FACTORS LIMITING IMMIGRANTS TO THE SECONDARY LABOUR MARKET IN SWEDEN:
A Case Study of the Hotel and Restaurant Sector in Malmö

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Abstract

This thesis tries to find out factors limiting Immigrants to the secondary Labour Market in Sweden, with focus on the Hotel and Restaurant employment sector. I analyze the possible limitations of immigrants working in the secondary job category within the hotel and restaurant sector of the Swedish Labour market by applying theories of Segmented Labour Market, Human Capital, Signal Theory, Social Capital and possibly Discrimination. The study was carried out using a semi-structured interview method with individuals who were employed in the hotel and restaurant sector in Malmo city, Sweden. The result obtained in this research shows that Immigrants with a foreign educational qualification in the Swedish labour market would not find jobs beyond the secondary labour market. The study also gives an indication that the low educational level of the immigrants in the host country also limits immigrants to the Secondary labour market. This paper also shows that, regardless of factors such as the type of educational qualification and where it was concluded, type of work experiences, lack of relevant work experience, and high level of unemployment, which limits immigrants’ possibility for occupational/professional mobility in the Swedish labour market, preferential discrimination is also suspected to play a significant role with respect to employment.

Key words: Sweden, Swedish Labour Market, Immigrants, Secondary Labour Market, Hotel and Restaurants
Chapter One

1. Introduction

Sweden is one of the countries in Europe which has a high number of immigrants (%) in relation to its native population. As a result, there have been a lot of issues and concerns on immigrants and their position in the labour market during the duration of their stay in Sweden. For example, the employment pattern and occupational position among immigrants when compared with that of native-born Swedes, and also immigrant’s employment mobility, as well as their incomes when compared with that of the native-born Swedes\(^1\). During the economic boom in the 70s, immigrants were known to perform very well in the Swedish labor market; to about the same level as the native-born Swedes, because at that time there was a need for foreign labor to fill up different available labor sectors in Sweden.\(^2\) As time went on, the overall situation of immigrants started to change, due to the sudden economic recession, change in economic policy led to a collapse of the labour market in the 1990s\(^3\). Consequently, immigrants started to experience a new employment pattern: sometimes in the beginning of 90s, many immigrants started to work in different categories, basically as part time, temporal and illegal workers.\(^4\)

According to this little background knowledge, the labour market has been structured in a way and pattern which has greatly affected immigrants’ possibilities in the labour market. Over the years, studies have shown that despite the various attempts made by the government to integrate immigrants into the labour market, immigrants have been known to be discriminated in the host country’s labour market, either by structural discrimination, employer discrimination, employee discrimination and statistical discrimination\(^5\). The question that one may ask is, what is it in the labour market that affects immigrants’ opportunity for integration? During the course of this research I will try to answer this question from both the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of demand for labour. As a result, it could be that it is the pressure from the supply side (immigrant workers) or the reaction from the demand side (employers) that has been causing these imbalances, in the structure of the labour market. This

\(^1\) Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 58
\(^2\) Bengtsson, Lundh Scott, 2005 : 33
\(^3\) Bengtsson, Lundh Scott, 2005: 33
\(^4\) Bengtsson, Lundh Scott, 2005 : 30
\(^5\) Wrench, 2007:118
research, will not explore the situation on the demand side, but will be based mainly on the supply side.

Nevertheless, immigrants generally fall into a wider category of both foreign-born immigrants and their descendants or better still, the first generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants (i.e., individuals born in Sweden who have at least one parent born abroad), who are probably citizens of the country in question. The studies of Rooth and Ekberg have also shown that there usually is a wider gap of unemployment between non-nationals and natives, and even when the immigrants are employed, they are specifically confined within the low-paid and the unskilled labour category. In addition, they have also shown that “there is a great variation between different immigrant groups, unemployment being especially high among non-European immigrants”.

1.1 Background

Sweden operates a generous welfare system, which was among others, designed primarily to manage the unemployed and in the late 90s (1996-1998) it took the form of unemployment insurance. According to Adda et al, “Unemployment insurance in Sweden amounts to 80% of the individual salary in the previous jobs to a maximum of about 16,500 SEK per month. They noted that for an individual to be eligible, the individual must have worked for at least “80 days over 5 calendar months during the previous 12 months” and it “can always be renewable through an additional 80 days over 5 calendar months of work” or through other related alternative programmes that are also accessible to the unemployed, which may include trainee placement schemes, job subsidies, vocational labour market training, relief work and work placement scheme. However, it can well be observed that economic integration of immigrants in Sweden, being a welfare state, is well acknowledged by many and have become an ongoing debated issue in the public sector. Lundh et al, argue that immigrants’ integration in the labour market has been a huge failure politically, because a large group of immigrants living in Sweden are still unemployed, segregated and dependent on the welfare system.

This study, however, will be focusing on a sub-sector of the Swedish labor market, which is the Hotel and Restaurant sector. The reason for limiting this research to the Hotel and Restaurant sector is because; (a) A sectoral breakdown of the labour market according to

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6 Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 58  
7 Adda et al, 2007: 6  
8 Adda et al, 2007: 6  
9 Lundh et al, 2002: 7-8
studies of young workers working within the 25 European Member States has shown that, “the highest proportion of young workers can be found within ‘Hotels and restaurants’” and is of a proportion of 22.7% in 2005\textsuperscript{10}, and as such, it has been argued that the hotel and restaurant sector has accounted more to the total number of employed individuals in the Swedish labour market\textsuperscript{11}, and (b) the sector have been known to have the largest proportion of young workers consisting of about 28% men and 37% women respectively\textsuperscript{12}, which makes the hotel and restaurant sector a good representation of the Swedish labour market. However, I am not aware of any data that gives the specific proportion (%) of immigrants in specific jobs in the hotel and restaurant sector in Sweden. The question is what types of jobs are in embedded in hotel and restaurant sector? Generally, among the basic jobs we may find Managerial positions, Supervisors, Chefs, Cleaners, Housekeepers, Porters, Waiters and Waitress, and Dish washers. It can as well be argued that the hotel and restaurant sector would have two sub-divisions of labour, which ordinarily might be difficult to classify, considering that they may have different conditions for employment and that some jobs that appears to be the secondary kind of jobs may have the primary related jobs characteristics, vice-versa, and as well may depend condition of employment.

Hypothetically, I will classify them as; the primary kind of jobs to include Managerial positions, Supervisors, Receptionists, and the Chefs, while the secondary kind of jobs to include, Cleaners, Housekeepers, Porters, Waiters and Waitress, and Dish washers.

The studies of Edwards, Reich, and Gordon (1975) in Brettel and Hollifield’s book “Migration Theory”, have shown that the primary labour market is defined as a labour market that features good and quality jobs, decent wages and secure employment, while the secondary labour market features sets of unskilled jobs, poor wages, and insecure employment\textsuperscript{13}. The study of Fine also reveals that the labour market is segmented into two of sectors, where certain factors such as capital-intensity, trade unions, market concentration and individual characteristics interplay to induce/influence wages differentials in the labour market\textsuperscript{14}. In the same way, the work of Wallette also supports the fact that some kind of segmentation exists in the Swedish labour market considering immigrants possibility of moving from a temporary job to a regular job i.e., employment mobility\textsuperscript{15}. Based on the

\textsuperscript{10} Verjans et al, 2007: 10
\textsuperscript{11} Hesselink et al, 2004: 8
\textsuperscript{12} Verjans et al, 2007: 79
\textsuperscript{13} Brettell and Hollifield, 2008: 87
\textsuperscript{14} Fine, 1997: 63-64
\textsuperscript{15} Wallette, 2007: 19
review of these studies, it can be argued that native Swedes will have a higher possibility of moving from secondary kind of jobs to primary jobs in the labour market compared to immigrants.

Interestingly, immigrants are mostly found in the secondary labour market, where there are little or no opportunities for training or advancement and the characteristics of the work in most cases is menial and repetitive.

Nevertheless, for the purpose of this research, I am only going to base my research on the secondary labour market. It is useful to know that most immigrant workers usually range from youths (between the ages of 16 and 30) to adults (from the age of 30 upward), and as broadly defined by Verjans et al, are workers who “take part in the world of work in different ways, and include school students on work experience placement, vocational training college student on company placements, student at work in their spare time (during holidays, weekends or in the evenings) and young people who have finished education and are starting their careers”\(^\text{16}\). From a general point of view, the studies of Verjans et al shows that, there are several reasons why many young people are employed in the Hotel and Restaurant sector\(^\text{17}\), but for the purpose and suitability of this research, I will only emphasis the following;

1. The demand for unskilled and low-paid employees makes it possible for many young people with low education qualifications to enter the labour market.
2. The large demand for temporary seasonal work, make it possible for students at school and in higher education to earn money. They work during unsocial hours and with long working times, because of the extra pay, and they often like the dynamic social environment of café’s bars, restaurants and discotheques\(^\text{18}\).

In order to gain access to the Swedish labour market, immigrants have in most cases been taking up temporary jobs. The question is, do temporary jobs really serve as leverage to a more regular type of jobs? Marten Wallette, pointed out that in some case, temporary jobs do lead to regular jobs, while in other case they do not lead to regular jobs and he noted that it very much depends on the type of job, and most importantly “type of employee” we are interested in\(^\text{19}\). Moreover, he emphasizes that it is usually the increase of unemployment,

\(^{16}\) Verjans et al, 2007, 18
\(^{17}\) Verjans et al, 2007, 36
\(^{18}\) Verjans et al, 2007, 36
\(^{19}\) Wallette, 2007: 17
especially during economic recession, which basically reduces the possibility of moving from a temporary job to a regular job, for example, “it was also evident that the probability of exiting from all types of temporary jobs (except for replacement jobs) were significantly lower during the period 1994-1994,” which was probably the more reason why the Swedish labour market, during the 90s, suffered a setback in its structural development20.

Nevertheless, Tomi, has argued that due to the recent high unemployment situation in Sweden, temporary and part-time related jobs have assisted in a way to alleviate the situation and also facilitated the upgrading of certain professional skills, allow access to future potential employers and have considerably weakened stigmatization associated with prolonged unemployment. The work of Tomi also shows that temporary/part-time jobs have been acting as a stepping stone for potential employees to getting regular jobs21. Her results confirms a number of other studies, for example, that of Booth et al, 2002; Lane et al, 2003; Zelj et al, 2004; Larsson et al, 2004; Heinrich et al, 2005; and Addisson and Surfield, 2006, whose work have shown that temporary jobs have been found to serve as a spring board to getting regular jobs22.

According to Hesselink, et al, “Over 50% of the labour force working in the hotel and restaurant sector, are under the age of 35 in Sweden. However, a significant proportion of immigrants seeking jobs are attracted to the hotel and restaurant sector, because the sector offers different types of jobs that do not necessarily demand a high level of qualification. The Hotel and restaurant sector is made up of a diverse group of immigrants, which basically consists of “commuting employees or ‘frontier workers’ who come daily from neighbouring European Union countries; permanent or seasonal workers from other, more distant, European member states; employees from other European countries, that are not yet member states; employees from outside the European Union: from Western industrialized countries; and employees from outside the European Union: from other countries”23. This means that these diverse groups of immigrants, are often less qualified, and even when they are qualified their qualifications are mostly from their home country. But, the Swedish Labour Market does not recognize their qualifications. This is basically because immigrants have not attended the

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20 Wallette, 2007: 18
21 Tomi, 2007: 2
22 Tomi, 2007: 2-4
23 Hesselink et al, 2004: 11-12
schools that their prospective employers understand and as a result, will have a weak signal in the labour market.

There is a need therefore, to emphasis also on employment, income and employment/occupational mobility, which are the main aspects of labour market integration. Describing these three aspects: Employment means getting either the right job based on one’s qualification or just any job; Income means either getting income matching ability or just getting any income; and employment/occupational mobility means the possibility for advancement, which is always determined by the individual characteristics of the immigrant, discrimination as it were, and in particular the segmented labour market, otherwise referred to as the structural barriers. It is also important to reiterate that immigrants’ having foreign academic degree/qualification from their home country have been said to belong to a disadvantage group of people who hardly find jobs in line with the knowledge and skills they have acquired from their home country. However, according to the works of Rooth and Ekberg, the occupational mobility of immigrants is described to have a U-shaped relationship pattern. Their studies show that for many immigrants, their first occupation in Sweden for example, always have a lower socio-economic status than their home country occupation. Subsequently, over time, occupational mobility increases as the immigrant acquires human capital of importance for success in the Swedish labour market\(^{24}\). Their studies also show that “the upward occupational-status mobility is much faster among those who have invested in a Swedish academic education or in destination-specific language skills”\(^{25}\).

However, the reports of Hesselink et al, have pointed out that, there are more immigrants employed in the hotel and restaurant sector, as compared with the average natives and that the number of immigrants employed keeps on increasing\(^{26}\). This may be due to the immigrants’ ability to adapt well and become successful in their jobs and that they have been significantly contributing to economic growth. But, in spite of this, they are continually faced with issues of discrimination, particularly from public opinions motivated by pressures from natives who are “concerned about the possibility that these immigrants will enroll in public assistance programs and become a tax burden”\(^{27}\). However, it has been argued that, “the economic impact of immigration will depend on the skill composition of the immigrant flow”\(^{28}\).

\(^{24}\) Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
\(^{25}\) Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
\(^{26}\) Hesselink et al 2004: 12
\(^{27}\) Borjas, 2000: 313
\(^{28}\) Borjas, 2000: 313-14
1.2 Aim and Purpose of the Research

The aim of this study is to find out the factors limiting immigrants to a type of secondary segment job category in the Swedish labour market, particularly within the Hotel and Restaurant sector.

For a more specific and realistic research result outcome, it is important to reiterate, as I have earlier noted in the introduction, that I have narrowed the Secondary Labour Market in Sweden to a specific labour sector: the Hotel and Restaurant sector in Malmo.

Hence my research question is:

1) What are the factors limiting immigrants only to the Secondary labour market, for example, within the Hotel and Restaurant sector?

1.3 Hypothesis

I have deduced my research to two hypotheses:

1. with regards to employment mobility: Immigrants with foreign degrees (qualifications) who are working in the secondary labour market within the Hotel and Restaurant sector cannot find jobs beyond the secondary labour market.

2. The low educational level of the immigrants is a factor limiting immigrants to the secondary labour market within the Hotel and Restaurant sector.
Chapter Two

2. Theory

My research question and aim is centered on immigrants and the secondary labour segment of the Swedish Labour Market, specifically within the Hotel and Restaurant sector. Therefore, I will try to find out how the segmented labour market is characterized, and to see how human capital acquisition, the signal theory, social capital, and the idea of discrimination possibly interplay to affect immigrants employment mobility (positively or negatively) as individuals, or contributes to, or influences their productivity and experiences in the labour market. For instance, are there factors limiting immigrants to the secondary segment of the labour market? And if any, what role do they play and also what kind of experiences do the immigrants have? The five theoretical concepts which might be relevant for this study are: the Segmented Labour Market, Human Capital, Signalling, Social Capital, and Discrimination. I would like also to reiterate that these concepts are used mostly by economists. However, this study is in line with the five aforementioned theories.

2.1 Segmented Labour Market

Basically, from Fine’s perspective, it can be stated that segmentation of labour exists because the labour market is no longer working as designed or intended. This is known to arise mostly because the labour market is made up of a wide range of sectors, where factors such as capital-intensity, trade unions, market concentration and individual characteristics (age, gender and race), interplay to induce/influence wages differentials in an ideal imperfectly working labour market. According to Edwards, Reich, and Gordon (1975) in Brettel and Hollifield’s book “Migration Theory”, the segmented labour market theory postulates that there are two separate and distinct labour markets that exists, that is “(1) a primary labour market of good jobs, decent wages, and secure employment and (2) the secondary labour of unskilled jobs, poor wages, and insecure employment”, i.e., a labour market of a high-wage primary segment and a low-wage secondary segment respectively.

McNabb and Ryan, (1990), according to an online source from Open University titled “Economics Explains Discrimination in the Labour Market” the segmented labour market concept, has been used in different ways, such as “in the outcomes of interest (pay,

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29 Fine, 1997: 63-64
30 Brettell and Hollifield, 2008: 87
employment stability or mobility), in the delineation of segments (by job, industry, gender, race or age) and in the methodology of investigation, whether qualitative or econometric”. The source further reveals that, segmentation economists have also argued that it will be quite difficult to understand the nature of the labour market disadvantage, if the different identities of the primary and secondary labour segments, as well as the constraints they place on the workers are not clearly defined31.

Furthermore, there is a need for a clearer distinction of the dual characteristics of jobs between primary (core) and secondary (periphery) industrial sectors, as well as in various service sectors. According to the Open University studies web page, it is pointed out that “in the core sectors, firms have monopoly power, production is on a large scale, extensive use is made of capital-intensive methods of production and there is strong trade union representation.” This is typical of national and international investors. On the contrary, “employment in the periphery is located in small firms that employ labour-intensive methods of production, operate in competitive local product markets and have low levels of unionization”32.

The Open University studies points out in one of their key hypotheses which the empirical evaluation of the segmented labour market theory focuses on, that is, “there is limited mobility between the segments reflecting institutional and social barriers in the labour market rather than a lack of productive ability among lower segment workers.” McNabb and Ryan (1990), according to the Open University have shown that education is more profitable for employees in the primary segment than for employees in the secondary segment. In addition, they have noted that there are little or no gains in the annual income level among secondary segment workers, from increases in years of schooling and work experience33.

2.2 Human Capital

In principle, human capital has much to do with the specific characteristics that an individual worker has to offer, with respect to the supply of labour and also for the formulation of the demand for labour, as well as the productive services that the employers demand. The kind of labour provided by an individual worker basically reflects the capabilities for work which are either instinctive or acquired from birth, either while growing up, through general or specific
education and training, work or other lifetime experiences. From the neoclassical economists’ point of view, “human capital” is designed as the flow of productive services that can be provided by a worker. That is to say that human capital theory basically emphasizes the degree of extent to which human capital is accumulated, through education, training and work experience, and how it is put into use and the accompanying reward.

Human capital is commonly defined as what an individual has invested in him/herself over the years in order to enhance one’s market value, which is viewed through education and work experiences. The studies of Rooth and Ekberg have shown that immigrants who have taken time to invest in the destination country’s education, for example in the Swedish Educational System or in the country’s specific language, will have a faster upward occupational mobility.

The work of Becker shows that, self investment in education, training, medical care, and so on are seen as investments in human capital. Becker’s therefore argues that the ability of an individual to invest in formal education as human capital is not the only way to increase one’s market value. As a result, a lot of prospective workers have also been known to engage in informal training programs or other relevant activities that can as well boost their marketability.

Becker’s theory on human capital point out that there has been a sharp reduction in the return to investments which has resulted to “doubt about whether education and training really do raise productivity or simply signals (‘credentials’) about talents and abilities”.

Human capital can also be understood from Bevelander and Lundh’s perspective as an investment, which in the future is expected to yield a positive return in terms of employment opportunities or relative income. The strength of the human capital obtained by an individual may vary from place to place and over time. Hence, in most cases, it may be difficult to perfectly transfer the human capital obtained by an immigrant from his/her own

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34 Fine, 1998: 57
35 Fine, 1998: 57
36 Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
37 Becker, 2008, par. 3
38 Becker, 2008, par. 13
39 Becker, 2008, par. 13
40 Becker, 2008, par. 4
41 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
home country to another country. They have argued that those individuals will have no other option but to adjust to the new labour market they find themselves, for example, in Sweden by investing not just in the general human capital (education and work), but also in the Swedish specific human capital (language). Although, it is important to note that, what is considered general or specific in terms of human capital, of course, varies from place to place and over time. Nevertheless, in the case of Sweden, this is achieved by migrants modifying their skills and acquiring new skills in the receiving country (for example, the Swedish education, Swedish language skills and culture), if they must be marketable for employment. In that regard, due to the increasing demand on specific human capital from the individual’s country of destination, it has become important and significant for migrants to make careers and catch up with native income levels.

The work of Chiswick according to Bevelander and Lundh, also shows that language, which of course is a country’s specific human capital, have been known to play a significant role in employment, especially for immigrants from English-speaking countries, who after about eight years of residence in the United States labor market earned more than the immigrants from non English-speaking countries and this was basically due to the other immigrant’s ability to speak the English language. This gave them an edge over the non English speakers in the long run, because it was easier for them to be easily adapted and in a way integrate into the labor market.

According to an online article of Taylor “Human Capital White Paper,” human capital is defined as an ‘Intangible asset’ which is made up of individuals oriented capabilities for a good market value in the labour market. As a result, human capital does not only describe “people as economic units, rather it is a way of viewing people as critical contributors to an organization’s success.” In the same context, Carnoy, according to Fine, argues that “The human capital model predicts that the main factor explaining changes in the relative earnings of different groups in a given society is the change in the relative level of education amongst the group.”

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42 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
43 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
44 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
45 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:5
46 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:5
47 Taylor, 2007, par. 1-2
48 Taylor, 2007, par 3
49 Fine, 1997:63
Borjas, in his work, has also considered the cohort effects and the period of time of immigrants’ arrival at the host country, and argued that, immigrants who arrived much earlier in the host country are more likely to be successful in the labour market, than the newly arrived immigrants. This is basically because immigrants, who arrived much earlier, would have been able to acquire the host countries specific capital, like language, education etc. as compared to the newly arrived immigrants, for whom it will perhaps take a longer time to acquire such skills.\footnote{Borjas, 2000: 271}

2.3 The Signal Theory

Ordinarily, education is meant to increase an employee’s productivity, which should automatically raise wages. However, Borjas, has argued that it does not necessarily have to increase an employee’s productivity, “but that “Sheepskin” levels of education attainment (such as high school or college diploma) signal a worker’s qualifications to potential employers”.\footnote{Borjas, 2000: 249} From Borjas perspective, it can be argued that education does not directly increase productivity, but that it basically determines the productivity level or market value (either low or high) of an employee, which invariably determines the level of income the employee is entitled to. This means that an educational certificate or diploma stands out as a signal to an employer, and the right candidate for employment can be decided upon based on mere precision. According to Borjas, “No mismatches occur”.\footnote{Borjas, 2000: 249-250}

Miller, a philosopher from Washington, DC, postulates that the concept of signaling in economic terms simply connotes the labor market as it were.\footnote{Miller, 2009 (see reference)} According to him, when it comes to the issue of hiring an individual for a particular job, there are some hidden characteristics of an individual which are quite difficult to detect at a glance, and are of course different from what is seen on the outside. Since this is most likely the case, then one must “distinguish between aspirational signaling and honest signaling: the true member of a class might notice some things, and ostentatiously disdain them”. This presents a kind of “proxy struggles for a reliable guide to exclusion and distinction,” which for an egalitarian project becomes quite challenging. For example, the work of Adam Smith, according to Miller shows that someone can be selected to stand out in public confidently just because he/she is putting on a clean white shirt, but it goes far beyond that, especially in this present time and age.
Thus, Miller argues that this is because signaling is now viewed as a thing of competition. He argues “If it becomes too difficult to use simple markers like clothes to discriminate against a man, then society starts to use other indicators,” such as nationality, height accent, manners, age, weight, race, etc.\(^54\).

According to Miller, education stand in as some kind of signal because, for example an individual can learn how to be an engineer at a particular University or Institution anywhere in the world, and in both cases natural aptitude and discipline will possibly make up the most of that individual fitness for work in an engineering company, as the case may be. “Yet employers prefer the bigger name: it helps them filter the pile of candidates”. In the same way, a Swedish education is a signal for a potential Swedish employer, because they trust in the standards of entry, and to a great extent, establishes an honest indication about the quality of that applicant\(^55\).

2.4 Social capital

Social capital is a social science concept that can be understood both from an individual perspective, and from a collective perspective. Social capital has been used to explain and measure economical development of government and their success level at managing cities and the nation at large.\(^56\) Scholars like James Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu, are one of the researchers, who have both approached this concept from an individual point of view, as well as from a small group point of view. From an individual perspective, Bourdieu’s perception of social capital is that people intentionally build and maintains their relationships with others, for the benefits they would bring in future\(^57\).

Furthermore, the notion of social capital is therefore, captured according to Lin through social relations. Bourdieu and Coleman’s opinion agree with Lin’s perception of social capital, when they examined the concept from a relationship point of view; that is the relationship between money capital, social capital, and cultural capital. They also focused on the benefit that is attached to individual or families by virtue of tie relation and their ties with others. Lin also argued that “…the focus is on the use of social capital by individuals – how individuals access and use resources embedded in social network to gain returns and instrumental actions”.\(^58\) For

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54 Miller, 2009 (see reference)
55 Miller, 2009 (see reference)
56 Putnam, 1993: 35-42
57 Bourdieu, 1985: 241-258
58 Lin 2001: 21
instance, in finding a job, Lin argues that, there are two forms of resources which an individual can get access to and use; personal resources and social resources. On one hand, the personal resources are the resources that an individual may have at his/her disposition, which can include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods, such as diploma or degree. On the other hand, Social resources are accessed through and individual social connection or network.59

Portes, another scholar, also presented a definition similar to that of Bourdieu’s and Coleman. However, Portes highlights three definitions of social capital, which can be defined as (1) “a source of social control” (2) “a source of family mediated benefits and (3) a source of resources mediated by non-family networks”60. However; for the purpose of this study, i will only focus on the third definition, i.e., a source of resources mediated by non-family members. This is not to neglect the importance of the social control aspect and the family mediated benefits, since they may be inter-connected in a way. Nevertheless, for this research, there is every indication that the sources mediated by non-family networks are the most relevant.

2.5 Discrimination

It is known that the concept of discrimination exist in different forms in the labor market and how it works, particularly the Swedish labor market.

Borjas, postulated that employees having the same skilled level in most cases, do not have the same income and employment opportunities, when issues of race, gender, national origin, sexual orientation of the employees are taken into consideration: labour market discrimination61. The theory of labour market discrimination of Becker, according to Borjas is based on the concept of taste discrimination, which basically interprets “the notion of racial prejudice into the language of economics (the costs and benefits of an economic exchange depend on the colour and gender of the persons involved in the exchange)”62.

Discrimination therefore, is “any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference aimed at the denial or refusal of equal rights and their protection”63. One can therefore argue that

59 Lin 2001: 21
60 Portes 1998: 1-24
61 Borjas, 2000: 342-344
62 Borjas, 2000: 342-344
63 European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, 2006: 105
discrimination Basically implies refuting the basic principles of equality and human self-esteem. Discrimination is known to occur on different levels, which could either be on the basis of gender, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation or a combination of two or more of it types\textsuperscript{64}. In most instances, discrimination can occur as direct or indirect. But, I will focus mainly on the direct form of discrimination, which is aimed directly at excluding certain people in terms of age, gender, origin, type of education. For example, all these forms of discrimination are continually experienced in the labor market. For example, it can be said that preferential discrimination in this context can be seen as a form of direct discrimination. It simply means discriminating a person based on “taste”\textsuperscript{65}, meaning that an employer may prefer a particular category of people over another category\textsuperscript{66}.

Discrimination in the labour market can also be structural, mostly due to measures known to be rooted in a kind of social patterns, legal documents and the institutional structures\textsuperscript{67}. Wrench highlights two other important types of discrimination that are of significance in the labor market. They are;

(1) Statistical discrimination: occurs when an individual or group of persons is discriminated based on previously experienced behavioural characteristics of a person, that are believed to have resulted in negative consequences, disadvantage or loss for an organization. Thus, statistical discrimination is based on the “perceptions of the minority group as having certain characteristics which will have negative consequences for the organization”\textsuperscript{68}. However, it may be slightly difficult to practically differentiate statistical discrimination totally from other forms of discrimination existing in the labour market, because they all seem to be interrelated with each other\textsuperscript{69}.

(2) Societal discrimination: where an employer is aware of how a particular group of persons has been perceived in society and would in any case want to avoid them, because of the fear of causing similar problems to his investments. Hence, societal discrimination is based on the societal perception towards other people, who of course are of the minority group\textsuperscript{70}.

\textsuperscript{64} European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, 2006: 105
\textsuperscript{65} Bevelander, 2000: 25
\textsuperscript{66} Bevelander, 2000: 25
\textsuperscript{67} International Labour Office, 2007: 10
\textsuperscript{68} Wrench, 2007: 118
\textsuperscript{69} Wrench, 2007: 118
\textsuperscript{70} Wrench, 2007: 118
It should be noted that to test for discrimination in this type of study, would likely call for a larger research population size, a wider statistical research data, and probably a different methodology, aside from the intended method, which is the reason the interview questions (see appendix) was not designed to cover discrimination as it were. In addition, due to the short time given and of cause the size of this paper, this study was intended to cover only the theoretical concepts of the Segmented Labour Market, Human Capital and Social Capital theories, and Signal theory, but along the way, the Discrimination theory becomes quite relevant.
Chapter Three

3. Method

The literature I have used as a guide and reference in carrying out this research is the “Social Research Issues, Methods and Process” by Tim May.

3.1 Interview

From a research point of view, the suitable method that is deemed fit for this study is the qualitative method using semi-structured interviews. The reason to why this method is used, is basically because the qualitative method aims at providing various in-depth answers to areas on interest, for example, as to how and why the chosen research population is limited to the secondary labour market category within the Hotel and Restaurant sector. However, for a qualitative study approach, I found interviews to be “more” personal and in-depth and more result oriented, as compared to a quantitative study. More so, the decision for using the semi-structured interview method as opposed to a structured or group interview was because of the semi-structured interviews being neither “too open” nor “too restricted” in style, which I thought would not only be easier to interpret in the analysis, but will also allow enough “space” for the respondent to develop further, and for me to “follow up” around certain questions of relevance. However, the semi-structured interview is much easier to work with and it is known to be most suitable in this type of research. There would be no need to occupy the interviewee for such a long time. It is much well thought-out and focused. It involves much of a dialogue, and it is known to engage the interviewee all through the interview session, thereby allowing them to answer more on their own terms. Basically, the idea of being biased does not come up in the long run.

The interview contained 32 questions (see the attached copy of the interview question; Appendix A). While formulating the questions, I started by trying to determine the intended research population who were to be immigrants and the Swedish nationals that already had jobs within the hotel and restaurant sector. I then made several attempts to contact some of them on phone, and most of the others were by asking directly. Getting the research population was not as difficult for me, because I once worked in the same labour sector and I still had their contacts. In addition, the people I knew also introduced other people to me, which was quite helpful.

71 May, 2001:111
72 May, 2001: 123
3.2 Selection of the Research population

I planned to interview 15 individuals that I had contacted, but in the end it was only 10 of them that were available. The interviews were completed by a total of 10 people selected from the hotel and restaurant sector within Malmo city. As I pointed out earlier, I was able to access these numbers of persons in this sector of the labour market, due to the network of friends I once had, who also knew other people who had jobs in the hotel and restaurant sector. The ideal selection of individuals for interviews went as follows; the process started by selecting at least four different hotels in Malmo city, based on the network I had. Precaution was taken, because in this kind of study it is ethical and wise not to mention the name of the hotels that was selected. Therefore, I have decided to be anonymous and labeled the four hotels as Hotel A, Hotel B, Hotel C and Hotel D. It should be noted that the selection of the research population was not made based on gender, age, colour, year of employment, nor by knowledge of education (at that time). From the four hotels, I randomly selected individuals, who were immigrant workers and native Swedes alike for the interview. The reason for including native Swedes in the study is to try to find out if there will be a significant difference in the situational experience of immigrants and native Swedes alike, who are working in the same sector. These people were contacted directly and through phone calls, explaining what I wanted to do, and the aim of my study, and also asking if they could find a convenient time from their schedule and be available for an interview session and of course, ensured that they currently held a job in the hotel and restaurant sector, specifically. In order to get the right attention and interest, and to enable me to get the planned number of respondent, I tried to be as friendly as possible. This, I achieved by telling them what my research was all about, and why they are important and relevant to this study. I then made appointments with six people from Hotel A, two people from Hotel B, three people from Hotel C and four people from Hotel D. However, I was only able to have 10 successful interviews from the planned 15 contacts, as the others did not show up on the appointed date. Instead, I came up with seven interviews from Hotel A, one from Hotel B, one from Hotel C and one from Hotel D, respectively.

3.3 Carrying out the Interviews

The tools I used during the interview sessions were a tape recorder, a pen and a note pad. All the interviews were carried out by me using the same printed copy of the 32 interview questions, and the interviews was all carried out face to face, that was backed up with the use of a tape-recorder. I did both the questioning and the documentation, and I ensured to also
observe their body languages, which, although was not visible over the tape recorder. This was important so as to know if they got bored or if I was carrying them along. I also asked the respondents if they were okay with the use of a tape recorder, which was to ensure that they were comfortable during the interview sessions. Before beginning on each of the interview sessions, it was important to observe that the ethical consideration to guarantee confidentiality for all the respondents was carefully respected. As for the use of the interviewee’s name, I decided to keep the respondents anonymous. Instead, I have presented the interviewees simply as “respondents”. There is a big ethical responsibility attached to this kind of study, focusing on individuals.

I carried out a categorization and systematically reviewed each of the completed interviews, by using the following technique of the analytical method to recover the results. First, I tried to listen to each of the recorded interview session in correspondent to the written copy and made notes where necessary. I then typed out the handwritten notes from each completed interviews into a computer for easy simplification by dividing the text into smaller parts, which gave an over-view of the answers given from each respondents. At this point it was easier to read, and broadly go over the answers in trying to find out meaningful parts, which of course enhanced the effective categorization, and where necessary, coding of the answers. The interviews were carried out in English. All the interviews were completed between the 22nd of November and the 3rd of December 2009.

3.4 Limitations

While carrying out this research, I encountered some challenges, which were un-predictable; the scheduling of a meeting with some of the interviewees. However, five of the individuals did not show up, because they were cut up with other activities and extra jobs. Therefore, I missed five interview sessions and ended up with 10 interviews. To this point, time also was a major limitation in carrying out this research, which was un-avoidable, because of time limitation. In addition, I think I would have had access to more people if I understood Swedish language better. Therefore there was a problem with language, which limited my research population to people who only understood English. In other words, language barrier may be taken into consideration in determining the research population, which I am aware of.

Importantly, the theoretical concept of discrimination which I have defined in chapter two is a concept that draws attention and in most cases is very much controversial, in particular when issues about the labour market are discussed. But, because of the limited time and the size of
this paper, I have not taken it up intensively in this study. However, several indications of discrimination are taken up.

Furthermore, the “interview-effect”, illuminates how the individuals responded to the questions, which was based on their own personal job situation or experience, as the questions were designed in a way that it focuses on the individual, and not so much on their opinions. Therefore, the questions were posed not to take sides or for the individuals to have answered in a manner to “please me” as the interviewer.
Chapter Four

4. Field Work: Results and Analysis

I have interviewed ten individuals and I will present the findings of this study based on the theoretical concepts of the Segmented Labour Market, Human Capital and Social Capital theories, Signal theory, and possibly Discrimination theory. I am aware that the study of such a small sample of people will not be adequate for generalization. However, I still find some important aspects relating to the theoretical concepts which give some supporting indications from the study.

4.1 General Information

**Respondent A** is a 25 year old female, born in Sweden and a Swedish national. She has a Swedish secondary school education in Music, with an additional 2 years Swedish education in music and has completed a single course in English (1-30hp) at University level in Sweden. She works part-time as a Breakfast Hostess (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector. She has previously worked in the hotel and restaurant sector, as well as a cleaner, all in Sweden. **Respondent B** is a 33 year old female, born in Sweden and a Swedish national. She has completed a Swedish University education in International Migration and Ethnic Relation. She also works part-time as a Waitress and Breakfast Hostess (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector. She has previously worked in the hotel and restaurant sector, and as an officer in a process/management project, all in Sweden. **Respondent C** is a 34 year old male, born in Nigeria and a Nigerian national, who came to Sweden in 2007 as a student. He holds a foreign University degree in Agriculture, which was completed in Nigeria. He is currently studying International Relations in a Swedish University. He works part-time as a Dish Washer (unskilled), in the hotel and restaurant sector and also works part-time as a distributor of advert papers in Sweden. He has previously worked in Nigeria, in the agricultural sector as a supervisor, marketing officer and manager (high skilled), and with a non-governmental organization as a research officer (high skilled). He said that he is planning on settling in Sweden, because he thinks he can have a good life, since his wife is here with him and he currently holds a job and could get a better job after his studies in Sweden. **Respondent D** is a 27 year old male, born in Brazil and a Swedish national, who moved to Sweden in 1982 because his parents relocated from Germany to Sweden for Business purpose. He has completed a Swedish University education in Human Behaviour. He works part-time as a Night Clerk (high skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector. He has previously worked as sales person, in the hotel and restaurant sector in Sweden. **Respondent E** is a 24 year old
male, born in Sweden and a Swedish national. He has completed a Swedish College education in Restaurant Management. He works full-time as a Bar Supervisor (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector in Sweden. He previously worked in all ranges (low skilled) of hotel and restaurant related jobs in Sweden. Respondent F is a 40 year old female, born in Iran and a Canadian national, who moved to Sweden in 2000, because she is married to a Swedish man. She holds a foreign University degree in Travel and Tourism, which was completed in Canada. In addition, she also holds a foreign College/University education in French Cooking, which was completed in France. She works full-time as a Chef (high skilled), in the hotel and restaurant sector. She has previously worked as a Chef for Air Canada, in the Travel and Tourism sector in Canada. Respondent G is a 23 year old male, born in Lebanon and a Swedish national, who came to Sweden in 1989 as an asylum seeker. He has completed a Swedish secondary school education in Building programme. He works as a Dish Washer (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector. He previously worked as an attendant in supermarkets, video store and also in a floor making factory (low skilled) in Sweden. He said he is planning to settle down in Sweden, because “I love this country and it is safe to live in”. Respondent H is a 22 year old female, born in Ghana and a Ghanaian national, who moved to Sweden in 2006 to re-unit with her family. She has completed a Swedish secondary school education. She has also completed a Swedish vocational education as a Restaurant Chef (Swedish for Immigrants). She works as a Kitchen assistant (low skilled), in the hotel and restaurant sector. She has previously worked as ‘housekeeping/room service’ and cleaner (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector in Sweden. She came to Sweden in June, 2006, and her reason for coming to Sweden, was to re-unite with her family. Respondent I is a 29 year old female, born in Ghana and a Ghanaian national, who came to Sweden in 2007 as a student. She holds a foreign College/University education degree in Marketing, which was completed in Ghana. She is currently studying International Relations in a Swedish University. She works as ‘housekeeping/room service’ (low skilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector. She has no previous work experience, neither from her home country nor in Sweden. She said she is not planning to settle in Sweden because it is really difficult to find a job in her field. Respondent J is a 33 year old male, born in Nigeria and a Nigerian national, who came to Sweden in 2007 as a student. He holds a foreign College/University education degree in Accounting, which was completed in Nigeria. He is currently studying International Relations in a Swedish University. He works as a Cleaner (unskilled) in the hotel and restaurant sector in Sweden. He has no job experience in Sweden, but he previously worked as an accountant (high skilled) in a private employment sector in Nigeria. He said he is not
planning to settle in Sweden, but have to go back to his home country after studies because it is very difficult for non-Swedish to find good jobs.

As a summary, there are five females and five males, ranging from the age of 22-40. Three of them are Swedish, and the other seven people have a foreign background. Five out of the seven with foreign background are non Swedish nationals, while the remaining two out the seven individuals that are of foreign background hold a Swedish nationality (citizenship), and were born in Brazil and Lebanon respectively. From the five with a foreign nationality, one holds a Canadian nationality, two hold a Nigerian nationality and the remaining two hold a Ghanaian nationality. Out of the ten respondents, two of them have completed a secondary education, but one out of the two has taken an addition single course at the University level, and the remaining seven have completed a University education. This totals ten respondents. For the purpose of this study, it should be noted that the respondents who do not hold a completed College/University degree are considered as secondary school educational level. Also all jobs that are not based on ones’ education qualification as a College/University graduate are not categorized as high skilled jobs.

These findings fit into the studies of Verjans et al, that most immigrants workers usually ranges from youths (between the ages of 16 and 30) to adults (from the age of 30 upward), and as broadly defined by Verjans et al, are workers who “take part in the world of work in different ways, and include school students on work experience placement, vocational training college student on company placements, student at work in their spare time (during holidays, at weekend or in the evening) and young people who have finished education and are starting their careers”73.

73 Verjans et al, 2007, 18
### 4.2 Current Job, Educational Qualification, where and year Concluded

Table 1.1 Overview of Current type of Job and Educational Qualification, where and year Concluded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Current type of Job</th>
<th>Below Secondary Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>College/University education</th>
<th>Vocational Studies</th>
<th>Where Concluded</th>
<th>Year Concluded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>High skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>High skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canada &amp; France</td>
<td>1995 &amp; 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana &amp; Sweden</td>
<td>2006/2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 above shows that seven are College/University educated and three have a secondary school education. Two of the College/University educated holds a high skilled job, while the remaining five hold a low skilled job.

**Analysis/Interpretation**

The result in table 1.1 indicates that respondents C, I, J are non-Swedish nationals who hold foreign educational qualification that have been completed in their home country, irrespective of the year, will be limited to only the secondary kind of jobs of low economic status, despite
their human capital, because they have not gone to the school that their employers understand and that their degree does not give a strong signal in the labour market. This confirms the study of Miller, that education stand in as some kind of signal to prospective employers, because most employers prefer the bigger institution names, which basically helps them filter the pile of candidates, and in the same way, a Swedish education is a signal for a potential Swedish employer, because they trust in the standards of entry, and to a great extent, establishes an honest indication about the quality of that applicant. However, respondent F, who is also a non-national also holds two foreign degrees (Canada and France), holds a high skilled job. Therefore, there is an indication that France, being a European country will have similar educational standard, hence her educational qualification will have a strong signal to prospective employers in the labour market, because they will easily trust in the standards of entry, and to a great extent, establishes an honest indication about the quality of that applicant. Similarly, Respondent H is a non-Swedish national who holds a foreign secondary education, which was both completed in Ghana and in Sweden, but holds a low skilled job, in spite of the fact that she has gone to a school that a prospective employer will understand. This is because she has just recently completed her secondary school education and has not yet completed a higher degree education. This is an indication that respondent H has not yet acquired the required human capital of importance for success in the Swedish labour market. Respondents A, B, D, E, and G, are all Swedish nationals, and they hold a Swedish education. Respondents A and G, who holds a secondary education, have a low skilled job, similar to respondent H. There is an indication that there is no significant difference between them, since they lack the required specific requirement to getting a high skilled job. Respondents B, D and E on the other hand hold a College/University education, but, respondents B, E, holds a low skilled/unskilled job, while respondents D holds a high skilled job. Therefore, there is an indication that respondent D who is from an immigrant background has invested in the Swedish specific human capital, which confirms the work of Rooth and Ekberg that “the upward occupational-status mobility is much faster among those who have invested in a Swedish academic education or in destination-specific language skills”. Respondents B and E, who are Swedish nationals, hold a low skilled job. It can therefore be argued that it is the high unemployment level in the Swedish labour market that has subjected them to the low skilled kind of jobs. However, there is an indication that

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74 Miller, 2009 (see reference)
75 Miller, 2009 (see reference)
76 Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
77 Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
immigrants as well as Swedes, irrespective of their educational qualification can be found in the secondary labour market.

4.3 Effect of Language skills Level on Employment

For the purpose of this study, I have placed emphasis mainly on the Swedish language skills. **Respondent A** speaks, writes and reads Swedish fluently and also Speaks English. She had no language barrier with respect to employment, but it was not certain that the Swedish language was in anyway a condition to getting the job. **Respondent B** speaks, writes and reads Swedish fluently and also Speaks English. She had no language barrier with respect to employment, but the Swedish language was a condition to be employed. **Respondent C** knowledge of speaking, writing and reading Swedish is only basic, and he also speaks English. He said that the Swedish language was not a condition to get the job. **Respondent D** speaks, writes and reads Swedish fluently and also Speaks English, French, German, Portuguese, Danish and Norwegian. He had no language barrier with respect to his employment, but the Swedish language was a condition to get the job. **Respondent E** speaks, writes and reads Swedish fluently and he is also speaks English. He said that he has no language barrier, but the Swedish language was not a condition to get the job. **Respondent F** has an intermediate knowledge in speaking, writing and reading Swedish, and also speaks English, Farsi and Turkish. She does not speak Swedish to well, but the Swedish language was not a condition to getting her job. **Respondent G** speaks, writes and reads Swedish fluently and also Speaks English, and Arabic. He had no language barrier with respect to his employment; however, the Swedish language was a condition to get the job. **Respondent H** is intermediate in writing Swedish; however, she speaks, and reads Swedish fluently and also Speaks English. She had no language barrier with respect to her employment, but the Swedish language was a condition to get the job. **Respondent I** speaks English, and writes and reads Swedish fluently, but she is intermediate in speaking Swedish. She had no language barrier with respect to her employment, but the Swedish language was a condition to get the job. **Respondent J** speaks English, and very little Swedish. However, the Swedish language was not a condition to get the job.

**Analysis/Interpretation**

Considering the Swedish language skills and immigrants employment, respondent C, F, G, H, I and J do not speak Swedish fluently, but their language skills proficiency was average. The result shows that Swedish language proficiency in as much as the language skill was a condition, it did not really have much effect on immigrant employment in the secondary
labour employment in the hotel and restaurant sector. However, it can be argued that it is the low job status kind of jobs which are not that attractive to the average native Swedes which have made it possible for them to get the job despite the Swedish language being a condition. Respondent D; however, is fluent in the Swedish language, and the Swedish language was a condition to getting his job. It can be argued that the Swedish language was a condition, because he is employed as a high skilled employee. In support of this indications, the work of Bevelander and Lundh, shows that for individuals to adjust to the new labour market they find themselves, they have to invest also in the Swedish specific human capital (language), in addition to the general human capital (education and work) they possess,78. Similarly, in the case of Sweden, this is achieved by migrants modifying their skills and acquiring new skills in the receiving country (for example, a Swedish education, Swedish language skills and culture), if they must be marketable for employment79. In this regard, due to the increasing demand on specific human capital from the individual’s country of destination, it has become important and significant for migrants to make careers and catch up with native income levels80. This is typical of respondent D.

78 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
79 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
80 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4-5
4.4 Social Networks

By my categorization; family indicates immediate family members, friend indicates “co-ethnics, mixed co-ethnic, and non co-ethnics”, and a Swedish national indicates a native-born Swede.

Table 1.2 Types of networks indicating how individuals got their jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Via Family</th>
<th>Via Friends</th>
<th>Via A Swedish National</th>
<th>Applied Directly/No Network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1.2 above, X represents the individuals who got their jobs through various networks such as; Friends, family, or a Swedish national and the Nil represents the individuals (foreign and Swedish) who did not get their jobs through any network but applied directly for the job without any assistance. The results give an indication that social capital did play a significant role on how they got their jobs, but it is not absolute.

Analysis/Interpretation

It can be argued that the respondents, who do not speak 100% Swedish and still got jobs, basically did so due to the strength of their social capital. The result in table 1.2 shows that most of the respondents (seven out of ten) got their jobs via friends. The seven, who got their jobs via social network, probably knew that they did not have adequate personal resources, and have used the social resources to get their jobs. The result, therefore confirms the work of Lin, that there are two forms of resources which an individual can get access to and use; personal resources and social resources in trying to find a job. Lin says that “…focus is on the use of social capital by individuals – how individuals access and use resources embedded in
social network to gain returns and instrumental actions". This is typical of the respondent that got their jobs via friends, as the social resources, which Lin defines as resources that are accessed through and individual social connection or network. As for the respondents who did not use any network, but applied directly for the jobs, made use of their personal resources, which Lin defines as the resources that an individual may have at his/her possession, which can include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods, such as a diploma or a degree.

### 4.5 Employment Mobility from Home Country to Host Country

Table 1.3 Previous Employments and First Employment in Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Previous Employment/ Country</th>
<th>First/ Current Employment in Sweden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High skilled</td>
<td>Low skilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents B</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents C</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents G</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents J</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 above shows the employment mobility of the respondents from their previous employment in their home country or country of nationality to the first or current employment in Sweden. Respondents B, C, D, F, and J previously held high skilled employment status, where as respondents C, F, and J who are non Europeans, hold foreign degrees, and currently hold low skilled job except for respondent F who currently holds a high skilled job, and respondents B, and D are Swedish nationals, where as respondent B currently holds a low skilled job, and respondents D currently holds a high skilled job. Respondents A, E, G, previously held low skilled job, and are still in the secondary labour market. Respondent I; however, has no previous work experience at all. The results indicates that the Swedish

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81 Lin 2001: 21
82 Lin 2001: 21
specific human capital or its European equivalent will give a strong signal for potential employers in the Swedish labour market, when it comes to high skilled jobs.

**Analysis/Interpretation**

The result in table 1.3 shows that there is limited employment mobility of the respondents with previous employment in their home country or country of nationality to the first or current employment in Sweden. According to the results, respondents B, C, D, F, and J previously held high skilled employment status, where as respondents C, F, and J who are non Europeans, with foreign degrees, work as low skilled employee, except for respondent F who works as high skilled employee. Similarly, respondent B; although he has no previous work experience holds a College/University degree, holds a low skilled job. This situation can be confirmed in the work of Bevelander and Lundh, that the strength of the human capital obtained by an individual may vary from place to place and over time. Hence, in most cases, it may be difficult to perfectly transfer the human capital obtained by an immigrant from his/her own home country to another country. The exception of respondent F, is the right opposite, because she obtained one of her degrees in France which means that it is much easier for her human capital to be transferred to Sweden. Respondents B, and D are Swedish nationals, respondents B holds a low skilled job, and respondents D holds a high skilled job. The different situation between respondent B and D have much to do with the educational difference between the two of them and that respondent D holds a higher educational qualification than respondent B. Respondents A, E, and G, previously held low skilled job, and currently hold a secondary type of jobs. These results confirm the studies of Hasselink el al, and have shown that for many immigrants, their first occupation in Sweden for example, always have a lower socio-economic status than their home country occupation. In support of this study, the work of Wallette confirms that some kind of segmentation exists in the Swedish labour market when considering immigrants possibility of moving from a temporary job to a regular job i.e., employment mobility, and that it is usually the increase of unemployment, especially during economic recession, which basically reduces the possibility of moving from a temporary job to a regular job.

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83 Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4
84 Hasselink, et al, 2004: 11-12
85 Wallette, 2007: 19
86 Wallette, 2007: 18
4.6 Employment Mobility in the Hotel and Restaurant Sector

Questions were asked about the possibility for employment mobility in the hotel and restaurant sector, and I have transcribed the respondent’s responses as follows (see appendix):

Respondent A said that she is comfortable with the job, “because it gives me satisfaction for now, but I think I might have to change later, because it is not mentally challenging and I will not be doing the job for a long time”. She said that “this is the only job I can find, because I only have a secondary education, and most other jobs, especially require someone with a higher education, and professional experience”. She said “I feel limited to only these kinds of jobs, because (1) you really have to know someone at the top and have the right education in order to move up the employment ladder and (2) you also need to have the right experience, which I do not have”. Respondent B said that she is not too comfortable with her job, “because I am not working in line with my educational qualification and expertise”. She said that “Not really, but because there are always vacancies in the hotel and restaurant sector, irrespective of your educational qualification, I would say yes, but I hope to get a much better job later on”. She said “I do not feel limited to only these type of jobs, because I know I have a good University degree to get the right job, it is just a matter of time”. Respondent C said his job for now is not that comfortable, “because it is not creative. And that is why I am studying, so that I can get better employment opportunity in future”. But in another sense “yes because I am able to combine it with my studies”. He said that for now, this is the only job he can find, because “this type of job that I am doing does not have anything to do with someone’s education or professional work experiences, which means it is a low skilled type of job, and it is much easier to find”. He said he feels limited to only these kinds of jobs for now, because “I have not yet completed my education in Sweden, and no employer will employ me based on my foreign degree”. Respondent D said that “For now I am comfortable with my job, but I will soon change for a career in Wine and Spirit Marketing and Sales”. He said this is not the only job he can find, because “Due to my educational qualification and experience, I have multiple options in the labour market”. He said he is not in any way limited to only these kind of jobs, because “as I said earlier, I have multiple options, coupled with my experience. In addition, I have made a conscious choice to stay in this type of work”. Respondent E said that “I am very comfortable with my job, because I am working in line with my educational qualification and experience”. He said that “May be yes for now, because other advertised jobs that I know of, demands or require a specific educational qualification and experiences, which may not be in line with what I have”. He said “I do not really feel
limited to only these types of jobs, because I can equally fit into other related jobs in other sector”. **Respondent F** said that she is comfortable with the job, “because I am working in line with my educational qualification and expertise, and it gives me satisfaction”. She said that “well, may be yes, as an experienced chef or when I become a Head-Chef, but as I said earlier on, the job of a chef is a standard kind of profession, which have no limitations even in different sectors of the labour market”. She said “I do not feel limited being a chef, because I am an experienced cook in my chosen profession, and because there is a great demand for chefs nowadays”. **Respondent G** said he is not that comfortable with the job, “Because it gets boring as time goes on, and because the job tasks are the same and repetitive”. He said this is the only job he can find, because “To get better jobs in Sweden, one has to be more educated and have more skills and experiences”. He said he feels limited to only this kind of jobs, because “Other better jobs that I would have liked to get, requires professional experiences, which I do not have”. **Respondent H** said “I am comfortable with the job at the moment, because I really do not have a choice, and it is the only type of job that I can find for now”. She said that “yes, because most of the advertised jobs require higher educational qualification and experiences that I do not have, while the type of job that I am doing is the only one I can find, because it does not depend on one’s level of education, and as a result, “I feel limited to only this type of jobs, because as I have said earlier, I do not yet have what it takes to get a better job”. **Respondent I** said “I am not comfortable with my job, because I am not working in line with my field, and because the pay is low as compared to the input I give on the job, which is much stressful”. She said that “this is the only type of job I can find, because they do not just want people who can understand Swedish, but someone who speaks 100% Swedish”. “Although, there are better jobs out there, but because of the Swedish language barrier and the foreign degree that I have, I feel really limited to this kind of job”. **Respondent J** said “I am not that comfortable with the job, because it is monotonous and repetitive, and the income is not sufficient enough and most importantly, I am not working in line with my qualification”. He said this is the only job he can find, because “it is not a skilled type of job and it is the only type of jobs that is available for now, since it is the type of job that the average Swede is not willing to do”. He said that, “For now I am limited to only this kind of jobs, because I am still a student in Sweden and that I cannot yet be employed on a full-time basis, because of my studies”. The results therefore indicate that the human capital acquisition, particularly of the country of residence is much significant for employment mobility in the Swedish labour market.
Analysis/Interpretation
It can be argued that there is an indication that non-Swedish nationality and Swedes are both victims of the labour market segmentation, and their employment mobility in the hotel and restaurant sector mostly depends on the quality of their human capital and social capitals. According to Marten Wallette, in this case temporary jobs can lead to regular jobs, and it very much depends on the type of job, and most importantly the “type of employee” in question. It can therefore be deduced that factors such as, the type of educational qualification and where concluded, type of work experiences, lack of relevant work experiences, high level of unemployment, and even preferential discrimination are the possible factors that limits immigrants employment mobility in the hotel and restaurant sector of the Swedish labour market.

4.7 Professional/Occupational Mobility in the Swedish Labour Market
Respondent A said “It is quite difficult to find jobs outside the hotel and restaurant sector, especially when you do not have the right or required experience, language skills or education”. Respondent B said that “It can be very difficult, especially if you do not have the right education or degree, as well as relevant work experiences”. Respondent C “I would say that it is very difficult, since I only have a foreign degree and I do not even speak good Swedish language, despite my accumulated experiences in Agriculture”. Respondent D said “Finding other jobs outside the hotel and restaurant sector is quite possible, and it depends on one’s educational qualification, which I have” and also with the right connection, i.e. through family/friends, you can find most careers”. Respondent E said that “It might be very difficult, but since I have the right education in my chosen profession and also relevant work experience in the hotel and restaurant sector, I will always find the right job”. Respondent F said “Coupled with the fact that I have a good University education in Travel and Tourism, and in cooking, I will always have a wide range of opportunities out there that I can always fit into, especially as a chef”. Respondent G “It is very difficult, because there are too many people for the few jobs available: who are more qualified than I am”. Respondent H said “it is quite difficult, because of the economic crisis and most employers crave for the right educational qualification in the jobs they are advertising, and others only want to hire a Swedish person and not an immigrant for the same jobs”. Respondent I said “it is very difficult finding other jobs, even within the hotel and restaurant sector, because the Swedish language is always a condition and most importantly you need to have the right educational qualification”.

87 Wallette, 2007: 17
qualification, especially a degree from a Swedish University”. In addition, Employers always prefer to employ Swedish people than immigrants”. **Respondent J** “It is very difficult because there is the language barrier problem, and that I have a foreign degree, which might not be recognized here in Sweden”. The results indicate that both the social capital and the Swedish specific human capital are significant for professional/occupational mobility; the general unemployment situation can be a limiting factor too.

**Analysis/Interpretation**

The results on the professional/occupational mobility show that there are indications that there are several factors that will not allow for professional/occupational mobility of immigrants in the Swedish labour market. According to respondents D, E and F, there are possibilities for professional mobility, because they have accumulated the right Swedish specific human capital, specified by the labour market, which other immigrants’ respondents do not have. This result supports the work of Bevelander and Lundh, that individuals will have no other option, but to adjust to the new labour market they find themselves, for example, in Sweden by investing not just on the general human capital (education and work), but also in the Swedish specific human capital (language)\(^8\). This is achieved by migrants modifying their skills and acquiring new skills in the receiving country (for example, a Swedish education, Swedish language skills and culture), to be marketable for employment\(^9\). From another point of view, the results shows that respondents D and F, arrived in Sweden much earlier that other immigrant respondents, which is suspected to have given them an edge in the labour market over others. This is very much in line with the work of Borjas, that immigrants who arrived much earlier in the host country are more likely to be successful in the labour market, than the newly arrive immigrants, which is basically because longer established immigrants would have been able to acquire the host countries specific capital, like language, education e.t.c., as compared to the newly arrived immigrants that will perhaps take them a longer time to acquire such skills\(^9\). The statements from respondents I and H, also indicates that there might be some level of direct discrimination in the labour market, because some employers prefer to employ only Swedish people than immigrants, either due to colour or language skills. This supports the study of Bevelander, where direct discrimination occur, which, which is aimed directly at excluding certain people in terms of age, gender, origin, type of education, and even language. He argues that preferential discrimination in this context can be seen as a form

\(^8\) Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4  
\(^9\) Bevelander and Lundh, 2007:4  
\(^9\) Borjas, 2000: 271
of direct discrimination and it simply means discriminating a person based on “taste”\(^\text{91}\), meaning that an employer may prefer a particular category of people over another category\(^\text{92}\). The results also indicates that, apart from the Swedish language advantage, which the native Swedes have over immigrants, there was no significant difference between the employment status of immigrants and native Swedes, who have not completed a higher degree education. However, from the interview with respondent B, it can be argued that native Swedes, who have completed a higher education, will have a higher possibility of moving from secondary kind of jobs to primary kind of jobs in the labour market as compared to immigrants. There is also an indication that the respondents, who are currently working and studying at the same time, are aware of the need for a country’s specific capital that will serve as medium for employment mobility in the labour market, with the expectation that they will find better jobs at the completion of their studies. In this light, the work of Rooth and Ekberg has shown that, over time, occupational mobility increases as the immigrant acquires human capital of importance for success in the Swedish labour market\(^\text{93}\), and that “the upward occupational-status mobility is much faster among those who have invested in a Swedish academic education or in destination-specific language skills”\(^\text{94}\).

4.8 Employment Characteristics in the Hotel and Restaurant Sector

**Respondent A:** She works three hours to eight hours every working day, and her working days include weekends and some week days. She said that she finds her job interesting, because when working with other people, there is always something new. She has been on the job for seven months now, and that she has no interest in promotion. However, she is not even aware if there are possibilities for promotion or not. She said she has no job security because she was employed as an extra employee (part-time job), “when they need me I am there and when they do not, I have no income”. She said she will have future employment benefit as pension, according to the Swedish law that covers tax payers. **Respondent B:** She works five hours to eight hours every working day, and her working days include weekends and some week days. She said that she finds her job interesting, because she has learnt a lot more about restaurant management. She has been on the job for one year now, and she said that there are foreseeable possibilities for promotion to a position of a supervisor. She said she is employed as an extra employee “when they need me I am there and when they do not, I have no

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\(^{91}\) Bevelander, 2000: 25  
\(^{92}\) Bevelander, 2000: 25  
\(^{93}\) Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72  
\(^{94}\) Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 72
She said she has no job security, because she currently holds a part-time job, and she thinks employment benefit comes later on, as pension, according to the Swedish law that covers tax payers. **Respondent C:** He works eight and a half hours every working day. He works one week on, and then one week off. His working days include weekends and a day of the week. He said that he finds his job interesting, because it gives him a sense of belonging to the labour market and that his co-workers are quite accommodating and are from different background. He has been on the job for seven months now, and said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion, because a dish washer is just a dish washer and nothing more. He said that he has job security because he joined the hotel and restaurant Union, and have insured his job with an insurance company, which guarantees him on the job, in as much as he works as an extra employee (part-time). He said that he thinks his employment benefit will come up later on in future as pension, according to the Swedish law that binds tax payers. **Respondent D:** The duration of his employment is Short term, and he works part-time (80%) as an extra employee. He works eight hours and a half hours every working day, and his working days are seven nights in a row and then he is off for seven days... and it goes on like that for every other week. He said that he finds his job both interesting and not interesting. On one hand, it is interesting because while at work, he gets to learn more about social studies and human behaviour. And on the other hand, it is not interesting because it is not creative. He has been on the job as temporary position for six months now, although as extra since 2007. He said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion because the positions are characterized to have a fixed chain of command: no one is willing to move and they feel satisfied with their positions. He said that he has job security because he has a temporary contract for one year, and that he has employment benefit that comes later on, as pension, according to the Swedish law on employment, as a tax payer. **Respondent E:** He has been on the job for a year and three months now. He said “maybe” there are foreseeable possibilities for promotion, but he is not sure. He said that he has job security because he joined with the hotel and restaurant Union, and he has insurance (unemployment benefits), which guarantees him on the job, and he is entitled to 80% of his salary if he is out of job. He said that his employment benefit comes as pension, according to the Swedish law for long term employment. **Respondent F:** She has been on the job as a permanent employee for about three years now. She said that there are foreseeable possibilities for promotion to a Sous-Chef or head-Chef and that she has job security because she is part of the Union and has a good insurance company. She said that what she knows in that her employment comes as pension, according to the Swedish law on employment.
Respondent G: He works eight hours every working day, and his working days are Monday-Friday/Weekends and some week days. He said that he finds his job interesting because his co-workers are friendly and “I love my plates”. He has been on the job as full-time position for about two years now, since February 2008. He said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion because “I do not have experience or the required education”. He said that he has job security because he is a member of the Union and he is registered for unemployment benefit, and that his employment benefit which comes later on in future, as pension. Respondent H: She works eight hours every working day, and she works Monday to Friday (week days only). She said that she finds her job interesting basically because she has no other alternative, but to like it because it was difficult getting the job. She has been on the job for barely one month now as extra since 1st of November, 2009. However, she said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion because the job is not permanent, and that she has no job security because she is new at the job. She said that her employment benefit can only come later on in future, as pension if she keeps on working. Respondent I: She works five to eight hours every working day, and she works on weekends and some week days (Tuesdays to Sundays). She said that she finds her job interesting basically because she has experienced and gained knowledge in a new field and of course, for the money. She has been on the job for about 2 years, since 2008. However, she said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion because the job is not skilled, and that she has no job security because the job is unskilled. She said that she gets employment benefit from her employer as monthly bonus, which is included in her salary. Respondent J: He works six hours every working day, and he works on weekends only. He said that he finds the job interesting basically because his co-workers are all friendly and fun to be with. He has been on the job since 2008 and he said that there are no foreseeable possibilities for promotion because it is a temporary job and not qualification based, and that he has no job security because the job is temporary. He said that he does not think he has employment benefit of any kind, because he works part-time. It can therefore be deduced that the characteristics of jobs in the hotel and restaurant employment sector varies for employee to employee, and that the level of job security might be dependent on the type of job and the individual employee.

Analysis/Interpretation
The results show that the employment characteristics in the hotel and restaurant sector is much reflected on the wages and the labour market segmentation features, and that a secondary labour market is discernable where there are little or no opportunities for training or advancement and the characteristics of the work in most cases is menial and repetitive, and
there is usually no way up the employment ladder. The flexibility of the jobs in the hotel and restaurant sector makes it possible for students at school and in higher education to combine studies and earn money at the same time. The results supports the study of Verjans et al, that they work during unsocial hours and with long working times, because of the extra pay, and they often like the dynamic social environment of café’s bars, restaurants and discotheques.\textsuperscript{95} The results also indicate that some of the respondents working in the secondary type of jobs have job security, which depends on individual interest of belonging to the Union, irrespective of the duration of their employment. This is confirmed in the work of Adda et al, because Sweden operates a generous welfare system, which was among others, designed primarily to manage the unemployed, and in the late 90s (1996-1998) it took the form of unemployment insurance, which is 80% of the individual salary in the previous jobs, and that for an individual to be eligible, the individual must have worked for a least “80 days over 5 calendar months during the previous 12 months” and it “can always be renewable through an additional 80 days over 5 calendar months of work” or through other related alternative programmes that are also accessible to the unemployed, which include all types of jobs, whether secondary or primary.\textsuperscript{96}

\subsection*{4.9 Employment and Wages}

Table 1.4 Types of Employment and Average Wage Range after Tax

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>Wage After Tax (SEK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long term</td>
<td>Short term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent B</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent C</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent F</td>
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<td>Respondent G</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent H</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent J</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{95} Verjans et al, 2007, 36
\textsuperscript{96} Adda et al, 2007: 6
Table 1.4 above shows that respondent A, B, D, H, and J holds short term and part-time job contracts, were respondents A and H have the same wage range, while respondent D has a higher wage range, and respondent J has a far less wage range. Respondents C, and I holds long term and part-time job contracts, were respondent C’s wage is less than that of respondents I. Respondents E, F, and G holds long term and full-time job contracts, were respondents E and F have the same wage range, while G has a lesser wage range.

Analysis/Interpretation
The results on table 1.4 e shows that respondents exhibited a high degree of wage difference, irrespective of there job contracts, which may be due to the variation in employment characteristics. However, the study of Fine gives a clue to their wage difference, that certain factors such as capital-intensity, trade unions, market concentration and individual characteristics, interplay to induce/influence wages differentials in the labour market97.

4.10 Employment features in the Hotel and Restaurant Sector
1.5 Overview of the job definition in the hotel and restaurant sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Skilled/high skilled</th>
<th>Unskilled/low killed</th>
<th>Decent wage</th>
<th>Poor wage</th>
<th>Secure employment</th>
<th>Insecure employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent B</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent C</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Respondent E</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Respondent F</td>
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<td>Respondent G</td>
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<td>Respondent H</td>
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<td>Respondent I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent J</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5 above shows that respondents A and I job features are low skilled/unskilled, of a decent wage and insecure employment. For respondent B, H and J their job features are low skilled/unskilled, poor wage and insecure employment. Respondent C job feature is low skilled/unskilled, poor wage and secure employment. Respondent D and F job features are

97 Fine, 1997: 63-64
skilled, poor wage and secure employment. Respondent E job feature is low skilled, decent wage and secure employment. Respondent G sees the job as low skilled/unskilled, decent wage and secure employment.

Analysis/Interpretation
The results of table 1.5 with respect to employment features in the hotel and restaurant sector shows that (a) Respondents B, H and J employment: features a labour market of low skilled/unskilled, poor wage and insecure employment, which among others confirms the work of Edwards, Reich, and Gordon (1975) in Brettel and Hollifield, that there exists two separate and distinct labour market, that is “(1) a primary labour market of good jobs, decent wages, and secure employment and (2) the secondary labour of unskilled jobs, poor wages, and insecure employment”\(^98\). But, the results further reveals that the labour market is much more complex, if compared to the simple divide into the two segments. For example, the results show how people do not fit in either the primary or the secondary labour market, which much indicate features different from the theoretical models. They are; (b) Respondents A and I employment: features a labour market of low skilled/unskilled, decent wage and insecure employment; (c) Respondent C employment: features a labour market of low skilled/unskilled, poor wage and secure employment; (d) Respondent D and F employment: features a labour market of skilled, poor wage and secure employment; and (e) Respondents E and G employment: features a labour market of low skilled/unskilled, decent wage and secure employment. It is evident that, there is an indication that the complex labour market feature, is probably because the hotel and restaurant is run by different local, national and international investors, who all operates in conformation or under the Swedish labour market law and policy. However, based on the studies of the Open University, it is much difficult to fully understand the labour market disadvantage of the different identities of the primary and secondary labour segments. In addition, the constraints they place on the workers are not clearly defined\(^99\), because of the existing distinction of the dual characteristics of jobs between primary (core) and secondary (periphery) industrial sectors, as well as in various service sectors. The result is relevant and significant because, the studies of the Open University have pointed out that “in the core sectors, firms have monopoly power, production is on a large scale, extensive use is made of capital-intensive methods of production and there is strong trade union representation.” This is typical of national and international investors. On the contrary, “employment in the periphery is located in small firms that employ labour-

\(^98\) Brettell and Hollifield, 2008: 87  
\(^99\) Open University (see reference)
intensive methods of production, operate in competitive local product markets and have low levels of unionization”\textsuperscript{100}. This explanation; however, gives an explanation to and as well confirms the reason for the variations of the labour market features in this study.

\textsuperscript{100} Open University (see reference)
Chapter Five

5. Summary and Conclusion

I would like to strongly emphasise that the results and analysis of this study do not allow for generalizing for all entire immigrants having jobs in the hotel and restaurant sector, but is based on a research population of the 10 respondents interviewed, and that this study focuses more on the immigrants’ respondents. I would also like to reiterate, as I noted earlier in Chapter three, that the reason for including native Swedes in the study is to try to find out if there will be a significant difference in the situational job condition of immigrants and native Swedes alike, working in the same sector.

The overall results of this study shows that the employment characteristics in the hotel and restaurant sector can be quite complex in reality, but well understood from the theoretical concepts of the segmented labour market, the human capital theory, the signal theory, the social capital, and discrimination as it were. However, the study have indicated that the Swedish specific human capital or its European equivalent will give more signal for potential employers in the Swedish labour market, when it comes to high skilled jobs. There is also an indication that the human capital acquisition, particularly of the country of residence is much significant for employment mobility in the Swedish labour market. It is much evident that individuals and immigrant workers in particular, take part in the world of work in different ways, and include school students on work experience placement, vocational training college student on company placements, student at work in their spare time (during holidays, at weekend or in the evening) and young people who have finished education and are starting their careers"101. However, the present and future occupation/professional mobility in the labour market can be determined by a combination of the type of the human capital and the social capital.

The study gives an indication that social capital did play a significant role on how immigrants find jobs, but not absolutely. It can therefore be deduced that factors such as the type of educational qualification and where concluded, type of work experiences, lack of relevant work experiences, high level of unemployment, and even preferential discrimination are the possible factors that interplay to pose a limitation to immigrants’ general employment, occupational/professional mobility in the Swedish labour market. It can be argued that this study confirms the existence of the theoretical divide of the labour market, and at the same

101 Verjans et al, 2007, 18
time may, if compared to the simple theoretical divide; does not conform to the theoretical segmentation because the study reveals that the labour market feature can be more complex in reality. This is much significant in this study, because it is much evident from the results of the study that some of the respondents do not perfectly fit into either the primary or the secondary labour market, but indicate features different from the theoretical divide of the labour market.

In summary, the general review of the Swedish labour market condition based on the 10 respondents, gives a broad understanding on the labour market structure and characteristics, and the role it plays in determining the present or future employment situations of these immigrants working in the hotel and restaurant sector. The result of this study supports the work of Fine, that segmentation of labour exists because the labour market is no longer working as it should, basically because the labour market consist of a wide range of sectors, where different factors which includes capital-intensity, trade unions, market concentration and individual characteristics such as age, gender and race, interplay to influence wages differentials in an ideal imperfectly working labour market102.

This study answers the research question that there are factors limiting immigrants only to the Secondary labour market, within the Hotel and Restaurant sector and that immigrants’ are faced with different experiences in the Hotel and Restaurant sector. Hence, this study, which is based on the 10 respondents interviewed in the hotel and restaurant employment sector thus gives an indication with regards to employment mobility that Immigrants with foreign College/University educational qualification working in the Swedish labour market cannot find jobs beyond the secondary labour market. The study also gives an indication that the low educational level of the immigrants in the host country also limits immigrants to the Secondary labour market. Hence the study supports the two hypotheses that: (1) Immigrants with foreign degrees (qualifications) who are working in the secondary labour market within the Hotel and Restaurant sector would not find jobs beyond the secondary labour market, and (2) The low educational level of the immigrants is the factor limiting immigrants to the secondary labour market within the Hotel and Restaurant sector.

Further research should try to take up other employment sectors of the Swedish labour market, a larger research population and also try to specify the type of friends in terms of

102 Fine, 1997: 63-64
social network to getting jobs, since this is the actual network suspected to be more helpful to immigrants in finding most of the secondary kind of jobs. In addition, the issue of discrimination should as well be taken up extensively.
References


Internet sources


Retrieved on 2009-11-09.


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Interview with respondents C: on November 25, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents D: on November 21, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents E: on November 26, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents F: on November 22, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents G: on December 03, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents H: on November 23 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents I: on November 24, 2009, Malmö.
Interview with respondents J: on November 25, 2009, Malmö.
Appendix

Interview questions for individuals working in the hotel and restaurant employment sector

1. What is your background?
   - Age
   - Sex
   - Country of origin
   - Country of nationality
   - Working experience

2. What is your educational background?
   (a) Below Secondary education
   (b) Secondary education
   (c) College/University education
   (d) Vocational education
   (e) Other skills............................................................

   Where concluded........................................and what year..........................

3. Have you completed any Swedish education? Yes ( ) No ( )
   If Yes, when...........................
   Which programme and at what level?..........................................

4. Are you currently in school?
   If yes, please give reason............
   Which programme and at what level?.....................................
   Why are you working simultaneously?.................................
5. When did you come to Sweden? Month (    ) Year (    )

6. Which languages do you speak well?

7. Was the Swedish language a condition to getting your job? Yes (    ) No (    )
If yes, how well do you Speak Swedish? (Fluently, intermediate, basic, none)
Write Swedish? (Fluently, intermediate, basic, none)
Read Swedish? (Fluently, intermediate, basic, none)

8. What type of social network do you have in Sweden?
(a) Ethnic/family/your own national
(b) Friends: co-ethnics (    ), mixed (    ), non co-ethnics (    )
(c) A Swedish national
(d) Other…………………………………………………………

9. Why did you choose to come to Sweden?
(a) Family re-unification
(b) Asylum seeking
(c) Employment
(d) Other…………………………………………………………

10. Under what circumstances did you come to Sweden?

11. Are you planning to settle in Sweden?
If yes, give reason…………………………………………………………
If no, give reason…………………………………………………………
12. Is this your first job in Sweden?
If yes, what type of job were you trying to get before now?
If no, what types of job did you have before in Sweden?

13. How was it like getting your current job? And please explain why in either case…
   (a) Difficult
   (b) Easy
   And when did you start your current job?

14. What is your job description?

15. What are your job tasks?

16. How did you get the job?
   (a) Through the Swedish employment agency (arbetsförmedlingen)
   (b) Through family/relatives
   (c) Through a friend
   (d) Other job agents…………………………………………………
   (e) Through recommendation

17. What is the duration of your employment? Please specify…
   (a) Short term
   (b) Long term
18. What is your average wage per month after tax?
   (a) Less than 5,000 SEK                (d) 10,000-1399 SEK
   (b) 5,000-7499 SEK                  (e) 14,000 SEK- 17,999 SEK
   (c) 7500-10,999 SEK                (f) 18,000 SEK and above

19. Do you work full-time or part-time?

20. How many hours do you work in a day?

21. Do you work every day? Please specify
   (a) Monday – Friday............................................................
   (b) Weekends only.................................................................
   (c) Weekends and some week days........................................

22. Do you find your job interesting? Yes (    ) No (     )
    If yes, please give reason.............................................
    If no please give reason...............................................    

23. Is your work connected to your qualification? Yes (    ) No (    )
    If yes, please explain why.............................................
    If no, please explain why?................................................

24. How long have you been on the job?
25. How do you see your job? (Multi-answer category) please pick options as appropriate.

(a) Low/unskilled job          (d) High skilled job
(b) Poor wage                   (e) Decent wage
(c) Insecure employment         (f) Secure employment

26. Are there any foreseeable possibilities of being promoted on the job?

If yes, to what?.............................

If no, why not?..............................

27. How is it like finding other jobs outside the hotel and restaurant sector?

28. Is this the only type of job you can find?

29. Do you feel limited to only these kinds of jobs?

30. Are you comfortable with your job?

31. Do you have job security? Yes (    ) No (    )

Please specify which one or type.................................................................

32. Do you have employment benefits? Yes (    ) No (    )

If yes, from where do you get such benefits?

If no, why not?.................................

(a) Governmental support

(b) Pension

(d) Employer: monthly bonus (    ), end of year bonus (    )

(c) Others........................................