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IMMIGRANTS’ TRANSITION TO EMPLOYMENT
IN SWEDISH LARGE CITY-REGIONS

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Abstract

An important debate in current research and policy focuses on the role of spatial characteristics and urban residential segregation on the social mobility of immigrants. Much focus has been on 'neighbourhood effects', and on how internal spatial variations *within* the city affects the life careers of immigrants. We add the analysis of variations of labour market incorporation *between* cities to this discussion, thus following the recent interest of migration scholars on the role of the individual city on immigrants' labour market performance in the host country. Accordingly, in this study, we analyse the labour market careers of one migrant cohort to Sweden from an urban perspective, where the analysis of 'neighbourhood effects' and 'city effects' are studied jointly. We use a longitudinal data base derived from Swedish population registers and discrete-time event history analysis with the aim to study immigrant transition to employment in a ten-year period after arrival, and to investigate the correlation between occupational and residential careers. The results show that the migrants' labour market participation increases slowly over time, and there are large variations between immigrant groups. Migrant origin, gender and education are crucial factors in getting the first job. Both 'neighbourhood effects' and 'city effects' were significant, but the former decreased over time. Accordingly, there was no sign of a 'downward spiral' from residing in distressed neighbourhoods. Instead there was a robust 'city effect', which we interpret as being influenced by the role of the individual city in the global economy and the city's local labour market structure.

Key words: Neighbourhood effects, city effects, newly arrived migrants, labour market entry, Sweden

Introduction

Urban areas provide crucial contexts for dynamic activities in a globalized world (Amin and Graham 1997; Sassen 2009). Within a city, various projects of an economic, social and cultural kind are blended together from various parts of the world in a unique way, thus constructing the ‘essence’ of a city. For a city to be globally competitive, it is suggested that technology, talent and tolerance all need to be represented (Florida 2002). From this, it follows that, besides factors such as a high educational level and technological knowledge, notions of diversity and multiculturalism also characterize competitive cities; *tolerant cities* are ‘open-minded toward different cultures and different norms’ (Asheim and Hansen 2009:p. 427). Thus the notion of tolerant cities has important analytical value for the study of the various pathways of immigrant incorporation in globally competitive, heterogeneous cities.

Traditional urban research has often dealt with segregation *within* cities. The focus is on *neighbourhood effects*, based on the argument that the residential area *per se* affects the socio-economic careers of its residents, often with an ethnic dimension (Friedrichs 1998; Friedrichs et al 2003; Musterd et al 2008). However, migration scholars have recently found renewed interest in the role of wider city contexts when analysing immigrant incorporation, in order to discover differences *between* cities (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009; Caglar 2007). Cities’ relative positions in the globalized economy would provide different opportunities for immigrant employment, both with regard to the general structure of the local labour market and also the capability of cities to incorporate immigrants’ transnational networks. For instance, the potential for transnational entrepreneurship would be higher in cities that are attached to global networks.

This article seeks to integrate the perspective of heterogeneity *within* the city, that is, ‘neighbourhood effects’, with that of differences *between* cities, that is, ‘city effects’. Through the analysis of a newly-arrived immigrant cohort, the article aims to investigate the effects of the neighbourhood and of the urban area on their labour market careers. We analyse immigrants of working age and from various countries, who arrived in two of Sweden’s largest city regions, Stockholm and Malmö, in 1993, to scrutinise how both the residential area and the city affect their chances of finding a first job. More specifically, we focus on the event of entering employment from a position outside the labour market for the 1993 immigrant cohort in Sweden by seeking answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the effect of living in a distressed neighbourhood on getting a first job¹?
2. What is the effect of the distinct city and its’ labour market structure on immigrant labour market incorporation?
3. Do the ‘neighbourhood effect’ and ‘city effect’ interact with each other?

The paper proceeds as follows. We start by presenting a literature review on the theoretical background and empirical findings of immigrants’ incorporation in the labour market from an urban perspective. We then proceed by introducing the data and methods

¹ The neighbourhoods with lowest mean income in the three large city regions. See further definition in the section on Methods and Data.

of the study. We use annual Swedish population register data for the years 1993–2002, and focus on the transition of the 1993 migrant cohort to employment during this period by fitting discrete-time logistic regression equations. This leads us to the results of the study, where we present both descriptive statistics and the results of the logistic regression on the differences in the transition to employment among the 1993 migrant cohort.

'Neighbourhood effects' and 'city effects'

This article investigates newly arrived immigrants and their entrance into the labour market from an urban perspective. Results from Sweden, Denmark and the US show that most immigrants reside in cities, where they are overrepresented compared to the native population (Aslund 2005; Bartel 1989; Damm 2009). Within the cohort of immigrants arriving in Sweden in 1997–2002, 46 per cent resided in large city-regions, compared to one third of the Swedish-born population (Statistics Sweden 2008). The same cohort had increased their concentration in these regions by 6 per cent within the following five years. Decisive factors for the choice of location are the concentration of ethnic populations, together with labour market opportunities (Aslund 2005; Damm 2009).

The situation in the labour market differs substantially between foreign and native-born populations in terms of the general rate of employment, occupation and income levels. This has been explained by structures of discrimination, lack of human and social capital, unfavourable networking and segmentation in the labour market (Glazer 1975; Martin and Morrison 2003; Morrison 1990; Peck 1989). Importantly, however, exclusion from the labour market tends to decrease over time as immigrants adjust to the structures of the host country (Brubaker 2001; Chiswick et al 1997; Chiswick et al 2005). We find such evidence in Sweden (Nekby 2002; Rooth and Ekberg 2006; Hedberg 2009). However, economic recession has a severe effect on the employment of newly arrived immigrants, which continues to affect them negatively even when the general economy is improving again (Aslund and Rooth 2007; Bergmark and Bäckman 2004). The parallel large-scale immigration following the war in the former Yugoslavia and a severe economic recession made it difficult for a large immigrant cohort to enter the labour market in the early 1990s.

When urban aspects are considered regarding immigrants' labour market participation, the focus tends to be on residential segregation and on its effects on labour market careers. The *neighbourhood effects* literature argues that the socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood population has an independent impact on an individual's labour-market outcome (Friedrichs 1998; Friedrichs and Blasius 2003; Musterd and Andersson 2006; Musterd et al 2008). To put it another way, it argues that individuals with similar personal backgrounds experience different socio-economic careers, depending on their residential living area. The mechanisms behind this process are: (1) the lack of neighbourhood resources and services, and a bad reputation for the area; (2) negative social ties and networks, which reduce the possibility of advancement in the society; (3) attitudes and behaviours within the neighbourhood which would hamper the individual's

socialisation process; and (4) negative perceptions of people's residential area, which would negatively affect their socio-economic careers.

Both in research and in policy discourses the effects of the neighbourhood are often emphasised for the integration of immigrants, with the goal of reducing ethnic concentration in residential areas (Bolt et al 2010). However, the empirical results are contradictory. A recent *Housing Studies* special issue dealing with the subject concludes that the effect of the residential area on future careers is 'non-trivial' (Blasius et al 2007). The effects, which consider both economic and social aspects, were strongest when income groups were concerned, but ethnic concentrations also affected careers negatively. An earlier study in Britain also found neighbourhood effects with respect to employment, social mixing, social networks and residential choice (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001). Findings from Sweden report clear and significant impacts of the neighbourhood on employment careers (Musterd and Andersson 2006; Galster et al 2008). Many studies emphasise the age factor and that children and adolescents in their formative years would be particularly affected by their area of residence (Ainsworth 2002; Andersson 2004; Andersson and Subramanian 2006; Galster et al 2007).

However, the causal links between ethnic concentration and labour market and socio-economic integration is questioned. A study on adults in the UK finds no evidence of neighbourhood effects on income growth in the long run (Bolster et al 2007). Taking social grouping into account, a study from the Netherlands concludes that neighbourhood effects were significant only for households with a relatively stronger economic starting position, while the effect was modest on households with a relatively weaker starting position (Musterd et al 2003). Some authors suggest that selection and not causality is behind most of the current evidence of neighbourhood effects (Van Ham and Manley 2009). It is likely that most of the studies, claiming to have found that distressed neighbourhoods have negative impacts on the labour market outcomes of their residents, show that poor people live in poor neighbourhoods because they can not afford to live elsewhere (Cheshire 2007; Van Ham and Manley 2009). Studies in Swedish large city-regions also show that ethnic, rather than residential, status explained the employment progress of immigrants (Hedberg 2009). Furthermore, the possible positive effects of ethnic residential concentrations are often ignored, such as the role of social networks and ethnic facilities that are provided by the ethnic community in specific areas (Bolt et al 2010). For example, ethnic concentrations in neighbourhoods in Swedish cities are argued to facilitate the educational success of children in cases with highly educated ethnic populations (Bygren and Szulkin 2007; Åslund et al 2009). Moreover, and of particular interest for this study, the historical and geographical context of the neighbourhood is highlighted increasingly as an explanation to socio-economic outcomes (Bolt et al 2010). Accordingly, the individual city, such as the global economic position and the structure of the local labour market, would influence the existence of neighbourhood effects (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001; Friedrichs et al 2003).

The contextual argument above motivates the recent call from migration researchers to engage in urban studies from diverse angles, particularly through a transnational lens (Smith 2001; Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009; Smith and Guarnizo 2009; Caglar 2007).

The argument of transnational urbanism refers to transnational migrant networks between country of origin and country of reception which, crucially, are mediated by the migrant's current city of residence (Smith 2001). The argument proceeds that immigrant careers are affected by the urban context and the characteristics of distinct cities of reception (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009). Accordingly, the relative position of the city in the globalised economy would influence migrants' labour market incorporation. Competitive cities — so called *top-scale cities* like London and New York, but also other *up-scale cities* — offer the best labour market opportunities to the immigrant population. Globally competitive cities contain a diverse and often more service-oriented labour market structure, which is also less severely hit by economic restructuring during periods of economic downturn. Moreover, Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2009) argue that these cities create a more open environment for migrants' transnational networks which, for instance, could include establishing transnational entrepreneurship in the country of origin. Finally, we should add that globally competitive cities also are 'tolerant cities', which are relatively open to diversity and heterogeneity (Florida 2002; Asheim and Hansen 2009).

The focus of this study is on Stockholm and Malmö, which are two of Sweden's three large city regions (Figure 1). The capital of Stockholm is by far the largest city, and also the main Swedish financial centre. To be more specific, it has a 'gamma world city'² status due to its advanced service sector, according to the typology of Beaverstock et al (1999). Accordingly, Stockholm has restructured its service economy to a higher degree than the third largest city in Sweden, Malmö, which is a traditional industrial city. Both cities have been subject to massive immigration and, in 2007, 20 per cent of their populations were foreign-born (Statistics Sweden 2007). This could be compared to the Swedish national average of 13 per cent. Owing to their different labour market structures, the cities were hit differently by the economic crises of the 1990s. Although employment rates decreased dramatically in both cities, Malmö had overall lower employment rates, especially among the immigrant population (Hedberg 2009). For example, in Malmö's distressed neighbourhoods, only 25 per cent of the foreign-born adult cohort was employed in 1993, which is also the beginning of our study period, compared with 42 per cent in equivalent neighbourhoods in Stockholm. Although a strong annual increase in employment followed in both cities, a wide employment gap remained between Stockholm and Malmö. Based on the conceptualization of Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2009), Stockholm exemplifies clearly a competitive 'up-scale' city, whereas Malmö holds a relatively less competitive position and so would offer less possibilities for immigrant labour market incorporation.

² The typology classifies 122 world cities into categories based upon their level of advanced service industry; 'Alfa world cities', 'Beta world cities', 'Gamma world cities' and 'Evidence of world city formation'.

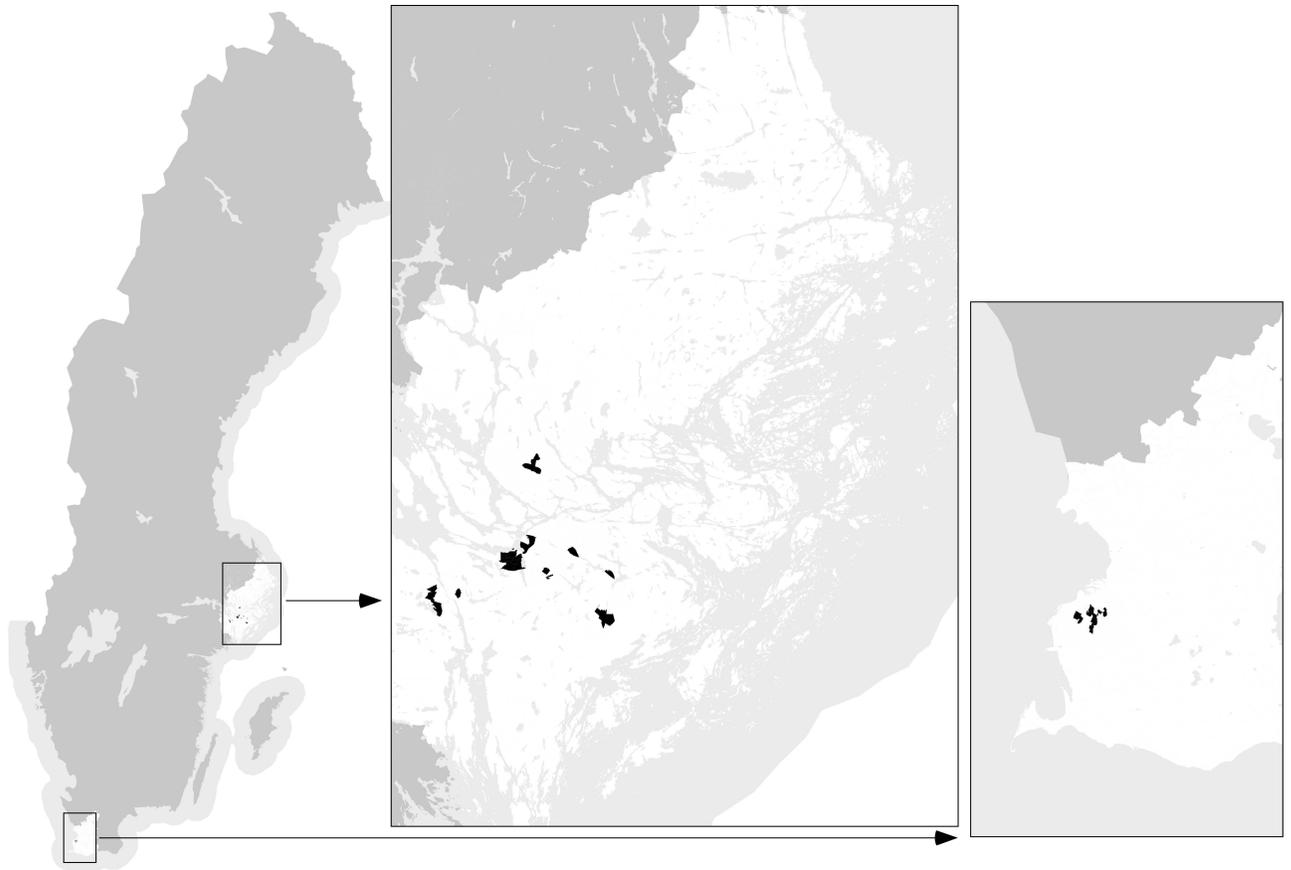


Figure 1. Location of Stockholm (*centre*) and Malmö (*right*) metropolitan areas (distressed neighbourhoods in black)

Against the background of this literature review, we can set up the following hypothesis for our study.

H1: The residential areas within the city affect immigrants' labour market careers. Immigrants who reside in *distressed neighbourhoods* have a lower probability of being incorporated into the labour market of the host country than immigrants who reside in other neighbourhoods (cf. Musterd et al 2008).

H2: The city affects immigrants' labour market careers. The 'essence' of the city, both with respect to its global position and the general structure of the local labour market, has an influence on immigrants' labour market careers (Amin and Graham 1997; Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009). We expect that immigrants who reside in *top-scale* or *up-scale cities* (Stockholm) have a greater chance of being incorporated into the labour market of the host country than immigrants who reside elsewhere in the country (Malmö).

H3: There is an interaction between ‘city effects’ and ‘neighbourhood effects’. We expect that in relative terms, the probability of finding a job among people living in distressed neighbourhoods is higher for immigrants in Stockholm (*up-scale city*) than in Malmö.

Data and methods

The emergence of a life-course approach and event history analysis has marked an important methodological development in population studies and analytical social sciences over the past two decades (Kulu 2008). Individual life histories can be approached as the sum of histories in various domains of life, such as occupational, educational, residential and family histories (Hägerstrand 1982; Karweit and Kertzer 1998). This study uses a longitudinal Swedish population register database (PLACE), which covers all individuals in Sweden. This longitudinal data, collected at multiple points in time, gives analytical power to the systematic study of individual changes over time (Blossfeldt 2006; Giele and Elder 1998; Singer and Willett 2003). The sequence of events in time allows us to establish a better causal relationship between the outcome and predictor variables. Swedish register data has been used in previous studies on neighbourhood effects in Sweden (Andersson and Subramanian 2006; Andersson and Bråmås 2004; Musterd and Andersson 2006; Musterd et al 2008). The main contribution of this study to the existing literature comes through the use of event history analysis, and through the joint analysis of both ‘neighbourhood effects’ and ‘city effects’.

We follow the 1993 immigrant cohort to Sweden as it proceeds to employment. Additionally, we apply more restrictions in selecting the research population. First, we focus on those migrants who did not have a job immediately upon arrival, i.e., we exclude all labour migrants who formed only 15 per cent of all immigrants arriving in 1993. Second, we study migrants of working age, i.e., those aged 25–64 at the time of arrival. Third, we study migrants residing in either Stockholm or Malmö in 1993. Accordingly, those who moved into the cities after 1993 are not part of the cohort, while those who moved to another part of Sweden are still part of the study. According to Table 1, only 7 per cent of the 1993 immigrants in Stockholm and 8 per cent of the 1993 migrants in Malmö moved to another region in Sweden.

Table 1. Mobility of the population 1993-2002.

	Same city 2002	Other region in Sweden 2002	Emigr. /death ³ 2002	Total	N
<i>Stockholm 1993</i>	72,1	7,0	20,8	100,0	5128
<i>Malmö 1993</i>	62,5	8,3	29,2	100,0	1471
<i>Total</i>					6599

³ Including missing data.

The recording of time in our study starts in 1993, when the immigrants arrived in Sweden, and we begin to track the cohort's transition to employment between 1994 and 2002, using an annual metric. The quality of the metric in the data is assured, and event occurrence is obtained from data on the individuals' registered income in the Swedish Income Tax Register in November of the respective year. Events of death and emigration were censored out from the database (Table 1). We should mention, however, that the quality of emigration data on the foreign-born population is not fully assured (SCB, 2006); a large proportion of migrants do not register their departure from Sweden, and so they remain in the population outside the labour market in our database.⁴ We removed people with missing data from our database.

Two central definitions of the current study, in addition to the 1993 migrant cohort, are employment and distressed neighbourhood. *Employment* was calculated on an individual basis through the use of annual income tax data. A requirement to be counted as employed was that the individual earned more than the basic amount geared to the price index for that year from either employment or running their own business. When individuals received an income from multiple sources, they were counted as employed only when this represented their highest source of income. *Distressed neighbourhoods* were officially defined by the Swedish government in 1997 (Proposition 1997/98:165). This proposition defined 24 distressed areas with the purpose of stopping residential segregation under an area-based policy programme. The distressed neighbourhoods are classified according to their inhabitants' particularly low disposable income in the 1990s (Storstadskommittén 1997). Thus, the areas are defined based on income, which also coincides with high percentages of immigrants. As many as 20 of these areas are located in Stockholm and Malmö, while the other four are in the second largest city of Sweden, Göteborg.

To prepare our data for discrete time event history analysis, we convert the dataset from a person-oriented to a person-period format with a time indicator, predictors (both time-varying and time-invariant) and the event indicator that would allow us to apply discrete-time logistic regression to our data (Allison, 1984; Singer and Willett, 2003; Yamaguchi, 1991). We use the annual metric to study the event of finding the first job in Sweden among the 1993 immigrant cohort. The logistic regression model is specified as follows (cf. Mulder and Wagner 1998:p. 701; Smits and Mulder 2008:p. 12):

$$\text{Log} \frac{\lambda(t; Y)}{1 - \lambda(t; Y)} = \alpha(t) + \sum_k \beta_k X_k,$$

where $\lambda(t; Y)$ is the probability of getting employed at time t ($t=1994, \dots, 2002$); $1 - \lambda(t; Y)$ is the probability to remain outside the labour market; X ($X = X_1, \dots, X_k$) stands for a

⁴ In Table 1, missing values are included as "Emigration/death".

set of both time-varying and time-invariant independent variables; β_k is the parameter describing the effect of those variables; and $\alpha(t)$ represents the baseline odds of the event occurrence for a person with value zero for all variables used. Odds are ratios of the probabilities of occurrence and non-occurrence of an event at a given year, and are used in discrete-time analysis instead of a hazard (instantaneous rate of event occurrence) in continuous-time models (Mulder and Wagner 1998:p. 701).

We start our modelling by analysing the neighbourhood effect (living in distressed neighbourhoods or not) and city effect (living in Stockholm or Malmö) on finding a first job in Sweden (Model 1). We include also time dummies into Model 1. Next we introduce control variables on migration background and personal characteristics in the regression equation, to clarify whether living in distressed neighbourhoods and in Stockholm/Malmö *per se* has an effect on getting a job, or whether the initial results were a result of the selection of immigrants with certain characteristics into such neighbourhoods (Model 2). The migration-related variables include continent of origin (Western Europe, Eastern Europe, West Asia and the Middle East, East and South East Asia, North America and South America) and if originating from a refugee country. A country is defined as a 'refugee country' if it was a major sender of refugees in 1980–2000. We expect that all these variables shape the probability of getting a first job among immigrants in Sweden. More specifically, we assume that immigrants originating from Western Europe, North America and non-refugee countries have an elevated probability of finding a first job. The personal variables include gender, age (25–34, 35–49, 50–64), civil status (married, unmarried), having a child and educational level (less than 12 years' schooling or primary education; 12 years schooling or secondary education; more than 12 years of schooling or tertiary education). We expect that men, younger people, single people, people without children and those who are more highly educated have an elevated probability of finding a first job. Lastly, we perform three sets of interactions. In Model 3, we interact city with type of neighbourhood in order to estimate if distressed neighbourhoods in Stockholm provide a higher probability of becoming employed than those in Malmö. Thereafter, we interact city (Model 4) and neighbourhood type (Model 5) with time as well. These two interactions provides us with evidence on the timing of getting a job in different residential (city, neighbourhood type) contexts.

Background and statistics of the research population

Immigration to Sweden at the beginning of the 1990s was shaped largely by the collapse of the Soviet Union and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the world, together with growing integration among European countries. Despite its small population, Sweden became one of the main recipient countries of asylum seekers in Europe at that time (SCB, 2006). In our study, we were interested in immigrants who were outside the labour market during the year of arrival in Sweden, and who formed 85 per cent of the total migrant population in 1993 (Table 2). The main region of origin for this migrant cohort to Sweden was Eastern Europe, particularly for migrants arriving in Malmö (Table 3). The majority of Eastern European immigrants were refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia. The second largest group arrived from West Asia

and the Middle East, mainly Iraq. West Europe was the third largest origin and included mainly migrants from Finland.

Table 2. Distribution of 1993 migrant cohort upon arrival by employment status (%).

		Employed	Not employed	Total
Neighbourhood type (1993)	Distressed	6.5	93.5	100
	Other	17.5	82.5	100
Large city region (1993)	Stockholm	15.8	84.2	100
	Malmö	12.9	87.1	100
Refugee country	Yes	4.0	96.0	100
	No	31.4	68.6	100
Origin	Western Europe	43.1	56.9	100
	Eastern Europe	5.3	94.7	100
	West Asia and the Middle East	1.5	98.5	100
	East and South East Asia	9.2	90.8	100
	Africa	5.9	94.1	100
	North America	29.3	70.7	100
	South America	7.0	93.0	100
Age (1993)	25–34	15.8	84.2	100
	35–49	15.3	84.7	100
	50–64	10.8	89.2	100
Civil status (1993)	Married	10.7	89.3	100
	Unmarried	24.0	76.0	100
	Divorced	22.2	77.8	100
	Other	4.1	95.9	100
Children (1993)	Yes	18.7	81.3	100
	No	10.4	89.6	100
Education (1993)	Low (less than 12 years)	16.8	83.2	100
	Middle (12 years)	38.9	61.1	100
	High (more than 12 years)	57.5	42.5	100
N		15.2	84.8	100

Immigrants in the migrant cohort without a job were over-represented in the distressed neighbourhoods, which implies that these are areas where initial levels of joblessness were especially high (Table 2). Likewise, migrants arriving in Malmö had a delayed probability of working immediately upon arrival compared to immigrants arriving in Stockholm. Migrants from West Asia and the Middle East had a particularly low probability of being employed during their year of arrival in Sweden, as did migrants from Eastern Europe and Africa. At a more aggregate level, it appears that people coming from countries that sent refugees in 1993 had an especially low initial employment level. As expected, highly educated immigrants were more likely to start working immediately upon arrival.

Table 3: Region of origin for the 1993 cohort to Sweden outside the labour market as divided on city of residence in 1993.

	Stockholm		Malmö		Total	
Western Europe	853	16.6	213	14.5	1066	16.2
Eastern Europe	1587	30.9	564	38.3	2151	32.6
West Asia and the Middle East	1163	22.7	347	23.6	1510	22.9
East and South East Asia	494	9.6	134	9.1	628	9.5
Africa	472	9.2	89	6.1	561	8.5
North America	168	3.3	35	2.4	203	3.1
South America	341	6.6	70	4.8	411	6.2
Total (incl. stateless)	5128	100,0	1471	100,0	6599	100,0

Our analysis focuses on the first entrance to the labour market in Sweden of the 1993 migrant cohort, who were not employed upon arrival. Table 4 shows that 12 per cent of these people entered the labour market for the first time in Sweden in 1994, 9 per cent in 1995 until, but as many as 37 per cent had never been attached to the Swedish labour market ten years after arrival, or in 2002. Among individuals who obtained their first employment in 1994, the majority left it within the first three years and, even in 2002, only 28 per cent had kept their first job. The proportion of people who remained in their first job increased as expected for those who obtained one in later years, as they had less time to leave it. Among migrants who obtained their first job in 1997 or after, more than 50 per cent remained in the labour market until 2002. The duration of the first job increased over time as well. While 31 per cent of the migrants entering the labour market in 1994 left their job during the first year, the comparable figure was 22 per cent for those who entered the labour market for the first time in 2001. This is probably related both to the better integration of immigrants over time and the general improvement of the Swedish economy, as the recession gave way to economic growth towards the end of our study period.

Table 4. Duration of first employment (years)

Year of first employment	Duration of first employment										Frequency	
	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	Number	%
1994	27.9	1.5	2.8	2.9	4.5	5.1	9.2	15.3	30.6		816	12.4
1995		35.4	2.0	2.5	3.7	4.4	6.4	14.8	30.7		593	9.0
1996			46.7	1.9	2.8	3.6	7.2	11.0	26.9		643	9.7
1997				54.6	3.9	4.4	4.1	11.0	22.0		482	7.3
1998					61.2	4.8	5.8	8.3	20.0		484	7.3
1999						69.8	5.1	10.6	14.4		451	6.8
2000							70.1	14.4	15.6		334	5.1
2001								78.3	21.7		235	3.6
2002									100.0		132	2.0
0										100.0	2429	36.8
	228	222	335	314	392	450	464	657	1108	2429	6599	100

The transition to employment of the 1993 migrant cohort

Let us now take a closer look at the differences in the transition to employment in the 1993 migrant cohort. As we already observed, the probability of becoming employed increased steadily over time; 100 per cent of our research population was outside the labour market in 1993, but we observe that as many as 37 per cent remained outside the labour market by 2002. This general improvement of status in the labour market was, however, influenced largely by the migrants' personal and geographical characteristics. Women had a lower probability of entering the labour market compared to men; in general, the same share of women became employed one year later than men (Figure 2). In accordance with the life-course perspective, age plays an important role in event occurrence. The oldest age group (50–64 years in 1993) naturally diverges from the younger groups with only 16 per cent being in the labour market in 2002 (Figure 3). However, their probability of becoming employed was also remarkably low at the beginning of the study period, when they were still of working age. This indicates either that older people of working age encounter particular obstacles to entering the labour market or that they migrate without job-related motives, which is quite different from younger people aged below 50. The probability of finding employment was highest for the youngest age group (aged 25–34), and their differences from the middle-aged (aged 35–49) increased over time.

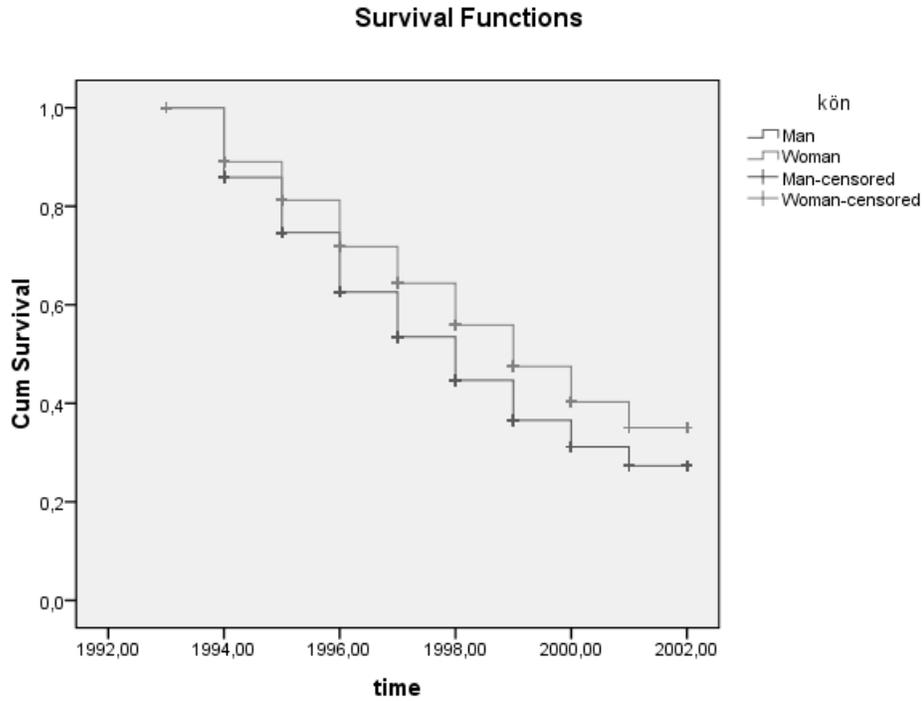


Figure 2. Transition to employment by gender (survival rate), 1993–2002

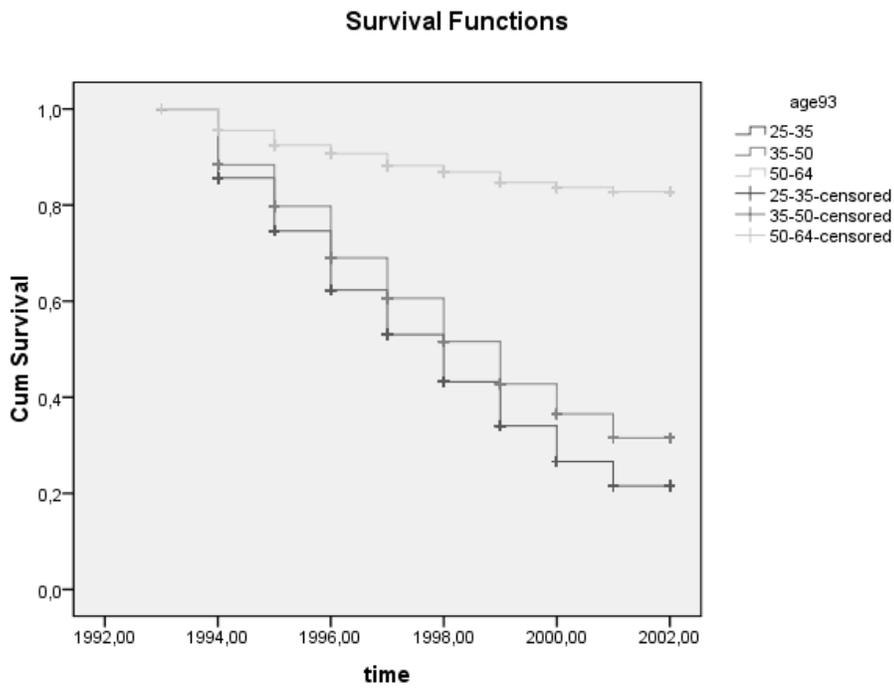


Figure 3. Transition to employment by age (survival rate), 1993–2002.

Geographic setting plays a significant role in the transition to employment among the migrants. Here, we examine employment if the migrants came from a refugee country or not, since our previous analysis showed that there are significant differences between these two groups (Table 3). Quite interestingly, however, these differences were reversed over time. In 2002, fewer migrants from a refugee country were still outside the labour market, compared to migrants from other countries. After their initial disadvantage for finding a job immediately upon arrival, immigrants from refugee countries thus entered the labour market at a quicker pace than migrants from other countries. While the initial low level of labour market participation is expected since refugees are not labour migrants, and being a refugee further relates to stress, their later relatively rapid progress is somewhat surprising and is a sign of the good integration that refugees from the former Yugoslavia have had in Sweden, compared to other groups, in areas of education and the labour market (cf. Integrationsverket, 2005).

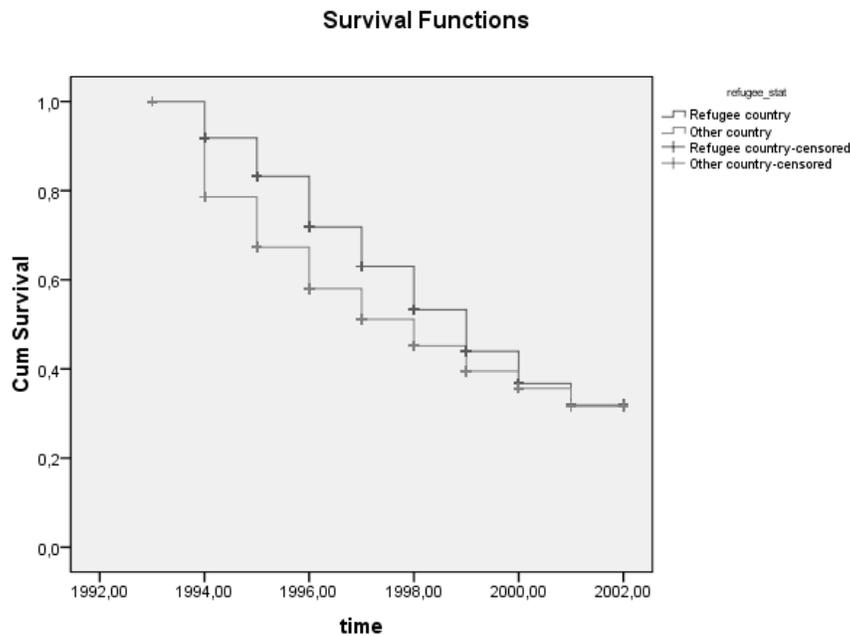


Figure 4. Transition to employment by refugee status (survival rate), 1993–2002

Finally, we examine the survival functions as related to different residential contexts to find indications of ‘neighbourhood effects’ and ‘city effects’. In this case, we only measure the immigrant’s place of residence in 1993, and their subsequent transition to employment. Their migration to other neighbourhoods and cities in Sweden is not accounted for in this calculation, which will be taken into account later when we estimate the logistic regression models. The results show that migrants residing in distressed neighbourhoods in 1993 generally entered the labour market at a slower pace than

migrants who settled initially in other residential areas. In 2002, however, the remaining differences were small. The initial differences were also in favour of other areas. Thus, immigrants who settle in distressed neighbourhoods have a small initial disadvantage (Table 3) and progress to employment at a somewhat slower pace as well. Thus, the results of our descriptive analysis hint that there exists a negative ‘neighbourhood effect’ related to living in the distressed neighbourhoods, although a rather small one. The ‘city effect’, on the other hand, is more noticeable. After small initial differences (Table 3), a considerably more rapid progression to employment takes place in Stockholm. More specifically, we can notice that the differences in finding a job are almost non-existent in the first half of the 1990s, but the differences widen at the end of our study period when the probability of getting a job are much smaller in Malmö. Thus, it seems that the recovery after the economic recession made it easier to enter the labour market in Stockholm than Malmö, which could be explained by their different labour market structure and global position in the world market (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009).

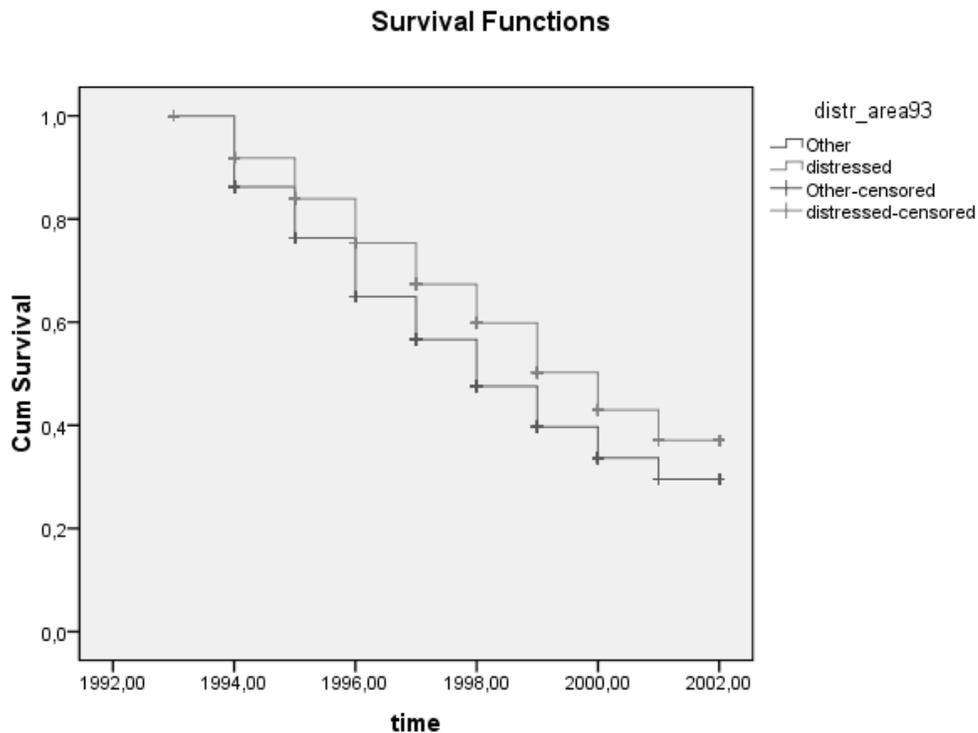


Figure 5. Transition to employment by neighbourhood type (survival rate), 1993–2002

To sum up the main results of the descriptive analysis, we found a constant movement towards employment for the 1993 migrant cohort to Sweden. However, a large group, or more than a third of immigrants, remained without any contact with the labour market after ten years of residence in Sweden. It also became evident that both the neighbourhood type and the city of origin had an impact on the transition to the first job. To analyse whether the obtained ‘neighbourhood effects’ and ‘city effects’ are the true effects related to living in a specific neighbourhood and city, and not the effect of a selection of immigrants with certain characteristics into these areas, we extended our analysis to a multivariate research setting. In Model 1 (Table 5) the effects of neighbourhood type and city region are analysed without considering other migrant characteristics. The results confirm the results of the descriptive analysis. First of all, residency in a distressed area reduced the odds of getting a job by 1.4 (1/0.723) times, while residency in Stockholm increased the odds of entering the labour market by 1.4 times during our study period. Both differences are highly significant statistically. More importantly, these effects were robust and remained unchanged after controlling for personal and migration related characteristics (Model 2, Table 5), i.e the neighbourhood and city effects are independent of the individual characteristics of immigrants. Thus, if a well educated person lives in a distressed neighbourhood or in Malmö, he or she has lower chances of getting a first job than an equally well educated immigrant who starts living in another neighbourhood type or in Stockholm.

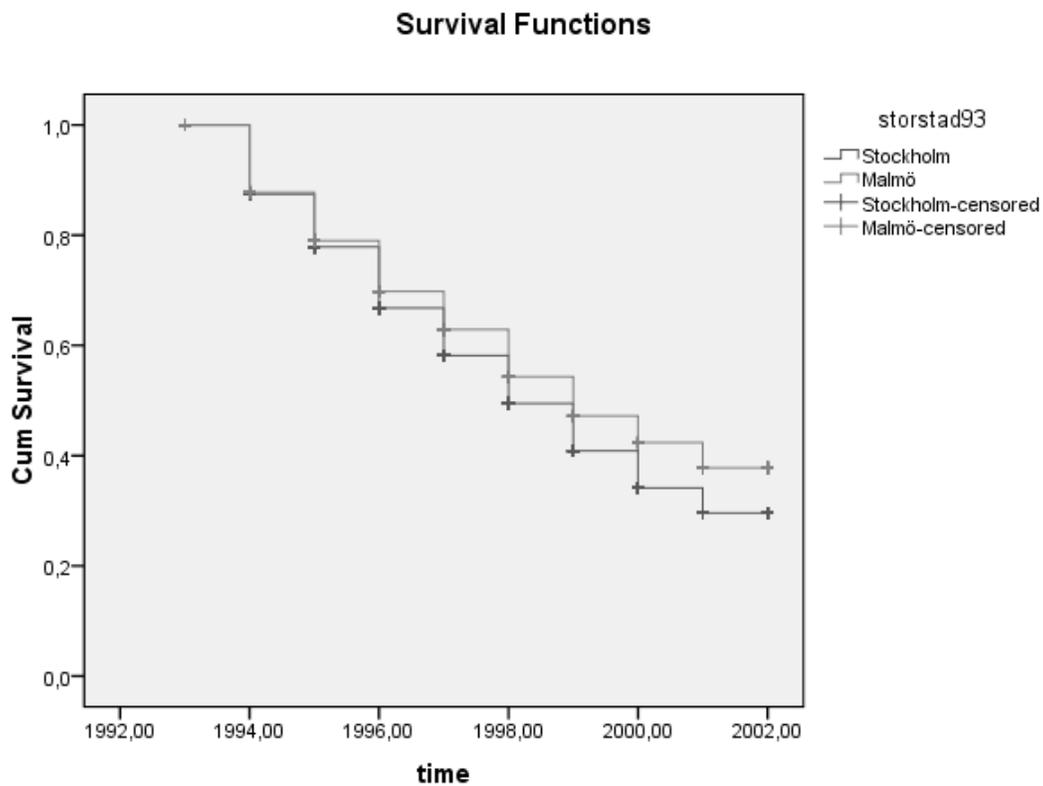


Figure 6. Transition to employment by city of residence (survival rate), 1993–2002

The results by other variables are as follows. Coming from a refugee country reduced the employment probability to some extent, but the region of origin was more important for becoming employed. Immigrants from West Asia and the Middle East had particularly low odds of getting a job, followed by individuals from Africa, East and South-East Asia and, surprisingly, also North America. With regard to personal characteristics, having a lower level of education reduces the chances of becoming employed significantly. Having a middle or high level of education increases the odds of getting a job by a factor of 2.2 and 2.5, respectively, compared to people who have attended a school for 12 years or less (i.e., without secondary education). Such results confirm that education is a valuable investment for immigrants for getting a job in the host country. Also, belonging to the oldest age group was a negative element for the chances of employment as the descriptive analysis also revealed; they have 2.8 (1/0.362) times lower odds of entering the labour market than the youngest age group. Thus, people of older working ages, irrespective of their skills, origin, family situation and other characteristics, have particular difficulties in entering the labour market. We also find that women have a lower probability of being employed than men, which implies that there are complex intersectional difficulties both from being female and having an immigrant background. Having children, however, increased the probability of becoming employed.

Returning to the effects of the neighbourhood and the city on the first employment, we analyse the interaction effects of city and neighbourhoods (Model 3, Table 5). As expected, residing in a distressed neighbourhood in Stockholm improves the employment chances compared to residing in a distressed neighbourhood in Malmö. This means that the 'neighbourhood effects' are strongly influenced by the 'city effects'; living in distressed neighbourhoods in Malmö has a stronger negative effect on getting a job than living in a distressed neighbourhood in Stockholm. Finally, we analyse the time effects of, first, residing in Stockholm versus Malmö, and, second, residing in a distressed neighbourhood versus other neighbourhoods. We are not able to detect any clear interaction effects between city and time (Model 4, Table 5); i.e., the 'city effect' is persistent over time if we take into account all other variables included in Model 4. Residence in a distressed neighbourhood, however, shows a systematic and statistically significant pattern over time (Model 5, Table 5). Once we take into account the impact of all other variables included in Model 5, it appears that living in a neighbourhood does not have long-term negative effects on their residence. Although living in distressed areas exerts an initial negative effect, and the employment level was somewhat lower here than in other residential areas also in the end of the study period as our descriptive analysis showed, we find that progression to employment was relatively faster in distressed areas than elsewhere. This can be interpreted as if the 'neighbourhood effects', while strong in the beginning, decrease with time. There is, therefore, no clear evidence of a 'downward spiral' from residing in a distressed neighbourhood, but rather, the chances of labour improvement exist also in these neighbourhoods, although from a significantly lower level than in other neighbourhoods.

Table 5. The probability of getting employed, odds ratios.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Exp(B)	Sig.								
Time (Base: 1994)										
1995	0.860	***	0.811	***	0.810	***	0,780	***	0,787	***
1996	1.145	**	1.112	*	1.110	*	0,976		1,032	
1997	1.018		1.043		1.042		0,846		0,933	
1998	1.267	***	1.372	***	1.370	***	1,439	***	1,224	***
1999	1.461	***	1.706	***	1.706	***	1,642	***	1,499	***
2000	1.292	***	1.603	***	1.605	***	1,236	***	1,300	***
2001	1.193	**	1.564	***	1.569	***	1,579	***	1,404	***
2002	1.617	***	2.192	***	2.197	***	2,419	***	1,888	***
Distressed area (Base: No)										
Yes	0.723	***	0.781	***	0.631	***	0,781	***	0,518	***
City (Base: Malmö)										
Stockholm	1.400	***	1.421	***	1.323	***	1,324	***	1,424	***
Refugee country (Base: No)										
Yes			0.845	***	0.840	***	0,845	***	0,842	***
Origin (Base: Western Europe)										
Eastern Europe			0.852	**	0.851	**	0,851	**	0,866	**
West Asia and the Middle East			0.565	***	0.570	***	0,565	***	0,572	***
South America			0.841	**	0.846	*	0,841	*	0,857	
Africa			0.729	***	0.725	***	0,729	***	0,741	***
North America			0.719	***	0.716	***	0,719	***	0,719	***
East and South-East Asia			0.712	***	0.711	***	0,712	***	0,722	***
Gender (Base: Man)										
Woman			0.731	***	0.731	***	0,731	***	0,731	***
Age (Base: 25-34)										
35 -49			0.956		0.955		0,955		0,955	
50-64			0.361	***	0.362	***	0,361	***	0,363	***
Family status (Base: Other)										
Married			0.925	*	0.923	**	0,926	*	0,923	*
Having child (Base: No)										
Yes			1.381	***	1.385	***	1,380	***	1,379	***
Education: (Base: < 12 years)										
12 years			2.264	***	2.274	***	2,264	***	2,271	***
> 12 years			2.51	***	2.528	***	2,510	***	2,514	***
Stockholm by Distressed					1.324	***				
Time by City (Model 4)										
Time by Neighbourhood (Model 5)										
1995							1,053		1,211	
1996							1,186		1,471	***
1997							1,318	*	1,671	***
1998							0,932		1,677	***
1999							1,051		1,750	***
2000							1,418	**	2,209	***
2001							0,980		1,643	***
2002							0,856		1,869	***
-2 Log likelihood										

Conclusions

The beginning of the 1990s was characterised by a severe economic recession and substantial waves of immigration. Sweden was more affected by the economic crises than other European countries and at the same time it became a main recipient of refugees from the war in the former Yugoslavia. In this paper, we have studied the first entrance into the labour market of the total immigrant cohort to Sweden in 1993 and the effects of their residential histories on employment with the focus on ‘neighbourhood effects’ and ‘city effects’. The migrants arrived in Sweden in 1993 and we then followed their progression to employment during the period 1994–2002, or during the period when the general situation in the Swedish labour market improved. In line with this, the study shows a general improvement in the labour market of the migrant cohort, albeit at a slow pace. After ten years in Sweden, almost 40 per cent of the population still have never entered the labour market.

Labour market entry also varied depending on the migrants’ personal characteristics. Men proceeded more easily to employment than women, and age on arrival to Sweden was related significantly to getting a job. Older migrants (aged 50–64) showed a slow progression to employment; on the one hand, they probably don’t migrate with job-related motives and, on the other, the threshold to enter the labour market in a foreign country is probably higher for individuals who will (relatively) soon enter the age of retirement. The country of origin is also very important in entering the labour market. As expected, Western Europeans have the best access to the labour market, as they get a job soon after arrival. By contrast, migrants from West Asia and the Middle East had particularly slow entries into the labour market. Also, coming from a refugee country had a negative impact on the first entry of employment, but this difference had evened out by the end of the study period in 2002. One of the most important results is that an education of 12 years or more (that is, equivalent to the upper secondary school) had a very strong effect on employment probabilities. Consequently, a continued focus on education for newly arrived migrants, in order to improve their labour market participation, seems valid.

The effect of the neighbourhood type on labour market careers has been the focus of many studies (Friedrichs, 1998; Friedrichs et al, 2003). In this article, we have added two aspects to the existing research. First, we analyse ‘neighbourhood effects’ through the use of event history analysis, thus controlling for changes in residential status and other transitions over time. There is a growing body of longitudinal studies on neighbourhood effects in Sweden and elsewhere (e.g., Musterd et al, 2008), but we focus specifically on the labour market entry by applying event history modelling on the probability of getting a first job. Second, we add the contextual dimension — the ‘city effect’ — to the analysis of ‘neighbourhood effects’. The results are clear: there is a strong ‘neighbourhood effect’ in entering the labour market, but there is an equally strong effect that relates to the neighbourhood context: the ‘city effect’. From this, it follows that residing in distressed neighbourhoods in Stockholm leaves immigrants with a higher probability of entering the labour market than residing in distressed neighbourhoods in Malmö. Our interpretation of such results is that ‘neighbourhood effects’ seem to be of less significance in cities that are globally competitive, due to their generally different labour market structure and also

their openness to diversity and potential for transnational links to the homeland (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009; Florida 2002).

The robust 'city effects' over time also strengthen this thesis of the global position of the city affecting the incorporation of immigrants in the labour market. 'Neighbourhood effects', on the other hand, decreased over time, although: (1) there was an initial negative effect of living in distressed neighbourhoods; (2) at the end of the study period, a smaller share of immigrants living in distressed neighbourhoods had made their way on the labour market; and (3) living in distressed neighbourhoods continued to have negative impact on the transition to employment once we controlled for individual characteristics. However, the results of the modelling do not detect escalating negative effects over time. There was no sign of a 'downward spiral' for individuals residing in distressed neighbourhoods. We must bear in mind that the areas were defined based on low mean income in 1997, and the conditions in these areas might have improved. Namely, the distressed neighbourhoods have been subject to political programmes to improve their housing and socio-economic conditions (Palander 2006). For that reason, the decreasing 'neighbourhood effect' could be the result of political interventions, which would lend some support to the area-based policies in integrating newly arrived immigrants.

The investigation of 'neighbourhood effects' is a complex but important field of study. If our place of residence affects our life chances, and if political interventions can level out part of the place-induced differences, it calls for more research in this field. Factors shaping individual life chances, as well as policies to enhance equal opportunities to pursue our life careers, are of particular significance in societies that are characterised by increasing residential separation between ethnic and socio-economic population groups. In this study, we find that both 'neighbourhood effects' and 'city effects' are significant, but that they are mutually interrelated. The analysis of 'city effects' should be seen as a first step. More research is needed that includes more cities, in order to clarify the 'city effects' further, and disentangle the effects of various spatial layers and contexts on individual life careers. More specifically, our study points to the need for studies that pay more attention to the individual city, its local labour market characteristics and the city's position in the global economy, in analysing the local level 'neighbourhood effects'.

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