parentheses

Table 8.5 Results from logistic regression on the probability of employment for female immigrants in Sweden (arriving either since 1987 or 1997), 2007, by admission status and years spent in the country prior to asylum.

		refugees			relatives			resettled					
		coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio	coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio	coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio
age	(25-34)												
	35-44	0.15	0.04	***	1.16	0.11	0.02	***	1.12	0.02	0.13		1.02
	45-54	-0.23	0.05	***	0.80	-0.05	0.03	**	0.95	-0.48	0.16	***	0.62
	55-64	-1.73	0.10	***	0.18	-0.97	0.05	***	0.38	-1.78	0.29	***	0.17
Marital status	(single)												
	Married	0.07	0.06	**	1.08	-0.22	0.02	***	0.80	0.44	0.17	**	1.54
	Divorced	-0.17	0.07	**	0.85	-0.16	0.03	***	0.85	0.21	0.22		1.23
	Widowed	-0.21	0.12	*	0.81	-0.28	0.08	***	0.75	0.32	0.33		1.38
	Have kids	-0.27	0.04	***	0.77	-0.39	0.02	***	0.68	-0.70	0.13	***	0.50
Schooling	(none)												
	Low 2ndary	0.88	0.05	***	2.42	0.41	0.03	***	1.50	1.11	0.15	***	3.04
	High 2ndary	0.82	0.06	***	2.27	0.37	0.03	***	1.45	0.99	0.16	***	2.69
	Low univ	0.74	0.06	***	2.10	0.34	0.03	***	1.41	0.67	0.19	***	1.96
	High univ	1.25	0.05	***	3.49	0.68	0.02	***	1.98	1.31	0.17	***	3.72
	unknown	-0.83	0.10	***	0.44	-0.71	0.05	***	0.49	-1.01	0.27	***	0.37
Country of birth	(Bosnia-Herzegovina)												
	Iraq	-1.35	0.07	***	0.26	-1.49	0.06	***	0.23	-1.11	0.26	***	0.33
	Iran	-0.71	0.09	***	0.49	-1.09	0.06	***	0.34	-0.33	0.25		0.72
	Vietnam	-0.64	0.37	*	0.53	-0.46	0.08	***	0.63	0.37	0.58		1.45
	Other	-0.83	0.06	***	0.43	-0.40	0.05	***	0.67	-0.48	0.25	*	0.62
	Other larger cities	-0.11	0.06	*	0.90	-0.09	0.02	***	0.91	-0.24	0.28		0.79
City	(Stockholm)												
	Larger municipalities	-0.04	0.06		0.96	0.03	0.03		1.03	-0.29	0.29		0.75
	Middle	-0.13	0.08		0.88	0.00	0.04		1.00	-0.13	0.31		0.88
	Small	0.12	0.14		1.12	0.04	0.06		1.04	-0.11	0.42		0.90
	Country side	0.14	0.19		1.15	0.34	0.06	***	1.40	0.01	0.36		1.01
	Gothenburg	-0.46	0.08	***	0.63	-0.22	0.03	***	0.80	-0.05	0.36		0.95
	Malmö	-0.54	0.09	***	0.58	-0.60	0.04	***	0.55	-0.77	0.38	**	0.46
Years prior to asylum	(none)												
	1	-0.10	0.05	*	0.91	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
	2	0.14	0.06	**	1.15	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
	3	0.27	0.07	***	1.31	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
	4	0.53	0.08	***	1.70	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
	5+	0.59	0.06	***	1.80	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
Years since migrating													
	Yrs since migrating	0.59	0.03	***	1.81	0.41	0.01	***	1.51	1.11	0.11	***	3.03
	Yrs since mig sq.	-0.03	0.00	***	0.97	-0.02	0.00	***	0.98	-0.06	0.01	***	0.94
constant		-2.24	0.12	***	0.11	-1.07	0.06	***	0.34	-4.51	0.51	***	0.01

Significance: \*, 0.1 level; \*\*, 0.05 level; \*\*\*, 0.01 level

Note: comparison group in parentheses

Table 8.6 Results from logistic regression on the probability of employment for male immigrants in Sweden (arriving either since 1987 or 1997), 2007, by admission status and years spent in the country prior to asylum.

		refugees			relatives			resettled						
		coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio	coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio	coef	SE	sig	Odds ratio	
age	(2.5-34)	35-44	-0.38	0.03	***	0.69	-0.19	0.02	***	0.83	-0.57	0.10	***	0.56
		45-54	-0.86	0.04	***	0.42	-0.57	0.03	***	0.57	-0.96	0.12	***	0.38
Marital status	(single)	35-64	-1.91	0.07	***	1.20	-1.32	0.06	***	0.27	-1.80	0.21	***	0.17
		Married	0.18	0.04	***	1.20	0.17	0.03	***	1.18	0.32	0.12	***	1.37
		Divorced	-0.01	0.05		0.99	-0.06	0.03	*	0.95	0.01	0.16		1.01
		Widowed	0.11	0.18		1.12	-0.57	0.22	***	0.57	0.55	0.76		1.73
Schooling	(none)	Have kids	0.15	0.03	***	1.16	0.36	0.02	***	1.44	0.25	0.10	**	1.29
		Low 2ndary	0.57	0.04	***	1.76	0.41	0.03	***	1.51	0.86	0.12	***	2.37
		High 2ndary	0.64	0.04	***	1.89	0.58	0.04	***	1.78	0.67	0.13	***	1.95
		Low univ	0.51	0.04	***	1.67	0.37	0.03	***	1.45	0.50	0.13	***	1.65
		High univ	0.75	0.04	***	2.11	0.56	0.03	***	1.74	0.91	0.13	***	2.48
Country of birth	(Bosnia-Herzegovina)	unknown	-0.06	0.07		0.94	-0.02	0.05		0.98	-0.84	0.34	**	0.43
		Iraq	-0.71	0.06	***	0.49	-1.15	0.07	***	0.32	-1.45	0.26	***	0.23
		Iran	-0.46	0.08	***	0.63	-0.98	0.08	***	0.37	-0.78	0.26	***	0.46
		Vietnam	0.26	0.36		1.30	-0.64	0.11	***	0.53	0.12	0.54		1.13
		Other	-0.53	0.06	***	0.59	-0.46	0.06	***	0.63	-0.87	0.26	***	0.42
		Other larger cities	-0.12	0.04	***	0.89	-0.12	0.03	***	0.89	-0.20	0.18		0.82
		Larger municipalities	0.00	0.05		1.00	0.00	0.04		1.00	-0.29	0.20		0.75
City	(Stockholm)	Middle	-0.07	0.06		0.93	0.06	0.05		1.06	0.29	0.22		1.33
		Small	-0.10	0.11		0.90	0.13	0.09		1.14	0.04	0.31		1.04
		Country side	-0.22	0.13		0.81	-0.14	0.09		0.87	0.01	0.25		1.01
		Gothenburg	-0.41	0.05	***	0.66	-0.14	0.04	***	0.87	-0.02	0.25		0.98
		Malmö	-0.71	0.06	***	0.49	-0.70	0.04	***	0.50	-0.54	0.26	**	0.58
Years prior to asylum	(none)	1	0.03	0.03		1.03	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
		2	0.16	0.05	***	1.17	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
		3	0.36	0.06	***	1.43	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
		4	0.61	0.07	***	1.83	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
Years since migrating	(none)	5+	0.56	0.05	***	1.75	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	0.00	***	0.00
		Yrs since migrating	0.48	0.02	***	1.62	0.35	0.02	***	1.42	0.99	0.08	***	2.68
		Yrs since mig sq.	-0.03	0.00	***	0.98	-0.02	0.00	***	0.98	-0.06	0.01	***	0.94
constant		-1.28	0.08	***	0.28	-0.34	0.08	***	0.72	-3.07	0.38	***	0.05	

Significance: \*; 0.1 level; \*\*; 0.05 level; \*\*\*; 0.01 level  
 Note: comparison group in parentheses



Regression results shown in Tables 8.5 and 8.6 include one additional independent variable. For each respondent we have added a variable that measures the number of years an individual has been in the asylum-seeking process (only for asylum seekers landing at the Swedish border).

As can be seen in Table 8.5, for women aging is strongly correlated with lower employment probabilities although differences are visible by admission category. Single women have higher odds of being employed. However having children reduces the odds of being employed. Schooling has a much stronger impact on resettled refugees and refugees than on family reunion migrants.

The impact of country of birth by intake class is mixed. In general, women from Iraq have lower odds of employment, regardless of class. For resettled refugees, aside from Iraqi women, there are no significant differences in employment probabilities. Women from Vietnam have relatively low odds of employment relative to the comparison group, but still higher than is the case for women from Iran or Iraq. With one exception, city/type of residence does not have a strong impact on the odds of employment. Women in the family reunion class have a higher probability of employment when living in the countryside.

Finally, the impact of years spent in the country prior to asylum is strong and positive. The longer you have been in Sweden the higher the chance that you have obtained a job.

Table 8.6 shows the same type of coefficients for males. In table 8.6, aging for males, reduces the probability of employment regardless of admission category. Being married and having children increases the odds of having a job.

The impact of increased schooling on the probability of employment is true to the extent that, for all admission category groups, secondary and university schooling increases the chance of employment compared to primary schooling. When it comes to differences between secondary school and university by admission category, refugees with a high university degree have the highest probability of employment. For family reunion intake, those with high secondary schooling have the highest odds of employment, and for resettled refugees it is individuals with a higher university

level and lower secondary degree that have the highest odds of employment.

The results by country of birth show that for refugees and resettled refugees Vietnamese males have the same odds of employment as males from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnian males have the highest odds in all admission categories whereas Iraqi males have the lowest.

Results for residential location on employment probabilities show that living in the Stockholm area yields higher odds than living in other large city areas such as Gothenburg or Malmö for all three admission categories.

The odds of employment for both male and female asylum claimants increase with the number of years in the asylum-seeking process.

### **Concluding discussion**

Several scholars have argued that there is a link between admission status and employment integration (Borjas 1994 and Chiswick 2008). At least part of the challenge is related to the acquisition of host-country specific skills (see Chiswick 1978). In Sweden, individuals with different admission statuses are subject to different integration measures which can affect labour market integration (Franzén 1997; Bevelander and Lundh 2006). Individuals who have been in Sweden before they actually obtain a residence permit also attain “country specific” skills which should assist them in obtaining employment.

In this chapter we explore the importance of admission status, (resettled refugee, refugees, or family reunion migrant), as well as the time an individual has been in the country before obtaining a residence permit, on the employment integration of four immigrant groups in Sweden.

Our results show that demographic as well as human capital factors are important in explaining employment integration. Further, the results indicate that, in general, living in Stockholm enhances the chances of employment for immigrants. Another interesting result is that women who came to Sweden under the family reunion category have higher employment rates in rural municipalities relative to other geographical areas.

Individuals from Bosnia-Herzegovina, males and females, generally have the highest odds of employment of all birth groups. However, more detailed analysis, including admission status and time in asylum seeking process, show that resettled refugees and family reunion male migrants from Vietnam have the same chance of being employed as resettled refugees and family reunion migrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The variable “time in asylum seeking process” indicates a clear linear process - increasing chances of employment with increasing years.

Our understanding of the results of the analysis is that both selection processes (self-selection as well as selection through policy mechanisms) and “time” for adjustment in a new country are important factors explaining the employment integration of immigrants.