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Anti-Black Racism and Discrimination in the Labour Market

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Differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population in terms of gross salary, disposable income, and career opportunities on the Swedish labour market

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Translated by Robert Ryan

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This document is a knowledge base report on racism and discrimination against the Afro-Swedish population, with special focus on jobs that demand qualifications ('skilled jobs'). It has been prepared by the Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies on Racism, CEMFOR, at Uppsala University, on behalf of the County Administrative Board of Stockholm County.

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Preface

Nowadays, structural discrimination of people that is based on their skin colour impacts on a large proportion of the population. There exists a clear connection between a person's income and a person's skin colour, despite the possession of equivalent qualifications. The fact that certain people's competence is not taken into account is a personal trauma for those so affected. It also constitutes an enormous waste of human resources, and poses a threat to social cohesion.

The Stockholm County Administrative Board, as part of its work towards promoting non-discriminatory and equal regional growth, is commissioned to take counter-measures against a segregated labour market and educational opportunities. Since 2014, the County Administrative Board, in cooperation with other actors from the region, has promoted 'Vidga Normen', a social project, which works to increase awareness of the processes operating in our everyday workplaces that make wide-ranging structural discrimination based on people's skin colour possible. This includes both vertical and horizontal discrimination on the labour market.

It is my sincere hope that this report will provide a constructive foundation for the formulation of active measures that can be taken against such discriminatory structures. Stockholm should be an open and inclusive metropolitan area, which uses its residents' competence in the best possible ways.

This report was produced by the Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies on Racism, CEMFOR, at Uppsala University. The conclusions and the recommendations that appear in this report are the researchers' own conclusions and recommendations.

Stockholm,

November, 2018



Karina Uddén

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Introduction

The information provided below constitutes the first of two reports on *A knowledge base on racism and discrimination against the Afro-Swedish population, with particular focus on skilled jobs*, which CEMFOR, Uppsala University, was commissioned by the County Administrative Board of Stockholm County, in the autumn of 2017. The study is divided into two reports: (i) a quantitative investigation which highlights the horizontal and vertical segregation (the text before you), and (ii) a qualitative investigation into the experiences shared by highly-qualified Afro-Swedes in the workplace.

This quantitative investigation into the segregation and discrimination of Afro-Swedes in the workplace is based on data that was collected during the summer of 2018 by Statistics Sweden and consists of individual statistics for the year of 2015. The total Swedish population of registered individuals between 20 and 64 years is included in the statistical analysis. The data was primarily investigated and analysed by Sima Wolgast. Irene Molina, and Mattias Gardell contributed to the analysis and are responsible for the theoretical frame and the definition of analytical concepts, the overview of previous research, the summary, editing, and the formulation of the recommendations that are made in this report. The chief editor of the commissioned report, Ylva Habel, contributed to this report with comments, and holds prime responsibility for the second qualitative report which will be published separately. The authors wish to express particular thanks to Åsa Bråmån, who, together with Irene Molina, prepared the SCB statistics and commented on the final version of the analysis.

This report is divided into a number of sections: an introduction to the statistical analyses that were performed and a summary of the results of this analysis; a presentation of the theoretical foundation of this investigation and related concepts; and a summary overview of previous research into racial discrimination in the labour market and workforce. This is followed by a presentation of the empirical material by means of a number of tables and diagrams. Finally, we include a number of recommendations for employers within the private- and public sectors and for decision-makers, including politicians and other officials. We hope that the empirical knowledge foundation which is presented in this report will be of use in the work that needs to be done in combating anti-Black racism and discrimination in the labour market and at the workplace.

Uppsala, 2018/10/30

Irene Molina and Mattias Gardell, scientific directors at CEMFOR (Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies on Racism), Uppsala University.

Summary

As commissioned by the County Administrative Board of Stockholm County, this document constitutes the first of two reports which are aimed at providing new empirical knowledge about anti-Black racism and discrimination on the Swedish labour market. In this first report, quantitative methods have been used to map out the situation that Afro-Swedes find themselves in the labour market in comparison with the rest of the population. We address the following questions: Do Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population enjoy the same access to the labour market? Are there any differences in average gross salary and disposable income across Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population, after taking educational attainment into account? Do Afro-Swedes enjoy the same opportunities as the rest of the population for advancement in the labour market, both in terms of increased salaries and the attainment of high-status careers and management positions? Can Afro-Swedes overcome obstacles in the labour market and proceed up the career ladder by obtaining longer and more advanced qualifications? Is there a difference for Afro-Swedes across the private- and public sectors, and whether they work for the State, a county council, or a local municipality? Do any regional differences exist for Afro-Swedes and their employment across the three metropolitan regions of Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne?

The study presented below includes an analysis of unemployment figures, employment figures, average incomes, and low- and high-status careers, including management positions in relationship to educational qualifications of Afro-Swedes in comparison with the rest of the Swedish population. The statistical analysis is based on micro-data provided by Statistics Sweden for the year of 2015. The dataset included every registered person in Sweden between 20–64 years of age, from the year the person completed high school up until the then pensionable age of 65 years. Consequently, the present study is not based on a representative selection of the relevant populations, but, rather, on the *total* Swedish population for the relevant time period: 5 973 039 individuals. In a further comparative analysis, the total population within the same age interval in the three metropolitan regions of Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne were included.

In the present study, the overarching category of ‘Afro-Swede’ consists of two sub-categories which were also compared with each other. The first sub-category included people between 20 and 64 years of age who were born in sub-Saharan Africa, and the second category included people of the same age group born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa. This categorization entails a certain limitation to our study, since we know that there are Black people who live in Sweden who

were born in another region than sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Latin America or the Caribbean) or who were born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born outside sub-Saharan Africa, as well as Afro-Swedes whose both parents were born in Sweden.

The category, ‘the rest of the population’ does not refer to “ethnic Swedes” or the “White majoritarian Swedes”; but includes every person whose both parents were born in Sweden and every person who was either born in another country outside sub-Saharan Africa or who has at least one parent from a foreign country outside sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, ‘the rest of the population’ includes people who hold a Muslim name, Roma people, and people whose background can be associated with the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa) and Latin America; i.e., categories of residents which previous research has shown are being discriminated against in the labour market.

Hence, the situation that Afro-Swedes are confronted with in the labour market is probably even worse than what the data shows.

Social class is accounted for via the variables of educational attainment, income, and employment in low- or high-status job positions. Information concerning individuals’ educational attainment, salary, income, and number of days spent unemployed, as well as different types of job positions, was included in the salary/income- and employment analyses. However, the present study does not differentiate between gender and different age groups; something which will be included in a subsequent report.

This study compares Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population’s situation in the labour market. This has been done by investigating:

- salary distribution within the State-, municipality-, county council-, and private sectors
- salary differences within each sector
- disposable income in relation to educational attainment
- days spent unemployed in relation to educational attainment
- proportion of people who hold a management position in relation to educational attainment
- differences in managerial salaries in relation to educational attainment
- representation across different job sectors (classified as low status jobs or high status jobs)

Our study reveals that the Swedish labour market is characterized to a high degree by *horizontal segregation*, since Afro-Swedes tend to hold low status- and low-paying jobs, even in relation to their educational attainment, and also *vertical segregation*. It is more difficult for Afro-Swedes than for

the rest of the population to advance to higher job positions with higher status and salary which correspond to their educational attainment. There seems to be a glass ceiling which prevents Afro-Swedes from progressing in their career in competition with the rest of the population, even when Afro-Swedes possess the same or more qualifications as other candidates for a desired position.

Pay gaps

Our study reveals that there exists a large pay gap between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. The pay gap is largest in the private sector: people born in sub-Saharan Africa are paid 25% less than the rest of the population. Afro-Swedes who were born in Sweden, with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa, are paid 36% less than the rest of the population. The same pattern appears with respect to the salary distribution for employees in the State-, county council-, and local municipality sectors. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa who are employed by the county council are paid, on average, 10% less than the rest of the population, whilst Afro-Swedes who were born in Sweden receive 36% less pay than the rest of the population. Even when differences in educational attainment, employment sector, and age are taken into consideration, there exists a significant difference in the salaries that are paid to Afro-Swedes compared to the rest of the population.

Disposable income

The differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population with respect to disposable income are remarkable. In every metropolitan area – just as is the case across the whole of Sweden – there exists a clear trend regarding differences in disposable income for Afro-Swedes who were born in sub-Saharan Africa compared to the rest of the population: the gap in disposable income *increases* in step with increasing levels of educational attainment.

In the geographical region of Stockholm county council, the difference in disposable income between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population in relation to increasing levels of educational attainment varies from a little over 7% for those least educated (less than nine years compulsory school) to almost 39% for those with highest education (completed doctoral program). The comparative figures for this variation in Västra Götalands county council are 9% to almost 50%, and in Skåne county council, from 9% to 37%.

For Afro-Swedes who were born in Sweden, the differences in disposable income, compared with the rest of the population, are generally even larger in all of the regions that were studied, but held a less distinct pattern in relation to the person's educational attainment. This group is, however, of a limited size when it is broken down across the various regions and

educational attainment levels, a factor which lends uncertainty to these figures. In Stockholm county, the variation in disposable income is between 25% for those least educated (less than nine years compulsory school) and 49% % for those with highest education (completed doctoral program), in Västra Götaland the variation is between 35% and 58%, and in Skåne it is between 29% and 62%.

Afro-Swedes need to hold a doctoral degree to receive the same disposable income enjoyed by a person from the rest of the population with a —three-year post-secondary diploma.

Afro-Swedes who have obtained a three-year post-secondary education receive a significantly lower average disposable income in comparison to the rest of the population with the same educational attainment. Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who possess a three-year post-secondary education receive, on average, approximately 49% less disposable income than the rest of the population who hold an equivalent educational attainment. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa receive only 66% of the disposable income of the rest of the population with equivalent educational attainment.

Unemployment

With respect to unemployment, all of our analyses reveal the same trend: Afro-Swedes are unemployed for significantly more days than the rest of the population. With exception of those individuals who hold less than 9 years of compulsory education, the trend with respect to unemployment is observable irrespective of the individual's educational attainment. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa are unemployed for the largest number of days, followed by Afro-Swedes born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa.

For the rest of the population, the number of days a person is unemployed decreases in relation with an increase in the person's level of educational attainment. For these individuals, further education is likely to improve their situation; the higher the level of education and qualifications, the lower the duration of one's unemployment. The same trend is not observed with regards to Afro-Swedes. For Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa, levels of unemployment decrease in step with an increase in educational attainment, but not to the same degree as with the rest of the population. However, this trend is reversed for Afro-Swedes who have read for a 3-year post-secondary degree: In contrast to the rest of the population, this higher level of educational attainment becomes a *disadvantage* for these Afro-Swedes, since they suffer from higher levels of unemployment.

High status jobs and management positions

Our study shows that Afro-Swedes are under-represented in both high-status jobs and in management and leadership positions. Further, Afro-Swedes are over-represented in low status jobs.

In addition, our analysis reveals that Afro-Swedes who do hold a senior management position or are employed in a high-status job enjoy significantly *lower* salaries in comparison to other managers or individuals who have a high-status job from the rest of the population. This pattern is observable across the country as a whole and across the metropolitan areas.

An Afro-Swede born in sub-Saharan Africa who holds a managerial position will receive (on average) a little over 77% of the average salary for a managerial position held by an individual from the rest of the population. Afro-Swedes born in Sweden receive just less than 76% of the average salary of a manager who is from the rest of the population. Not only is there a severe dearth of Afro-Swedes in management positions, but those who achieve such positions receive a smaller salary (on average) than other managers.

Similarly, the average salaries for Afro-Swedes who hold high-status jobs are significantly lower than those enjoyed by individuals from the rest of the population who hold equivalent positions. This difference cuts across every level of educational attainment. These pay gaps are somewhat larger in Stockholm county council in comparison with the other two metropolitan areas.

The proportion of Afro-Swedes who hold managerial positions is significantly lower than the proportion of the rest of the population who hold equivalent positions. It is ten times more probable for an individual from the rest of the population to hold a managerial position than it is for an Afro-Swede.

In general, increased levels of educational attainment improve one's chances of holding a managerial position; an uncontroversial observation in itself. What is remarkable, however, is that Afro-Swedes find it much more difficult to be appointed to a managerial position in comparison with the rest of the population who hold the same level of educational attainment. Note too that the gap between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population in this regard *increases* in pace with increased levels of educational attainment.

Taken together, these results reveal that anti-Black racism and discrimination negatively influence the situation that Afro-Swedes find themselves in on the Swedish labour market. In comparison to the rest of the population, Afro-Swedes are over-represented in unemployment figures or they are referred to low status- and low-paying jobs. Racism and discrimination have also resulted in a situation where Afro-Swedes are not provided with the same opportunities where they can increase the probability that they will be awarded a high-status position, a managerial position, or

equitable remuneration by dint of their own efforts in obtaining further qualifications, in comparison to the rest of the population.

This report ends with a number of recommendations. These include recommendations that:

- the government investigate how it might broaden the scope of the Discrimination Act with respect employers' mandatory responsibility to survey and implement an action plan with respect to pay differences between men and women to also include pay differences between employees that may be caused by other grounds for discriminatory practices, including national or ethnic origin, skin colour, or other similar circumstance;
- this investigation result in the formulation of suggested sanctions that can be used against employers who contravene the Discrimination Act;
- an agency be established which is responsible for collating surveys and action plans that can be used against discrimination in the labour market and at the workplace;
- a number of indicators be established against which the ongoing work against discrimination can be measured and evaluated, and, as needed, recommendations be made with respect to adjustment action plans;
- financing be made available for continued research with the purpose of providing decision-makers, government authorities, and leadership figures with updated, empirically verifiable knowledge base reports on racism and discrimination in the labour market;
- research not merely come to halt with studies which show *that* racism and discrimination exists in the labour market, but that it go further by answering the questions of *How?* and *Why?* it exists; and
- further research investigate what consequences racism and discrimination have on individuals, with respect to their social life, their physical and mental health, and their feelings of trust and social belonging.

Concepts, theories, and categorizations

The self-image of Sweden as one of the most tolerant countries in the world, where racism is of minor relevance to society, does not correspond to the series of empirical studies which have been conducted during the last 30 years. These studies show that racism, in varying degrees, does impact on Swedish society. In addition to the research results from individual research projects and programs of growing numbers of scientific articles, anthologies, monographs, and reports, the observation above concerning racism and discrimination has also been broadly stated by two government commissions. Firstly, *Det blågula glashuset - strukturell diskriminering i Sverige* (SOU 2005:56), produced by Paul Lappalainen, a lawyer who was a special investigator commissioned to investigate structural discrimination based on ethnic or religious affiliation. Secondly, *Makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering* (Ju 2004:04) produced under the leadership of Masoud Kamali, professor of social work and Paulina de los Reyes, professor of economic history, a commission which resulted in 13 volumes,ⁱ and a final report, entitled *Integrationens svarta bok. Agenda för jämlikhet och social sammanhållning* (SOU 2006:79). These investigations surveyed and analysed discrimination in areas such as housing, healthcare, education, politics, the justice system, and in the labour market and at the workplace. If there was previously any doubt on the matter, the reports mentioned above clarified the fact that racism is a historically and geographically widespread phenomenon in Swedish society. In both of these investigations a great number of labour market research projects were included, the results of which converged on the fact that racism and structural discrimination exist in Sweden.

Racism

Racism can be defined in a variety of ways. In the present report, we consider racism pragmatically. Following scholars such as Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall, Robert Miles, Franz Fanon, David Goldberg, Philomena Essed, Ghassan Hage, Stefan Jonsson, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, we claim that racism is not just about ideas, prejudice, and attitudes, but involves actions and practices. Racism is not only something thought, but something that is *done*, and may be reproduced independently of the intentions of the people involved.

Racism can be understood as a *technology*. By “technology” we refer to the combined material and immaterial methods, skills, knowledge, processes, techniques, tools, efforts, and activities that form or change culture. Technology achieves something, produces something, or according to the

definition provided by Ursula Franklin (1989), technology is “practice, the way we do things around here”. Racism is a technology which:

1. classifies people in different classificatory units (e.g. ‘races’, ‘cultures’, ‘ethnicities’, ‘people’) ‘kinds’, each bestowed with an inherited essence and hereditary characteristics;
2. establishes and maintains an unequal distribution of status, privileges, resources, rights, and opportunities to people based on which collective kind they are assumed to belong to;
3. assigns people their place in accordance with the logic that each kind should be in its proper place; and
4. naturalizes the power relations which are created via the principles of classifying, placing, and distribution, and patrols the borders and flows which the technology produces.

It is important to note that racism does not presuppose the notion of “biological race”. The history of racism pre-dates the sciences of biology and genetics by centuries. In the early history of racism, the principle of classification that legitimized an unequal distribution of status, privileges, resources, rights, and opportunities to people of different kinds was based on their perceived traditions, customs, and rites; that which we today call ‘culture’ and ‘religion’. The ‘cultural racism’ which emerged during the post-war period when the biological theory of race gradually came to be seen as both scientifically and ethically unsustainable, is thus nothing new. On the contrary, it may be understood as a return to an earlier and more basic pattern of producing racialized differences. Racism, as a technology, is not dependent on the term *race*, because race is a product of racism, and not the other way around. The notion of hereditary ‘essence’ can travel embedded in other concepts that signify different classes of people; such as ‘nation’ and ‘ethnicity’, ‘culture’ and ‘religion’ or be projected on imagined collectives construed with reference to people’s distinct skin color, language, or places of birth. Accordingly, racism does not stand still. Racism is a technology that is continually developing, according to time and context, and can be reproduced in different forms, including forms that are not always recognized as racism. This last remark is particularly important in the Swedish society of today, where racism has been linked to ignorance and moral short-comings, which may have contributed to the current situation where few people are willing to acknowledge that they express themselves, or behave, in a racist manner.

Different forms of racism

Racism in contemporary Sweden is different to the racism that prevailed 100 years ago and may not be identical to the ways in which racism structures people's different life conditions and realities in other places in the world, as racism is always situated in time and place. Racism is also articulated in different ways depending on the specific varieties of racism at hand. In racism studies, it has become increasingly more common to speak of 'racisms' in the plural, so as to differentiate between several types of racism, including anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim racism (Islamophobia), anti-Black racism (Afrophobia), anti-Roma racism (anti-Ziganism), and racism against indigenous peoples (including anti-Saami racism). These racisms exhibit significant similarities and differences. They are all variants of racism, but have different histories and are operationalized in different ways, each of which can be studied empirically. These different forms of racism can co-exist with each other in different societies and in different ways. Afro-Swedish Muslims can be discriminated against because they are Black, because they are Muslim, or because they are Black Muslim.

Racism is in a co-variance relation with other power structures, such as gender and class. Black men and Black women are regarded, spoken about, treated, and discriminated against in different ways. Black people with an underclass background are confronted with different life conditions than what Black people from wealthier families are confronted with. Racism is thus inherently *intersectional* (de los Reyes, Molina & Mulinari, 2002; de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005; Molina, 2011). How anti-Black racial discrimination intersects with gender and class is presently difficult to map out by the use of statistics only, but there exists previous research into Black Muslim women and their particular vulnerabilities (Englund, 2006; Sixtensson, 2009; de los Reyes, 2007; Listerborn, 2011; Abdullahi, 2016). In the second part of the report commissioned by the County Administrative Board of Stockholm County, Ylva Habel, Maimuna Abdullahi, and Gina Manzizila use a rich collection of interviews with highly-skilled Black persons to investigate how Afro-Swedish Muslim men and women experience and deal with anti-Black and anti-Muslim racism at their workplace.

Afrophobia versus anti-Black racism

The concept 'Afrophobia' is defined in *Afrofobi* (Hübinette, Beshir & Kawesa, 2014), as 'hostility toward people with a background in sub-Saharan Africa or who are African diaspora'. According to the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, Afrophobia refers to "a fear of, animosity towards, or hate of Black people which activates an Afrophobic reaction" against people and institutions which represent or are assumed to represent Afro-Swedes and their interests (Klingspor & Molarin, 2009: 39). Internationally, the concept of 'Afrophobia' has been provided with similar definitions. Kivuto Ndeti et al (1992) defines 'Afrophobia' in terms of "a

fear of the cultures and peoples of Africa”, whilst the Rights, Equality, and Diversity Network (RED), which consists of seventeen research centres and civil-society organisations in the EU, state that Afrophobia as “range of negative attitudes and feelings towards Black people or people of African Descent”, including “irrational fear”, and “antipathy, contempt, and aversion”ⁱⁱ. Even if the concept Afrophobia is used by the Swedish authorities and Afro-Swedish organisations in a broader sense, as the identification of discrimination of Black people in different areas of society (including the labour market and the housing market), it is not possible in the current state of research into this topic to empirically demonstrate that this type of racism and discrimination is based on attitudes, animosity, and hate. The suffix, *-phobia*, causes one to think of an individual’s irrational fear, instead of the processes of classification, exclusion, and the unequal distribution of resources. To combat discrimination and the exclusion of people who are categorized as ‘Black’, one must develop an understanding of the mechanisms which produce and justify discrimination and exclusion. These mechanisms can hardly be limited to the domain of psychology, but must take into account to the fundamental logic of racism. In this report, we use the more precise concept of ‘anti-Black racism’ (Gordon 1995).¹ To the extent that Afrophobia is defined as “a specific form of racism and structural discrimination which affects Black people” (Momodou & Pascoët, 2014) it may be considered as synonymous to the term anti-Black racism.

Racialization

Racialization refers to the collection of processes, mechanisms, practices, and ideas which group people into the particular classificatory units which the technology of racism produces in a certain time and context. The term reveals that the imagined collective units which people are classified into are not trans-historical nor given by nature. Despite the fact that they are understood as enduring units with an inherited essence and hereditary characteristics, the different classificatory units (e.g. races, cultures) people are assigned to are created and re-created in response to the different criteria which are considered significant at a certain time and in a certain place. These criteria may include a person’s skin colour, appearance, name, religion, culture, language, place of birth, or his or her parents’ and grandparents’ place of birth. When, for example, people who have not migrated but are born in Sweden are talked about and treated *as if* they were immigrants (sometimes qualified as *second*, *third*, and *fourth generation*

¹ Anti-black racism is an internationally well-established research field, where an indispensable work is Lewis R. Gordon’s phenomenological work from 1995, *Bad faith and antiblack racism*. After the turn of the millennium, an impressive number of publications have been produced by international research within this field, e.g. Ahmed 2004, 2012, Bell and Nkomo 2001, Clark et al 2009, Crenshaw 1995, Essed 1991, 2000, Essed and Hoving 2014, Hill-Collins and Bilge 2016, Keskinen et al 2009, Kilomba 2010, Martina 2013, Miller 2017, Nikamo 2012, Richards 2013, St Jean and Feagin 1998, Wekker 2016. Important contributions to the field of anti-racism in Swedish research include Abdullahi 2015, Adeniji 2010, Fahlgren och Sawyer 2005, Habel 2008, 2012, 2015, 2018, Habel and Sawyer 2014, Mattsson och Tesfahuney 2008, McEachrane 2014, McEachrane and Faye 2001, Mulinari 2008, Neergaard and Mulinari 2017, Nyambok 2018, Sawyer 2001, Tesfahuney 1998, 2005, Tesfahuney and Ek 2016. A more detailed discussion on relevant concepts will be included in the second report, produced by Ylva Habel (lead author).

immigrant), then a heterogeneous collection of people with distinct experiences, backgrounds, skills, and ways of being are *racialized* as immigrants, as an imagined collective with a distinct 'immigrant' identity to which inherited qualities is associated, thereby excluding them from belonging to the 'ordinary folks' and 'true' Swedes of the land.

The concept of 'racialization' can also be used to understand how a city or a social sector can be structured in a way which has material and existential consequences for different groups of people (Molina, 1997, 2005). Talk of the racialization of a city is talk of how the city is segregated in terms of class in co-variation with structural racism. Talk of the racialization of the labour market, again with reference to the interaction between class and racism, is talk of how certain types of jobs, branches, positions of status, and career pathways tend to be populated by certain kinds of people, whilst other kinds are over-represented in other jobs and positions (Neergaard, 2002). The concept of 'racialization' has been used in studies of the labour market in the United Kingdom by the sociologist Robert Miles since the 1980s (Miles, 1982, 1989). In Sweden, the processes of racialization in the labour market was established as a research area by Anders Neergaard, Paulina de los Reyes, and Diana Mulinari (see Neergaard, 2002, 2004, 2006; Mulinari, 2002; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2004; de los Reyes & Molina, 2002; de los Reyes and Wingborg, 2002). Other scholars who have contributed to our understanding of discrimination in the labour market are presented in the section dealing with previous research.

Horizontal and vertical segregation

The concepts 'horizontal segregation' and 'vertical segregation' was first employed in field of gender studies. In *Den könsuppdelade arbetsmarknaden* [The gender-divided labour market] (SOU 2004: 43), Åsa Löfström, a national economist, differentiates between horizontal and vertical segregation. *Horizontal segregation* refers to the situation where men and women tend to occupy different jobs and have different employers; they work in different areas of employment/industries and organisations and/or work at different workplaces. Certain areas of work and careers are male-dominated, whilst others are female-dominated. *Vertical segregation* refers to the situation where men and women occupy different roles within the same area of work, industry, organisation, or company, and have different status, salaries, and career opportunities. In general, there exists a systematic pattern where women occupy lower positions and find it more difficult to be promoted, in comparison to their male colleagues. Women do not advance in their careers as far as men, and seldom occupy managerial positions, even in cases where they are just as, if not more, qualified than their male colleagues. Women hit in the so-called 'glass ceiling'.

In the context of the present report on anti-Black racism and discrimination in the Swedish labour market, *horizontal segregation* refers to a pattern where we find more Afro-Swedes in certain professions, work areas, organisations, and workplaces, whilst the rest of the population dominate other professions, work areas, organisations, and workplaces. Our study shows that Afro-Swedes, generally and systematically, tend to occupy low-status and low-paid jobs, even in relation to their educational attainment. *Vertical segregation* refers to the pattern that shows that Afro-Swedes find it more difficult than the rest of the population to advance to higher positions with a higher status and salary that corresponds to their level of educational attainment. It seems to be the case that Afro-Swedes hit a glass ceiling and do not progress in their careers in competition with people from the rest of the population, even when they are as or more qualified than the rest of the population.ⁱⁱⁱ

Previous research

There exists a considerable amount of previous research which reports on the positions which people who have a foreign background hold on the Swedish labour market. Previous research into discrimination of people with a foreign background on the Swedish labour market has primarily focused on horizontal segregation, that is to say, in which job categories the degree to which and Swedes with a foreign background are represented. A major part of this research is found in the area of 'integration', which has mirrored the government's aims in this area and has directed the production of knowledge. This kind of research is, in itself, relevant, but will not be focused on in the present report. Instead, we will concentrate on the change that has taken place in the beginning of the 21st century, when 'discrimination' has received some new attention from several research groups.

Research into 'discrimination' has primarily been aimed at investigating people's access to the labour market, something which we refer to as horizontal segregation. For example, Lena Nekby (2002) has shown that people who have a foreign background and had lived in Sweden for an average of 20 years took 10 to 15 years to get onto the labour market. These figures entail that there is a 55% to 70% lower probability for such a person to obtain a job in comparison to individuals who do not have a foreign background. Recruitment procedures have also been the subject of study with respect to the presence of discrimination. By using different qualitative and quantitative methods, including field experiments, and situation testing, Swedish research groups have produced empirically-based knowledge about discrimination and the exclusion of certain categories of residents who have a foreign background. They have investigated (i) the probability with which certain job applicants will be called to job interview, (ii) the probability that they will be unemployed, (iii) differences in income, (iv) differences in family income, and (v) opportunities to follow a career pathway.

This research shows that the job applicant's name can be a crucial factor for whether certain job applicants are called to a job interview or not. Rickard Carlsson (2010) has demonstrated that people who have a name that can be associated with the Middle East are less likely to be called to an interview than other job applicants. Jens Agerström et al (2012) sent out 5636 letters with Arabic and Swedish-sounding names which provided statements concerning the applicants' qualifications and social competencies. He found that the name provided in the letter was the deciding factor for whether an applicant was contacted further. Mahmood Arai et al, in a number of projects during the past 20 years, have produced similar research results. Job applicants with names that can be associated with the MENA region are discriminated against in the labour market. A change to a Swedish-sounding

name, or a neutral name, makes it easier for the applicant to find a job and leads to a higher yearly income. (Arai et al, 2006; Arai et al, 2016). Shahram Khosravi (2012) has shown that changing one's name from a Muslim-sounding name is one strategy that can be used to avoid anti-Muslim racism and discrimination, should one hope to enjoy the White privileges that a Swedish or a Western-sounding name brings with it. In a series of studies, Moa Bursell (2007; 2012; 2014) has shown the existence of ethnic discrimination in the labour market, and has demonstrated how names and gender affect the probability with which an applicant will be called to a job interview and obtain suitable employment.

In one study that used the method of a 'hypothetical choice experiment', Stefan Eriksson, Per Johansson and Sophie Langenskiöld (2012) demonstrated that a person's origins, age, and religion are important criteria for employers during recruitment situations. Employers were inclined to dismiss applications from people who were old, non-European, Muslim, Jewish, the parent of multiple children, overweight, or who had been off sick from work

Studies into vertical segregation began to appear in the discrimination research field during the beginning of the 2000s, when people who had a foreign background were contrasted against people who did not have a foreign background. Positions in the labour market, in relation to qualifications, became the focus of attention. With respect to income, for example, Alireza Behtoui (2004) studied foreign-born youths who were in the labour market. The results of his study showed that foreign-born residents between the ages of 18 and 20 years were paid less and were at greater risk of not obtaining employment in comparison to other youths. In a different study, Behtoui and Neergaard (2009) reported that foreign-born employees received lower incomes because of a lack of accessibility to those social networks which allow users access to better paid work. In a study from 2000, Mahmud Arai, Lena Schröder, and Roger Vilhelmsson questioned the positive effects education is supposed to have with respect to the probability that one will (or not) be discriminated against. Holding a degree was shown not to be a guarantee for foreign-born job-seekers to find a job. Foreign-born individuals who held long-term, higher educational attainments were unemployed to a greater degree when compared to Swedish youths who held lesser educational attainments. Using regression analysis, Arai and Vilhelmsson (2001) showed that having a foreign background was an important factor with respect to being unemployed, even for highly-qualified people in professions that demanded advanced qualifications. The results of these studies are in agreement with the results that the present report will introduce with respect to the Afro-Swedish population.

Bethoui, Boréus, Neergaard, and Yazdanpanah (2017) conducted a telephone interview study within the area of care homes for the aged and showed that employees who were born in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were put at a disadvantage with respect to their salary, professional status, and their belief

that they had the opportunity to influence their work environment. Despite the fact that the number of participants in this study was somewhat limited, the study is of value in that it provided penetrating insight into a number of specific places of work.

Research into Afro-Swedes' situation in the labour market is sparse, as also noted in the overview *Afrofobi* (Hübinette, Beshir and Kawesa, 2014). One exception to this is the study entitled "Somalier på arbetsmarknaden i Sverige" by Benny Carlsson, Karin Magnusson, and Sofia Rönnqvist (2012). This study presents evidence that working-age individuals who were born in Somalia are under-represented in the labour market, either as employees or as self-employed. The study showed that Sweden was low down in the ranking in comparison to Canada and the USA in this regard. The proportion of employed Somali-born individuals varied between 20% and 30% between 2000 and 2010, which entailed an employment gap between the population of Sweden as a whole, and those born in Somalia of more than 50% in 2010. A further exception to the scarcity of studies in this area is the interview-based study by Maimuna Abdullahi (2016), entitled *Forgotten Women*, which includes an investigation into how Islamophobia impacts on Muslim women in the labour market and at the workplace.

The present report contributes to this research area with new empirically-based knowledge and statistical analyses of anti-Black racism in the labour market which complements, confirms, and deepens previous research into racism and ethnic discrimination.

Results and analysis. Anti-Black racism and discrimination in the labour market

The present study reports on an analysis of unemployment and employment rates, average income levels, low status jobs and high-status jobs, as well as managerial and leadership roles, in relation to the qualifications (level of educational attainment) that Afro-Swedes hold in comparison the rest of the population in Sweden. The statistical analysis is based on microdata that was provided by Statistics Sweden for 2015. The target population which was defined by the County Administrative Board of Stockholm in their commission for this research report consists of every person who, in 2015, was considered to be of working-age (from leaving high school, up until retirement age), i.e. between 20 and 64 years of age. The population consists of everyone found within this age group who was registered as a resident of Sweden at any time between 2014-12-31 and 2016-12-31. Four registers were used to establish the population numbers: (i) the total population register (Sw. RTB), (ii) the Longitudinal Integration Database for Health Insurance and Labour Market Studies (LISA), (iii) the Swedish National Agency for Education's student register, and (iv) Salary Structure Statistics. Information about parentage was obtained from the Multi-Generation Register. Regarding parents, only background data from RTB was retrieved along with information about each indexed individual's highest educational attainment from the Education Register (UREG). The total population of indexed individuals of the ages 20 – 64 years of age was 6 041 157 individuals. After individuals who should not have been registered as residents (but were so registered) were removed, the total population was 5 973 039 working-aged individuals.

Our calculations and analysis include the total Swedish population between 20 and 64 years of age, thereby including 5 973 039 individuals. In an additional comparative analysis, the populations (same age group) for the three major metropolitan areas consisted of Stockholm county (1 420 519 individuals), Västra Götaland (1 008 568 individuals), and Skåne (790 193 individuals).

The category, *Afro-Swede*, (147 037 individuals) encompasses two sub-categories: (i) people between the age of 20 and 64 years who were born in sub-Saharan Africa: (121 320 individuals) and (ii) people of the same age group, who were born in Sweden but have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (25 717 individuals). In our analyses, these two sub-categories were differentiated from each other and compared to each other.

The category, *Afro-Swede*, does not include Black people born outside sub-Saharan Africa or who have at least one parent who was born outside sub-Saharan Africa. This entails a certain limitation to our investigations since we know that there are Afro-Swedes who come from the Caribbean, Latin America, the USA, and other regions, besides Afro-Swedes whose both parents were born in Sweden.

The category, *the rest of the population*, encompasses every person of working age in Sweden (20 to 64 years of age) who (i) were born in Sweden and whose both parents were born in Sweden, (ii) people born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in a country which is not part of sub-Saharan Africa, and (iii) people who were born in a country which is not part of sub-Saharan Africa.

The category, *the rest of the population*, is thus not synonymous with the category *ethnic Swedes* or *white majority Swedes* but literally the rest of the population. Amongst this category, we find residents who have emigrated from other countries, or who have at least one parent who was born in a country other than Sweden, but from a region other than sub-Saharan Africa. This category thus encompasses people who have a Muslim name, openly Roma people, and people with a background in the MENA region or Latin America, i.e., categories of Swedish residents which previous research has shown to suffer from discrimination in the labour market. In the light of this, it is acceptable to assume that the situation for Afro-Swedes is probably direr than what is revealed by the data included in this report.

Frequency table. The number of individuals in the target populations, on which this report is based: (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA); (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw); and (iii) the rest of the population (REST).

Group	Number of individuals
Whole of Sweden - ASSA	121 320
Whole of Sweden - ASSw	25 717
Whole of Sweden - REST	5 826 002
Stockholm county - ASSA	40 540
Stockholm county - ASSw	11 097
Stockholm county - REST	1 368 882
Västra Götaland - ASSA	19 533
Västra Götaland - ASSw	4268
Västra Götaland - REST	984 707
Skåne - ASSA	8476
Skåne - ASSw	1852
Skåne - REST	779 865

Social class is factored into our analysis in terms of the variables: (i) educational attainment, (ii) income, and (iii) employment in a low status job or high-status job, respectively. Information about an individual's (i) educational attainment, (ii) salary, (iii) income, (iv) number of days spent unemployed, and (v) different types of work position was compiled in our salary/income- and employment analyses. However, the present study did not differentiate across gender and age groups; something which we plan to do in a follow-up report.

The *salary/income analyses* refer to our investigation into salary- and income differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population in relation to their level of educational attainment. In these analyses, *gross salary* (for 2015) and *disposable income* (for 2015) were used as variables in the analysis of the differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. *Gross salary* refers to a person's income before tax. The salary differentials were calculated using the gross salary for four different sectors: State-, local municipality-, county council-, and the private sector.

Disposable income refers to a person's total income which is used for consumption and savings. It is calculated as the sum of a person's income and benefits (for example, child benefits, housing benefits, and support benefits) minus tax. In this report, we consider *disposable income* as the individual's contribution to the household/family's total disposable income.

The purpose of the *employment analyses* is to measure whether there is any horizontal segregation between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population in the labour market. To this aim, we investigated unemployment rates, degrees of under- and over-representation in low status jobs and high status jobs for both Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population and in relation to their level of educational attainment. The *employment analyses* were conducted to highlight any vertical segregation within our target population. To this aim, patterns concerning career development and employment in managerial positions for Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population were analysed in relation to individual's salary, and educational attainment.

Low status jobs and *high status jobs* are defined according to the research report, *Yrkesstatus. En sociologisk studie av hur yrken uppfattas och värderas* by Lennart G. Svensson and Ylva Ulfsson Eriksson (2009). This report provides a description of how people perceive different jobs and their relation to the notion of 'status'. Jobs which are classified as *low status jobs* in Svensson and Eriksson's report were identified in the data and used in the present report. The jobs are truck driver, bus driver, sailor, cleaner, shop assistant, dock worker, newspaper distributor, janitor, restaurant waiting staff, postal deliverer, post office worker, care assistant, caretaker, and personal assistant. Jobs which are classified as *high-status jobs* are physician, lawyer, pilot, executive director, civil engineer, vet, dentist, psychologist, accountant, finance analyst, and journalist.

In order to reveal how different variables are distributed in relation to Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population, different classes of educational attainment were used:

1. less than nine years of compulsory education
2. nine years of compulsory education
3. a maximum of two years of high school education
4. three years of high school education
5. a maximum of three years tertiary education
6. more than three years of tertiary education
7. completed doctoral studies

The purpose of the analyses was to investigate the conditions for Afro-Swedes on the Swedish labour market, with respect to their employment opportunities, career opportunities, and income. The compilation and analysis of the statistical data reveals a number of differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population regarding opportunities for employment which corresponds to their competence, and how salary progression is distributed in relation to the level of educational attainment for individuals in each group.

In other words, this report provides an answer to the question of what the pay gap between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population looks like across different levels of educational attainment, and whether Afro-Swedes enjoy the same opportunities as the rest of the population regarding career advancement, in terms of both position and salary, on the Swedish labour market, based on their level of educational attainment.

Despite the existence of explicit laws and regulatory frameworks which are supposed to counteract discriminatory practices, our analysis clearly demonstrates that there exist significant pay gaps and differences in the amount of disposable income between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population across the whole of Sweden, and in the specific metropolitan areas included in this study (Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne).

Even after applying regression analysis (which is an analysis of the correlation between an individual's place of birth and the other variables mentioned above), controlled with respect to differences in educational attainment, employment sector, and age, a pay gap still remains between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population.

This study demonstrates that Afro-Swedes are, to a significant degree, under-represented in high status jobs with a managerial and leadership role and they are also over-represented in low status jobs. In addition to this

observation, our analyses show that those Afro-Swedes who do hold managerial positions or who are employed in a high status job receive significantly less pay than other managers or people in similar status jobs from the rest of the population. These patterns are observable across the country and in the three metropolitan areas.

The statistical analyses included the following variables:

- salary range distribution (across the State-, local municipality-, county council-, and private sectors)
- salary range differences per sector
- disposable income in relation to educational attainment
- number of days spent unemployed in relation to educational attainment
- proportion of individuals with managerial roles in relation to educational attainment
- pay gap for managers based on educational attainment
- representation in different job sectors (classified as either *high status jobs* or *low status jobs*)
- salary differences across different job sectors (classified as either *high status jobs* or *low status jobs*)

The analyses of the empirical data for the whole Swedish population with respect to salary differences, general income differences, salary range distribution according to job sector, educational attainment, the provision of opportunities for employment in higher positions, reveal the same basic trends that we observed for the three metropolitan areas. However, a number of remarkable and interesting differences were observed across the three metropolitan areas too. In the first two sections below, we present our calculations and analyses for the whole Swedish population. In the third section, we present our comparison between the three metropolitan areas.

Salary and income analyses for the whole Swedish population, 2015

In this section, we report on salary- and income differences for 2015, in Sweden. Table 1.1 illustrates salary range distribution per sector (State-, local municipality-, county council-, and private sectors), as a percentage (of a person's gross salary) for the whole Swedish population.

Average yearly incomes, percentiles, and salary range distribution, according to job sector and place of birth for the whole Swedish population for 2015

Table 1.1 shows that there exists a large pay gap between Afro-Swedes, including people born in sub-Saharan Africa and people born in Sweden who

have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa, compared to the rest of the working-age population. The pay gap for these groups is largest in the private sector: people born in sub-Saharan Africa receive 25% less pay than the rest of the population, and Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa receive 36% less pay than the rest of the population.

These figures are remarkable, not only because Afro-Swedes, in general, are paid less than the rest of the population, but also because the pay gap between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population is larger for Afro-Swedes born in Sweden than it is for Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa. The same pattern is revealed with respect to salary range distribution for public employees either by the State, a county council, or a local municipality. With respect to county council employees, for example, Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa receive 10% less salary than the rest of the population, whilst Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who work in the private sector receive 36% less salary than the rest of the population. One factor which we can take into consideration as a partial explanation for these differences is that Afro-Swedes born in Sweden are, on average, younger than the members of the other two population categories.

Table 1.1 Average yearly incomes, percentiles, and salary range distribution, according to job sector and place of birth for the whole Swedish population for 2015.

Sector	Group	10 th percentile	25 th percentile	50 th percentile	75 th percentile	90 th percentile	Average salary	Pay gap (average salary)	Salary distribution
State	REST	1977.00	3051.00	3803.00	4900.00	6152.00	4044.16		3.11
	ASSA	1551.50	2745.50	3385.00	4090.50	5257.60	3457.15	-15 %	3.39
	ASSw	1095.00	2160.75	3024.00	3623.00	4452.90	2923.33	-28 %	4.07
Local municipality	REST	1224.00	2147.00	2960.00	3645.00	4399.00	2924.54		3.59
	ASSA	876.90	1488.00	2460.00	3198.25	3946.10	2457.01	-16 %	4.50
	ASSw	727.00	1135.50	1841.00	2646.50	3446.80	1977.24	-32 %	4.74
County council	REST	1594.00	2634.00	3405.00	4379.00	6004.00	3769.49		3.77
	ASSA	1250.60	2307.00	3154.00	4115.00	5544.80	3400.18	-10 %	4.43
	ASSw	779.10	1207.25	2228.00	3339.75	4418.40	2403.72	-36 %	5.67
Private	REST	1479.00	2523.00	3490.00	4486.00	5933.00	3780.90		3.77
	ASSA	1025.00	1732.00	2694.00	3549.00	4507.30	2803.98	-25 %	4.43
	ASSw	781.20	1224.50	2070.00	3154.00	4088.40	2325.75	-36 %	5.67

Key: (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA); (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw); and (iii) the rest of the population (REST). The percentiles in the table refer to the following:

10th percentile: 10 percent receive that salary as a maximum

25th percentile: 25 percent receive that salary as a maximum

50th percentile: 50 percent receive that salary as a maximum
(also called the median value)

75th percentile: 75 percent receive that salary as a maximum

90th percentile: 90 percent receive that salary as a maximum

The average salary is calculated as the sum of all the salaries for a group divided by the number of people in that group.

Regression analyses of the pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population

A series of regression analyses was performed so as to investigate how the pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population changes when one takes into consideration how these two population groups are distributed with respect to other factors which influence salary size, and combinations of these factors. The factors, which influence salary size, which were included in the analyses are educational attainment, employment sector, and age. Regression analysis can be used to investigate the relationship between one factor (REST v, ASSA) and one outcome variable (salary) whilst one simultaneously runs controls for other factors (employment sector, educational attainment, and age). In Table 1.2, we present the results of the regression analysis for the whole of Sweden. The analysis is structured in an incremental way, which means that several factors can be controlled for gradually. This approach reveals the relative importance of each factor with respect to the pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population.

Table 1.2. Pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population according to an incremental control of the variables: educational attainment, employment sector, and age.

Model	Pay gap
Place of birth	-16.43 %
(1)+educational attainment	-10.46 %
(2)+employment sector	-7.65 %
(3)+age	-5.56 %

The analysis reveals that Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population are divided across different factors which influence salary size in a way which leads to increased pay gaps between these two groups. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa are over-represented in employment sectors which have lower average salaries, are in the lower educational attainment categories, and are generally younger in relation to the rest of the population. At the same time, the analyses demonstrate that – after these factors which influence salary size have been controlled for – a pay gap of 5.56% remains between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the population.

Analyses of differences in yearly salaries

An important aspect of our investigation into the position that Afro-Swedes occupy on the Swedish labour market is the comparison of the average gross salary that Afro-Swedes receive with the rest of the population. Further to this, we investigated how any potential pay gaps between these groups are made manifest in terms of different levels of educational attainment. The purpose of this is to investigate the differences that one can observe across these two groups in terms of how increasing levels of educational attainment have an effect on average salaries.

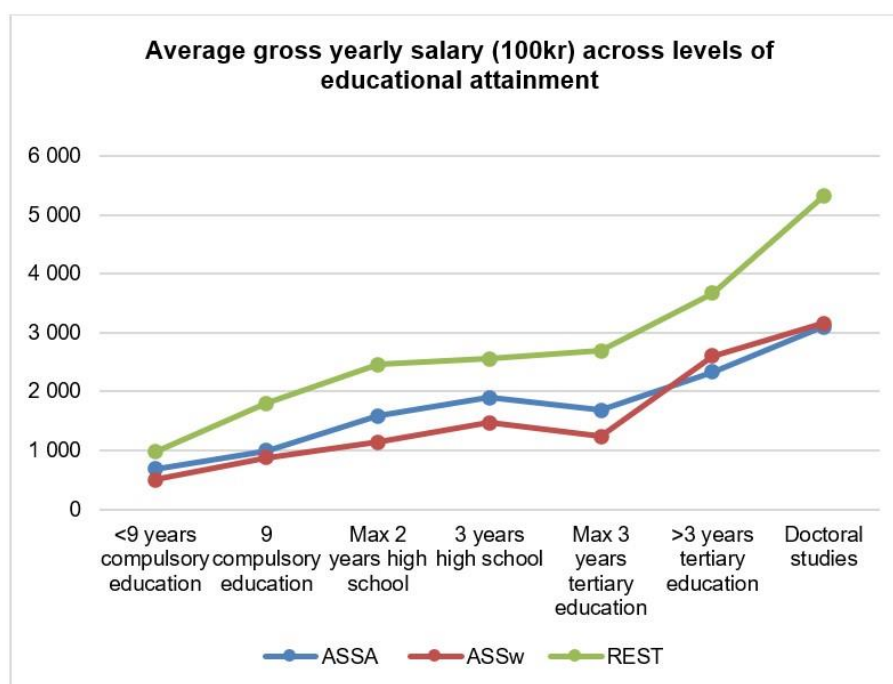
Table 1.3 shows the differences in gross salary on a yearly basis between Afro-Swedes, (divided into people born in sub-Saharan Africa and people born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa), compared to the rest of the population (of working age). The calculations presented in the table are based on whole Swedish population.

Note that Figure 1.1 (below) is based on Table 1.3. This figure illustrates average yearly salary distributed across the different levels of educational attainment. The results of this analysis show in part that the rest of the population in Sweden receives a significantly higher average gross salary across every level of educational attainment (compared to both groups of Afro-Swedes) and, in part, that the average salary in this category increases considerably faster in pace with increasing levels of educational attainment (compared to both groups of Afro-Swedes).^{iv}

Table 1.3. Gross yearly salary (in units of 100 SEK) received at different levels of educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.

Group	Level of educational attainment						
	<9 years compulsory education	9 years compulsory education	Max 2 years high school	3 years high school	Max 3 years tertiary education	>3 years tertiary education	Doctoral studies
ASSA	687.91	992.54	1581.67	1898.45	1688.56	2336.78	3093.58
ASSw	498.51	876.32	1135.82	1470.6	1235.6	2600.12	3151.57
Rest	979.00	1799.91	2459.08	2556.34	2689.69	3667.67	5313.32

Figure 1.1. Average gross salary figures distributed across (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.



Another way of revealing economic differences is to analyse the relationship between average disposable income and level of educational attainment.

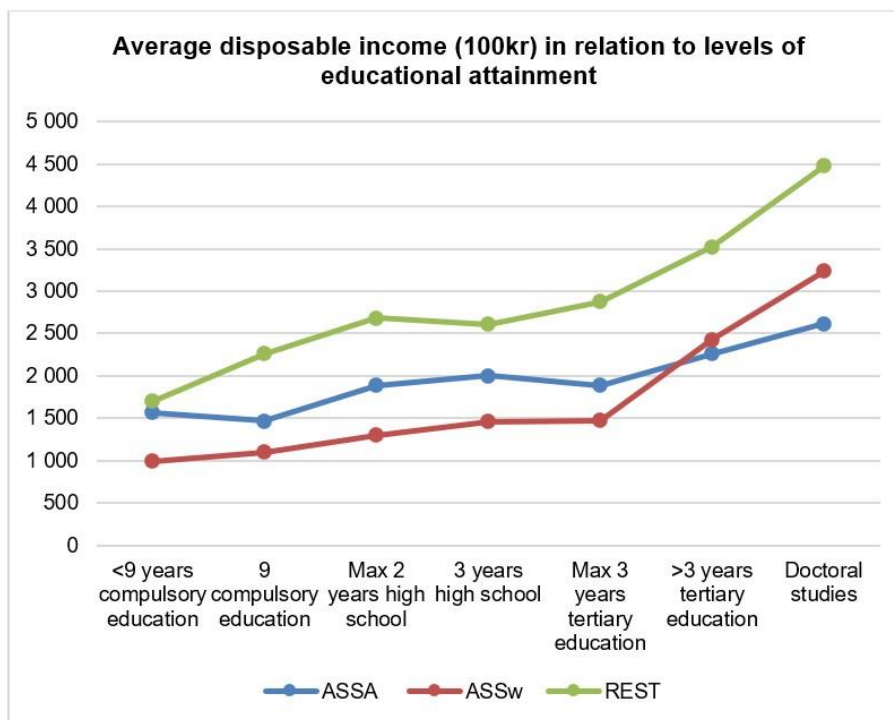
Table 1.4 illustrates differences in average disposable income in relation to educational attainment. The difference between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population remains visible. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa or born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa need to hold a doctoral degree to achieve the same average amount of disposable income as a person from the rest of the population who has merely completed a two-year post-secondary education program.

Table 1.4 Average disposable income (in units of 100 SEK), in relation to educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.

Group	Level of educational attainment						
	<9 years compulsory education	9 years compulsory education	Max 2 years high school	3 years high school	Max 3 years tertiary education	>3 years tertiary education	Doctoral studies
ASSA	1568.84	1465.71	1889.03	1999.32	1889.47	2260.11	2616.40
ASSw	992.15	1098.07	1298.48	1459.4	1475.28	2431.94	3238.29
REST	1698.90	2259.49	2686.19	2608.32	2878.26	3525.63	4476.74

Figure 1.2 is based on Table 1.4 and illustrates changes in average disposable income in relation to increasing levels of educational attainment. The figure reveals that the average disposable income for the rest of the population in Sweden increases to a greater degree in relation to their level of educational attainment than it does for both categories of Afro-Swedes. Afro-Swedes need to hold a doctoral degree if they wish to have the same average amount of disposable income as a person from the rest of the population who has merely completed a two-year post-secondary education program.

Figure 1.2. Average disposable incomes for 2015 in relation to level of educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.



Employment analyses for 2015 for the whole of Sweden. Number of days spent unemployed in relation to level of educational attainment

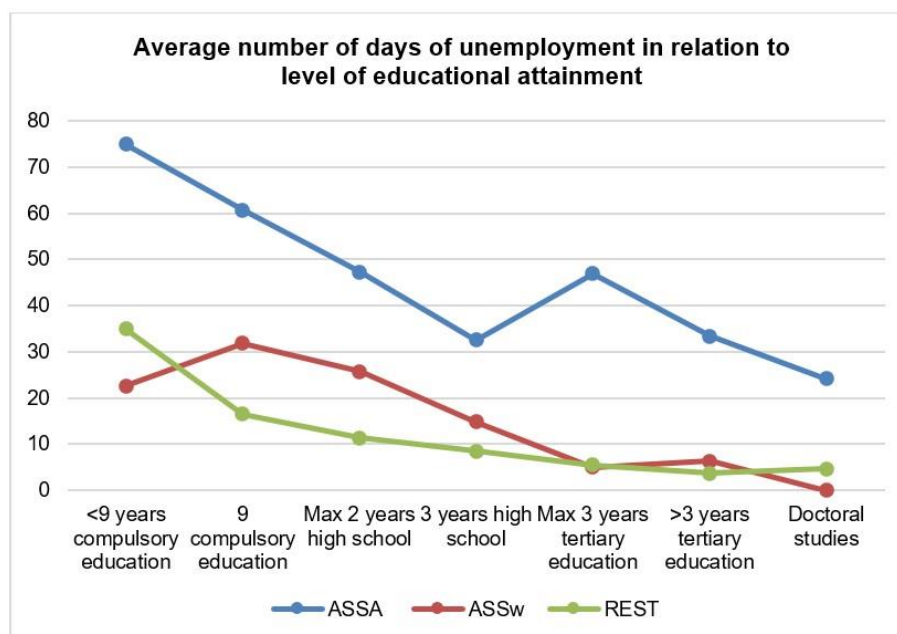
A study of the differences in rates of employment across different groups in society is important to a proper assessment of these different group's relative positions in the labour market. In this study, the analysis of differences in unemployment rates between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population includes an analysis of the average number of days spent by these groups in 2015 in relation to educational attainment. Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1 show that the rest of the Swedish population generally spend fewer days unemployed compared with Afro-Swedes, and that the rates of unemployment in relation to each level of educational attainment for the rest of the population are not as high as they are for Afro-Swedes. For the rest of the population, the average number of days spent in unemployment varies between 34.95 for the lowest level of educational attainment and 3.42 for individuals who possess more than 3 years of post-secondary education. The corresponding figures for Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa are 75.00 and 24.19 days respectively. For Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa, the figures are 22.59 and zero days of unemployment. One reason why the rate of unemployment is so low for Afro-Swedes with a doctoral degree born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa is that there are so few individuals in this category, and circumstances specific to these individuals influence the resulting statistics to a significant degree.

Figure 2.1 below presents a graph of the distribution of unemployment rates across different levels of educational attainment. For the rest of the population (i.e., excluding Afro-Swedes), we note that unemployment rates clearly decrease in pace with increasing levels of educational attainment. In other words, it pays off to obtain an education, since the number of days in unemployment should decrease. Higher levels of educational attainment translate into fewer days of unemployment. For Afro-Swedes the same trend can be observed, but not to the same extent. Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa who have not completed their compulsory school education of 9 years have the highest rate of unemployment at 75 days (for 2015). For these people, the unemployment rate steadily decreases as their level of educational attainment increases, but not to the same extent as the rest of the population. This trend is quite visible. However, this general trend is broken when Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa continue with their studies after high school and complete a 3-year post-secondary education program. In contrast to the rest of the population, holding a 3-year post-secondary degree is a *disadvantage* for this group of Afro-Swedes, since they experience increased rates of unemployment. This observation is remarkable since it clearly shows that Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa find it more difficult than the rest of the population to obtain employment which corresponds to their qualifications.

Table 2.1. Number of days of unemployment in relation to level of educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.

Group	Level of educational attainment						
	<9 years compulsory education	9 years compulsory education	Max 2 years high school	3 years high school	Max 3 years tertiary education	>3 years tertiary education	Doctoral studies
ASSA	75.00	60.69	47.30	32.58	46.91	33.44	24.19
ASSw	22.59	31.85	25.66	14.79	5	6.35	0
RES	34.95	16.55	11.41	8.41	5.44	3.73	4.68

Figure 2.1. Number of days of unemployment (2015) in relation to level of educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST). Population figures are based on the whole of Sweden.



Managerial positions, and high- and low status jobs

Another way of revealing differences in the conditions for Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population on the Swedish labour market is to investigate the opportunities that are available to members of each population category with respect to advancement to managerial positions and/or obtaining a high status job. Further, we can compare the average salaries across each population category for those individuals who have obtained a managerial position or a high status job.

Table 2.2 shows that 4.8% of the total working-age population who are not Afro-Swedes occupy managerial positions, whilst only 0.5% – 0.6% of Afro-Swedes occupy such positions. This entails that it is almost ten times more common for a person from the rest of the population to occupy a managerial position than it is for an Afro-Swede.

The table also shows that the average salaries for individuals of either category of Afro-Swede who has succeeded in obtaining a managerial position are considerably lower in comparison to the rest of the population who hold a similar position. An Afro-Swede born in sub-Saharan Africa who holds a managerial position will receive an average salary which is 77.3 % of the average salary of a manager from the rest of the population. For Afro-Swedes, the situation is even worse; their average managerial salary is only 75.7% of the average salary received by managers from the rest of the population. Not only is there a dearth of Afro-Swedish managers, but the few who hold such a position receive a lower average salary than other managers.

A similar pattern emerges in our analysis of high status jobs. Table 2.3 shows that 0.9% and 1.8% of Afro-Swedes, (ASSA and ASSw respectively), obtain employment in high status jobs, whilst 4.4% of the rest of the population in Sweden are employed in such jobs (calculated across all levels of educational attainment). At the same time, a larger proportion of Afro-Swedes are employed in low status jobs; 17.4% and 18.5%, respectively. The corresponding figure for the rest of the population is 11.9% (calculated across all levels of educational attainment).

Table 2.2. The proportion of individuals in managerial positions in relation to place of birth and level of educational attainment, as well as information concerning the average gross salary in relation to different levels of educational attainment and place of birth.

Educational attainment	Group	Proportion who hold managerial positions	Average gross salary (units of 100 SEK)
All levels of educational attainment	REST	4,8%	5884,7
	ASSA	0,5%	4548,2
	ASSw	0,6%	4454,3
<9 years compulsory education	REST	0,7%	3059,9
	ASSA	0,0%	2890,8
	ASSw	-	-
9 years compulsory education	REST	2,4%	4438,0
	ASSA	0,2%	3253,7
	ASSw	0,5%	3570,8
Max 2 years high school	REST	3,5%	4935,3
	ASSA	0,3%	3510,5
	ASSw	0,6%	3395,8
3 years high school	REST	3,3%	5064,7
	ASSA	0,5%	3531,7
	ASSw	0,4%	5170,9
Max 3 years tertiary education	REST	6,1%	5846,5
	ASSA	0,9%	4170,9
	ASSw	0,6%	3784,2
>3 years tertiary education	REST	8,2%	6689,8
	ASSA	1,8%	5197,3
	ASSw	1,6%	4632,8
Doctoral studies	REST	8,4%	8543,2
	ASSA	2,6%	7022,0
	ASSw	-	-

Table 2.3 shows that differences in average gross salary exist at all levels of educational attainment. Just as was the case for managerial positions, our analysis demonstrates that the average gross salary for Afro-Swedes in high status jobs is significantly lower than it is for people with high status jobs from the rest of the population. This difference in average gross salary can be observed across all levels of educational attainment.

Table 2.3. The proportion of individuals in low- and high-status jobs in relation to place of birth and level of educational attainment, including average gross salary in relation to level of educational attainment and place of birth.

Level of educational attainment	Group	Proportion with low status jobs (%)	Proportion with high status jobs (%)	Average gross salary low status jobs (100 SEK)	Average gross salary high status jobs (100 SEK)
All levels of educational attainment	REST	11,9%	4,4%	2050,3	5152,3
	ASSA	18,5%	0,9%	1547,2	4273,7
	ASSw	17,4%	1,8%	1606,3	3852,9
<9 years compulsory education	REST	14,5%	0,3%	1874,0	3926,2
	ASSA	15,1%	0,1%	1368,6	1442,4
	ASSw	8,8%	0,0%	-	-
9 years compulsory education	REST	15,9%	0,6%	2088,7	4748,8
	ASSA	20,4%	0,2%	1434,8	1751,3
	ASSw	14,4%	0,3%	1584,2	-
Max 2 years high school	REST	15,1%	1,2%	2408,6	4942,6
	ASSA	23,9%	0,2%	1546,6	2580,6
	ASSw	17,9%	0,3%	1592,9	-
3 years high school	REST	17,5%	1,4%	1973,9	4915,1
	ASSA	22,9%	0,6%	1763,8	2536,8
	ASSw	21,4%	0,5%	1121,4	2845,3
Max 3 years tertiary education	REST	10,2%	3,8%	1761,5	5005,6
	ASSA	19,4%	1,0%	1673,8	3424,6
	ASSw	19,4%	0,6%	1311,0	2601,9
>3 years tertiary education	REST	3,6%	12,3%	1754,2	5121,5
	ASSA	13,8%	5,2%	1704,9	4783,3
	ASSw	6,2%	10,2%	1646,5	4213,4
Doctoral studies	REST	0,7%	22,8%	2136,9	6483,1
	ASSA	3,8%	14,6%	2209,5	5686,0
	ASSw	0,0%	16,7%	-	5243,7

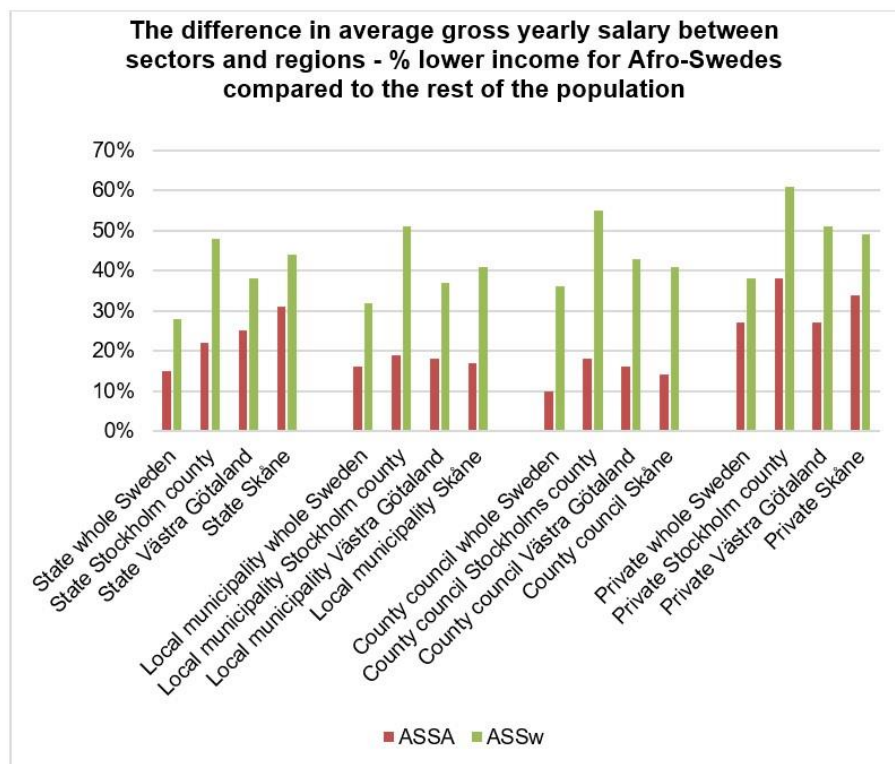
Salary- and income analyses for the whole Swedish population, Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne, 2015

This section presents a number of statistics concerning differences in salary across different sectors (State-, local municipality-, county council-, and private sectors) in the three metropolitan areas of Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne, and across the country as a whole. We use the same method of statistical analysis for the different outcome variables as was used in the preceding sections.

The analyses show that in each of the metropolitan areas in Sweden there exist large differences in salary between the two sub-categories of Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. Figure 3.1 shows that the difference in average gross yearly salary between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population is generally quite large in every sector and in every geographical region. What is also shown is that the average salary differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population are largest in Stockholm county. The private sector in Stockholm really stands out in this regard, where the difference in average gross salary between Afro-Swedes born in Sweden and the rest of the population is 61% (i.e. there is a 61% difference in average salary between these Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population), and for Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa this difference is 38%.

It is also the case that the Afro-Swedish employees of Stockholm county suffer from large differences in average gross yearly income in comparison with the rest of the population, namely 55% for ASSA and 18% for ASSw, respectively. What is quite remarkable is that the pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in Sweden (ASSw) and the rest of the county is larger than the pay gap between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA) and the rest of the population. One factor that one should consider as a partial explanation for this is the fact that Afro-Swedes born in Sweden are, on average, younger than the population included in the other two categories. The pay gap between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population is smallest in Skåne.

Figure 3.1. The difference in average gross yearly salary between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population in the State-, local municipality-, county council, and private sectors, for the whole population of Sweden, and the sub-populations of Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne.



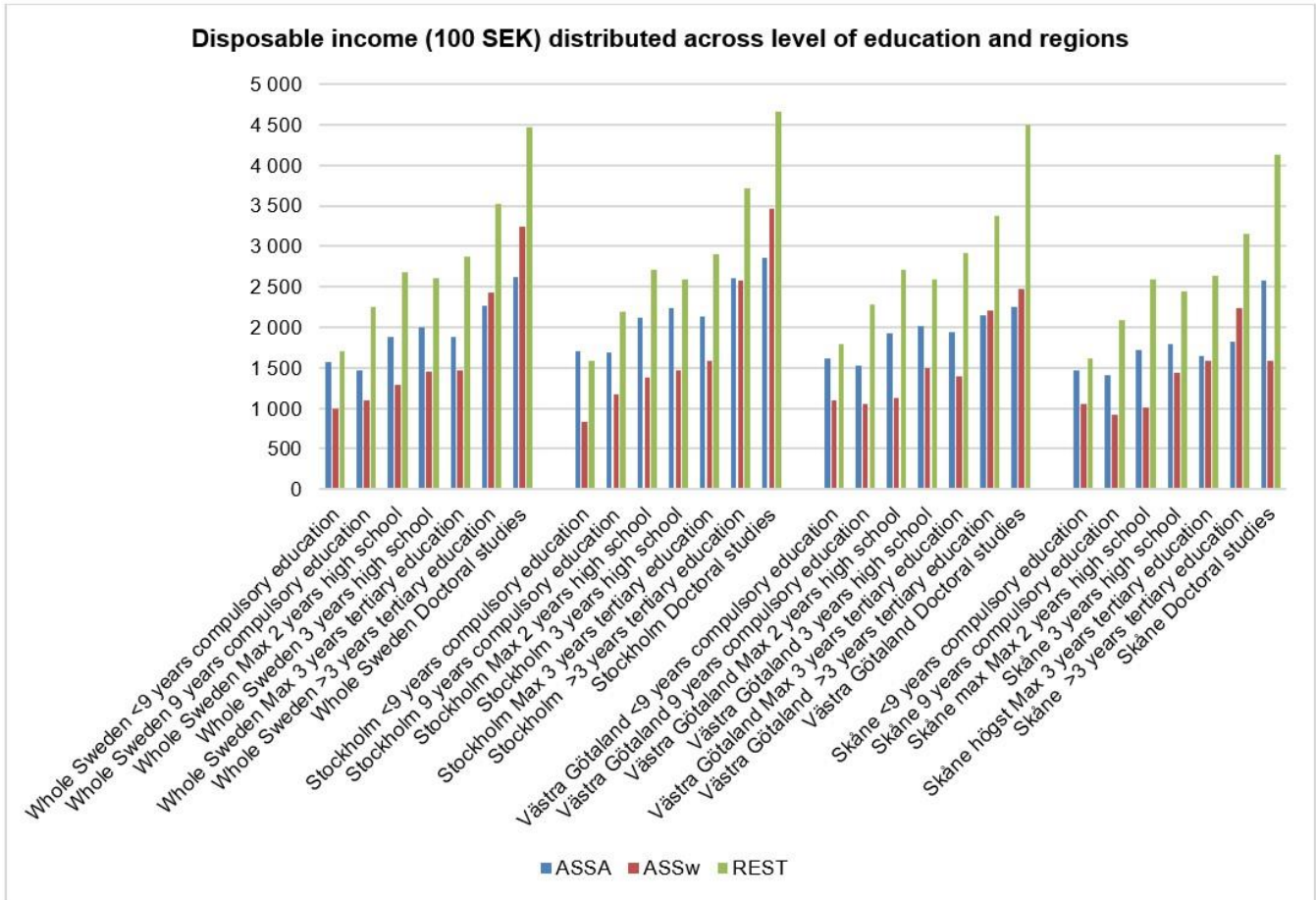
As is the case for the whole of Sweden, our analysis of the average disposable incomes in the metropolitan areas reveal clear differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population (see Figure 3.2). Further, Figure 3.2 shows that the average income for people in each of the metropolitan areas increases considerably in step with increased levels of educational attainment for the rest of the population in comparison to Afro-Swedes. The differences in income between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population are remarkable. In each of the metropolitan regions – as is the case for Sweden as a whole – there exists a clear trend where differences in disposable income for Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa in comparison to the rest of the population *increase* in step with increasing levels of educational attainment. In Stockholm county, the difference in average disposable income varies between Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Arica and the rest of the population in relation to increasing levels of educational attainment from 7% to 39%. In Västra Götaland this variation ranges from 9% to almost 50%, and in Skåne from 9% to 38%.

For Afro-Swedes born in Sweden, the differences in average disposable income in comparison with the rest of the population are generally even bigger in each of the metropolitan areas, but these differences display a less

clear pattern in relation to levels of educational attainment. This group is, however, limited in size, especially when one breaks it down according to metropolitan area and level of educational attainment. This increases the level of uncertainty in the statistical analysis. In Stockholm, the variation in disposable income lies between 25,5% and 49,2%, in 25,5% and 49,2%, in Västra Götaland it is between 34,7% and 58.3%, and in Skåne the range lies between 29,0% and 61,8%.

Afro-Swedes who have obtained a 3-year post-secondary education show dramatic differences in terms of average disposable income in relation to the rest of the population who hold the same qualification. Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa and who hold a 3-year post-secondary education have a little over than 49% less average disposable income than the rest of the population who hold an equivalent educational attainment, whilst Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa receive hardly 66% of the average disposable income that people from the rest of the population who hold the same level of educational attainment receive. For Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who hold a 3-year tertiary level education, this difference in average disposable income compared to the rest of the population with the same level of educational attainment is largest in Västra Götaland.

Figure 3.2. Average disposable income for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST) across the whole of Sweden, Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne.



Analysis of employment figures for 2015 for the total population of Sweden, Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne

In Figure 4.1, we compare the number of days that individuals were unemployed in relation to their level of educational attainment, across the metropolitan areas of Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne, and Sweden as a whole. All of our analyses of the unemployment figures reveal a similar trend; Afro-Swedes are shown to report on more days of unemployment than the rest of the population, irrespective of their level of educational attainment. The largest number of days spent as unemployed is reported for Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa, followed by Afro-Swedes who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa. The only exception to this pattern is shown by individuals who have less than nine years of primary education, where we note that the average number of days that Afro-Swedes who were born in Sweden were unemployed for (in 2015) was less than the rest of the population. One explanation for this deviation from the observed trend may lie with the fact that this part of the rest of the population which has very low levels of educational attainment, to a large extent, consists of other immigrant groups who have weak connections to the labour market, while Afro-Swedes who were born in Sweden have been subject to a 9-year compulsory education program.

Unemployment rates decrease in the Afro-Swede population in correlation with them obtaining further education, up until Afro-Swedes obtain a 3-year tertiary level education. At this point, Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa report on dramatically *higher* levels of unemployment, something which indicates that Afro-Swedes from sub-Saharan Africa with advanced qualifications find it difficult to obtain employment that corresponds to their qualification. In contrast to the rest of the population, the unemployment rate for this category of Afro-Swedes increases in relation to increases in educational attainment that is acquired after completing high school. For the rest of the population, the number of average days spent as unemployed decreases in relation to increases in the level of educational attainment. The results of our analysis reveal this pattern is the same in each of the regions which were analyzed.

Figure 4.1. A comparison of the average number of days spent as unemployed in relation to level of educational attainment for (i) Afro-Swedes born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSA), (ii) Afro-Swedes born in Sweden who have at least one parent who was born in sub-Saharan Africa (ASSw), and (iii) the rest of the Swedish population (REST) for the whole of Sweden, Stockholm county, Västra Götaland, and Skåne.

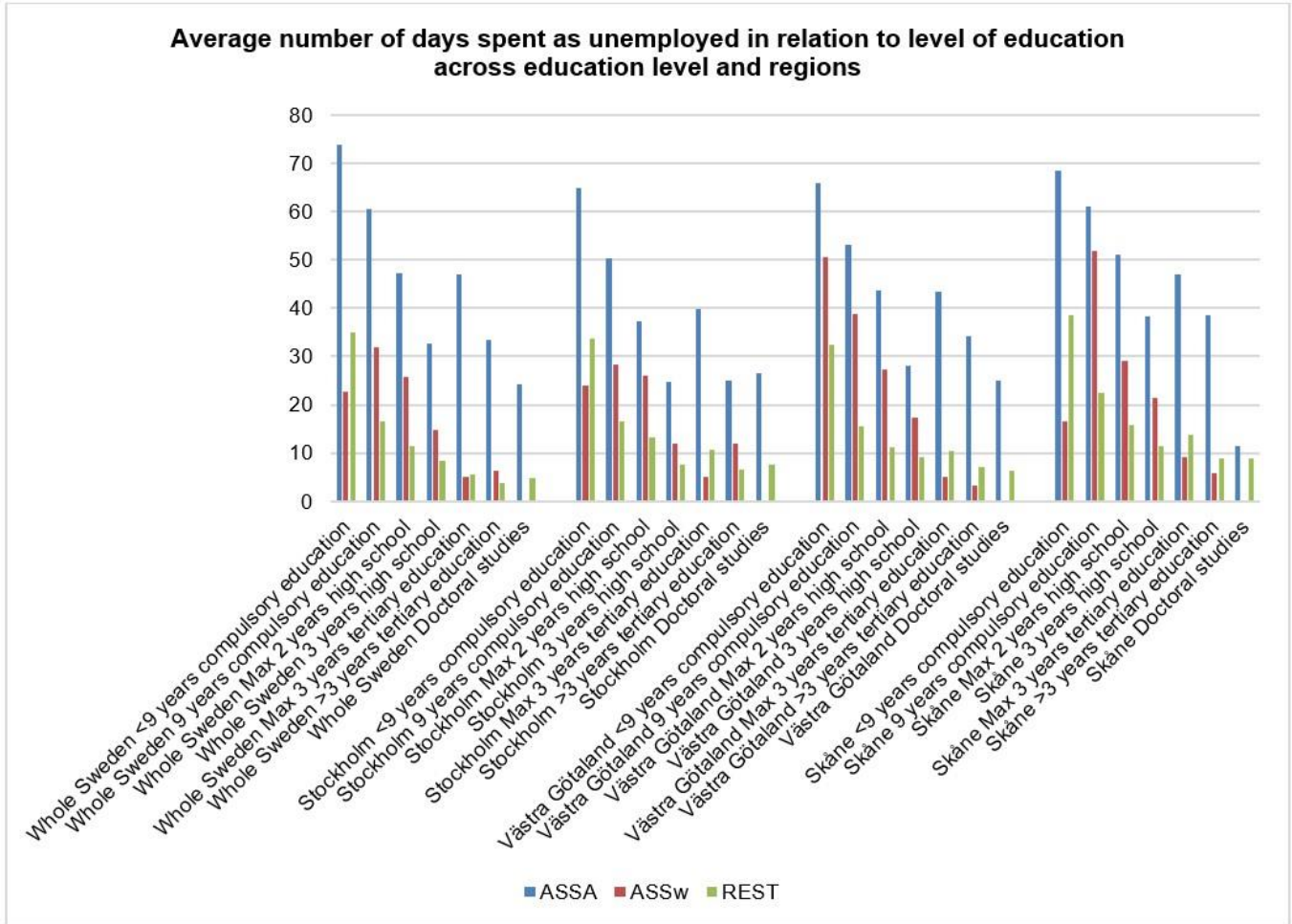
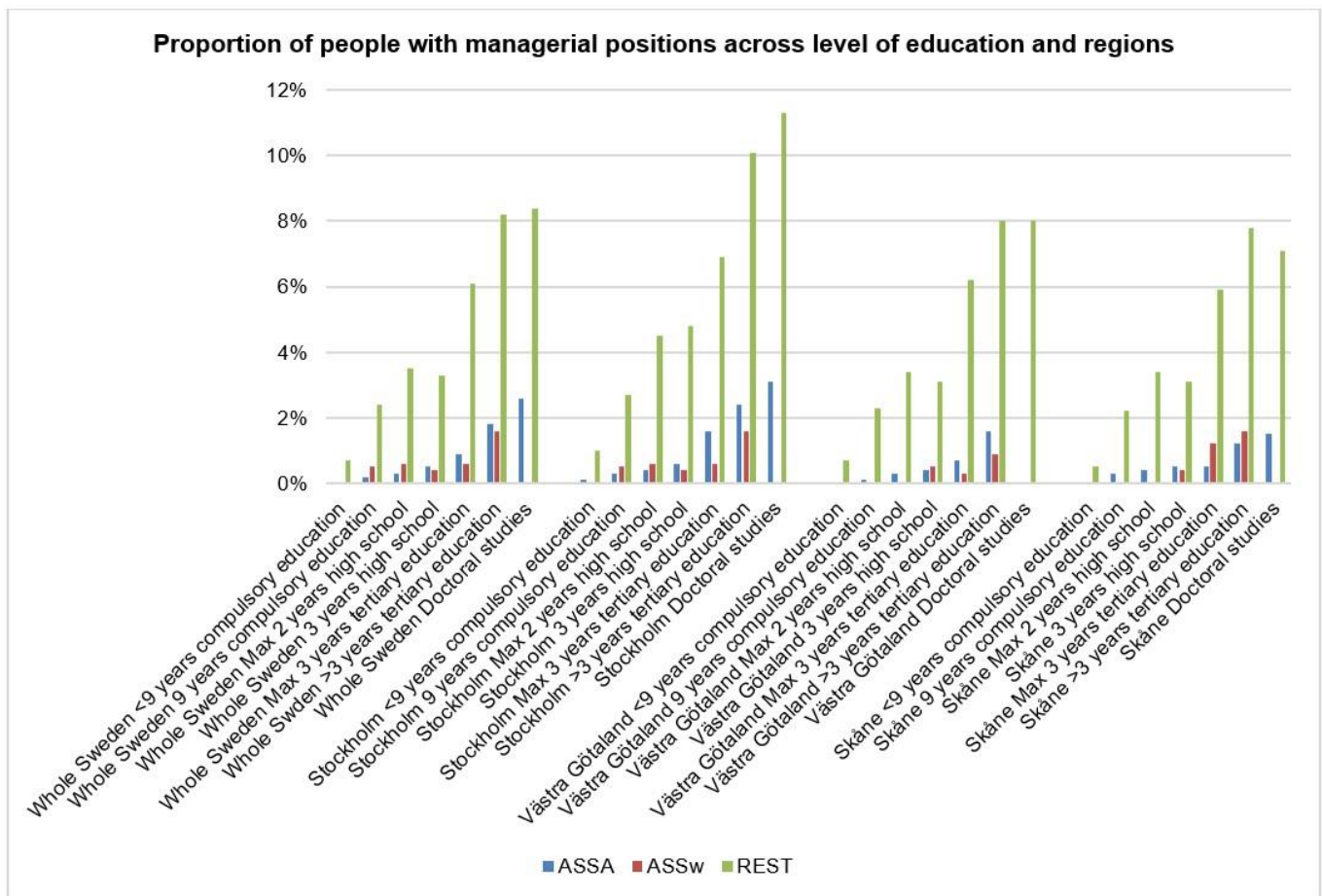


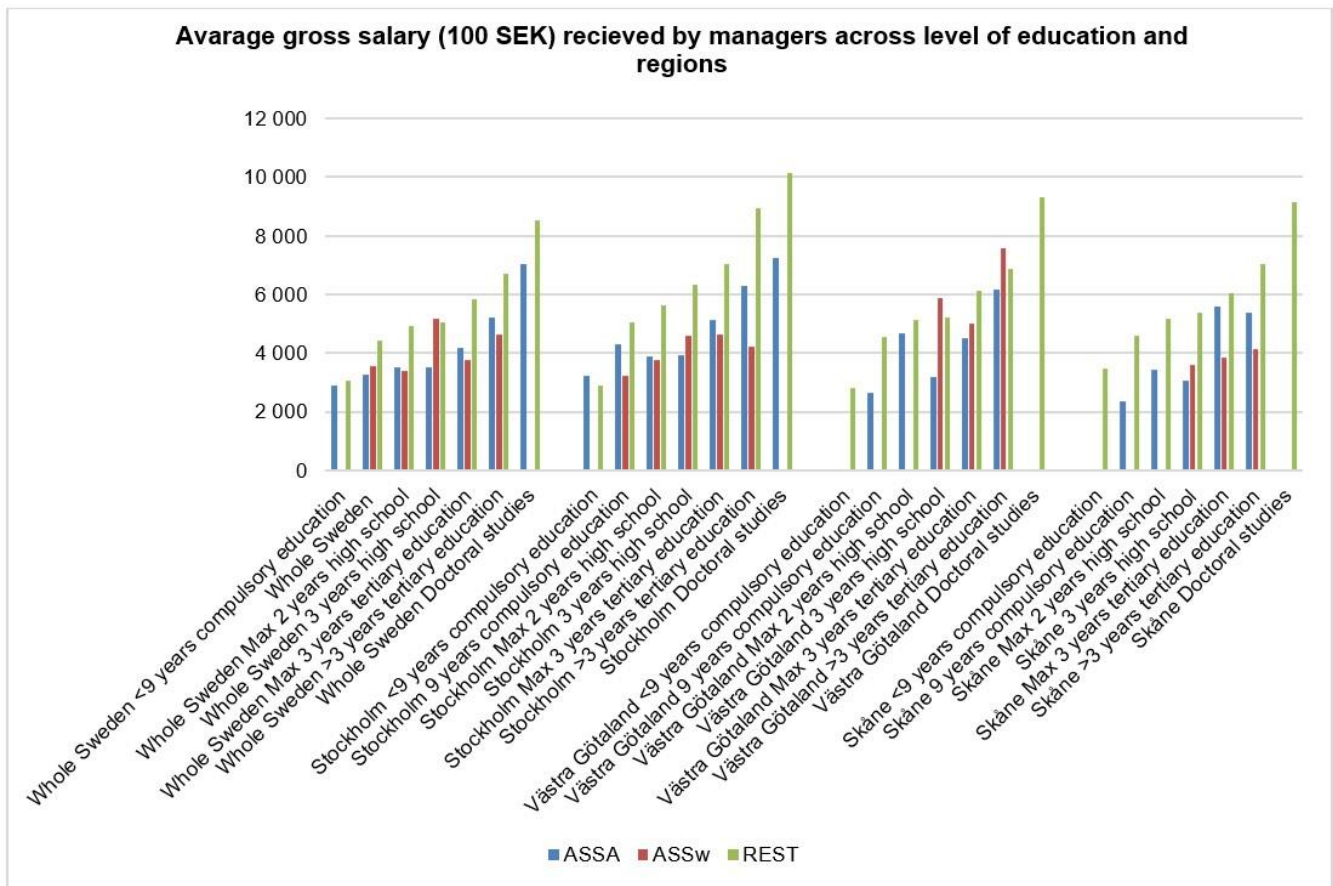
Figure 4.2 illustrates the proportion of Afro-Swedes who hold managerial positions in relation to their educational attainment and the region in Sweden where they live in comparison to the rest of the population in Sweden. Our analyses clearly demonstrate that the pattern that was observable for the whole of Sweden is duplicated across the three metropolitan areas: the proportion of Afro-Swedes who occupy managerial positions is significantly lower than the rest of the population. Overall, it is the case that increased levels of educational attainment increases the probability of occupying a managerial position, something which is not particularly surprising. What is remarkable, however, is that Afro-Swedes find it considerably more difficult to obtain a managerial position in comparison with people from the rest of the population with equivalent levels of educational attainment, and that the gap in this regard between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population increases as the level of educational attainment grows.

Figure 4.2. The proportion of Afro-Swedes who occupy managerial positions in relation to level of education attainment in comparison to the proportion of the rest of the population with equivalent levels of educational attainment who also hold managerial positions. The data represents the whole of Sweden and the three metropolitan areas.



In Figure 4.3, we compare the average gross salaries for Afro-Swedes who occupy managerial positions with the average gross incomes for the rest of the population who occupy managerial positions. Across the country as a whole, as well as in the three metropolitan areas, the same fundamental pattern emerges: Afro-Swedes in managerial positions receive considerably smaller average gross salaries in comparison to the rest of the population who occupies managerial positions with the equivalent levels of educational attainment.

Figure 4.3. Average gross salary (in units of 100 SEK) received by managers across different levels of educational attainment and geographical region for Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population.



Our analysis of how the different population groups are distributed across high status and low status jobs reveals the same pattern in the metropolitan areas as revealed across Sweden as a whole (see Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5). In comparison to the rest of the population, Afro-Swedes are over-represented in low-status jobs and are under-represented in high status jobs, across every geographical area analyzed and irrespective of their level of educational attainment.

Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 illustrate the various pay gaps between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. In both low status and high status jobs, Afro-Swedes receive lower average gross salaries than the rest of the population. These pay gaps are particularly more marked in high status jobs. In Figure 4.7, our analysis reveals that the pay gaps between Afro-Swedes who have high status jobs and the rest of the population who have high status jobs are often somewhat greater in Stockholm county, in comparison to the other two metropolitan areas.

Figure 4.4. The proportion of people with low status jobs according to level of educational attainment and metropolitan region.

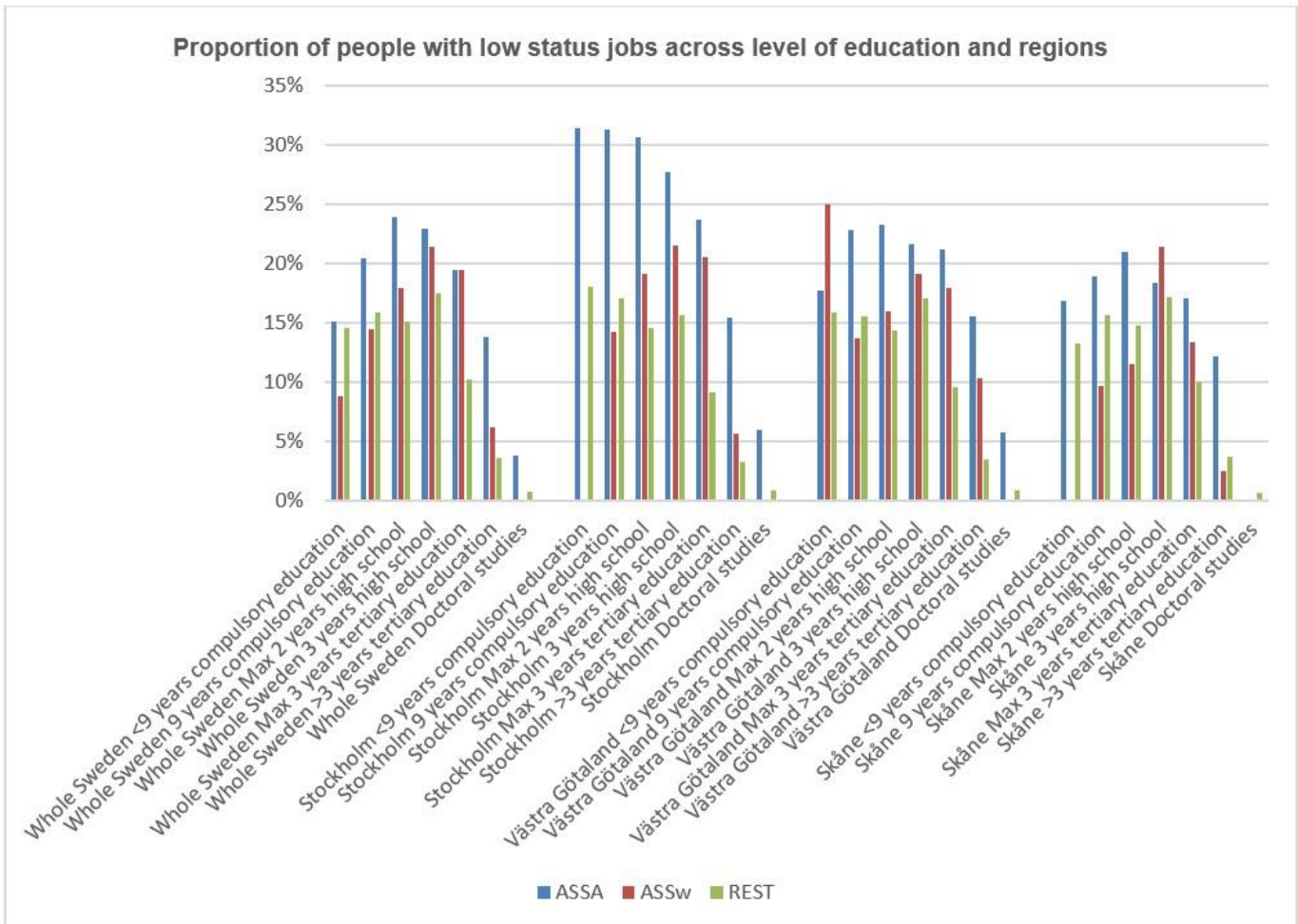


Figure 4.5. Proportion of people with high status jobs according to level of educational attainment and geographical area.

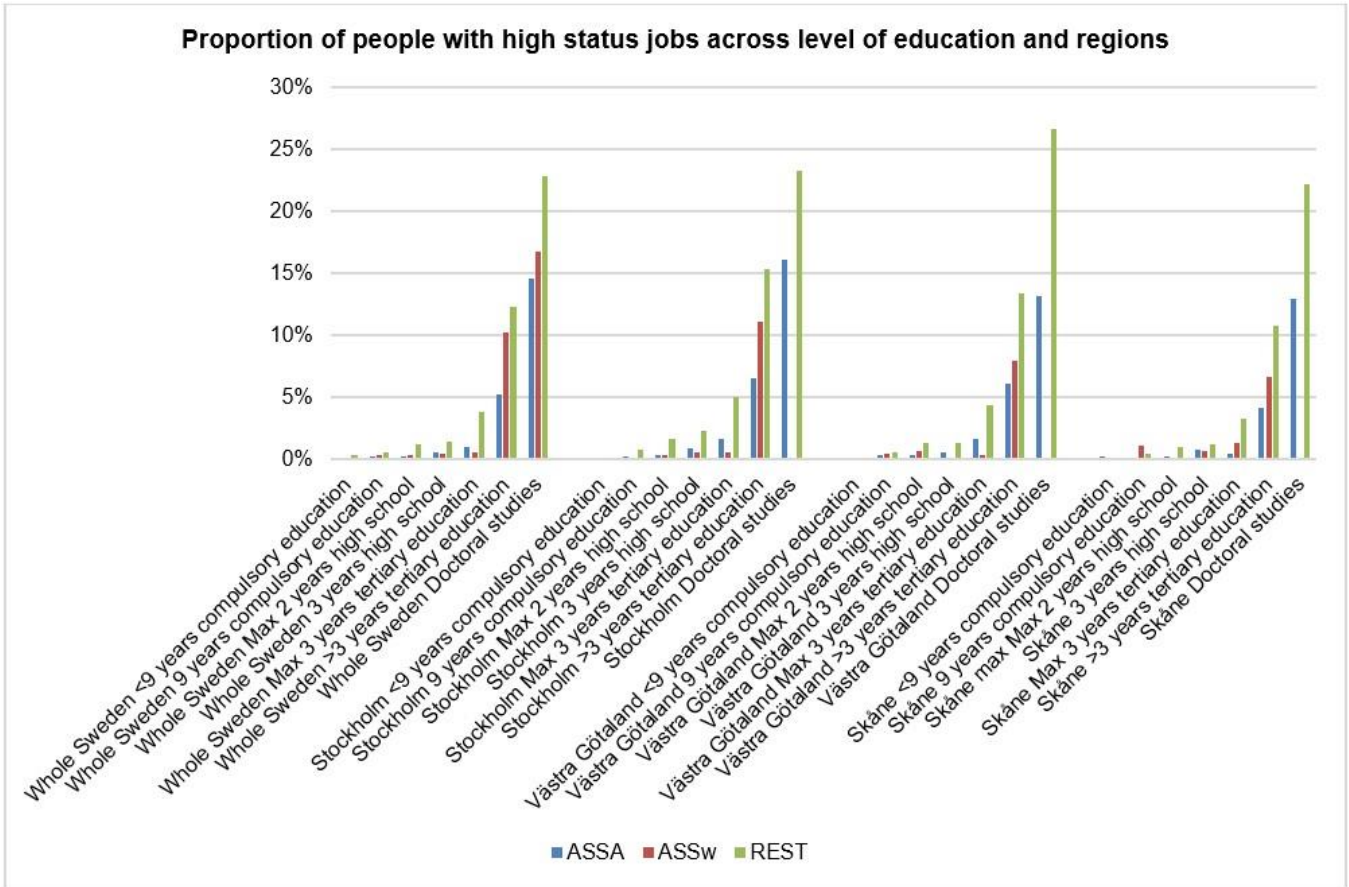


Figure 4.6. Average gross yearly income (in units of 100 SEK) for low status jobs in relation to level of educational attainment and geographical area.

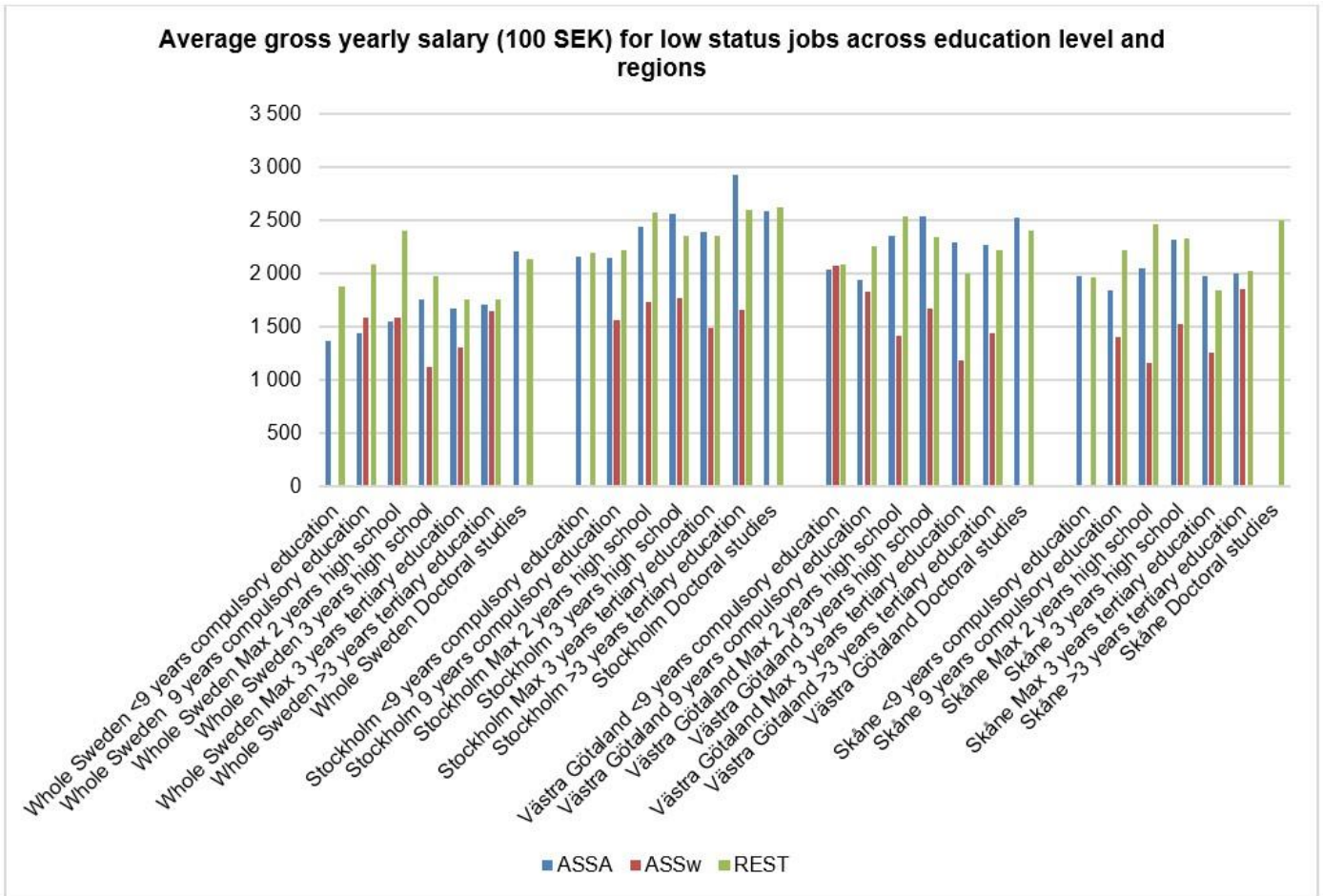
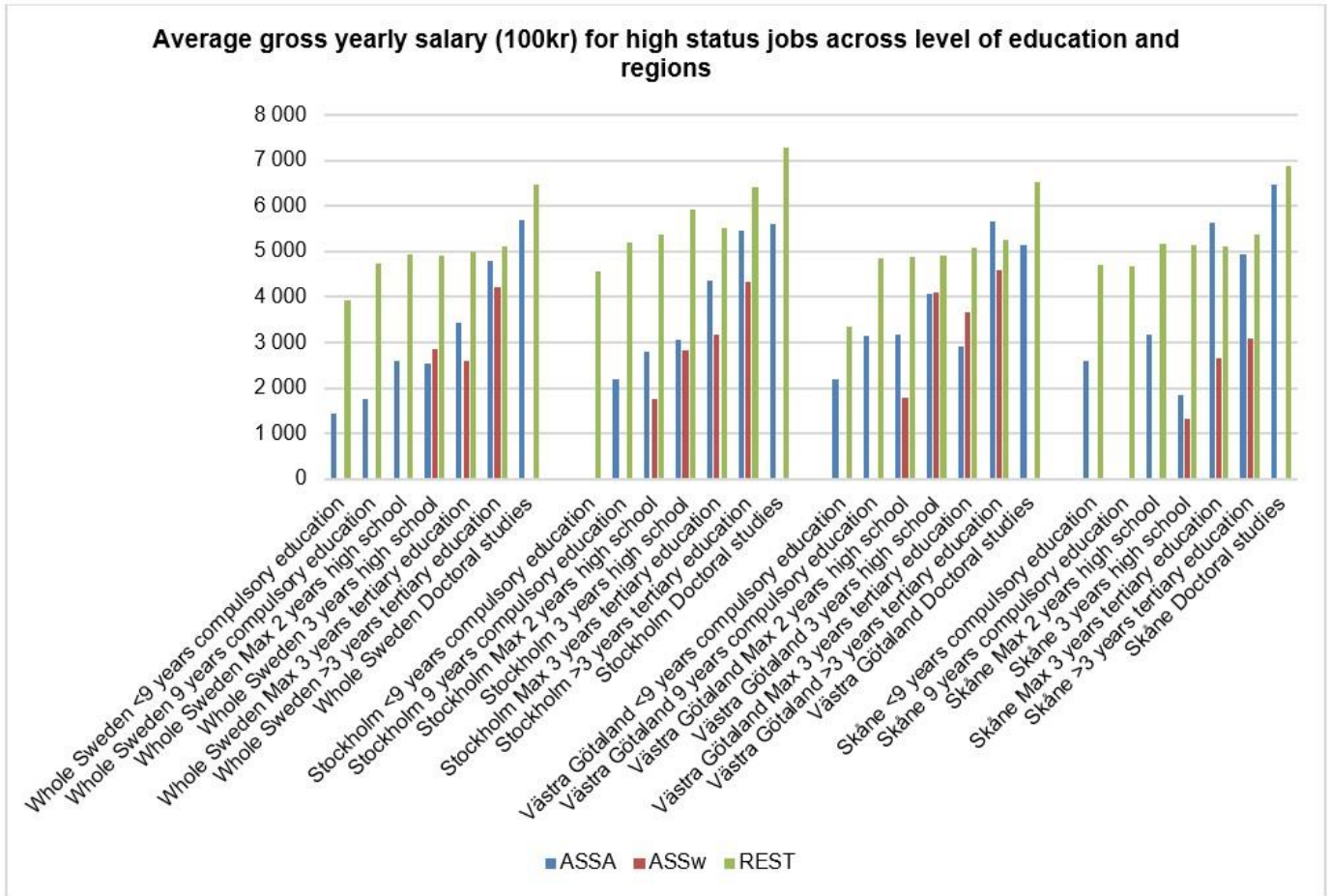


Figure 4.7. Average gross yearly income (in units of 100 SEK) for high status jobs in relation to level of educational attainment and geographical area.



Concluding remarks

The results of this report reveal a number of remarkable differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population with respect to average gross salaries, average disposable income, average number of days spent unemployed, access to high status jobs, and opportunities for following certain career pathways and obtaining managerial positions. Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population are segregated from each other (to the detriment of Afro-Swedes) both horizontally and vertically in the Swedish labour market. Overall, each and every one of our statistical analyses reveals significant differences in income between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. Afro-Swedes receive both lower average salaries and have less disposable income available to them than the rest of the population. This pattern is repeated across the three metropolitan areas.

At every level of educational attainment, Afro-Swedes spend more days on average unemployed than the rest of the population who hold corresponding qualifications. Afro-Swedes in the three regions, and across the country as a whole, are also over-represented in low status jobs and are under-represented in high status jobs, irrespective of their level of educational attainment. Our analyses show that it is more worthwhile for the rest of the population to obtain a post-secondary level education than it is for Afro-Swedes, since the rest of the population has access to high status jobs and managerial positions to a much greater extent than Afro-Swedes. Furthermore, Afro-Swedes receive lower average salaries than the rest of the population who occupy similar jobs and hold equivalent qualifications.

Somehow, it may seem to be relatively disadvantageous for Afro-Swedes to obtain a post-secondary education, since the average salary that is offered to them is *lower* than what is offered to Afro-Swedes with just a high school level of education. This indicates that it is more difficult for Afro-Swedes with a post-secondary education to obtain a job which corresponds to their qualifications than the rest of the population.

Moreover, the analyses show that Afro-Swedes find it more difficult to follow a career pathway and obtain a managerial position than the rest of the population. Afro-Swedes tend to be limited by a so-called glass ceiling. Afro-Swedes who do occupy managerial positions generally receive lower than average gross salaries and their average disposable income is less than that of the rest of the population who occupy managerial positions.

Whether the results of this study can be explained with reference to animosity and hate towards people who have a sub-Saharan background (afrophobia) cannot be deduced from the empirical data presented here. This question remains open to other scholars who wish to investigate the veracity of such a hypothesis by using other methods. What the results of this study

do show is that the Swedish labour market is indeed racialized. Racism, as a technology for unequal distribution of status, privileges, resources, and opportunities has a negative impact on Afro-Swedes of working age and sets limits on their prospects for entering the Swedish labour market and following a career pathway.

This report shows that anti-Black racism affects the Swedish labour market. It does not answer the questions *why* or *how* the uneven distribution of status, resources and possibilities operates. Neither does this report interrogate the ways in which these relations are reproduced, which indicates the need for new research initiatives.

Anti-black racism and discrimination aggravate the situation of Afro-Swedes in the labour market. In comparison to the rest of the population, Afro-Swedes find themselves in a state of unemployment at a higher rate. When Afro-Swedes do find work, they are allotted to low status and low-paid jobs. Racism and discrimination also result in situations where Afro-Swedes are not provided with the same opportunities as the rest of the Swedish population where by their own efforts through getting higher education Afro-Swedes can improve their chances in obtaining high status work or managerial positions. This state of affairs also severely impacts on Afro-Swedes' opportunities to earn salaries under the same conditions as the rest of the population.

Recommendations

This study has shown that people who are racialized as Black are discriminated against on the Swedish labour market. Skin colour, appearance, place of birth and parents' place of birth are irrelevant criteria with respect to a person's ability to perform a certain job, follow a certain career pathway, or be a good manager, and neither should these criteria be decisive in setting salaries and salary increases. Anti-Black racism does not only result in negative consequences for Afro-Swedes but also severely impacts on companies, branches, organisations, and official services. It undermines the sustainability of a democratic society by acting against the principles of human equality with respect to human dignity and human rights. Racism is a political problem, which touches on the construction of society's common ground. Thus, it is the duty of our social institutions to remedy anti-Black racism and discrimination as an important part of the work to be done in order to achieve social equality.

The Discrimination Act [Discrimineringslagen] (2008: 567) is aimed at counter-acting discrimination and promoting equal rights and opportunities for people, irrespective of their gender, gender identity, ethnicity, religion or other belief system, disabilities, sexual orientation, or age. With respect to ethnicity, the Act refers to "national or ethnic origins, skin colour, or other similar conditions". According to the more-recently revised and tougher Discrimination Act (2016: 828), employers are responsible for implementing "active measures" to drive forward preventive work against discrimination by investigating and analyzing the risk that their employees are discriminated against and reveal whether there are any other obstacles to employees' enjoyment of equal rights and opportunities. Employers must also implement preventive and positive measures, which are demanded of them, including follow-up work in these issues. However, the Act has not been made more stringent with respect to the imposition of sanctions against employers who are negligent with their work against discrimination. We thus welcome the government's decision (Dir. 2018:99) to appoint a special investigator who will review the need for additional measures to ensure compliance with the provisions on active measures as per the Discrimination Act.

The Discrimination Act decrees that employers "discover, implement measures against, and prevent unjustified differences in salaries and other conditions of employment for men and women". Employers who employ more than 10 employees must document the work done concerning (any) salary differences between men and women, salary increases, and other measures which need to be implemented, so as to prevent any differences in salary which has a direct or indirect connection to gender. Further, employers must perform a cost assessment and set out a time-plan by which

any adjustments in salary, which need to be made, are done so as quickly as possible and within 3 years at the latest.

We recommend that the government investigate, by means of a special commission, the possibility of broadening the legal obligation for employers to expand the knowledge base and plan for measures, to include salary differences between employees that might be based on other discriminatory criteria, including a person's "national or ethnic origins, skin colour, or other similar conditions". The commission should also revise whether any measures need to be taken to ensure compliance with the Act in terms of the active measures that employers must take against such discrimination with respect to salaries, conditions of employment, recruitment, and promotion for every employee. Moreover, the commission should formulate a recommendation concerning *possible sanctions against employers who do not comply with the Discrimination Act*.

The commission should also be tasked to produce a recommendation regarding the establishment of an instance, or a function within an existing institution, which will be responsible for collecting the documentation on the work done by employers, in response to the Discrimination Act. The commission should oversee that the measures that employers report that they will make are actually made and have the desired effect. For the purpose of this work, the proposed instance or function should set out a number of indicators, which will make it possible to measure and evaluate the prescribed work against discrimination, and, where necessary, this instance or function can recommend adjustments to preventive measures and related programs and monitor compliance with the same.

We also recommend that further research into this area be conducted to provide decision-makers, authorities, and organizations' managers with an empirically-verifiable knowledge base about racism and discrimination in the labour market. The analysis of the micro-data covering the whole of the Swedish population who are of a working age, can be taken further by differentiating between gender and age groups, including statistics about sick leave and other health-related information, and comparing the situation in the labour market for different categories of residents who have a Swedish background or a background from elsewhere. Such research initiatives should take place with certain regularity so that the relevant knowledge base can be updated and developments in this area can be followed up on.

The results and data generated by statistical analysis are of value, but they do not answer every question that is relevant to the work against discrimination. Such research can prove that racism and discrimination exists and what consequences this has for different categories of residents in terms of unemployment rates, access to the labour market, differences in average gross salaries and average disposable incomes, the distribution of low status jobs and high status jobs, opportunities to follow certain career pathways, and opportunities to obtain managerial positions.

The fact that racism and discrimination exists is already known. To address this problem, we need more knowledge about the mechanisms of discrimination, the ways in which the recruitment process proceeds, how salary levels are set, how promotions are awarded, what is it that prevents upward mobility and poses as obstacles on a person's career pathway, and how mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion are build up, operationalized, and maintained. Research should thus investigate how status, privileges, and opportunities are distributed and held back on, and which informal decision-making processes impact on people in different ways. In other words, we need to add the questions of *How?* and *Why?* to the question of *What?*

To achieve the above goals, we need systematic research initiatives that employ qualitative methods as well as combined methods, the results of which are relevant to areas beyond the particular field under investigation. One possible way of doing this is to use qualitative methods to study very closely a cross-section of the labour market, a part of a branch or organisation chosen for its high level of transparency. These results can then be weight and scale up so that they have bearing on the branch or organisation as a whole. This approach would bring light on the micro-physics of racism and discrimination and capture an overview of the situation for employees who are not comprised by the statistical categories constructed by the quantitative methods (for example, Afro-Swedes with a Swedish or Caribbean background). By doing so, it would be possible to produce knowledge about those people who in large ways and in small ways, consciously or unconsciously, contribute to the reproduction of racism and discrimination.

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Notes

ⁱ The 13 reports dealt with a number of extremely important social issues, including discrimination at the workplace. These include *Vi och Dom - Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering* [Us and Them – Theoretical reflections over power, integration, and structural discrimination] (SOU 2005:41); *Sverige inifrån - Röster om etnisk diskriminering* [Sweden from inside – Voices of ethnic discrimination] (SOU 2005:69); *Demokrati på svenska? Om strukturell diskriminering och politiskt deltagande* [Democracy in Swedish? About structural discrimination and participation in the political process] (SOU 2005:112); *Mediernas vi och dom - Mediernas betydelse för den strukturella diskrimineringen* [The media's Us and Them – The importance of the media and structural discrimination] (SOU 2006:21); *Är rättvisan rättvis? Tio perspektiv på diskriminering av etniska och religiösa minoriteter som rättssystemet* [Is Justice just? Ten perspectives on discrimination of ethnic and religious minorities and the justice system] (SOU 2006:30); *Om välfärdens gränser och det villkorade medborgarskapet* [The limits of the benefits system and conditional citizenship] (SOU 2006:37); *Utbildningens dilemma - demokratiska ideal och andrafierande praxis* [The education system's dilemma – democratic ideals and practices of 'Othering'] (SOU 2006:40); *Diskrimineringens retorik - En studie av svenska valrörelser 1988-2002* [the rhetoric of discrimination – A study of Swedish electoral movements, 1988-2002] (SOU 2006:52); *Partierna nominerar - Exkluderingens mekanismer - etnicitet och representation* [The Parties nominate – The mechanisms of exclusion – Ethnicity and representation] (SOU 2006:53); *Arbetslivets (o)synliga murar* [(In)Visible walls in the workplace] (SOU 2006:59); *På tröskeln till lönearbete* [At the threshold to gainful employment] (SOU 2006:60); *Den segregerade integrationen* [Segregated integration] (SOU 2006:73) och *Hälsa, vård och strukturell diskriminering* [Health, healthcare, and structural discrimination] (SOU 2006:78).

ⁱⁱ RED. "Afro-phobia", <http://www.red-network.eu/?i=red-network.en.thesaurus.1>. Accessed 27th October, 2018.

ⁱⁱⁱ To understand segregation from the perspective of discrimination, it may be helpful to differentiate between legitimate segmentation and illegitimate segmentation. In cases of legitimate segmentation, there is a balanced correlation between supply and demand of a labour pool which possesses the relevant qualifications. A perfect segment would exist if, for example, every newly-qualified physician who wished to work as a physician actually found work as a physician. An illegitimate segmentation exists when unqualified physicians are employed as physicians or when qualified physicians cannot find employment as a physician and are forced to accept work for which they are over-qualified for or for work which their medical training is irrelevant, for example, as a taxi driver. Segregation which takes place as a result of racialization and gender are illegitimate because they systematically marginalise and subjugate population groups on the basis of factors which are not immediately relevant the specific requirements that are needed to perform the job (Neergaard, 2004: 43).

^{iv} The differences between Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population with respect to yearly income is an area which needs further research so as to investigate the influence of other variables on this outcome. There are a number of reasons behind why a low yearly income, for example, part-time employment or not have been in

employment for the whole year. This may be the case because for those who have been unemployed, engaged in further studies, or (with respect to gross salary) taken paternity leave. These variables, however, are applicable to both Afro-Swedes and the rest of the population. The fact that Afro-Swedes spend more time unemployed than the rest of the population thus needs to be taken into account. But several questions remain: Are Afro-Swedes satisfied (either willingly or not so willingly) to take up part-time work to a greater degree than the rest of the country? Do Afro-Swedes engage in further education proportionally more so than the rest of the population? A systematic study where different age groups are compared with each other would be of use.



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