

WHY ARE THE BARRIERS INTO THE LABOUR MARKET RISING? : AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXCLUSION PROCESS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE SWEDISH LABOUR MARKET

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INTRODUCTION

As a result of demographic transitions a possible labour shortage has been forecasted in the European labour market and the EU commission has urged the member states to estimate their need of immigrant labour in the coming decades. Immigrants have played and play a significant role in West European labour markets but the belief that Europe will encounter a labour shortage and the hope that the problem can be solved with labour immigration can be questioned for several reasons. With the current process of increasing social and economic exclusion of immigrants in mind it can be asked if labour immigrants will at all be willing to contribute to societies that overtly or covertly build barriers for them. The Swedish labour market where the exclusion has gone far will most likely have problems to attract competitive foreign labour.

The modern history of immigration to Sweden is relatively short, where immigration did not start until after 1940. Today eleven percent of the Swedish population was not born in Sweden (SOS 1998). Swedish immigration regulations have never employed the category »guest worker«. Migrants were received as immigrants with the right to stay permanently and to achieve citizenship, with a stipulated time of residence in the country as the only requirement. Until the 1970s the incoming foreigners were mainly labour migrants. They were welcomed in Swedish industry, which after the Second World War suffered from labour shortage. Immigrants had then no difficulties in finding jobs. Today, labour participation is lower and unemployment higher among immigrants than among people born in the country.

A similar difference between immigrants and native born is seen in most states in the EU. But the gap seems to be significantly wider in Sweden than in comparable states. This difference in labour participation and unemployment between foreign born and native Swedes is the result of a process of discrimination. The concern of this article is to identify this process and explain some of the mechanisms leading to the exclusion of immigrants from the labour market.

THE COMPLICATED CONCEPT OF DISCRIMINATION

In order to discuss discrimination some definitions have to be made. Exclusion of specific ethnic groups from certain sectors of society is commonly explained as an

effect of racism. In most cases »race« and »racism« are understood as social constructs, synonymous with ethnic minority and ethnic discrimination and do not carry the original biological meaning – genetic differences between groups of people. In the USA it seems the word race is used without conflict. In Europe, due to its history of racial politics, the concept is more loaded. In some European countries the way out of this dilemma is to use the term »ethnic minorities«, as is common in UK. In France and Sweden the use of the term »minorities« is inappropriate. In France it would be against the »republican tradition« and in Sweden against the spirit of integration and equal opportunities to speak about minorities.¹

In Sweden the term immigrant has been perceived as correct. In this text immigrant shall be understood as a person that was not born in Sweden but is now living in the country. Children of foreign born parents are not included in the concept. To use the term ethnic minorities would oppose both the above mentioned idea of equal opportunities as well as making a new social construct – that of *ethnic belonging* – which would be opposed to by many immigrants who, do not feel they share identity with an ascribed ethnic group.

Finally there is the concept of xenophobia which seems to have the greatest acceptance. But if the connotation that comes with the word phobia is taken into consideration it is not as unproblematic as it might seem. Phobia is a mental state that can not be controlled, that is out of reach for logical arguments and therefor not a state of mind that one can be held responsible for. At this stage it can be concluded that this is a discourse with few if any accepted concepts.

REINFORCING PROCESSES OF DISCRIMINATION

If we turn from concepts to practice we frequently encounter organisations in which one claims that there was never any job applicants who were turned down because of their ethnic background. This might well be true. Non the less it is just as probable that the same organisations are engaged in selection processes, where their decisions have led to a systematic exclusion of immigrants. The dynamic can be illustrated like this.

We know that, approximately one third of all vacant jobs are not overtly advertised (AMS 1998). In the informal job seeking process the extent of a persons social network is crucial for the chance to get a job (Korpi 1998). If information about jobs is mediated through personal contacts, knowledge is spread among people that have contacts in the labour market, which immigrants have to a lesser extent. *In this instance the immigrant is excluded due to lack of information.*

If a job is formally advertised, we know that people that already have jobs stand a

¹ For a more extensive discussion on cultural differences regarding conceptualisation of immigrants see Weil & Crowley (1999), Wrench et al. (1999)

far better chance to be selected than people that are unemployed. The difficulty of re-entering the labour market after a long period of unemployment is well known (Agell & Lundborg 1995, AMS 1998). The very prolonged administration before refugees are accepted and residence permits are issued gives that immigrants often enter the labour market from the worst possible position, after several years without gainful employment. *In this instance the immigrant is excluded due to his or her position as unemployed.*

There are many mechanisms of selection like the above demonstrated, and the aggregated effect is usually unknown for the people that perform these decisions. Personnel engaged in recruitment are actually quite rarely confronted with »the moral test« of having to choose between one of »ours« and one of the »others«, as after the first selection process there are no immigrants to face.

This type of exclusion is to the disadvantage of the immigrant. But to differentiate it from xenophobic discrimination or racism it ought to be described by a term of its own. The concept *systemic discrimination* would cover the situation where exclusion is connected to the ethnic background of individuals, but is not primarily a result of hostility towards the »other«. It could also be described as *indirect* or *unintended* discrimination (Wrench et al 1999a). The concept *institutional* discrimination is also used to describe this situation. But if institutional discrimination is reserved to describe the case where *formal* rules exclude specific groups, like French and Belgian regulations that prohibit people with foreign citizenship to be employed by the state, it would better contribute to disentangle the dynamics of labour market discrimination.

The different types of discriminative processes all exist and most likely *reinforce* each other. But the aim here is to demonstrate how *systemic* discrimination has increased as a result of the situation that arises in the encounter between the immigrants and the post-industrialised organisation of work as it has appeared in the Swedish labour market during the last twenty years.

The aim of identifying and explaining systemic discrimination does *not* deny the prevalence of discrimination on ethnic grounds. It can rather be claimed that to some extent discrimination on ethnic grounds can be taken for granted. »Discrimination testing« made in several European countries shows quite convincingly how employers prefer applicants with e.g. English (Wrench et al 1999b) and Dutch names (Gras & Bovenkerk 1999) to applicants with non-European names. Such studies have not been made in Sweden but there is no reason to believe the outcome would have been different.

If however, »racial« discrimination is taken for a given, if not tolerable, reality in society, the interesting questions turn out to be, how immigrants enter the labour market, which immigrants that are welcomed and why their possibilities vary in different societies, and in different organisations at different moments of time. To detect the full range of discriminating mechanisms one has to broaden the view from the social-psychological perspective and see how the perception of »the other« interacts and is reinforced by structural changes in the division of labour.

IMMIGRANTS EXCLUSION FROM THE SWEDISH LABOUR MARKET

For reasons of national discrepancies in the perception of immigrants, and heterogeneity in nomenclatures it is difficult to obtain comparable figures concerning immigrants in the labour markets. But if existing statistics are used as an indicator it shows an unemployment gap between Swedish born and immigrants that is wider in Sweden than in comparable European states. A comparison between foreign-born men and nationals in 1997 reports that the difference in unemployment is almost *twice* as big in Sweden than in France, Germany and the UK (SOPEMI 1999). This is worsened by the fact that foreign-born also have lower labour participation rate in Sweden. Eurostat shows that the labour participation rate for male non EU citizens, 25 - 49 years old, is 90.9 percent in France, 88.6 percent in Germany, 82.3 in UK but only 73.6 percent in Sweden (Eurostat 1998).

Unfortunately it is not possible to compare OECD statistics on this matter over time as comparisons are made differently between the years. But regardless of how comparisons are made (nationals or natives compared with foreign citizens, foreign-born, born overseas etc.) Sweden places it self in the group of countries where labour market integration of immigrants is low (SOPREMI 1999, 1998, 1995).

Until the 1970s immigrants had no difficulties finding jobs. In fact both foreign born men and women had labour participation rates that exceeded the population born in the country. But this relation shifted during the late 1970s when immigrants became unemployed to a greater extent than native Swedes. This difference has since persisted, regardless of fluctuations in the economy. The gap in the rate of unemployment between immigrants and people born in the country is just as great when general unemployment is high, e.g. the early 1980s as when it is extremely low, e.g. the late 1990s (Bevelander 1995). During the last recession in early 1990s this rather stable relation was replaced by a dramatic rise in unemployment rates for immigrants as cut backs in industry and public service coincided with a great inflow of refugees from former Yugoslavia.

During the 1970s the immigrants shifted from being mainly labour migrants into family reunion immigrants and refugees. The same type of shift in migration pattern occurred simultaneously in other West European countries, and can therefore not as such explain the difference in labour participation and unemployment.

The difficulties that immigrants encounter in trying to enter the labour market are commonly explained to be the result of ethnic discrimination (Augustsson 1996, Paulsson & Schierup 1994, Pred 2000). But if the *prime* reason for high unemployment among immigrants is explained by racism, it has to be explained why this racism appears in the 1970s but not in the previous decades. It could be related to fluctuations in the demand of labour, as one could argue that during periods of labour shortage, employers and colleagues are more prone to accept minorities, into the work places. This argument is weakened by the fact that the employment gap is not reduced even during periods of very strong labour demand.

Waldinger and Cross argue along the same lines when they, discussing the increasing unemployment among immigrants in Europe, state: »To believe that discrimination was the prime cause would be to assume that the intensity or extent of discrimination had risen dramatically or widened« (1997:15). Their use of the word discrimination is to be interpreted as ethnic discrimination as the authors then go on to discuss what they call »non-racial factors« under the skill mismatch hypothesis. We have sought for an explanation to the labour market situation along the same lines. In the following is given an overview of the most significant organisational trends and how these changes affect labour market requirements.

THREE STUDIES OF WORK

Ever since the German industrial sociologists Kern and Schumann (1984) presented the idea that »new concepts of production« lead to an upgrading of skills in the work force, labour process research has focused on new work practices. Research in different branches of Swedish industry during the 1980s showed the same trend towards new and rising demands on the workforce (Bäcklund 1986, 1994; Nilsson & Sandberg 1988). Although disputed (Pollert 1991; Tomaney 1994) the European research agenda on work processes today focuses changes in the design of jobs, towards greater complexity, higher skill levels and greater use of team work, delegation of responsibility and improved communication (Nutek 1995; OECD 1999).

In a Swedish study where a random sample of 10 percent of the employees in eight big companies were interviewed about changes in their work between the years 1987-92 the results showed that almost 50 percent of the positions had gained additional administrative, economic and communicative work tasks (Bäcklund 1994). The study demonstrated a trend towards up-skilling or enlargement *within* existing jobs. Parallel to this a general upgrading of qualification levels in the labour market could be noticed (Lundgren 1996).

With the background of rising unemployment for immigrants and diminishing number of simple jobs the following question rose? If labour market demands were moving in a general direction of job enlargement, how did this affect the possibility for immigrants and other newcomers in the labour market to enter?

A study was designed, with the conscious ambition to search for the most unqualified work, in jobs that during the 50's and 60's had served as entries into the labour market for immigrants. It should be noticed that we focussed jobs that require only low or semi-skilled personal. Workplaces that thus far had employed great numbers of immigrants were chosen for the studies. They were found in industry, services, retail, transport and care sectors.

More recently arrived immigrants generally have training and education at higher levels so that the average educational level among immigrants now is equal to people

born in Sweden, even though it is more unevenly distributed. The studies made have not looked at the labour market segment for highly skilled.

The investigation was performed in two steps. First, managers in 40 public and private organisations were interviewed about their organisational strategies and hiring policies. The results showed that the relative numbers of immigrants in the organisations had diminished and/or was expected to decline further (Broomé et al 1996).

After the first round of interviews with managers, six of the organisations were chosen for closer study. One of them had very few immigrants employed, one had almost 100 percent and the others between 30 – 50 percent immigrants. Between 20 and 30 interviews were made in each of them. Samples were stratified to assure diversity of jobs, gender and ethnic background among the interviewed. The aim was to trace the dynamic that marginalise immigrant labour in the workplaces or prevent them from entering the firm and how these mechanisms were understood and explained by the actors. We wanted to understand how respondents had experienced organisational development and how they viewed the processes of selection in their workplaces (Broomč & Bäcklund 1998).

In the following there will be argued that some significant changes in working life contribute to rising unemployment among immigrants. The argumentation is based on the accumulated knowledge of the three studies described above (Bäcklund 1994, Broomé et al 1996, Broomč & Bäcklund 1998). If these studies are taken together, over 560 persons are interviewed in more than 50 workplaces, located in the three metropolitan areas Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm.

The first study reported a trend towards up-skilling and broadening of jobs. The second study confirmed the tendency towards rising requirement also in service industry and low skill jobs, and together with the third study it helped to explain the rising thresholds for entry into the labour market.

The changes in work associated with the augmented demands can be described:

- A. Unqualified work tasks are rationalised at a *rapid* pace, and formal education is required to perform an increasing number of tasks
- B. Service work gets professionalised.
- C. Hierarchies and tight work control are replaced by selfcontrolled work .
- D. As a result of the changes A – C communicative skills are an increasingly important feature of most jobs.

The above shifts in the division of labour constitute the core of the structural transformation of work. The described trends are similar in most post-industrial economies (OECD 1999). But it is believed that for historical and social reasons these tendencies have developed in a more profound way in the Swedish labour market. In the following sections the effect of these trends will be discussed in relation to immigrant labour.

UNQUALIFIED JOBS IN INDUSTRY DECREASE AND WORK BECOMES MORE THEORETICAL

The same labour shortage that in the early post-war period led industry to recruit women and immigrants has constituted a forceful pressure to advance automation and reorganise work during the last decades (Berggren & Björkman 1991). Under pressure from labour shortage, high minimum wages and unions strongly in favour of technological and organisational development, Swedish industry became, the second most robotised in the world industry, next to Japan already in the 1980s (Edquist & Jacobsson 1988).

Labour unions were actively participating in the rationalisation process. Introduction of new technology was never regarded as a threat by the unions, but as a possibility for their members to achieve good jobs with extended responsibility and job enrichment. In this process thousands of simple jobs disappeared, jobs that used to be an entrance to the labour market. Between 1987–1991 the demand for people with only basic schooling fell more than 30 percent (Lundgren 1996).

As a result of automation a quite ordinary factory job as a minimum demands some kind of familiarity with computers and technical equipment as well as language skills good enough to take part in daily group work and in internal training and development programs. The more processlike production becomes, the more theoretical knowledge is required. This shift from manual towards more theoretical knowledge gives that proof of formal qualifications is demanded also for low skill jobs. Immigrants might well have the formal qualifications needed but they face specific difficulties as regards documentation and personal references.

UNQUALIFIED SERVICE JOBS DIMINISH AS SERVICE WORK BECOMES PROFESSIONALISED

If traditional jobs in industry diminished one would believe that immigrants would get employed in the growing service sector, which is a common way to enter the labour market for immigrants in the metropolitan areas the world over (Sassen 1991, 1994). But for reasons described below also the demands on staff in service jobs have risen.

Sweden is a small economy that hosts a number of big multinational companies. These companies have a tremendous impact on the spread of management styles. When ABB out-sources services, this will soon be followed by other companies and due to close liaisons between public and private actors, the same management styles are soon implemented in the public sector. In the 1990s out-sourcing was a dominating trend and hence the process could be observed in factories as well as in public hospitals.

Services within a wide array are taken care of by entrepreneurs, which specialise in everything from accountancy to cleaning and serving in coffee rooms. The new

service firms are *specialised*, but for their personnel the jobs become *enlarged* as they have to manage a combination of manual, administrative and economical work tasks.

The inhouse employed cleaner only had to do the cleaning job, but when the cleaner is employed by an entrepreneur the job for one thing also requires a driving license since the job is spread over several workplaces. To administrate the job one has to read, write and talk over the phone. The employees in the service enterprises have to adjust to the needs of different customers and at the same time each employee represents the entire image of the firm they work for.

The phenomenon of »styling« known from entertainment industry, now becomes part of creating a corporate brand. While on duty the employees are asked only to speak Swedish, to promote their firms and sell additional services. They shall be able to calculate the price for new job offers to customers, and have the capacity to sell in these additional jobs, let alone to accept the subordination to this type of role. Often a part of their wages is bound to commission

It became obvious in the study how the out-sourcing process had led to that a number of private and public organisations that once employed great numbers of immigrants now employed very few. With the demands listed above it can be explained why some of the workers with service tasks who lost their jobs in factories or hospitals do not hold the out-sourced jobs in the new service firms.

In service jobs there are still a number of tasks that can be performed without any prior training. But instead of employing lowskilled people in hamburger bars, grocery stores or hotels several employers reported that they prefer to hire students. They accept low pay and odd working hours, and they have the social capacity to perform an independent job from the first day. Students are not expected to stay on for a long time but they are efficient enough while they are there to make it profitable to hire them. The jobs that the increasing number of students in the metropolitan areas now take on, were once the jobs that gave entrance to the labour market.

Selfcontrolled work is replacing hierarchies and tight managerial control

In the professionalised service jobs an increasing number of employees get autonomous responsibility as they are in control of the daily planning of their own work. There are normally a number of ways to register the efficiency of their work, without having to superintend it rigorously. The process is the same in manufacturing, where the number of shop stewards has been drastically reduced, and work teams are given responsibility to organise their own work.

Sweden is known for team organisation in industry. The phenomenon spread from the Volvo plant where it was first introduced in the late 1960s (Leborgne & Lipietz 1988). The followers were for a long time quite few but as decentralised, self-controlled work gradually was perceived as both economically profitable (by employers) and socially preferred (by unions) it soon became the dominant organisational principle in

the entire labour market, public as well as private (Bäcklund 1994). In the 1990s we find work organised in profit units all the way from the Volvo plants to municipal day care centres and university departments.

This development is reflected in an OECD report (1999) which shows that teamwork is particularly prevalent in Sweden. In a number of measured parameters like job rotation, delegation of tasks, flat management structures, the Nordic countries group together but Sweden always shows the most extreme figures. For instance, 91 percent of Swedish work places report the use of team working, compared to an average of 73 percent of the workplaces in the other Nordic countries. The results of the OECD study fits well with the findings Gordon (1994, 1996) reports from a study of organisational hierarchies in 12 advanced economies which indicated that Sweden had the flattest organisations.

A flat organisation means in practice - fewer bosses. The decreasing number of shop stewards has had a special side effect for immigrant labour. Many of the early immigrants who had managed to advance to a job as shop-steward now lost their positions. When immigrant shop stewards disappeared, their former role as gatekeepers ceased to exist and people in their network lost one of the possibilities they previously had to enter the labour market. In several of the work places we studied, there were no longer any immigrant foremen at the time of our visit. The process had normally been the following:

The position, shop steward is withdrawn. The new person to lead *all* of the teams in a division is usually recruited from outside among younger men or women with higher formal education, and who acts and thinks 'Swedish'. The last demand is important. A decentralised organisation does not only demand responsibility and effective communication it also demands commitment and identification with the ambitions and goals of management. In a decentralised organisation, people are not controlled by surveillance they are controlled by means of identification!

Hence, the competence demanded in the work group changed character to more soft skills. We found that many immigrants had been less successful in this transformation process. They had had greater difficulties to follow corporate training. They had difficulties to be part of the new work groups, as the demand on communicative skills were higher, but also the work roles could be described as getting an ideological content of Swedish origin, with vague hierarchical positions and a required feeling of belonging.

In the late 1980s it was still quite common to find work places organised by ethnic principles. It was then considered practical but in the 1990's employers were quite reluctant to recruit kin to employees. This can be explained by management not wanting relations of loyalty within the organisation, other than the loyalty to the performance of the organisation.

We noticed a clear orientation away from kin or family groups, *regardless* of their ethnic origin. The decentralised teams are supposed to be in control of their own tasks but not until the company has established *their* control over the organisation. In six of

the seven companies that still had some kind of »family groups« in their organisations, efforts were made to dissolve these groups.

This organisational shift can be perceived in different ways. On the one hand, it gives all individuals a better chance to be fully integrated and respected at the work place. On the other hand it is a disadvantage for a person who needs support of others. This model, which could be called an »individualised team strategy«, dominates management thinking and stands in sharp contrast to the situation portrayed by Waldinger (1992) in his report from a New York hotel industry. The following quotation from his investigation would not be heard in a Swedish setting.

»Over the course of time, English has become less and less important. Most of the hotels have some refugee staff. Where they have gotten a couple of people and they have turned out to be very good, we get calls: I don't care if they speak English, we have a Vietnamese supervisor and they'll do the rest.« (Waldinger 1992:106).

There are quite few supervisors at team level at Swedish workplaces. Team members themselves have to communicate both inwards and outwards.

COMMUNICATION AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT FEATURE OF MOST JOBS

When the team to a greater extent is in control of their own work process their need to communicate within the firm and with customers increases. This communication has to be both oral and written. To master Swedish at some functional level is an absolute requirement to become employed in any of the investigated workplaces. The increased need for communicating in work was demonstrated already in the first study, as more than 20 percent of the new work tasks were identified as communicative tasks (Bäcklund 1994).

Waldingers report on immigrants in US hotel industry, demonstrates a great acceptance of employees not mastering the English language. This could be explained as a more positive attitude towards immigrants in general but in line with the argument pursued, it probably demonstrates differences in the way work is organised. About language skills, another of Waldingers respondents says:

»Service demands for English are much greater than in manufacturing. When I get someone an interview with a hotel personnel department, the expectation of the hotel personnel people is that the person will speak for him self, although I will accompany him. In a factory, the expectation is that I will do everything – fill out the interview, translate at the interview, explain what the job involves.« (Waldinger 1992:107)

This can be contrasted with the personal manager at the cleaning enterprise who said she only selected people for interview who »could present themselves to her over

the phone«. The reason given was that the cleaners had to master Swedish well enough to be able to sell additional services to the customers as the company gradually was reducing the number of salesmen.

That people in sales occupations or personal services are dependent on their ability to communicate is easy to understand. But as service accounts for a gradually growing share of the value input also in manufactured goods, the ability to interact with people in the production process becomes a valuable skill also for people in what is still regarded as manual work. All of the manufacturing industries reported that they earlier employed people with poor language abilities but that this was no longer the case.

DICUSSION

When an increasing number of firms compete in a global economy, with access to the same technology, adapting to the same management trends, the only parameters left to compete with are differences in the quality of labour, corporate culture or other qualities difficult to capture. Hiring policies therefore much stronger than before tend to emphasise recruitment of *individuals* with personal characteristics that can contribute to a specific corporate profile.

In the process of selecting the individual that will fit into the team it takes less effort to judge the qualities of a person belonging to the same culture or same sub group. The simple but not economically optimal way out in this recruitment process has led to the paradox that organisations are becoming more homogenous – Swedes in »Swedish« work places and immigrants in their »ethnic« work places – in a period where the economy is becoming more international.

The effort here to identify *different* discriminative forces, is based on the belief that the understanding of the exclusion process have far-reaching political and managerial implication. For the individual it might be of no difference if unemployment is caused by systemic discrimination or outright xenophobia but from a policy point of view it matters.

To return to the point of departure with an anticipated demand of labour, where the European countries might face a situation where they will have to compete for both low-skilled and high-skilled labour it is likely that Sweden will face great difficulties in attracting the labour needed. Therefor the particular features in the Swedish model of division of labour has to be considered when policies and monitoring of labour market exclusion is made. It calls for a re-evaluation of the perception of the phenomenon as well as a thorough understanding of the mechanisms involved if the process is to be altered.

We also need to be able to explain why immigrants have higher unemployment in some European countries than others. If it is primarily a result of xenophobia, it would according to the OECD unemployment statistics make the Scandinavian countries

together with the Netherlands the most »racist« countries in Europe. Is there reason to believe that xenophobia is greater in these countries than in the rest of Europe? Denmark has political parties in power with an articulated hostile attitude towards immigrants. Sweden does not have such political parties. That is however the case in France, Germany and Austria, countries where immigrants have a better position in the labour market.

If labour market dynamics play a central part in this process there is an immense research field ahead where comparative studies of national or institutional differences are undertaken, seeking to explore questions like: What is the impact on the French labour market caused by the rule that only French citizens can be employed by the state? Why are care sectors in USA a great employer of immigrant labour, where as the publicly administrated child care, is not a natural entrance for new labour in Sweden? Why are immigrant workers so frequent in the German construction industry but almost totally excluded from the Swedish construction market? What is the impact of the obligation in the UK to advertise vacant jobs, does it widen the market for job seekers, etc.

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POVZETEK

ZAKAJ SE POVEČUJEJO OVIRE PRI VSTOPU NA TRG DELOVNE SILE?: ANALIZA PROCESA IZKLJUČEVANJA PRISELJENCEV NA ŠVEDSKEM TRGU DELOVNE SILE

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Razlike v stopnji brezposelnosti med domačim ter priseljenim delom prebivalcev so značilnost povsod v Evropi. Te razlike so posebno velike na Švedskem. Predstavljeni rezultati so plod dveh raziskav na delovnih mestih, ki so po tradiciji zaposlovala večje število manj kvalificiranih priseljencev in kjer se beleži upad. Predpostavlja se, da je vzroke za to izključevanje iz dela moč iskati v tehnoloških in organizacijskih spremembah teh dejavnosti. Te spremembe so na Švedskem izvedene hitreje in bolj korenite, kot v drugih državah Evropske skupnosti. Stališča in vrednote, ki so zaokrožene pod terminom »Švedski model delovnega življenja«, so postale strategija za sistemsko izključevanje delovnih imigrantov.

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