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*Entrance, Exit and Exclusion: Labour
Market Flows of Foreign Born Adults in
Swedish "Divided Cities"*

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Labour Market Flows of Foreign Born Adults in Swedish 'Divided Cities'

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Abstract

International migrants often achieve subordinate positions in the labour market or are left outside it. On the basis of unique, longitudinal data, this article investigates the socio-economic mobility of the foreign-born adult population in two Swedish cities, 1993–2002. Patterns of entrance, exit and exclusion from the labour market are compared between foreign- and native-born populations, focussing on variations between ‘distressed’ neighbourhoods and surrounding city regions. The results reveal that the foreign-born population experiences high labour turnover, generally with increasing employment stability, but that considerable vulnerability remains. However, surprisingly small differences were found between residents of ‘distressed’ and other neighbourhoods. Consequently, ethnic rather than residential status influenced the employment situation of foreign-born adults in Swedish cities.

Keywords: Labour mobility, segregation, foreign born, life course, Sweden

Introduction

Western metropolitan areas are often pictured as ‘divided cities’, which are separated into residential areas of wealth and poverty, and of natives and foreigners (Andersson, 1999; Fainstein, Gordon et al., 1992; Scholar, 2006). The process of socio-economic and ethnic segregation in Western cities has been explained by a variety of factors. Economic and political structures, such as the globalised economy and the retreat of the welfare state, act as severe restrictions to the individual’s choice of residence (Hamnett, 1994; 1996; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998; Sassen, 2001). Intra-urban structures further perpetuate segregation through the mechanism of ‘neighbourhood effects’ (Friedrichs, Galster et al., 2003; Murie and Musterd, 2004; Musterd and Andersson, 2006). The negative influence that individuals gain from their social surroundings impede the employment careers of inhabitants of less affluent areas. Affected social network qualities, and stigmatised residential areas, slow down individual careers, which in turn contributes to continuing segregation, proceeding in a negative spiral.

The evidence of economic divergence and ethnic separation within urban areas justifies an additional analysis of ‘divided cities’ from a labour market perspective. International migrants tend to occupy the lowest positions in the labour market or are left outside. According to contemporary social theories, labour markets could be approached as fluid, but highly separated spaces, which are part of the individual life course (Coe and Kelly, 2000; Giele and Elder, 1998; Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Hudson, 2004; Martin and Morrison, 2003; Peck, 1989). Continuous and multidirectional flows constitute the labour market as individuals enter and leave positions within it. Education, parental leave, unemployment and migration are all examples

of mobilities that constitute substantial parts of individual life and simultaneously shape the labour market (see f.i. Giele and Elder, 1998; Hägerstrand, 1975). The event of international migration puts the individual in a vulnerable situation in the host society. Being in a minority position, migrants become subject to structures in the labour market such as segmentation, ethnic discrimination and unequal access to social capital (Fine, 1997; Glazer, 1975; Granovetter, 2005; Lange and Westin, 1981; Morrison, 1990; Peck, 2005). Dependent on the group to which they belong, many individuals would thus be excluded from the labour market. Others would attend positions in a segmented labour market, which are both subordinate and unstable (Fine, 1997; Morrison, 1990).

This article considers further the labour market position of vulnerable populations in Western 'divided cities'. It examines the entrance, exit and exclusion of the foreign born adult population in Swedish cities from the perspective of 'distressed' neighbourhoods. To describe the socio-economic mobility of individuals in time and space, Hägerstrand (1975) used the concept of *livelihood positions*. In this article, the development and interrelations of three livelihood positions, *employment*, *vulnerable positions* and other *life course events*, are investigated over a ten-year period (1993-2002). The foreign born population from 'distressed' neighbourhoods in two Swedish cities, Stockholm and Malmö, is compared with the equivalent population residing in the surrounding large city regions, as well as with the Swedish born population. The concern is the cohort of the 25-40 year olds, individuals at a stage in the life course when they ought to participate in the labour market.

The vulnerable position of international migrants in a fluid but structured labour market has implications for the proposed result of this study. On the one hand, the participation of foreign born workers in the labour market would be restricted and hence lower than that of the native population. On the other hand, foreign born workers would have a higher turnover both into and out from the labour market, due to a combination of their weaker positions in the labour market and also their possible improvement over time. Accordingly, among the foreign born population, a complex mix would appear of individuals who are excluded from the labour market, individuals who improve their situation over time and individuals who leave the labour market prematurely. Moreover, according to the hypothesis of neighbourhood effects, the socio-economic improvement would be less successful among individuals from 'distressed' neighbourhoods than from others. This leads to the following research questions: (1) Is mobility towards employment part of the individual life course of foreign born adults in Sweden? (2) Do foreign born adults have a higher turnover in the labour market?, and (3) Does the population of 'distressed' neighbourhoods experience less advancement in the labour market than populations from the surrounding large city regions?

The article starts with a short introduction of the situation of the foreign born population in the Swedish labour market. Thereafter follows the empirical analysis, where the dataset is described before the introduction of empirical results. Firstly, the development of employment is described on an aggregate level. Secondly, the gross flows between livelihood positions are elaborated on. Lastly, socio-economic mobility is matched with geographical mobility within the 'divided city'.

Foreign born in the Swedish labour market

Since World War II, Sweden has been a country of immigration. The foreign born population in Sweden increased from 4 per cent in 1940, to 7 per cent in 1970 and 12 percent in 2005 (1.1 million inhabitants). However, as in other Western countries, the character of migration has changed within this time period, parallel with transforming economies and constrained immigration policies (Bevelander, 1999; Cornelius and Rosenblum, 2005; Freeman, 1995; Martinsson, 2002; Scott, 1999). Labour migration, consisting of migrants who arrived in Sweden from Finland and Southern Europe to work in the manufacturing sector, in the mid-1970s was replaced by a restricted reception of asylum seekers from non-Western countries, and by the families of previous migrants. The effect of immigration on the Swedish economy, which from 1950 to 1970 had been positive, now turned negative, along with the large-scale economic downturn in the 1990s (Ekberg, 1999).

The economic recession in the 1990s hit the Swedish economy harder than most other Western countries (Martinsson, 2002; Palme, Bergmark et al., 2002). The rates of open unemployment escalated and income inequalities increased. Mostly hit within this process was the foreign born population, whose employment levels sank dramatically. The chances for immigrants to enter the Swedish labour market after immigration lowered with five to seven years (Rooth and Åslund, 2003). Income inequalities increased during the 1990s as an effect of the economic crises (Palme, Bergmark et al., 2002). Cutbacks in the social security system to balance the Swedish economy coincided with a large in-flow of refugees (Bergmark and Bäckman, 2004). Consequently, the economic recovery after the mid-1990s has not included all groups: a parallel increase of long-term social assistance recipiency has been the reality for many immigrants and grew by 500 per cent from 1990 to 1998. On the other hand, however, newly arrived migrants tended to be the most vulnerable population, while their situation generally improved over time (Integrationsverket, 2006; Nekby, 2002). Foreign born persons who have lived in Sweden for a long time have improved their situation in the labour market and reached a better occupational position (Rooth and Ekberg, 2006: 57).

According to several empirical studies, the employment gap between natives and immigrants in the Swedish labour market can be explained by ethnic discrimination (Åslund and Rooth, 2005; de los Reyes, 2000;

Hermelin, 2005; Knocke, 2000; Lange and Westin, 1981; Pred, 2000; Rydgren, 2004). Low employment levels, despite equal educational achievement, indicates unfavourable selection in the labour market (Rooth and Ekberg, 2006). Migrants who are stereotyped as 'others' were adversely treated within recruitment procedures (Hermelin, 2005). Furthermore, the lower extent of migrants' social networks affected labour market entry, and directed them to lower positions in the labour market (Behtoui, 2004; Olli Segendorf, 2005). Ethnic sorting in the labour market has also inclined occupational segregation, with an overrepresentation of the foreign born population in low-skilled and low-waged sectors (Nordström Skans and Åslund, 2005; Rooth and Åslund, 2003; Wadensjö, 1975). Occupational differences, however, could not explain the total income inequality gap (le Grand and Szulkin, 2002).

Parallel with this development, segregation increased in Swedish cities during the 1990s (Andersson, 1998; Andersson and Bråmås, 2004; Hårsman, 2006). As new migrant groups arrived to Sweden, they tended to end up in less affluent areas, where instead groups who were better off, often with a Swedish background, moved out. Consequently, this socio-economically and ethnically selective migration process significantly increased segregation in Swedish cities (Andersson and Bråmås, 2004). Negative branding and public attitudes further contributed to stigmatise distinct residential areas as scenes of high unemployment and criminality (Bodström, 2005; Molina, 1997; Wingborg, 2005). Furthermore, a frequent explanation for segregation in Sweden has been that 'neighbourhood effects' hamper the development. Musterd and R. Andersson (2006) found that the employment effect from 1991 to 1999 on the working-age population was negative, although small, if an individual had lived in a less affluent area. Investigating the same time period, E. Andersson and Subramanian (2006) found that a neighbourhood's socio-economic resources and demographic stability strongly affected the educational level of adolescents (see also Andersson, 2004). However, considering the period from the 1960s to the early 1980s, Brännström (2004; 2005) did not find support for neighbourhood effects on the socio-economic career of the young cohort who grew up in poor neighbourhoods in Stockholm.

These findings all serve as a background to understand the labour mobility of foreign born people in Swedish 'divided cities'. It is timely, being situated in the upturn of the economic cycle from the crises in the 1990s, when employment rose among the foreign born. Spatially, it is located in two Swedish cities, Stockholm and Malmö, which in Swedish governmental development programmes have been targeted to include particularly 'distressed' neighbourhoods.

Entrance, Exit and Flows in the Labour Market

Data and Categorisations

To examine the mobility of foreign born adults in the Swedish labour market from an urban perspective, this article examines unique longitudinal data from Statistics Sweden. The data base (PLACE) contains detailed demographic, economic and geographic data of all individuals in Sweden, which are available annually. This enables the researcher to design their own categories of investigation and to follow them across time. In this study, groups of population, employment status and residential areas have been categorised and followed between 1993 and 2002. The data has been analysed descriptively and compares gross and net flows of population groups between livelihood positions (see also Morrison and Berezovsky, 2003).

The comparative mode was preceded through the investigation of eight categories, which were based on individuals' place of birth, as well as regional belonging in Sweden and neighbourhood type in 1993 (Table 1). Individuals who resided in 'distressed' neighbourhoods in Stockholm and Malmö were compared with individuals from the surrounding large city regions, and were further analysed on their ethnic background. Only individuals who were born outside Western Europe (OWE) were included in the definition of the foreign born population. The employment levels in 1993, which formed the basis for this decision, contained large variations between various countries of origin (Table 2). Individuals in Malmö who came from Western Asia and Africa had extremely low participation in the labour market, whereas Nordic and EU15 countries had particularly high rates, which is why they were excluded from the analysis¹.

The categorisation of residential areas refers to the official definition of 'distressed neighbourhoods' (Storstadskommittén, 1997, p. 28). These areas, defined due to the lowest mean income, have been the focus of the Area Based Policy Program (1998-2004) in Sweden (Proposition, 1997/98:165). Stockholm and Malmö, the first and third largest cities in Sweden, contain 20 out of the 24 'distressed' neighbourhoods (Figure 1).² Furthermore, the 'distressed' areas contained a considerably higher share of foreign born population than the surrounding city regions (Table 1). The large city regions hold a particular position in Sweden, both regarding population size and structure, and the economic development (ITPS, 2002; 2006; SCB, 2007). They contain half of the Swedish population, who are younger and more highly educated than average, with a higher share of the foreign born population. Economically, they comprise around half of the Swedish GDP (2004). As the capital region, Stockholm tends to be the region with the strongest economic development, particularly at the end of the 1990s, and with a higher degree of knowledge intensive and service oriented industry than Malmö.

The study concerns the adult cohort born 1953 to 1968 in order to include a group that ought to be participating in the labour market during the investigated period (they were aged 25-40 in 1993 and 34-49 in 2002). As can be seen in Table 3, the Swedish born group in 'distressed' areas had a higher share of the youngest age group, whereas foreign born who lived outside the 'distressed' areas contained a larger share of the oldest age group. Furthermore, the share of men was particularly high in the 'distressed' areas. In order to diminish these effects, the analysis has been standardised according to an index by gender and age.

The investigated cohort has internal differences regarding length of time of residence in Sweden and educational background. The educational level varied between the 'distressed' and surrounding large city regions, with lower educational levels in the 'distressed' areas, particularly in the foreign born population (Table 4). Regarding the length of stay in Sweden, the differences were not that obvious. Only foreign born people who resided in 'distressed' areas in Malmö had arrived in Sweden later than those in the surrounding, large city region. This could affect the result, since the foreign born population in Stockholm could have adjusted to Swedish society to a larger degree than the population in Malmö.

In this analysis, a measure of employment status has been calculated on the basis of data from income tax returns in Sweden. The highest declared source of income of each individual was calculated annually and was then categorised into three main livelihood positions: *employment*³, *vulnerable positions* and *life course events*. Only individuals who earned more than the basic amount geared to the price index were counted as 'employed'. Individuals whose income depended on *social security allowance*, *unemployment benefits* and *other vulnerable positions*⁴ were counted as 'vulnerable'. The category of 'life course events' included the variables; *student*, *parental leave*, *old-age pension* and *other events*⁵ together with the positions of *emigration* and *death* (see also Tables 7 and 8).

Individuals who lacked any registered income have been excluded from the analysis for that particular year. As can be seen in Table 5, the share of missing values varied considerably between years. As a consequence, in the cross-tabulations between pairs of years only those individuals have been included who held known livelihood positions for both years. Furthermore, the share of missing values was considerably higher among the foreign than the Swedish born population. Probably this includes both individuals who lacked income or worked in the informal sector, and individuals who had left the country but still figured in population registers.

Converging life courses

The empirical analysis of international migrants on the Swedish labour market visualises patterns of both vulnerability and mobility. At the starting

point of the study, in 1993, the foreign born population participated in the labour market to a significantly lower degree than the Swedish population (Table 6). Although the studied cohort was in a stage of the life course when they would be expected to participate in the labour market (25-40 years), less than 50 per cent of the foreign born persons were employed. The comparative rate of Swedes was generally around 80 per cent, and was especially high in Stockholm's non-distressed areas. Unexpectedly, the effect of living in 'distressed' neighbourhoods was small in Stockholm. Here, the foreign born population had a lower employment rate than the native population, but no larger differences existed towards foreign born in other areas. In Malmö, on the other hand, both foreign and Swedish born populations, who lived in 'distressed' neighbourhoods, had lower employment rates than the corresponding populations outside these areas. Consequently, in this adult cohort, differences in employment concerned ethnicity rather than type of residential area, and they contained an important regional factor.

The particularly unfavourable position of the foreign born population who resided in the 'distressed' areas of Malmö in 1993 is manifested in the statistic that only one-quarter were employed (Table 6). Instead, 60 percent had a vulnerable livelihood position, which corresponded with 30-40 percent in the other groups of foreign born. In all Swedish populations, irrespective of residential area, the vulnerable share of the population was considerably lower. However, the native born population in Malmö's 'distressed' neighbourhoods contained a relatively high degree of vulnerability. Vulnerability among the foreign born populations in 'distressed' areas was explained by a high share of social allowances, whereas slightly fewer people had qualified for the more beneficial unemployment insurance (Table 7). Opposite figures were noticed among the Swedish populations.

The additional livelihood position to employment and vulnerability, life course events, was in 1993 higher among foreign than Swedish born individuals. It was also higher in Malmö than Stockholm, regardless of the country of birth. The main part was students or individuals on parental leave. The latter was particularly common among foreign born in 'distressed' neighbourhoods (Table 7).

When the cohort was followed over time, the unequal distribution between groups diminished slightly. During 1993-2002, the employment of the foreign born population increased to a larger extent than the Swedish born in both 'distressed' and other residential areas. The foreign born population in 'distressed' neighbourhoods had an annual increase of 1.7 – 1.9 percent and a slightly slower pace of 1.4 – 1.5 percent in the surrounding areas (Table 6). Consequently, in 2002, the share of employment had increased significantly within all groups of foreign born. The highest increase was among foreign born persons living in 'distressed' areas in Stockholm, who

now reached the same employment level as the foreign born population from other areas in Stockholm. The same increasing tendency occurred for foreign born from Malmö's 'distressed' neighbourhoods, but from a considerably lower starting point. On the contrary, the Swedish born in Stockholm had almost no annual growth, and in Malmö 0.5-0.8 percent. Still, the Swedish born population continued to have higher overall employment levels and a significant employment gap between the native and foreign born groups remained.

Although the increase in employment was noteworthy among the foreign born, the reduction in vulnerability was even larger (Table 6). A particular decrease occurred within the population from 'distressed' neighbourhoods, above all from Malmö, where both individuals who received social allowances and those who were unemployed changed their livelihood position (Table 8). In 2002, the share of 'vulnerable populations' in 'distressed' neighbourhoods had almost been halved. While the annual decrease in vulnerability among all foreign born populations was more than 2 percent, it was less than 0.4 percent in all Swedish groups, except for the native population in Malmö's 'distressed' neighbourhoods.

The reduced vulnerability of foreign born persons had its explanation not only in increasing employment figures but also in a general expansion of other life course events (Table 6). The main explanation for this was an increasing tendency to migrate abroad, particularly among foreign born from other areas than the 'distressed' neighbourhoods (Table 8). The increase in other life course events was strongest among migrants living in 'distressed' areas in Malmö, where additionally an increased share of students occurred as a result of a major political programme on education for migrants. In all other population groups the share of students decreased. Although they were all still of working age, a small part of this cohort had already become eligible to receive the old age pension.

Flows of exchange between livelihood positions

The overall tendency of the foreign born population in Sweden thus was one of decreasing vulnerability and growing employment, both within and outside of 'distressed' neighbourhoods. However, this argument is based on net figures and does not show the actual flows of individuals between livelihood positions. According to the theoretical framework, labour markets are constituted of multiple flows of entrance and exit that operate across livelihood positions (Hudson, 2004; Hägerstrand, 1975). The analysis of individual life paths and the everyday practice of what people actually *do* in the labour market would instead require the investigation of actual flows of exchange between the labour market and other positions.

In this article, flows between livelihood positions have been analysed between pairs of years. The position each individual held one year (T) has been cross tabulated with the position the following year (T+1). The procedure was repeated for each pair of years in the investigated time period

(1993-1994, 1994-1995 ... 2001-2002). Lastly, the development over time was summarised as a mean value of the calculated flows (Table 9).

The analysis of actual flows gives a different picture of the development in the labour market from the net flows. Even though the annual growth rates of foreign born groups were increasing, this overall positive tendency comes in a less favourable light when considering gross flows (Table 9). Whereas the annual average of the foreign born to enter the labour market from vulnerable positions was 12 to 20 percent, this inflow for the Swedish born was 26-27 percent. An exception concerned the Swedish born population from the 'distressed' areas. Even larger differences existed between Swedish and foreign born people regarding the mobility to employment from life course positions, with higher inflows for the former group.

Although the general development was one of increasing employment, there was also a continuous loss of individuals from employment to vulnerable positions (Table 9). These outflows were up to seven times higher among foreign than Swedish born workers. The outflows from employment to life course positions were generally low among all groups. Among foreign born, however, the mobility from vulnerable positions to other life course positions was prominent.

Accordingly, despite the general upward spiral of conditions for foreign born, their 'mobility pace' towards employment was slower when one considers the population stock within vulnerable and life course positions. Vulnerable Swedes generally had a faster entrance onto the labour market, and a less frequent loss into vulnerability. Additionally, repeating the pattern from above, the foreign born from Malmö's 'distressed' areas had the least favourable development, whereas the same group from Stockholm equalled the foreign born from other neighbourhoods.

What explains the employment growth of the foreign born is thus the mobility into the labour market in relation to the total population. The inflows to the labour market here exceeded the outflows to vulnerable positions. Related to the vulnerable population and the population who occupied other life course positions, however, the pace of entering the labour market was slower. Accordingly, there was a general upward mobility of foreign born in terms of increasing entrance on the labour market, but with two important facts concealed. Firstly, the mobility from both vulnerable and life course positions to the labour market was faster among Swedish than foreign born populations. Secondly, there was a higher turnover on the labour market for the foreign born population, with high figures of both entrance to and exit from the labour market. An important question to answer is thus if this mobility concerned the same individuals, circulating between employment and vulnerability, or if a pattern of stability developed over time.

Stability and polarisation

Directly related to the dynamic view on the labour market is the concept of stability (Hanson, 2005; Hudson, 2004). A flow from one point is always directed towards the composition of flows and stability of another point. In an analysis across time, the most common development is simply to remain on the same position (see f.i. Morrison and Berezovsky, 2003). In this investigation as well, the most common event in the life course was stability on a livelihood position (Table 9). The most stable pattern concerned employment. Thus, individuals who had a job tended to remain employed to a larger degree than individuals in vulnerable positions or with an income from other life course events. This tendency was the same for all investigated groups. However, the degree of employment stability was higher for Swedish than foreign born, and lowest among foreign born from 'distressed' areas in Malmö.

When considering the development over time, increasing employment stability occurs within all groups (Table 10). The largest increase from 1993 to 2002 was among foreign born populations, and particularly the foreign born population from 'distressed' areas increased their probability of remaining employed. Also life course events, which in 1993 mainly included occasional positions such as studying or parental leave, became ever more stable, as they came to include the durable states of emigration, death or old-age pension (Tables 7 and 8). Naturally, this is a pattern which continues as the cohort grows older and among foreign born populations as they migrate abroad, in many cases probably returning to their country of origin.

The positive development in the life course of many foreign born is shown in the decreasing stability of vulnerability (Table 10). Whereas the stability of the Swedish born groups increased, it decreased among all foreign born groups and most strongly among the foreign born from 'distressed' neighbourhoods. This development resulted in strong convergence between the populations. In the end, foreign born from 'distressed' neighbourhoods in Stockholm actually had as low stability on vulnerable positions as the population residing in surrounding areas.

The tendency of stability of employment and other life course positions, together with a continuous decrease in vulnerability, indicates an upward trend for the majority of the foreign born population. This development was strongest for individuals from 'distressed' neighbourhoods, who increasingly tended to remain employed. The tendency stands in sharp contrast to the increasing stability among Swedes occupying vulnerable positions. However, even though employment stability was increasing among foreign born, it is a process that starts from a low level for a highly vulnerable group. Thus, parallel with the upward mobility, a large group of individuals remains who are left in vulnerability. The convergence of stability in vulnerable positions between the foreign born and native populations

indicates that these individuals had all reached low probabilities of entering the labour market. The exposure of both foreign born and native Swedish who remained in vulnerable positions should thus not be forgotten.

Residential mobility and employment

So far, this study has investigated the social improvement of population groups with reference to their place of residence in 1993. However, 'distressed' neighbourhoods are characterised by high rates of residential mobility, and are socio-economically and ethnically selective (Andersson and Bråmås, 2004; Bråmås, 2006; Bråmås and Andersson, 2005). Native born, and individuals in better socio-economic positions, have tended to leave the 'distressed' neighbourhoods, while vulnerable populations have stayed. Accordingly, it is relevant also in this study to investigate whether a socio-economic career was accompanied with residential mobility from 'distressed' to other neighbourhoods.

In the adult cohort investigated, the migration pattern from 'distressed' areas was clearly ethnically selective (Table 11). In 2002, around 60 percent of the foreign born population remained in 'distressed' areas, while the equivalent share among native Swedes was less than 40 percent. Those moving out had mainly moved to other neighbourhoods in the surrounding region. Additionally, some Swedish born individuals moved from 'distressed' neighbourhoods to other areas in Sweden, whereas the foreign born residents had a higher propensity to move abroad. A comparison with the Swedish born groups living outside 'distressed' areas showed stability within the same region of almost 90 percent in Stockholm. In Malmö, it was more common to move to other parts of Sweden. However, there was also an opposite migration stream of foreign born persons into 'distressed' areas from the surrounding areas.

When socio-economic mobility is considered, the pattern of out-migration from 'distressed' areas was less clear. In Stockholm, the difference in out-migration from 'distressed' neighbourhoods was relatively modest between employed and vulnerable groups (Table 11). Only a slightly higher share of out-migrants was employed. In Malmö, on the other hand, out-migration from 'distressed' areas was highly selective in socio-economic terms. Among the foreign born population, 56 percent of the employed and 70 percent of the vulnerable population lived in 'distressed' areas. Within the Swedish born group, mobility was extremely high among the employed, of whom only 35 percent remained, compared to 50 percent of the vulnerable Swedish born.

The migration streams from the surrounding Stockholm and Malmö regions were considerably smaller, but contained some socio-economic selectivity. Of the vulnerable, foreign born population, 18 percent had moved from the Malmö region into a 'distressed' area, compared with just 7 percent of the employed population (Table 11). In Stockholm, the share of in-migrants to

'distressed' neighbourhoods was relatively similar between employed and vulnerable populations. Among vulnerable Swedes, there was a noticeable mobility into 'distressed' areas in Malmö, while in Stockholm this tendency was modest. In addition to the intraregional mobility patterns, some minor mobility patterns could be noticed also inter-regionally, from Malmö to Stockholm. Small flows of employed foreign born had moved from 'distressed' areas or the surrounding Malmö region into other areas in Stockholm. These individuals moved both to 'distressed' and surrounding areas.

In sum, however, the migration pattern of the adult cohort investigated related to 'distressed' areas was quite different between Stockholm and Malmö. In Stockholm, the migration pattern was ethnically rather than socio-economically selective, which produced increasingly 'non-Swedish' residential areas. In Malmö, on the other hand, this tendency was accompanied with considerably higher residential patterns of vulnerable populations, which to some degree also included the Swedish born population.

Conclusions

'Divided cities' and segregation processes have been the focus of much research and political debates. Patterns of wealth and scarcity have developed in Western cities, with large differences between residential areas in socio-economic and ethnic terms. The currently used notion of neighbourhood effects explains segregation as partly influenced by individuals' hampered socialisation process in the immediate neighbourhood (Friedrichs, Galster et al., 2003; Murie and Musterd, 2004; Musterd and Andersson, 2006). This, in turn, would trigger the process of segregation further. In this article the focus is instead on labour market mobility, which is analysed in urban, segregated areas. The labour market is approached as a fluid, but highly selective space, which is embedded in the individual life course (Giele and Elder, 1998; Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Hudson, 2004; Hägerstrand, 1975; Martin and Morrison, 2003; Peck, 1989). On the one hand, the labour market is constructed by multiply directed flows of entrance and exit, directly generated by events in the individual's biography. On the other hand, however, the labour market is gated and effectively excludes and segments individuals according to group characteristics. Accordingly, the life course event of international migration would imply not only high flows of entrance and exit, but also a high degree of exclusion from the labour market. Furthermore, if neighbourhood effects are at stake, negative patterns would be more intense in the 'distressed' neighbourhoods of the 'divided city'.

The article has investigated labour market flows of entrance, exit and exclusion in Swedish 'divided cities' from an ethnic perspective. Using unique, longitudinal data, the mobility between livelihood positions of the foreign born, non-Western population has been compared with the native born population, on the basis of 'distressed' and surrounding residential areas in two large city regions in Sweden (Stockholm and Malmö). The study addressed an adult cohort, which, according to their stage in the life course, should have participated in the labour market during the entire period of study (1993-2002). Over this period, which was one of economic recovery in Sweden, both net and gross flows have been examined, in order to investigate both the overall development and actual individual movements on the labour market.

According to the results, the foreign born population generally improved its position in Swedish society. Although a considerable gap persisted between Swedish and foreign born populations, employment levels were slowly converging. The result is supported by the analysis of employment stability, which showed that the probability of remaining employed increased significantly for the foreign born population over time. Simultaneously, the employment growth was accompanied by an even stronger decrease in vulnerability, as a result of additional mobility from vulnerable to other life

course positions. A strong convergence emerged between foreign and Swedish born populations regarding stability on vulnerable positions.

However, the general social improvement of the foreign born population was counter-balanced by a large group of individuals who were excluded from the labour market. Even though vulnerability decreased, about one-quarter of the foreign born population remained vulnerable in 2002. Furthermore, the mobility of the foreign born group from vulnerable and other life course positions into the labour market had a slower pace than the Swedish born population. Thus, a high turnover of foreign born workers not only brought high annual inflows into the labour market, but also a high share of individuals who left the labour market every year. This parallel development, with social improvement alongside high shares of vulnerability, implies a tendency of social polarisation within the foreign born population.

The picture of the territorially 'divided city', with distinct vulnerability in 'distressed' areas, did not appear too clearly in this investigation. Instead, the main dividing line in 1993 was between the foreign born and the native Swedish populations, regardless of the place of residence. Indeed, the foreign born residents in 'distressed' areas in Stockholm had similar levels of employment to those from other parts of the city region. Only in Malmö, foreign born residents of 'distressed' neighbourhoods had particularly vulnerable livelihood positions. Furthermore, the upward mobility into the labour market was stronger among individuals from 'distressed' than from other residential areas. Not only was the annual employment growth higher, but also the development of employment stability distinguished itself as most positive among foreign born residents of 'distressed' areas in both Stockholm and Malmö. Thus, although they started off from an extremely low level, and particularly so in Malmö, foreign born adults from 'distressed' areas showed potential for social improvement. The division between Stockholm and Malmö could perhaps be explained by an overall stronger economic performance of the former city.

Accordingly, in the context of foreign born adults during the 1990s, the hypothesis of hindering 'neighbourhood effects' is not totally supported. The result opens up for a discussion the relevance of continuing the stereotyping process that the labelling of certain neighbourhoods as particularly 'distressed' implies. Politically, this has been acknowledged recently by local politicians from the now resigned government that executed the area-based political programme (Billström, 2006). However, it seems that the new government will take over the programme from the old government. At least among adults in Stockholm, this study indicates that the segregation process is perpetuated by migration that is selective by ethnic rather than socio-economic belonging. Although native Swedes did not experience a general upward social mobility, this group did represent the highest out-migration from 'distressed' areas. Foreign born people remained

in 'distressed' areas, almost regardless of their socio-economic position. In Malmö, on the other hand, out-migration from 'distressed' areas clearly was both ethnically and socio-economically selective. Instead of emphasising neighbourhoods as 'distressed', the main task, it seems, would be a nuanced focus on foreign born workers in vulnerable labour markets. For the geographer, integrated conceptualisations of population and economic geography could be a way for further examination.

Such an analytical perspective could visualise 'vulnerable populations' within labour markets, which are both dynamic and segmented. Labour markets are intersected by flows of people between multiple livelihood positions as a part of the individual life course. In this analysis, continuous movements occurred in many directions between positions of employment, vulnerability and other life course events, where the foreign born groups experienced highest turnover. From a life course perspective, the event of international migration thus implies particular mobility between livelihood positions, which shape labour markets as circuits of flows. The result is one of polarisation within the foreign born population, containing individual career improvements, alongside extensive vulnerability. This requires a nuanced analysis of social mobility among the foreign born, which is crucial to acknowledge both within research and society at large.

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² The basis for the residential areas in the data base is SAMS-units (Small Area Market Statistics), the official categorisation of relatively homogeneous residential areas.

³ Employed and entrepreneurs.

⁴ 'Other vulnerable positions' includes income sources such as alimony or maintenance payments after divorce, early retirement pension and sickness benefits.

⁵ Mainly income from capital.

Table 1: The main categories used in the study (cohort born 1953-1968).

Neighbourhood type	Geographical area	Country of birth	Pop. size 1993	Pop. size 1993 %	
'Distressed' neighbourhoods	Stockholm ¹	Foreign born (OWE)	18159	57.6	
		Swedish born	13360	42.4	
			31519	100.0	
Surrounding regions	Malmö ²	Foreign born (OWE)	7161	45.8	
		Swedish born	8482	54.2	
			15643	100.0	
	Greater Stockholm region ³		Foreign born (OWE)	40168	10.9
			Swedish born	326819	89.1
				366987	100.0
Greater Malmö region ⁴		Foreign born (OWE)	11271	10.5	
		Swedish born	96372	89.5	
			107643	100.0	
<i>Total population, Malmö and Stockholm</i>			521792	100.0	

¹ Sixteen residential areas in the municipalities of Huddinge, Botkyrka, Haninge, Stockholm & Södertälje.

² Four residential areas in the municipality of Malmö.

³ All municipalities (26) in Stockholm county except the 16 'distressed' neighbourhoods. Definition of the Greater Stockholm region, see Statistics Sweden, 2005: <http://www.scb.se/Grupp/regionalt/rg0104/Storstadsomr.xls>

⁴ Twelve of 33 municipalities in Malmö county, except the four 'distressed' neighbourhoods. Definition of Greater Malmö Regions, see Statistics Sweden, 2005: <http://www.scb.se/Grupp/regionalt/rg0104/Storstadsomr.xls> .

Table 2: Employment rate in 1993 by country of birth (cohort born 1953-1968).⁵

Country of birth	Greater Stockholm region			Greater Malmö region		
	Total pop. (25-40)	Employed pop.	Employment rate (%)	Total pop. (25-40)	Employed pop.	Employment rate (%)
<i>Sweden</i>	340178	283425	83.3	104853	80070	76.4
<i>Nordic countries + EU15</i>	34365	23501	68.4	5422	3270	60.3
<i>Europe (except Nordic countries + EU15)</i>	10003	5289	52.9	7654	3481	45.5
<i>Western Asia</i>	21698	8155	37.6	5215	948	18.2
<i>Eastern and South East Asia</i>	6910	3359	48.6	1955	642	32.8
<i>Africa</i>	8564	3796	44.3	1449	355	24.5
<i>North America & Oceania</i>	2753	1410	51.2	582	226	38.8
<i>South- and Central America</i>	8128	4171	51.3	1505	627	41.7
<i>No data/Stateless</i>	272	151	55.5	67	23	34.3
<i>Total pop.</i>	432871	333258	77.0	128708	89642	69.6

⁵ The total population in Table 2 exceeds the population in the rest of the article since the Nordic countries and EU15 are included.

Table 3: Age and gender structure within the areas of study before standardisation (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

Neighbourhood type	Region in Sweden	Country of birth	Sex			Age			
			Men	Women		25-30	30-35	35-40	
'Distressed' neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	54.1	45.9	100.0	32.1	34.2	33.7	100.0
		Swedish born	50.3	49.7	100.0	39.3	28.9	31.8	100.0
		Foreign born (OWE)	53.7	46.3	100.0	29.6	35.0	35.4	100.0
	Malmö	Swedish born	50.7	49.3	100.0	42.6	29.0	28.4	100.0
Other neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	51.0	49.0	100.0	28.8	32.7	38.4	100.0
		Swedish born	50.4	49.6	100.0	35.1	31.4	33.5	100.0
		Foreign born (OWE)	50.1	49.9	100.0	27.1	32.0	40.8	100.0
	Malmö	Swedish born	50.9	49.1	100.0	35.6	29.9	34.5	100.0
<i>Total</i>			50.7	49.3	100.0	34.6	31.3	34.1	100.0

Table 4: Length of residence in Sweden and educational differences in 1993 (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

			Years of living in Sweden				Education 1993			
			1-6	7-15	16-		Low	Medium	High	
<i>'Distressed'</i> <i>neighbour-</i> <i>hoods</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>Foreign born (OWE)</i>	48.1	37.4	14.5	100.0	46.4	39.8	13.8	100.0
		<i>Swedish born</i>	-	-	-	-	24.3	56.5	19.2	100.0
	<i>Malmö</i>	<i>Foreign born (OWE)</i>	58.6	29.6	11.8	100.0	41.6	43.9	14.5	100.0
		<i>Swedish born</i>	-	-	-	-	26.8	52.5	20.7	100.0
<i>Other</i> <i>neighbour-</i> <i>hoods</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>Foreign born (OWE)</i>	50.8	33.9	15.2	100.0	25.7	45.6	28.7	100.0
		<i>Swedish born</i>	-	-	-	-	13.3	48.9	37.8	100.0
	<i>Malmö</i>	<i>Foreign born (OWE)</i>	49.9	29.3	20.9	100.0	23.4	48.2	28.4	100.0
		<i>Swedish born</i>	-	-	-	-	15.0	48.1	36.9	100.0
<i>Total</i>			50.5	33.8	15.7	100.0	16.2	48.5	35.2	100.0

Table 5: Missing values which are excluded in the analysis (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

Neighbourhood type	Region in Sweden	Country of birth	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
'Distressed' neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	7.5	7.6	6.8	7.1	7.3	7.2	7.2	7.1	6.7	6.2
		Swedish born	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.3
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	7.3	7.9	6.9	7.1	8.0	7.6	7.3	7.3	7.4	6.1
		Swedish born	2.5	2.6	2.0	2.2	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5
Other neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	13.2	11.9	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.2	8.7	8.4	7.9	7.4
		Swedish born	2.6	2.9	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	11.9	11.0	9.0	8.7	8.5	9.1	8.6	8.7	8.6	7.8
		Swedish born	2.2	2.6	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1
		<i>Total</i>	3.8	4.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9

Table 6: Development of livelihood positions 1993-2002 (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

			1993	2002	Δ 2002- 1993	Mean value 1993- 2002	Annual growth rate 1993-2002	Total pop.
<i>Employment</i>								
'Dis- tressed ' areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	41.8	59.4	17.7	47.9	1.9	18159
		Swedish born	77.6	78.9	1.4	77.7	0.2	13360
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	25.3	42.0	16.7	32.1	1.7	7161
		Swedish born	62.3	70.5	7.9	66.5	0.8	8482
Other areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	46.7	59.6	12.9	52.3	1.4	40168
		Swedish born	83.5	84.5	0.8	83.7	0.1	326819
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	39.8	54.8	15.3	46.2	1.5	11271
		Swedish born	77.6	83.4	5.8	81.1	0.5	96372
<i>Total</i>			75,9	79,9	3,9	77,6	0,4	521792
<i>Vulnerable positions</i>								
'Dis- tressed ' areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	41,6	21,4	-20,3	32,3	-2,2	18159
		Swedish born	14,9	12,0	-3,2	13,5	-0,4	13360
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	59,3	32,8	-26,8	46,5	-2,6	7161
		Swedish born	26,3	17,9	-8,1	21,6	-0,9	8482
Other areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	30,8	14,5	-16,1	22,2	-1,8	40168
		Swedish born	7,6	6,1	-1,5	6,7	-0,2	326819
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	36,1	19,0	-17,0	27,6	-1,8	11271
		Swedish born	10,9	7,3	-3,4	8,7	-0,4	96372
<i>Total</i>			13,0	8,5	-4,5	10,6	-0,5	521792
<i>Other life course events</i>								
'Dis- tressed ' areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	9,2	13,1	3,9	12,8	0,4	18159
		Swedish born	5,0	6,7	2,0	6,5	0,2	13360
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	8,1	19,1	11,3	14,1	1,0	7161
		Swedish born	8,9	9,1	0,2	9,5	0,1	8482
Other areas	Stock- holm	Foreign born (OWE)	9,4	18,4	9,0	16,0	0,8	40168
		Swedish born	6,3	7,2	1,1	7,2	0,2	326819
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	12,2	18,4	6,0	17,0	0,6	11271
		Swedish born	9,3	7,2	-2,2	8,1	-0,1	96372
<i>Total</i>			7,3	8,7	1,5	8,6	0,2	521792

Table 7: Livelihood positions *within* vulnerable positions and other life course events 1993 (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

Place of residence 1993	Country of birth	Vulnerable positions			Other life course events						
		Social allowance	Unemployment	Other social benefits	Student	Age-pension	Parental leave	Other incomes	Emigration	Death	
'Distressed' neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	18.1	11.5	11.9	3.8	0.4	4.0	0.9	0	0
		Swedish born	4.4	4.9	5.6	2.2	1.0	1.3	0.5	0	0
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	26.9	16.4	16.0	2.6	0.4	4.5	0.6	0	0
		Swedish born	7.2	11.1	8.1	5.7	1.4	1.3	0.5	0	0
Other neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	12.7	8.7	9.4	4.6	0.3	2.5	2.0	0	0
		Swedish born	1.6	3.2	2.8	3.0	0.6	1.2	1.6	0	0
	Malmö region	Foreign born (OWE)	10.9	13.0	12.2	7.5	0.3	2.4	1.9	0	0
		Swedish born	1.4	5.9	3.6	6.1	0.6	1.2	1.4	0	0
Total			18.1	11.5	11.9	3.8	0.4	4.0	0.9	0	0

Table 8: Annual change 1993-2002 within vulnerable positions and life course events (cohort born 1953-1968, %).

Place of residence 1993	Country of birth	Vulnerable positions			Other life course events						
		Social allowance	Unemployment	Other social benefits	Student	Age-pension	Parental leave	Other incomes	Emigration	Death	
'Distressed neighbourhoods'	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	-1.4	-1.0	0.2	-0.1	0.1	-0.3	0.0	0.6	0.1
		Swedish born	-0.2	-0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	-1.4	-1.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	-0.3	0.0	0.8	0.1
		Swedish born	-0.4	-0.7	0.2	-0.2	0.0	-0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2
Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	-0.9	-0.8	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	-0.2	0.0	1.2	0.1
		Swedish born	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
	Malmö region	Foreign born (OWE)	-0.6	-0.9	-0.2	-0.4	0.1	-0.2	0.0	1.0	0.1
		Swedish born	-0.1	-0.4	0.1	-0.3	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total		-0.2	-0.4	0.1	-0.2	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	

Table 9: Mean value of flows between livelihood positions within the time period 1993-2002. The flows have been calculated between T and T+1 (1993-1994, 1994-1995 ... 2001-2002). Bold figures mark stability of livelihood positions. Cohort born 1953-1968.

				T + 1					
				<i>Employment (%)</i>	<i>Vulnerable positions (%)</i>	<i>Life course events (%)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total %</i>	
T	'Distressed' residential area	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	<i>Employment</i>	86.7	9.8	3.4	8284	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	17.4	73.4	9.2	5816	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	15.7	19.8	64.5	2229	100.0
			Swedish born	<i>Employment</i>	94.7	3.5	1.9	10302	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	20.5	73.1	6.4	1767	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	22.9	10.8	66.3	848	100.0
		Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	<i>Employment</i>	83.2	13.9	2.9	2184	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	11.8	79.3	8.9	3334	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	8.6	23.6	67.8	949	100.0
			Swedish born	<i>Employment</i>	92.2	5.4	2.4	5571	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	18.8	73.5	7.7	1819	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	20.6	14.4	65.1	793	100.0
	Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	<i>Employment</i>	89.2	7.0	3.7	20251	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	20.2	70.2	9.6	8802	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	14.1	10.5	75.4	6088	100.0
			Swedish born	<i>Employment</i>	95.4	2.1	2.5	271436	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	26.0	66.2	7.8	21465	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	30.3	6.1	63.6	22705	100.0
		Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	<i>Employment</i>	87.8	8.6	3.6	5025	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	17.4	71.6	10.9	3099	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	12.4	14.7	72.9	1832	100.0
			Swedish born	<i>Employment</i>	94.9	2.7	2.4	77439	100.0
				<i>Vulnerable positions</i>	27.5	63.3	9.2	8236	100.0
				<i>Life course events</i>	28.7	8.9	62.4	7644	100.0
			83.5	8.5	7.9	93319	100.0		

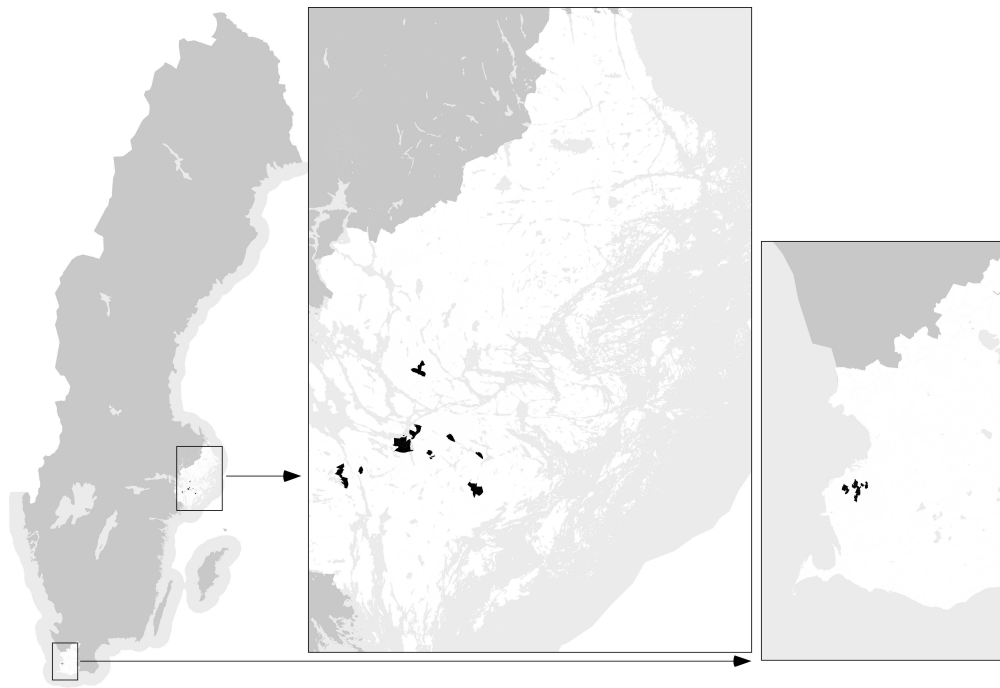
Table 10: Stability of livelihood positions between pairs of years. Mean value within three periods of time (period 1 = 1993/1994 ... 1995/1996, period 2 = 1996/1997 ... 1998/1999, period 3 = 1999/2000 ... 2001/2002). (Cohort born 1953-1968, %)

			A:	B:	C:	
			Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Δ C-A
<i>Employment</i>						
'Distressed' areas	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	81.7	86.6	90.4	8.8
		Swedish born	93.7	94.5	95.7	2.0
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	77.4	82.9	87.3	9.9
		Swedish born	90.4	92.4	93.6	3.2
Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	85.8	89.0	92.3	6.5
		Swedish born	94.8	95.4	96.0	1.2
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	83.5	88.5	90.6	7.1
		Swedish born	94.0	95.0	95.7	1.6
<i>Vulnerable positions</i>						
'Distressed' areas	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	74.9	75.8	68.9	-6.0
		Swedish born	70.9	75.8	75.5	4.6
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	81.7	81.0	74.9	-6.8
		Swedish born	73.1	75.3	73.9	0.8
Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	71.0	71.2	69.0	-2.0
		Swedish born	62.7	67.1	71.0	8.2
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	72.8	74.3	68.7	-4.1
		Swedish born	61.5	64.9	66.2	4.7
<i>Life course events</i>						
'Distressed' areas	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	53.6	65.9	70.1	16.5
		Swedish born	58.8	68.0	68.9	10.1
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	56.5	69.5	71.6	15.2
		Swedish born	62.9	64.5	65.8	2.9
Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Foreign born (OWE)	63.3	76.2	81.2	17.9
		Swedish born	57.3	66.4	65.0	7.7
	Malmö	Foreign born (OWE)	63.3	74.0	77.0	13.7
		Swedish born	58.2	64.1	64.5	6.3

Table 11: The distribution of place of residence 1993 and 2002 on livelihood position (cohort born 1953-1968, %). Bold figures represent individuals who reside in the same type of area.

Residential area 1993		Livelihood position 2002	Sthlm 2002		Malmö 2002		Other Sweden 2002	Emi/Death 2002	
			'Distr.' area	Other area	'Distr.' area	Other area			
'Distressed' neighbourhoods	Stockholm	Employment	63.4	33.6	0.1	0.1	2.8	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	70.0	24.7	0.3	0.2	4.9	0.0	100
		Life course events	31.0	12.2	0.2	0.1	2.2	54.3	100
			60.4	28.6	0.1	0.1	3.2	7.6	100
	Stockholm	Employment	40.0	50.2	0.0	0.3	9.5	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	44.9	35.9	0.1	0.4	18.6	0.0	100
		Life course events	23.6	22.0	0.0	0.3	10.2	43.8	100
			39.5	46.5	0.0	0.3	10.7	3.0	100
	Malmö	Employment	1.2	1.2	55.5	33.5	8.7	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	0.7	0.6	70.5	21.4	6.9	0.0	100
		Life course events	0.4	0.1	36.2	7.9	3.3	52.0	100
			0.8	0.7	56.8	24.1	7.0	10.5	100
Malmö	Employment	0.1	2.4	35.2	45.4	17.0	0.0	100	
	Vulnerable positions	0.1	0.9	50.8	32.3	15.8	0.0	100	
	Life course events	0.0	1.0	24.1	27.1	10.2	37.6	100	
		0.1	2.0	37.0	41.3	16.1	3.5	100	
Surrounding regions	Stockholm	Employment	7.8	88.1	0.1	0.3	3.8	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	10.5	83.8	0.2	0.3	5.1	0.0	100
		Life course events	2.7	23.4	0.1	0.2	1.9	71.7	100
			7.2	74.6	0.1	0.3	3.6	14.3	100
	Stockholm	Employment	0.8	91.9	0.0	0.4	6.9	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	2.1	82.2	0.1	0.6	15.0	0.0	100
		Life course events	0.5	49.3	0.0	0.5	7.6	42.1	100
			0.9	88.1	0.0	0.4	7.5	3.1	100
	Malmö	Employment	1.0	2.7	7.6	73.7	15.1	0.0	100
		Vulnerable positions	1.0	1.1	17.9	66.8	13.2	0.0	100
		Life course events	0.3	0.5	5.2	24.3	5.5	64.3	100
			0.8	1.9	9.2	62.4	12.8	12.8	100
Malmö	Employment	0.0	2.8	1.5	73.9	21.8	0.0	100	
	Vulnerable positions	0.1	1.2	6.5	70.7	21.6	0.0	100	
	Life course events	0.0	1.3	1.4	44.5	13.9	38.8	100	
		0.0	2.5	1.8	71.5	21.2	2.9	100	

Figure 1: 20 'distressed' neighbourhoods in Greater Stockholm and Malmö regions.





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