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## A Multidimensional Inquiry

Rosa Weber and Louisa Vogiazides



# Integration Outcomes of Second-Generation Migrants in Sweden: A Multidimensional Inquiry

#### Rosa Weber<sup>1,2</sup> and Louisa Vogiazides<sup>3</sup>

- 1: Stockholm University Demography Unit (SUDA), Department of Sociology, Stockholm University, SE-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden
- 2: Åbo Akademi University, FIN-65101 Vasa, Finland
- 3: Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, SE-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden

#### **Abstract**

Second-generation migrants, or individuals with two foreign-born parents, are becoming a growing share of the adult population and are contributing to its increasing diversity across Europe. This study contributes to the literature by analysing integration across three life domains-socioeconomic, social and spatial integration-among six region-of-origin groups. Using rich Swedish register data, we compare 10,450 second-generation migrants, who were aged 30-40 in 2015, to individuals born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents. We also account for differences in parents' socioeconomic status and residential background. Our analyses reveal considerable differences in social and spatial integration in relation to the Swedish majority group and across origin groups. In comparison, differences in the level of socioeconomic integration are small once we account for parents' characteristics and residential background. In particular, second-generation migrants from ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey and the Middle East have high levels of socioeconomic integration but relatively low levels of social and spatial integration. Heterogeneity is also present within integration domains. While second-generation Turks have a high likelihood of living in a vulnerable neighbourhood, they also have high propensities of homeownership. Our findings highlight the importance of taking a multidimensional approach when studying the integration outcomes of second-generation migrants.

**Keywords:** integration; second-generation migrants; socioeconomic background; register data

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#### Introduction

High actual and predicted future rates of immigration have led to an increased focus on migrant integration in Europe. In Sweden, nearly a fifth of the population is foreign-born. Moreover, a substantial proportion of the individuals born in the country have a foreign background. In 2019, about 14% of the Swedish population had at least one parent born abroad (Statistics Sweden, 2021). The demographic profile of the so-called second-generation migrants has also changed over time, with a growing proportion of this group reaching adulthood. In 1990, about 5% of the Swedish adult population was born in Sweden and had at least one parent born abroad. By 2015, the corresponding percentage had almost doubled, reaching 9.5% (authors' own calculations). Children of migrants are not only increasing as a proportion of the population, but they are also an increasingly diverse group. In 1990, second-generation migrants of adult age were principally of European origin in Sweden. They consisted of children of WWII refugees from Germany, other Nordic countries and the Baltics, or were descendants of labour migrants who came in the 1950s and 1960s, predominantly from Finland, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia (Westin, 2003). A quarter of a century later, a substantial proportion of the second-generation migrants originate from more geographically and culturally distant countries. They include children of refugees who arrived in Sweden from the 1970s onwards to flee persecution and conflict in Chile, Turkey, Iran and Lebanon among others (Statistics Sweden, 2021; Westin, 2003). The diversification of the second-generation is thus a reflection of the growing variety in migration flows to Sweden.

In Sweden and beyond, a growing body of research has been studying various aspects of the lives of migrants' descendants: education (Crul, 2013; Engzell, 2019), employment and earnings (Hermansen, 2013, 2016; Maskileyson et al., 2021), intermarriage (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Lichter et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2012; Tegunimataka, 2021), and the residential situation (de Valk & Willaert, 2012; Edgar, 2014; Musterd & van Gent, 2012; Nielsen, 2016). The literature shows that in many countries, the children of migrants tend to be more similar to the majority group than first-generation migrants, though there remain notable differences in outcomes between second-generation migrants and the majority group, particularly for some regions of origin (R. Andersson, 2011; Kelly & Maharaj, 2019; Waters & Jimenez, 2005).

Much of this previous research about second-generation migrants tends to focus on a single integration dimension, especially education or employment. When several integration dimensions are studied together, variables from one life domain are usually treated as independent variables to explain a dependent variable from another domain. For instance, intermarriage is used to predict integration in the labour market (Furtado & Theodoropoulos, 2010; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2014; Tegunimataka, 2021) or the housing market (Macpherson & Strömgren, 2013; Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2020). However, research that simultaneously studies several dimensions of integration remains scarce. We still know little about the extent to which the different dimensions of integration coincide. In the few studies that study multiple integration dimensions, a major finding is heterogeneity across domains (Wallace et al., 2020). In short, integration in one domain does not necessarily imply integration in another domain. Further research on multiple dimensions of integration is therefore needed to gain a more thorough understanding of the experiences of migrants' descendants.

Using rich Swedish register data, this study seeks to contribute to the literature by exploring the outcomes of second-generation migrants in Sweden across multiple dimensions of integration-socioeconomic, social and spatial-and simultaneously to distinguish between several regions of origin. Using the Swedish multi-generation register, we link secondgeneration migrants with their parents. This allows us to account for the socioeconomic and residential contexts in which second-generation migrants grew up, and to compare the integration outcomes of the second-generation with those of their (first-generation) parents at a similar age. We focus on socioeconomic integration measured by educational attainment, employment and disposable income, social integration measured by intermarriage and the ethnic composition at the workplace, and spatial integration measured by the ethnic composition and level of deprivation of the neighbourhood of residence, as well as homeownership. Second-generation migrants are individuals born in Sweden with both parents born abroad, whose outcomes we compare to individuals born in Sweden with two Swedishborn parents. We focus on individuals from the birth cohort 1975-85 and observe their outcomes in 2015, when they were between 30 and 40 years of age. Our analyses differentiate between six origin countries/regions: Finland, Poland, ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Middle East and Latin America.

In the next sections, we review the theories and previous literature on integration among second-generation migrants. Then, we describe our data and methods and present the

empirical findings. We conclude with a summary of the results and a consideration of the theoretical implications.

#### Theorising integration pathways of second generation migrants

The classical assimilation theory, with roots in the Chicago School writings, envisions a progressive, multidimensional process through which migrants and the majority group gradually converge and become more similar in terms of norms, behaviours, and socioeconomic and residential characteristics (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1921). The theory also assumes that assimilation unfolds over generations and that migrants' descendants resemble the majority group to a greater extent than first-generation migrants (Gans, 1974; Sandberg, 1974; Warner & Srole, 1945). In the early 1990s, however, the view of assimilation as a linear and unidirectional path was put into question. Given the increased diversity of immigration flows in the US, Alejandro Portes and his colleagues proposed the segmented assimilation theory which postulates that, as the American society has become stratified, different 'segments' of society are available for migrants and their descendants to assimilate into (Portes et al., 2008; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Three distinct forms of adaptation are highlighted. First, integration can occur upward into the middle-class, as suggested by the classical assimilation theory. Second, integration can go downward into the lower class, leading to persistent disadvantages. Third, migrants can improve their socioeconomic position while deliberately retaining their cultural and ethnic identity.

To explain the segmented character of assimilation, Portes and Zhou (1993, p. 83) invoke the concept of 'modes of incorporation', defined as "the complex formed by the policies of the host government; the values and prejudices of the receiving society; and the characteristics of the co-ethnic community" (see also Alba and Nee (2003) regarding similar ideas in neo-assimilation theory). These modes of incorporation depend, to a large extent, on migrants' period of arrival and place of residence in the host country. Settlement in poor metropolitan areas can imply socialisation with the marginalised native population, resulting in assimilation in the lower class.

Another important factor shaping the integration pathways of different migrant groups is their cultural proximity with the majority population. In the North American context, people of non-European origin are considered more vulnerable to following a downward assimilation path.

While race is a disputed topic in Europe, religion and especially Islamic beliefs have attracted considerable attention in shaping distinct integration pathways in Europe (Arai et al., 2016; Drouhot & Nee, 2019). Beyond religion, distance to the host country is similarly related to different integration challenges, both with regard to how migrants are received in the host country and how different their norms and habits are from the majority population when they arrive in the country (Thomson & Crul, 2007).

Segmented assimilation thus highlights the complexity and diversity of adaptation processes. It assumes that different migrant groups will follow different pathways and that migrants may converge with the majority group in some areas but not in others (White & Glick, 2009). A lack of assimilation may stem from structural barriers or be a result of migrants' deliberate choice to resist it (Bolt & Kempen, 2010). Although the theory of segmented assimilation was developed in the US context, it provides a useful lens for analysing the diverse integration trajectories followed by second-generation migrants in Europe. However, it is important to note that marginalised neighbourhoods in US cities, which potentially foster downward assimilation, have higher levels of deprivation and social problems compared to migrant-dense neighbourhoods in Europe (Thomson & Crul, 2007).

The segmented assimilation theory has been criticised for neglecting the fact that the majority group, in which migrants are supposed to assimilate, is itself changing. If integration is conceived as a mutual process whereby migrants and the majority group become increasingly similar over time and across generations, it becomes difficult to identify what constitutes upward and downward assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2003; Thomson & Crul, 2007). Still, it is important to understand that integration may take different forms and that it is influenced by the social settings in which migrants are embedded.

#### Literature review

Since the 1990s, a sizeable body of literature has studied integration among second-generation migrants in the US (Waters & Jimenez, 2005; White & Glick, 2009). This literature has found that second-generation migrants are more similar to the majority group than first-generation migrants, though there remain notable differences in outcomes across regions of origin. In Europe, scholarly interest in the second generation has also been growing (see Drouhot and Nee (2019) for a review of recent research). Prior research from France and Belgium shows

that inequalities do not decline substantially among second-generation migrants. In particular, migrants from North and sub-Saharan Africa tend to hold the most disadvantaged positions in the labour and housing markets (Beauchemin et al., 2018; Corluy et al., 2015). Turkish second-generation migrants also often have lower levels of education and higher drop-out rates than the majority group and other origin groups (Kalter, 2011; Primon et al., 2018).

In Sweden, the bulk of this research focuses on educational and labour market outcomes, showing that second-generation migrants tend to have lower school grades than Swedish students (Engzell, 2019; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011). However, once socioeconomic background is accounted for, differences in achievement decrease substantially. These studies also show that second-generation migrants have surprisingly high ambitions considering their school grades. When it comes to labour market outcomes, studies reveal that second-generation migrants from Southern Europe, Turkey, Africa and the Middle East tend to have lower levels of employment and earnings than the Swedish majority group (Hammarstedt & Palme, 2012; Rooth & Ekberg, 2003). In contrast, migrants from the other Nordic countries, Western Europe, the US and Canada mostly have labour market outcomes that are commensurate with the Swedish majority group. There are also notable differences in education-job mismatch across regions of origin. While second-generation migrants from Poland are more likely to be overeducated for their job than the Swedish majority group, second-generation migrants from Finland and Turkey are less likely to be over-educated (Dahlstedt, 2015). Another study shows that second-generation Latin American migrants have a lower educational level and more often have low incomes compared to the Swedish majority group and second-generation migrants from certain other regions of origin (R. Andersson, 2011).

Prior studies on social integration in Sweden have focused on intermarriage. This work reveals that second-generation migrants are more likely to have a foreign-born spouse than the Swedish majority group (Haandrikman, 2014). However, there are considerable differences by region of origin. Non-European second-generation migrants are more likely to marry a non-European spouse than their Nordic counterparts. In particular, Turkish, ex-Yugoslav and Middle Eastern second-generation women appear more likely to marry a spouse from their parents' origin country. By contrast, Finnish second-generation migrants as well as those from north-western Europe and North America have high rates of intermarriage with the Swedish majority group (Behtoui, 2010; Haandrikman, 2014).

Much research in Sweden and other countries focuses on a specific integration outcome within a single dimension of integration. When several integration dimensions are studied together, variables from one life domain are usually treated as independent variables to explain a dependent variable from another domain. Some studies also investigate multiple outcomes within a certain dimension of integration, such as education and labour market position within socioeconomic integration (e.g., R. Andersson, 2011; Aparicio, 2007; Dustmann et al., 2011; Heath et al., 2008). Yet we still know relatively little about the extent to which different dimensions of integration coincide. Similarly, the bulk of segregation studies focus on a single life domain, notably residential segregation. There is a lack of research that simultaneously considers segregation in multiple domains, including working life, family/partner relationship and leisure (Ham & Tammaru, 2016). The limited research on multiple dimensions of integration paints a complex picture. A recent study on education, employment, occupation, housing and health among Caribbean second-generation migrants in the UK shows that secondgeneration migrants are less likely to have tertiary education and to own their home than the majority group in the UK (Wallace et al., 2020). They are also more likely to have repetitive and standardised occupations and to live in deprived housing. However, differences in employment and health are non-significant once socioeconomic status is accounted for.

#### Data and methods

We use Swedish individual-level register data covering the period 1990-2015, which includes a wide range of socioeconomic, demographic and residential variables. Multigenerational linkages allow us to distinguish between second-generation migrants, or individuals born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents, and individuals born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents (henceforth called the Swedish majority group). Moreover, multigenerational linkages allow us to link parents' outcomes to those of their children and thus to account for differences in parents' socioeconomic status among second-generation migrants and the majority group.

#### Sample restrictions

Considering our interest in second-generation migrants' outcomes across a number of domains including educational attainment, labour market outcomes and family formation, we restrict

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The data comprise of total population administrative register data. The use of data for research purposes was approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board (Dnr 2017/1980-31/5).

the population to the age range 30-40 in 2015 when we can expect that most have completed their schooling, entered the labour market and gotten married. We control for parents' socioeconomic status in 1990, when they were of similar ages as their children in 2015 (see Table A1 in the Appendix for descriptive statistics of second-generation migrants and their parents). This allows us not only to compare second-generation migrants' outcomes to the Swedish majority group, but also to assess differences across generations in descriptive analyses.

We also restrict our analysis to first-generation parents who arrived between 1975 and 1985, given that the duration of residence in the country is strongly related to migrants' integration outcomes (see Figure 1). Furthermore, we exclude all individuals whose parents are not observed in the register data in 1990 from the sample, since information on parents' socioeconomic status is important for understanding second-generation migrants' outcomes (Heath et al., 2008).

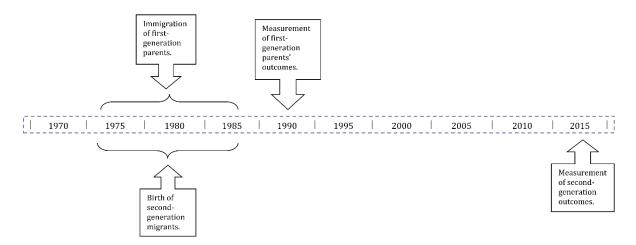


Figure 1. Study population and design

Our analysis focuses on the six largest second-generation migrant groups in Sweden who were between 30 and 40 years of age by 2015 (N=10,450). The countries/regions of origin included are: Finland (N=2,254), Poland (N=733), ex-Yugoslavia (N=569), Turkey (N=3,583), Middle East (N=1,627), and Latin America (N=1,684). The Swedish majority group comprises 807,067 individuals, i.e. Swedish-born individuals with two Swedish-born parents who were

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ex-Yugoslavia refers to former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. The Middle East includes Iran, Iraq, Syria and the rest of the Middle East. Latin America includes Central America, Chile and South America.

between 30 and 40 years of age in 2015. It is important to note that these countries comprise multiple ethnic groups, and these may differ in their integration patterns in Sweden. For example, first-generation migrants from Finland include ethnic Finns but also Swedish-speaking Finns, an ethnic minority that constitutes about 5% of the Finnish population. Likewise, migrants from Turkey can be ethnic Turks, ethnic Kurds or Syriac/Assyrians (Westin, 2003). Given that Swedish registers do not contain information on ethnicity, the country/region of birth is the best available way to construct origin groups in this study.

#### **Context of arrival**

First-generation parents in our study arrived after the oil shock of 1973 when labour migration was largely stopped in Northern Europe, but immigration due to family reunion continued. This mode of arrival probably concerned the first-generation from ex-Yugoslavia in our study. Citizens from Finland could move freely to Sweden within the common Nordic labour market, which was established in 1954. In addition, from the 1970s onwards, increasing numbers of people sought asylum in Sweden. In our study, first-generation migrants from Poland, Turkey, the Middle East and Latin America were refugees seeking to escape political and religious persecution. During the period 1975-85, Sweden received Syriac/Assyrian and Kurdish refugees from Turkey and the Middle East as well as Chileans fleeing the military coup in 1973 (Westin, 2003). Polish migrants, who came to Sweden in the early 1980s, arrived as refugees escaping the communist regime (G. Andersson et al., 2015; Lubińska, 2013).

#### **Integration outcomes and methods**

In this study, we focus on three dimensions of integration—socioeconomic, social and spatial integration—each comprising several integration outcomes. The specific measures for socioeconomic integration pertain to the binary outcomes of whether individuals have completed tertiary education, whether they are employed, and whether they are in the bottom income tercile; in other words, whether individuals have an income of about 230,000 SEK or less in 2015. We consider social integration based on two indicators: intermarriage, i.e. whether migrants are married to a Swedish partner (Swedish-born with two Swedish-born parents),<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> There is some debate as to whether intermarriage is a good indicator of integration. First, intermarriage does not necessarily entail the elimination of prejudice and overall acceptance in the mainstream society, and second it also reshapes the mainstream, contributing to creating an increasingly diverse and hybrid society (M. Song, 2009). In spite of these considerations, intermarriage is commonly analysed as an integration outcome and is therefore worth analysing as part of our multidimensional approach.

and whether individuals work in migrant-dense workplaces.<sup>4</sup> In particular, we focus on the binary outcome of being in the top tercile or in workplaces with many first- or second-generation workers on a relative scale. Spatial integration is assessed using three binary outcomes: 1) whether second-generation migrants live in a vulnerable neighbourhood (corresponding to 'vulnerable' or 'particularly vulnerable' according to the classification by the Swedish Police, 2017), 2) whether they live in migrant-dense neighbourhoods, defined as the DeSO area<sup>5</sup> (bottom tercile), and 3) whether they are homeowners.<sup>6</sup>

We analyse these outcomes using logistic regression techniques. Considering the methodological issues in comparing odds ratios across models, groups, samples and years (Mood, 2010), we present average marginal effects in Figures 2-4. These allow us to interpret the size of the coefficients as percentage point differences. Point estimates with their corresponding standard errors are provided in Tables A2-A9 in the Appendix. We show results from two models which compare second-generation migrants' outcomes to the Swedish majority group. The baseline model adjusts for individual-level controls. These include basic demographic characteristics (gender and age), educational attainment and the type of municipality of residence in 2015 (Greater Stockholm, Greater Gothenburg, Greater Malmö, medium-sized city, small city or rural), based on the 2017 classification of municipalities by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions. The adjusted model adds controls for parents' socioeconomic status. Parents' characteristics include educational attainment (which differentiates among both, one or neither of the parents having only compulsory education in 1990), employment status (again differentiating among both, one or neither of the parents being employed in 1990) and the age of the mother. Considering that these models compare second-generation migrants and the Swedish majority group, we cannot control for duration of residence in Sweden. However, since we restrict the sample to a 10-year window of arrival, and migration is most common in early adulthood, we expect that accounting for the mother's age in 1990 provides a reasonable proxy of time since arrival among foreign-born parents (Wingens et al., 2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> These are identified using unique identifiers (or a CFAR number) for all company workplaces provided in Swedish register data. Another identifier, which focuses on companies (PeOrgNr), provides similar results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> DeSOs (Demografiska Statistikområde) consist of geographical units that are rather homogeneous in terms of population size and take physical barriers into account (Statistics Sweden, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The housing tenure variable in Swedish register data indicates whether a dwelling is rented or owned. As it relates to the dwelling rather than to the individual, it cannot show whether an owned dwelling is sub-rented.

In order to account for the parents' length of stay in Sweden, we additionally present average marginal effects from logistic regressions that focus on second-generation migrants. These models moreover allow us to assess the impacts of growing up in a predominantly co-ethnic neighbourhood. We compare all origin groups to Finnish second-generation migrants and account for the same variables as in the adjusted model (individual-level controls and parents' socioeconomic status) as well as mothers' duration of residence in Sweden, and proximity to co-ethnics in mothers' neighbourhood (DeSO) of residence in 1990.<sup>7</sup> Considering that the variable proximity to co-ethnics in the mothers' neighbourhood is highly skewed, we account for it in terciles. This allows us to distinguish between living in neighbourhoods with low, intermediate and high proportions of co-ethnics on a relative scale.

#### **Integration outcomes of second-generation migrants in Sweden**

Below we present both descriptive and regression analysis results for socioeconomic, social and spatial integration.

#### Socioeconomic integration

Our descriptive analysis in Table 1 shows that the Swedish majority group tends to have higher educational attainment than second-generation migrants. The proportion of individuals with *tertiary education* is 46% among the Swedish majority group, as compared to 34% among second-generation migrants. Second-generation migrants from Poland are an exception, with 54% having completed tertiary education. Tertiary education is the least common among second-generation migrants from Finland, ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey. The proportion of individuals with only compulsory education is also highest among Turkish second-generation migrants. Still, when compared to their parents, second-generation migrants have substantially higher rates of tertiary education (see Table 2). The largest differences between first- and second-generation migrants can be found among migrants from Turkey, ex-Yugoslavia and the Middle East. For example, 30% of second-generation Turks have tertiary education in 2015, whereas the corresponding proportion is 1% among their first-generation mothers and 4% among their first-generation fathers.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> As previously mentioned, countries of birth and aggregations thereof are imperfect proxies for ethnicity, but they are the best option available, based on our study data.

Table 1. Descriptive results for second-generation migrants' socioeconomic, social and spatial integration in 2015

		All	Se	cond-gen	Second-generation migrants by region of origin	nts by reg	ion of ori	gin	
	Swedish	second-				,			
	majority	generation			ex-		Middle	Latin	
	group	migrants	Finland	Poland	Yugoslavia	Turkey	East	America	Total
Socioeconomic integration									
Educational attainment									
Compulsory educ.	7	16	16	7	14	19	13	12	7
Upper secondary educ.	47	49	54	38	53	49	47	50	47
Tertiary educ.	46	34	29	54	32	30	39	36	46
Unknown educ.	1	1	-	1	1	_	-	2	1
Labour market outcomes									
Employed	93	88	88	98	87	88	87	98	93
Median disposable	2,721	2,517	2,537	2,571	2,570	2,565	2,558	2,315	2,719
income									
(in 100 SEK)									
Social integration									
Intermarriage									
Swedish spouse	09	15	32	22	15	9	6	18	59
Co-ethnic spouse	N.A.	22	10	5	28	35	23	11	
Other ethnic spouse	N.A.	12	7	∞	8	16	15	12	1
Not married	40	51	51	65	49	43	53	59	40
Share of migrants in	22	34	32	32	32	42	36	33	22
workplace (median)									
Spatial integration									
Vulnerable neighbourhood	1	13	9	9	8	19	14	11	1
Share of migrants in	22	39	31	32	36	47	42	39	22
neighbourhood (median)									
Homeowner	77	61	62	62	62	89	09	45	77
Z	807,067	10,450	2,254	733	995	3,583	1,627	1,684	817,517

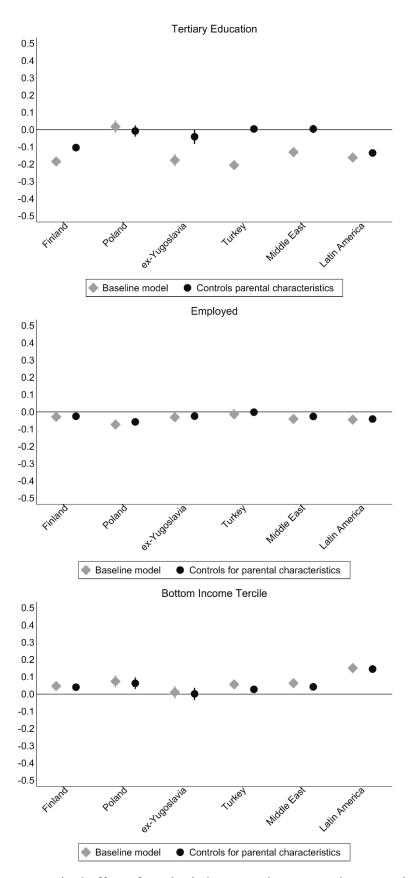
Note. Within origin-group percentages are presented.

Table 2. Descriptive results of mothers' and fathers' socioeconomic status and the share of co-ethnics in the neighbourhood in 1990

		All	S	econd-ge	Second-generation migrants by region of origin	ints by regi	ion of orig	in	
	Swedish	second-							
	majority	generation			ex-		Middle	Latin	
Mothers' characteristics	group	migrants	Finland	Poland	Yugoslavia	Turkey	East	America	Total
Educational attainment									
Compulsory educ.	23	50	38	7	52	75	49	29	23
Upper secondary educ.	51	34	46	99	36	14	35	48	51
Tertiary educ.	26	10	13	31	9	_	10	19	26
Unknown educ.	N.A.	9	3	9	9	10	5	4	N.A.
Labour market outcomes									
Employed	94	9/	06	98	82	61	71	06	94
Spatial outcome									
Share of co-ethnics in	N.A.	5	7	1	2	7	9	3	N.A.
neighbourhood (median)									
N mothers	807,067	10,450	2,254	733	895	3,583	1,627	1,684	817,517
Fathers' characteristics									
Educational attainment									
Compulsory educ.	29	40	40	∞	45	59	37	18	29
Upper secondary educ.	50	41	44	99	41	29	40	59	50
Tertiary educ.	21	11	6	31	3	4	17	18	21
Unknown educ.	N.A.	7	7	9	11	6	9	5	1
Labour market outcomes									
Employed	76	98	87	98	98	82	84	92	26
N. G.th.	L30 L00	10.450	7400	722	072	2 503	1 637	1 604	017 517
In launers	/00,/00	10,450	7,234	(52)	909	3,383	1,02/	1,084	/10,/10

Note. Within origin-group percentages are presented.

Our regression analysis in Figure 2 shows that the raw gaps observed in the descriptive analysis decrease when we control for differences in parents' socioeconomic status. This finding is the most pronounced among second-generation migrants from ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey. While these origin groups have a lower likelihood of completing tertiary education than the Swedish majority group in the baseline model (indicated by the grey diamonds), differences become small and non-significant when we account for parents' socioeconomic status in the adjusted model (indicated by the black circles). This suggests that the lower educational attainment observed in these two groups in Table 1 are largely attributable to a disadvantaged socioeconomic background. By contrast, the likelihood of having completed tertiary education among Finnish and Latin American second-generation migrants remains significantly lower even when we control for socioeconomic background. In the adjusted model, Finnish secondgeneration migrants are 10 percentage points less likely to have completed tertiary education than the Swedish majority group. Among Latin Americans, the difference is even larger at 14 percentage points. Additional analyses including information on the proportion of co-ethnics in mothers' neighbourhood of residence in 1990 show that growing up in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics is negatively related to the likelihood of completing tertiary education among second-generation migrants (see Table 3).



**Figure 2**. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on socioeconomic integration *Note*. All origin groups are compared to the Swedish majority group, whose outcomes are indicated by the horizontal line.

Table 3. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the socioeconomic integration of second-generation migrants in 2015

or second generation imgrants in	Tertiary E	ducation	Emplo	yed	Bottom In	
Region of origin (ref. Finland)						
Poland	0.070***	(0.021)	-0.034*	(0.018)	0.069**	(0.023)
ex-Yugoslavia	0.007	(0.022)	0.003	(0.015)	-0.005	(0.022)
Turkey	0.059***	(0.013)	0.022*	(0.009)	0.015	(0.013)
Middle East	0.069***	(0.016)	-0.007	(0.011)	0.025	(0.016)
Latin America	-0.033*	(0.015)	-0.016	(0.012)	0.089***	(0.017)
Individual-level controls		,				, , , ,
Female	0.130***	(0.009)	-0.042***	(0.006)	0.125***	(0.009)
Age	-0.005**	(0.002)	0.003*	(0.001)	-0.015***	(0.002)
Educational attainment		,		,		, ,
(ref. Compulsory education)						
Upper secondary educ.			0.142***	(0.012)	-0.151***	(0.014)
Tertiary educ.			0.206***	(0.012)	-0.304***	(0.015)
Unknown			-0.590***	(0.036)	0.383***	(0.033)
Municipality of residence				,		,
(ref. Greater Stockholm)						
Greater Gothenburg	-0.019	(0.016)	-0.029**	(0.011)	0.052***	(0.016)
Greater Malmö	-0.041*	(0.020)	-0.086***	(0.017)	0.116***	(0.022)
Medium-sized city	-0.027*	(0.011)	-0.026***	(0.008)	0.071***	(0.011)
Small city or rural	-0.149***	(0.017)	-0.035***	(0.013)	0.082***	(0.020)
Parents' socio-economic status		,		,		,
Parents' educational attainment (ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)						
One parent has compulsory educ. Neither parent has compulsory educ.	0.057*** 0.200***	(0.011) (0.012)	-0.010 -0.004	(0.008) (0.009)	0.012 0.020	(0.011) (0.012)
Parents' employment status						
(ref. Both parents are employed)						
One parent is employed	-0.064***	(0.010)	-0.021**	(0.007)	0.029**	(0.011)
Neither parent is employed	-0.124***	(0.010) $(0.019)$	-0.021	(0.007) $(0.015)$	0.055**	(0.011) $(0.021)$
Mother's age	0.004***	(0.013) $(0.001)$	-0.001*	(0.013) $(0.001)$	0.002**	(0.021) $(0.001)$
Mother's duration of residence in	0.004	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)	0.002	(0.001)
Sweden	-0.004***	(0.002)	0.001	(0.001)	-0.004	(0.002)
Co-ethnic neighbourhood (terciles)		,		,		, , , ,
tercile 2	-0.059***	(0.012)	0.008	(0.008)	0.007	(0.011)
tercile 3(highest)	-0.103***	(0.012)	0.002	(0.008)	0.012	(0.012)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	59	0.10	3	0.06	9
N	10,4	50	10,4	50	10,45	50

Regarding employment, we find that second-generation migrants are less frequently employed (88%) than the Swedish majority group (93%) as shown in the descriptive analysis presented in Table 1. The lowest employment rates (i.e. 86%) are observed among second-generation migrants from Poland and Latin America. For the majority of origin groups, the employment of second-generation migrants in 2015 is similar to that of their fathers in 1990 (see Table 2). Mothers from Turkey and the Middle East tend to have lower employment rates than their children. By contrast, Latin American second-generation migrants have lower employment rates than both their parents. That is, second-generation Latin Americans have an employment rate of 86%, while the proportion is 90% among their first-generation mothers and 92% among their first-generation fathers. Our regression analysis reveals that differences in the likelihood of being employed are small but significant when we control for individual-level controls and parents' socioeconomic status (see Figure 2). Second-generation migrants from Turkey constitute an exception, having a similar likelihood of being employed as the Swedish majority group in the adjusted model. The other region-of-origin groups are between three and six percentage points less likely to be employed than the Swedish majority group. Considering that second-generation migrants from Poland, ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey and the Middle East have an educational attainment commensurate with the Swedish majority group, these results suggest difficulties may be experienced in translating educational attainments into professional achievements. Overall, accounting for parents' socioeconomic status seems to make a smaller difference for estimates of the likelihood of being employed than for the likelihood of completing tertiary education.

Turning to *disposable income*, we find that second-generation migrants have a lower median disposable income than the Swedish majority group (see Table 1). Second-generation migrants from Poland and ex-Yugoslavia are the groups with the highest median income (after the Swedish majority group). Still, their median income is about 15,000 SEK below that of the Swedish majority group. The lowest median income is observed for Latin Americans (about 230,000 SEK). The regression results in Figure 2 show that second-generation migrants from Latin America are 15 percentage points more likely to be in the bottom income tercile than the Swedish majority group. This indicates that even after accounting for parents' socioeconomic status, the lower disposable income observed in this group persists. Even though other migrant groups have a lower likelihood of being in the bottom income tercile, they are still significantly more likely to be in that income category than the Swedish majority group (with the exception of ex-Yugoslavs).

Taken together, we observe relatively high levels of socioeconomic integration among the second generation once we account for individual-level controls and parents' socioeconomic status. However, Latin Americans appear to have lower levels of socioeconomic integration than the other origin groups, and despite cultural and geographic proximity, Finns have significantly lower outcomes than the Swedish majority group.

#### **Social integration**

In our analysis of social integration, we focus on the likelihood of having a Swedish spouse (born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents) and the likelihood of being in a workplace with a high proportion of migrants on the relative scale. The descriptive results in Table 1 show that second-generation migrants are less likely to have a Swedish spouse (15%) than the Swedish majority (60%). Moreover, we find substantial variation across second-generation groups. Over a third of Finnish second-generation migrants have a Swedish spouse, followed by Polish and Latin American second-generation migrants. The proportions are the lowest among second-generation migrants from Turkey and the Middle East, among whom 6% and 9% have a Swedish spouse. In line with this, over a third of Turkish second-generation migrants have a co-ethnic spouse. The regression results presented in Figure 3 show that these patterns hold even when we account for individual-level controls and parents' socioeconomic status. In the adjusted model, Turkish second-generation migrants are about 50 percentage points less likely to have a Swedish spouse than the Swedish majority group. Turkish second-generation migrants are also less likely to have a Swedish spouse than the other origin groups, though differences to the Swedish majority group are large and significant among all secondgeneration groups. In additional analyses, we focus on second-generation migrants and find that Finnish second-generation migrants are more likely to have a Swedish spouse than the other origin groups (see Table 4). These results also show that growing up in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics is negatively related to the likelihood of having a Swedish spouse.

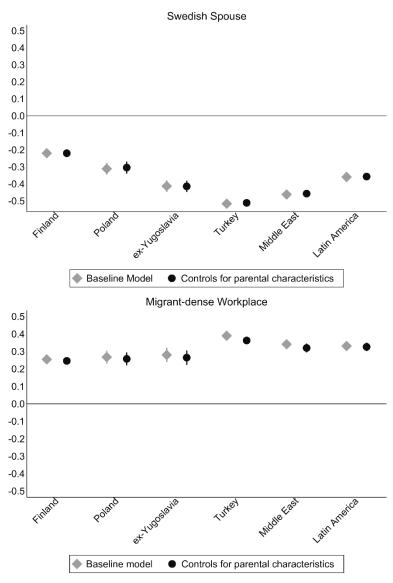


Figure 3. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on social integration

*Note.* All origin groups are compared to the Swedish majority group, whose outcomes are indicated by the horizontal line.

Table 4. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the social integration of second-generation migrants in 2015

	Swedish	Spouse	Migrant- Workp	
Region of origin (ref. Finland)		1		
Poland	-0.102***	(0.020)	0.087***	(0.022)
ex-Yugoslavia	-0.166***	(0.017)	0.092***	(0.022)
Turkey	-0.233***	(0.012)	0.205***	(0.013)
Middle East	-0.192***	(0.014)	0.141***	(0.015)
Latin America	-0.128***	(0.015)	0.084***	(0.015)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.010	(0.007)	-0.040***	(0.009)
Age	0.011***	(0.001)	0.001	(0.002)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	0.039***	(0.009)	-0.042**	(0.015)
Tertiary educ.	0.092***	(0.010)	-0.179***	(0.014)
Unknown	-0.094***	(0.013)	-0.301***	(0.032)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	0.012	(0.011)	-0.123***	(0.015)
Greater Malmö	-0.015	(0.013)	-0.099***	(0.022)
Medium-sized city	0.068***	(0.009)	-0.161***	(0.011)
Small city or rural	0.083***	(0.015)	-0.143***	(0.019)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.	0.001	(0.009)	-0.008	(0.011)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.	0.009	(0.010)	-0.012	(0.012)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed	-0.018*	(0.008)	0.003	(0.010)
Neither parent is employed	-0.026	(0.017)	-0.033	(0.019)
Mother's age	0.001	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)
Mother's duration of residence in Sweden	0.002	(0.002)	0.001	(0.002)
Co-ethnic neighbourhood (terciles)				
tercile 2	-0.21*	(0.009)	0.030**	(0.011)
tercile 3 (highest)	-0.051***	(0.009)	0.034**	(0.012)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	23	0.07	′2
N	10,4:	50	10,45	50

Turning to the *ethnic composition of the workplace*, the descriptive analysis in Table 1 shows that the median proportion of migrant co-workers (from the first and second generations) is 34% among second-generation migrants as compared to 22% among the Swedish majority group. Turkish second-generation migrants tend to have the highest proportion of migrant co-workers (42%), followed by second-generation migrants from the Middle East (36%). Accordingly, the regression analysis in Figure 3 shows that Turkish second-generation migrants are the most likely to work in migrant-dense workplaces, followed by Middle Eastern and Latin American migrants. Finnish, Polish and ex-Yugoslav second-generation migrants are less likely to work in migrant-dense workplaces. Still, they are also about 25 percentage points more likely to do so than the Swedish majority group. In addition, our study shows that among second-generation migrants, growing up in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of coethnics is positively related to the likelihood of being in a migrant-dense workplace (see Table 4).

In sum, differences in the level of social integration seem to be larger than in the level of socioeconomic integration both when we compare outcomes to the majority population and between origin groups. Furthermore, both geographic and cultural distance appear to play a substantial role in social integration among the second generation in Sweden.

#### **Spatial integration**

The third dimension of integration addressed is spatial integration, using three outcomes: residence in a vulnerable neighbourhood, proximity to migrants (from the first and second generations) in the neighbourhood, and homeownership. Our descriptive analysis reveals that 13% of second-generation migrants live in a *vulnerable neighbourhood* as compared to 1% among the Swedish majority group (see Table 1). About a fifth of second-generation Turks live in a vulnerable neighbourhood. Residence in vulnerable neighbourhoods is also relatively frequent among second-generation migrants from the Middle East and Latin America (with 14% and 11% living in such areas, respectively). The regression results in Figure 4 show that all second-generation migrants have a higher likelihood of living in a vulnerable neighbourhood than the Swedish majority group. Turks have the highest likelihood and are about five percentage points more likely to live in such areas than the Swedish majority group. They are followed by migrants from the Middle East and Latin America. Table 5 also shows that growing up in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics is positively related to living in a vulnerable neighbourhood.

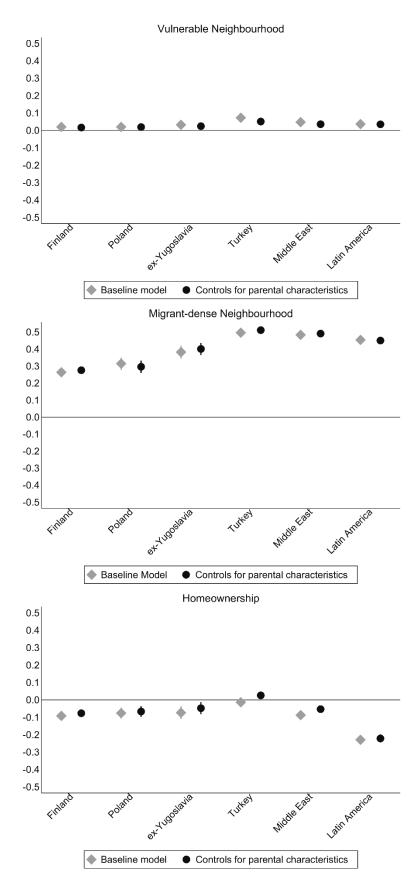


Figure 4. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on spatial integration

*Note*. All origin groups are compared to the Swedish majority group, whose outcomes are indicated by the horizontal line.

When it comes to *living in migrant-dense neighbourhoods*, descriptive analyses reveal that the Swedish majority group tends to reside in neighbourhoods where a median of 22% of residents are migrants (from the first and second generations), while second-generation migrants often reside in neighbourhoods with about 39% migrant neighbours (see Table 1). The proportion of migrant neighbours is highest among Turks, among whom about 47% have migrant neighbours. The migrant groups with the lowest proportion of migrant neighbours are Finns and Poles. Accordingly, the regression results indicate that the likelihood of living in a top third neighbourhood in terms of the proportion of migrant residents is higher among second-generation migrants when compared to the Swedish majority group (see Figure 4). Turkish and Middle Eastern second-generation migrants are about 50 percentage points more likely to live in such neighbourhoods than the Swedish majority group. By contrast, Finnish and Polish migrants are somewhat less likely to do so. Moreover, additional analyses show that growing up in neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics is positively related to living in a migrant-dense neighbourhood (see Table 5).

Regarding the type of housing tenure, our descriptive results show that *homeownership* tends to be less frequent among second-generation migrants (61%) than the Swedish majority group (77%). The lowest proportion of homeowners can be found among second-generation Latin Americans (45%). The regression results show that, for Latin Americans, the likelihood of being a homeowner is low, even after controlling for relevant variables (see Figure 4). As in the descriptive analysis, Turkish second-generation migrants have a higher likelihood of being a homeowner than the other origin groups. Once individual-level characteristics and parents' socioeconomic status are accounted for in the adjusted model, the likelihood of being a homeowner among Turks exceeds that of the Swedish majority group by about three percentage points.

All in all, there are notable differences in the level of spatial integration across origin groups and in relation to the Swedish majority group, similar to what we observed for social integration. We also find interesting distinctions across outcomes within this integration dimension. Whereas geographic and cultural distance with the Swedish majority group appears important, homeownership provides distinct patterns. In particular, Turkish migrants have both high and low levels of spatial integration across the set of outcomes analysed.

Table 5. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the spatial integration of second-generation migrants in 2015

second-generation inigrants in 201	Vulner	able	Migrant-	-dense		
	Neighbou	ırhood	Neighbor		Homeowi	nership
Region of origin (ref. Finland)						
Poland	0.054**	(0.017)	0.105***	(0.022)	0.009	(0.024)
ex-Yugoslavia	0.039**	(0.015)	0.111***	(0.021)	0.030	(0.024)
Turkey	0.093***	(0.008)	0.225***	(0.012)	0.102***	(0.014)
Middle East	0.065***	(0.010)	0.191***	(0.015)	0.017	(0.017)
Latin America	0.070***	(0.011)	0.212***	(0.015)	-0.147***	(0.017)
Individual-level controls						
Female	0.011	(0.006)	0.007	(0.009)	-0.007	(0.009)
Age	-0.001	(0.001)	-0.005	(0.002)	0.008***	(0.002)
Educational attainment						
(ref. Compulsory education)						
Upper secondary educ.	-0.044***	(0.010)	-0.077***	(0.014)	0.108***	(0.014)
Tertiary educ.	-0.109***	(0.010)	-0.184***	(0.014)	0.223***	(0.015)
Unknown	0.011	(0.034)	-0.079	(0.044)	0.012	(0.050)
Municipality of residence				, , ,		
(ref. Greater Stockholm)						
Greater Gothenburg	0.053***	(0.013)			-0.073***	(0.017)
Greater Malmö	-0.073***	(0.014)			-0.046*	(0.023)
Medium-sized city	-0.117***	(0.006)			0.016	(0.011)
Small city or rural	N.A.	N.A.			0.098***	(0.019)
Parents' socioeconomic status						
Parents' educational attainment						
(ref. Both parents have compulsory						
educ.)						
One parent has compulsory educ.	-0.002	(0.008)	-0.025*	(0.011)	-0.004	(0.012)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.	-0.044***	(0.009)	-0.068***	(0.012)	0.020	(0.013)
Parents' employment status						
(ref. Both parents are employed)	0.001	(0.007)	0.016	(0.010)	-0.036***	(0.011)
One parent is employed	0.001	(0.007)	0.016	(0.010)		(0.011)
Neither parent is employed	0.019 -0.001*	(0.014)	0.020	(0.020)	-0.092***	(0.022)
Mother's age Mother's duration of residence in	-0.001**	(0.001)	-0.003***	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)
Sweden	-0.001	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.002)	0.008***	(0.002)
Co-ethnic neighbourhood (terciles)	<del>-</del>	( )		()		()
tercile 2	0.028***	(0.007)	0.079***	(0.011)	-0.011	(0.012)
tercile 3 (highest)	0.074***	(0.008)	0.195***	(0.012)	0.007	(0.012)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	,	0.08	` /	0.04	` /
N	10,4:		10,43		10,43	

*Note.* The logistic regression on the likelihood of living in a migrant-dense neighbourhood does not control for municipality of residence due to high correlation between the dependent variable and the control variable. Robust standard errors at the individual level in parentheses. \* p < 0.05; \*\*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two-tailed).

#### Robustness checks

We have run a number of checks to ensure that our results are robust to different sample restrictions and modelling strategies. First, we have run analyses including second-generation migrants with only one foreign-born parent and parent origin mixes (for example, one parent from Finland and the other from Denmark). This set-up provides us with larger sample sizes. However, as some of the parents are consequently from Sweden, we lose observations when controlling for migration-related characteristics (co-ethnic neighbourhood and duration in Sweden). As expected, marrying a Swedish spouse is more common in this sample, but for the other outcomes the patterns are similar. Second, we have used a longer immigration period for the parents. This also leads to larger sample sizes but introduces 'other' variations that could be driving differences between groups. Considering the amount of research on the importance of the duration of residence in the host country for parents' and their children's outcomes and the large sample sizes provided in Swedish register data, we show results for a group of firstgeneration parents with a relatively narrow arrival period, largely consisting of early refugees. Third, since a considerable proportion of the outcomes analysed in this study are binary, we run logistic regressions and dichotomise outcomes that are continuous or categorical. This can mask variation and forces us to choose a cut-off. We have therefore run all analyses using ordinary least squares regressions for the continuous and categorical outcomes, and linear probability models for the binary outcomes. The results are similar and available from the authors upon request.

#### **Discussion**

This paper has highlighted the diversity in patterns between origin groups and between integration outcomes. The migrant groups with the highest degree of social and spatial similarity to the Swedish majority population are second-generation migrants from Finland and Poland. These countries are the closest to Sweden, both geographically and culturally. By contrast, second-generation migrants from the most distant and culturally distinct regions, i.e. the Middle East, Turkey and Latin America, are the least similar to the Swedish majority group. Second-generation migrants from the Middle East and Turkey are the most likely to reside in a vulnerable neighbourhood and have the lowest propensities for intermarriage. Latin American second-generation migrants have a lower socioeconomic status and low levels of spatial integration. Finally, ex-Yugoslavs tend to occupy an intermediate position in terms of integration attainments. These patterns are in line with the segmented assimilation theory which

posits that culturally distant groups, so-called visible minorities, face particular integration hindrances due to discriminatory practices in the society (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

However, our results highlight not only variations between origin groups, but also asymmetries between integration dimensions for specific origin groups. In that regard, second-generation Turkish migrants constitute a particularly interesting case. While they tend to be socioeconomically integrated, their levels of social and spatial integration are relatively low. They are the least likely to have a spouse from the Swedish majority group and the most likely to work in a workplace with a high proportion of migrant co-workers. Turks are also the most likely to reside in a vulnerable neighbourhood and have the highest proportion of migrant neighbours. Interestingly, previous research has found residence in migrant-dense neighbourhoods to be positively associated with labour market performance among secondgeneration Turks, due to the access to informal contacts that can be mobilised to enhance professional careers (Klinthäll & Urban, 2016). Similarly, a co-ethnic community appears to provide Turkish second-generation migrants with useful resources to succeed in the labour market (Ali & Fokkema, 2015; Kalter, 2011). Despite being overrepresented in vulnerable and migrant-dense areas, second-generation Turks have the highest odds of homeownership, a phenomenon that is also common among second-generation Turks in other European countries (McAvay, 2018).

Diversity in patterns across integration dimensions also applies to Polish migrants, who show high levels of social and spatial integration, a high level of education (see also Dahlstedt, 2015; Engzell, 2019), but have low employment levels. In contrast, second-generation Finns have high levels of social and spatial integration (see also, Haandrikman, 2014), but relatively low educational attainment. Considering that Finnish parents predominantly arrived as labour migrants with low levels of education during the period analysed (Korkiasaari & Söderling, 2003), their children's educational outcomes may reflect this parental background. Overall, both Polish and Finnish second-generation migrants have higher levels of social and spatial integration than the other origin groups but relatively low levels of socioeconomic integration. Finally, migrants from the Middle East show a high likelihood of having tertiary education, while they have low levels of social and spatial integration. These uneven levels of integration across and within dimensions give support to the segmented assimilation theory. They confirm that integration in a certain dimension does not automatically imply integration in another. As

in the case of Turks, an advantaged socioeconomic status can coincide with a preference for a co-ethnic spouse and residence in more migrant/co-ethnic dense areas.

More generally, our finding that the difference in educational attainment observed between second-generation migrants and the Swedish majority group declines considerably when we control for differences in parents' socioeconomic status is consistent with previous research from Sweden (Engzell, 2019; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011). However, when it comes to labour market outcomes, our findings that Turkish and Middle Eastern second-generation migrants have relatively high socioeconomic outcomes differ from prior evidence from Sweden (Hammarstedt & Palme, 2012; Rooth & Ekberg, 2003). These differences in findings may be due to a number of factors. First, our study focuses on second-generation migrants whose parents arrived more recently in Sweden (parents arrived in 1975-85, instead of in 1945-75 as in the referenced studies). Second, we have more detailed information on parents' socioeconomic status, which allows us to control for important background variables. Still, the finding that second-generation migrants from Latin America have lower income is similar to R. Andersson's (2011) results. Moreover, our results on integration are in line with prior evidence indicating that Finnish second-generation migrants are more likely to marry a Swedish spouse than other origin groups, while Turkish and Middle Eastern second-generation migrants are the least likely to do so (Behtoui, 2010; Haandrikman, 2014).

When it comes to spatial integration, there is limited prior evidence on second-generation migrants from Sweden to draw on. However, when we compare our findings to outcomes observed among first-generation migrants we observe similar patterns. In particular, our finding that second-generation migrants from Turkey and the Middle East are overrepresented in vulnerable areas and areas that are characterised by a high proportion of migrant residents reflects the spatial patterns of first-generation migrants from these areas. Compared to other origin groups, first-generation migrants from the Middle East and North Africa have been found to have a lower propensity to leave deprived neighbourhoods (Vogiazides, 2018; Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2020) and reside in areas dominated by the Swedish majority group (Kadarik, 2020). Second-generation ex-Yugoslavs and Latin Americans in our study appeared to have an intermediate position in the housing market, which is also characteristic of first-generation migrants from those regions (R. Andersson, 2011; Kadarik, 2020; Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2020).

Considering the driving factors behind integration, our study showed that the parents' socioeconomic status explains a portion of the difference in attainment between secondgeneration migrants and the Swedish majority group. This is particularly the case for the probability of having tertiary education and among Turkish, ex-Yugoslav and Middle Eastern second-generation migrants, which is consistent with prior research (Heath & Brinbaum, 2014; S. Song, 2011). Moreover, our study revealed that residence in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics when growing up was negatively related with having a tertiary education and a Swedish majority spouse. It also increased the likelihood of working in a migrant-dense workplace, residing in a vulnerable neighbourhood and a neighbourhood with high proportions of migrant residents. However, accounting for residential background did not change the main patterns described above. These results give tentative support to the segmented assimilation perspective, which highlights the role of the local context in the incorporation of migrants' children in the host society. An interesting avenue for future research would be to test the theory by assessing whether second-generation migrants from a given origin country/region, who grow up in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of co-ethnics, have different integration outcomes than their counterparts who grow up in a neighbourhood with a low proportion of co-ethnics.

#### Conclusion

This study has provided an overarching account of second-generation migrants' outcomes across multiple domains of integration—socioeconomic, social and spatial. Our research revealed a great amount of heterogeneity in the integration patterns of different origin groups, with some groups being more similar to the Swedish majority in several integration dimensions and other groups being more distinct. For certain origin groups, however, there is substantial variation in integration attainment across different dimensions of integration and even across outcomes within a single integration dimension. From a policy perspective, our results underline the importance of incorporating a multidimensional understanding of integration and inter-group differences in attainment when designing integration policies.

Future studies should assess the interplay between these different dimensions of integration in more detail by using longitudinal analysis to assess the temporality of integration processes in multiple dimensions. Latent class analysis is also a promising tool for identifying typical integration trajectories using a large range of variables from multiple domains. Moreover, other

integration dimensions should be addressed, including political and cultural integration, as well as additional outcomes, such as friendships with members of the majority group to assess social integration. Finally, more research should examine internal differences within origin groups, according to the period of arrival and place of residence in the destination country.

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### Appendix

Table A1. Basic descriptive statistics of second-generation migrants and their mothers and fathers

		) [7	ک ا			1			
	;	YIII	NG SG	cond-ger	second-generation migrants by region of origin	ints by reg	ion of ori	gin	
	Swedish	second-							
	majority	generation			ex-		Middle	Latin	
	group	migrants	Finland	Poland	Yugoslavia	Turkey	East	America	Total
Female	49	48	47	48	49	49	49	48	49
Median age in 2015	35	33	34	32	34	34	32	33	35
Municipality of residence									
Greater Stockholm	21	54	42	48	29	09	63	57	22
Greater Gothenburg	11	10	8	11	19	10	6	10	11
Greater Malmö	5	5	-	18	16	1	4	11	5
Medium-sized city	38	25	33	17	25	26	21	19	38
Small city or rural	25	9	16	9	11	7	3	3	25
N second-generation	807,067	10,450	2,254	733	695	3,583	1,627	1,684	817,517
migrants									
Mothers' characteristics									
Median age in 1990	38	34	34	36	33	34	33	36	38
Median age at immigration	N.A.	23	22	27	21	21	23	25	N.A.
Median year of immigration	N.A.	1978	1977	1981	1978	1977	1980	1979	N.A.
N mothers	807,067	10,450	2,254	733	695	3,583	1,627	1,684	817,517
Fathers' characteristics									
Median age in 1990	40	37	37	39	37	36	40	39	40
Median age at immigration	N.A.	26	24	28	24	23	29	28	N.A.
Median year of immigration	N.A.	1977	1977	1980	1977	1977	1979	1979	N.A.
N fathers	807,067	10,450	2,254	733	569	3,583	1,627	1,684	817,517
		,							

Table A2. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of having completed tertiary education among second-generation migrants in 2015

		Tertiary	Education	
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	-0.185***	(0.009)	-0.104***	(0.010)
Poland	0.017	(0.018)	-0.008	(0.017)
ex-Yugoslavia	-0.177***	(0.018)	-0.041	(0.021)
Turkey	-0.206***	(0.007)	0.004	(0.009)
Middle East	-0.131***	(0.011)	0.004	(0.012)
Latin America	-0.162***	(0.010)	-0.135***	(0.011)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.003***	(0.001)	-0.005***	(0.001)
Age	0.164***	(0.001)	0.165***	(0.001)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	-0.020***	(0.002)	0.008***	(0.002)
Greater Malmö	-0.012***	(0.003)	0.016***	(0.003)
Medium-sized city	-0.141***	(0.001)	-0.086***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	-0.237***	(0.002)	-0.161***	(0.002)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			0.106***	(0.002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			0.297***	(0.002)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			-0.091***	(0.002)
Neither parent is employed			-0.160***	(0.007)
Mother's age			0.013***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	16	0.10	)4
N	817,5	517	817,5	517

Table A3. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of being employed among second-generation migrants in 2015

		Emp	loyed	
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	-0.029***	(0.005)	-0.025***	(0.005)
Poland	-0.073***	(0.012)	-0.058***	(0.012)
ex-Yugoslavia	-0.031**	(0.011)	-0.025*	(0.011)
Turkey	-0.014***	(0.004)	-0.002	(0.004)
Middle East	-0.041***	(0.007)	-0.027***	(0.006)
Latin America	-0.045***	(0.007)	-0.041***	(0.007)
Individual-level controls				
Female	-0.020***	(0.001)	-0.020***	(0.001)
Age	0.002***	(0.001)	0.002***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	0.160***	(0.002)	0.157***	(0.002)
Tertiary educ.	0.202***	(0.002)	0.199***	(0.002)
Unknown	-0.614***	(0.006)	-0.610***	(0.006)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	-0.010***	(0.001)	-0.010***	(0.001)
Greater Malmö	-0.039***	(0.002)	-0.039***	(0.002)
Medium-sized city	-0.013***	(0.001)	-0.013***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	-0.012***	(0.001)	-0.013***	(0.001)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			-0.001	(0.001)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			-0.006***	(0.001)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			-0.030***	(0.001)
Neither parent is employed			-0.082***	(0.004)
Mother's age			-0.001***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.11	2	0.116	I
N	817,5	17	817,51	7

Table A4. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of being in the bottom income tercile among second-generation migrants in 2015

	010) 018) 018) 008)
Finland $0.046*** (0.010) 0.040*** (0.010)$	018) 018)
	018) 018)
	018)
ex-Yugoslavia 0.011 (0.018) 0.001 (0.	
•	
·	011)
	012)
Individual-level controls	
Female 0.215*** (0.001) 0.215*** (0.	001)
	001)
Educational attainment	Ź
(ref. Compulsory education)	
Upper secondary educ0.174*** (0.002) -0.169*** (0.	002)
Tertiary educ0.295*** (0.002) -0.289*** (0.	002)
Unknown $0.396***$ $(0.004)$ $0.398***$ $(0.004)$	004)
Municipality of residence	
(ref. Greater Stockholm)	
Greater Gothenburg $0.070^{***}$ $(0.002)$ $0.069^{***}$ $(0.002)$	002)
Greater Malmö 0.110*** (0.002) 0.110*** (0.	002)
Medium-sized city 0.098*** (0.001) 0.098*** (0.	001)
Small city or rural 0.119*** (0.001) 0.119*** (0.	001)
Parents' socioeconomic status	
Parents' educational attainment	
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)	
One parent has compulsory educ. $-0.008***$ (0.	002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ0.011*** (0.	002)
Parents' employment status	
(ref. Both parents are employed)	
One parent is employed $0.059***$ (0.	002)
Neither parent is employed $0.116***$ (0.	007)
Mother's age 0.002*** (0.	001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup> 0.092 0.094	
N 817,517 817,517	

Table A5. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of having a Swedish spouse among second-generation migrants in 2015

naving a Swedish spouse among second	<u> </u>		Spouse	
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)			1	
Finland	-0.219***	(0.010)	-0.219***	(0.010)
Poland	-0.311***	(0.018)	-0.304***	(0.018)
ex-Yugoslavia	-0.413***	(0.017)	-0.414***	(0.017)
Turkey	-0.516***	(0.005)	-0.511***	(0.006)
Middle East	-0.461***	(0.010)	-0.457***	(0.010)
Latin America	-0.359***	(0.011)	-0.356***	(0.011)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.083***	(0.001)	0.083***	(0.001)
Age	0.024***	(0.001)	0.027***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	0.125***	(0.002)	0.124***	(0.002)
Tertiary educ.	0.201***	(0.002)	0.203***	(0.002)
Unknown	-0.380***	(0.004)	-0.378***	(0.004)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	0.039***	(0.002)	0.039***	(0.002)
Greater Malmö	0.029***	(0.003)	0.028***	(0.003)
Medium-sized city	0.076***	(0.001)	0.074***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	0.086***	(0.002)	0.083***	(0.002)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			0.003	(0.002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			0.004*	(0.002)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			-0.049***	(0.002)
Neither parent is employed			-0.083***	(0.007)
Mother's age			-0.004***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	54	0.05	6
N	817,5	517	817,5	17

Table A6. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of working in a migrant-dense workplace among second-generation migrants in 2015

	Mi	grant-dens	se Workplace	e
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	0.255***	(0.011)	0.246***	(0.011)
Poland	0.267***	(0.019)	0.258***	(0.019)
ex-Yugoslavia	0.280***	(0.021)	0.265***	(0.021)
Turkey	0.390***	(0.008)	0.363***	(0.009)
Middle East	0.341***	(0.013)	0.320***	(0.013)
Latin America	0.331***	(0.012)	0.326***	(0.013)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.061***	(0.001)	0.060***	(0.001)
Age	-0.005***	(0.001)	-0.005***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	-0.168***	(0.002)	-0.162***	(0.002)
Tertiary educ.	-0.245***	(0.002)	-0.236***	(0.002)
Unknown	0.389***	(0.004)	0.393***	(0.005)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	-0.106***	(0.002)	-0.108***	(0.002)
Greater Malmö	-0.044***	(0.003)	-0.045***	(0.003)
Medium-sized city	-0.207***	(0.001)	-0.208***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	-0.270***	(0.001)	-0.272***	(0.002)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			-0.010***	(0.002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			-0.010***	(0.002)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			0.051***	(0.002)
Neither parent is employed			0.124***	(0.007)
Mother's age			-0.001***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	52	0.06	54
N	817,5	517	817,5	17

Table A7. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of living in a vulnerable neighbourhood among second-generation migrants in 2015

	Vul	nerable N	eighbourhoo	d
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	0.020***	(0.003)	0.017***	(0.003)
Poland	0.020***	(0.005)	0.019***	(0.005)
ex-Yugoslavia	0.032***	(0.006)	0.024***	(0.005)
Turkey	0.073***	(0.003)	0.051***	(0.003)
Middle East	0.047***	(0.004)	0.036***	(0.003)
Latin America	0.037***	(0.004)	0.035***	(0.003)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.001	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)
Age	-0.001***	(0.001)	-0.001***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	-0.014***	(0.001)	-0.011***	(0.001)
Tertiary educ.	-0.023***	(0.001)	-0.019***	(0.001)
Unknown	0.002	(0.003)	0.003	(0.003)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	-0.004***	(0.001)	-0.006***	(0.001)
Greater Malmö	-0.018***	(0.001)		(0.001)
Medium-sized city	-0.028***	(0.001)	-0.030***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	-0.034***	(0.001)	-0.036***	(0.001)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			-0.002***	(0.001)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			-0.005***	(0.001)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			0.005***	(0.001)
Neither parent is employed			0.010***	(0.002)
Mother's age			-0.001***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	8	0.14	-2
N	817,5	517	817,5	17

Table A8. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of living in a migrant-dense neighbourhood among second-generation migrants in 2015

2013	Migrant-dense Neighbourhood			
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	0.264***	(0.010)	0.276***	(0.010)
Poland	0.314***	(0.018)	0.296***	(0.019)
ex-Yugoslavia	0.382***	(0.019)	0.401***	(0.019)
Turkey	0.496***	(0.006)	0.511***	(0.006)
Middle East	0.484***	(0.010)	0.491***	(0.010)
Latin America	0.454***	(0.010)	0.450***	(0.010)
Individual-level controls				
Female	-0.026***	(0.001)	-0.023***	(0.001)
Age	-0.009***	(0.001)	-0.012***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	-0.072***	(0.002)	-0.081***	(0.002)
Tertiary educ.	0.001	(0.002)	-0.026***	(0.002)
Unknown	-0.004	(0.007)	-0.018*	(0.007)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg				
Greater Malmö				
Medium-sized city				
Small city or rural				
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			0.016***	(0.002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			0.061***	(0.002)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			0.010***	(0.002)
Neither parent is employed			0.072***	(0.007)
Mother's age			0.003***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.016		0.019	
N	817,517		817,517	

*Note*. The regression does not control for municipality of residence due to the high correlation between the dependent and control variable. Robust standard errors at the individual level in parentheses. \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001 (two-tailed).

Table A9. Average marginal effects from logistic regressions on the likelihood of being a homeowner among second-generation migrants in 2015

	Homeownership			
Region of origin (ref. Sweden)				
Finland	-0.092***	(0.009)	-0.077***	(0.009)
Poland	-0.076***	(0.016)	-0.067***	(0.016)
ex-Yugoslavia	-0.074***	(0.018)	-0.048**	(0.018)
Turkey	-0.014*	(0.007)	0.026***	(0.006)
Middle East	-0.088***	(0.011)	-0.053***	(0.010)
Latin America	-0.229***	(0.012)	-0.222***	(0.012)
Individual-level controls				
Female	0.006***	(0.001)	0.008***	(0.001)
Age	0.014***	(0.001)	0.013***	(0.001)
Educational attainment				
(ref. Compulsory education)				
Upper secondary educ.	0.148***	(0.002)	0.136***	(0.002)
Tertiary educ.	0.203***	(0.002)	0.183***	(0.002)
Unknown	-0.241***	(0.007)	-0.245***	(0.007)
Municipality of residence				
(ref. Greater Stockholm)				
Greater Gothenburg	-0.060***	(0.002)	-0.056***	(0.002)
Greater Malmö	-0.038***	(0.002)	-0.034***	(0.002)
Medium-sized city	0.024***	(0.001)	0.029***	(0.001)
Small city or rural	0.086***	(0.001)	0.092***	(0.001)
Parents' socioeconomic status				
Parents' educational attainment				
(ref. Both parents have compulsory educ.)				
One parent has compulsory educ.			0.009***	(0.002)
Neither parent has compulsory educ.			0.025***	(0.002)
Parents' employment status				
(ref. Both parents are employed)				
One parent is employed			-0.059***	(0.002)
Neither parent is employed			-0.125***	(0.007)
Mother's age			0.001***	(0.001)
McFadden's Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.038		0.040	
N	817,517		817,517	