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**The Incidence and Dynamics of Immigrant Child Poverty in Scandinavia: A Panel Data Study of
Norway, Sweden and Denmark**

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The Incidence and Dynamics of Immigrant Child Poverty in Scandinavia: A Panel Data Study of Norway, Sweden and Denmark

1. Introduction

Up until now Scandinavia has been considered a part of the world with a very low incidence of child poverty. An interesting question is whether this observation is becoming less adequate as more immigrant children from less-developed countries enter the Scandinavian welfare states. In the present study, the focus will be on use of panel data to examine the incidence and duration of child poverty for immigrants with different national backgrounds in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The available panel data makes it possible to compare the experiences of immigrant children with those of native children in each of the Scandinavian countries in the period 1993-2001 while at the same time uncovering any differences between the Scandinavian countries in terms of immigrant child poverty. The rich panel data sets containing a multitude of individual background factors also make it possible to focus also on the dynamics of poverty, i.e. to estimate entry and exit rates to and from poverty and the incidence of child poverty in selected years relative to relevant background factors.

2. Methods and Definitions.

We study three different groups of children according to immigrant background. The first group, which we will simply refer to as native children, is made up of children born to two native parents, i.e. two parents with no immigrant background. A second group consists of children with one of the following backgrounds: two foreign-born parents from High Income Countries (HIC) or one native parent (and one foreign-born parent, regardless of ethnic background). High Income Countries are defined as the member countries of the European Union and the European Economic Area as well as Japan, the countries of Oceania, and the North American countries of the United States and Canada. We shall refer to this group as HIC children. Finally, the third group consists of children born to two foreign-born parents from other countries, which we will refer to as Middle- or Low-Income Countries (MLIC). Note that the children are classified according to whether or not *their parents* are foreign-born, not whether they themselves were born abroad. Thus, the groups of immigrant children can and do include both children born within the specific host country¹ (to two foreign-born parents) and those themselves born outside of the host country.

Poverty is defined according to a relative poverty line set at 60 % of median equivalent disposable income with the OECD equivalence scale.²

3. An Overview of Child Poverty Scandinavia, 1993-2001.

3.1. Annual Rates of Child Poverty

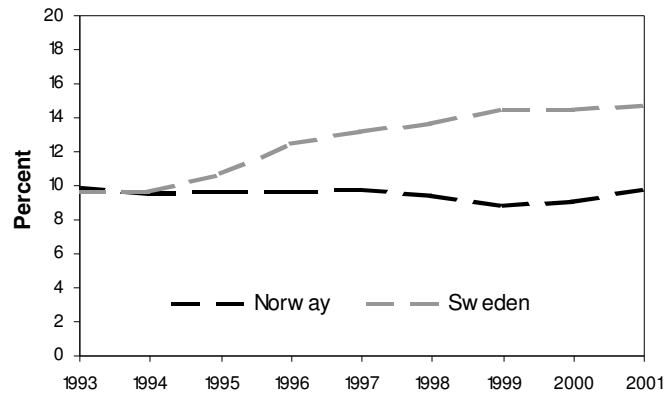
As Figure 1 illustrates, overall child poverty rates were very similar in Sweden and Norway at the start of the period we study. However, developments in the two countries diverged greatly in the subsequent years. Child poverty rates rose dramatically in Sweden from just under 10 percent to over 14 percent during the mid- and late-1990s; in Norway the rate of child poverty remained largely stable at around 9-10 percent during the same period.

Discuss particular economic conditions in each country during the 1990s.

¹ This group is sometimes referred to as 'second-generation immigrants'.

² This scale assigns a weight of 1 to the first adult, 0.7 to further adults and 0.5 to children under 16.

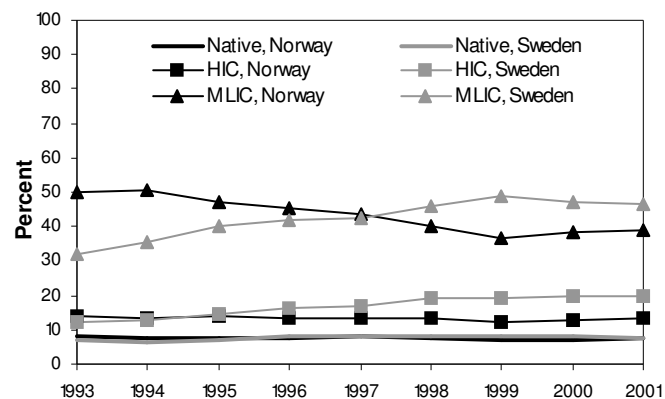
Figure 1. Child Poverty Rates in Norway and Sweden. 1993-2001.



However, as Figure 2 indicates, poverty rates for immigrant children were much higher and changed far more dramatically than the rates for native children in both countries. The direction of those changes differed, however, in the two countries. The poverty rates for *native* children largely hovered in the same range for the two countries, although economic conditions did result in a slight rise in rates during the mid-1990s in Sweden and a slight decline in Norwegian rates towards the end of the 1990s. In contrast, approximately one-half of immigrant children with background from Middle- or Low-Income Countries (MLIC) experienced poverty in Norway at the start of the period; the poverty rates for that group declined noticeably to under 40 % by the turn of the century. While MLIC immigrant children in Sweden had noticeably lower poverty rates than their Norwegian counterparts at the start of the period, the rates of children poverty in Sweden rose markedly during the same period such that the poverty rates for MLIC children approached 50 % at the turn of the century in Sweden. Children with background from High Income Countries (HIC) also had slightly higher poverty rates and were somewhat more sensitive to economic conditions than their native counterparts in the two countries.

Figure 2 thus illustrates that the dramatic rise in child poverty rates which accompanied economic difficulties in Sweden during the mid- and late-1990s was largely attributable to the alarming rise in the rate of child poverty for immigrant children in the period. Although the downward trend in Norway during the same period could be viewed optimistically, child poverty rates for MLIC children in particular were, however, still very high in Norway.

Figure 2. Child Poverty Rates by Immigrant Category in Norway and Sweden. 1993-2001.

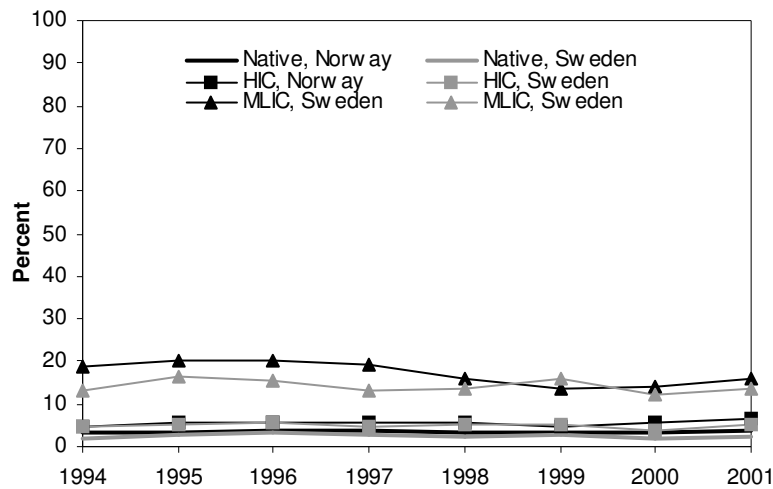


Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

3.2. Child Poverty Entry and Exit Rates

We are able to gain further insights into the nature of child poverty in Scandinavia by examining the rates of poverty entry and exit, as presented by immigrant category in Figure 3 and Figure 4 below.³ We see clearly that the entry rates are much higher and the exit rates much lower for MLIC children compared to both native and HIC children in both countries. For the most part, both entry and exit rates were higher in Norway than in Sweden for all the groups in the period studied. Hence, children in Norway were more likely to enter poverty than their counterparts in Sweden, but they were also more likely to exit poverty; there was more fluctuation in the population of poor children in Norway.

Figure 3. Rates of Entry into Child Poverty by Immigrant Category in Norway and Sweden. 1993-2001.

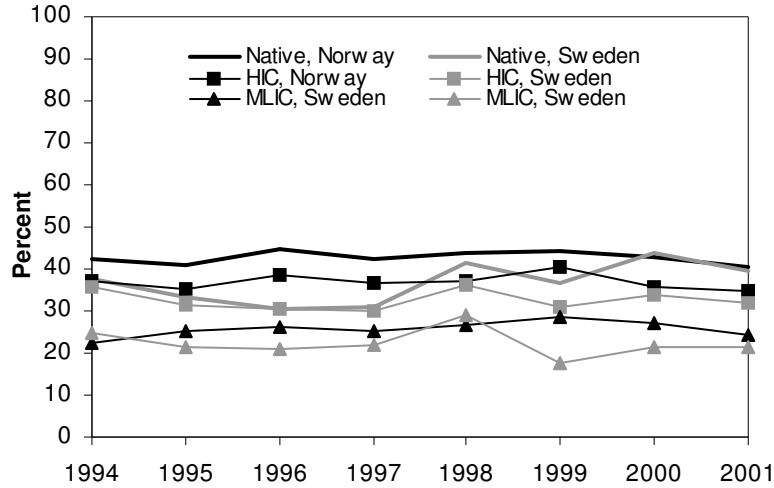


Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Study of the rates of child poverty entry and exit also suggest some explanations for the general rise in child poverty rates in Sweden. Entry rates in Sweden fluctuated somewhat during the period, but the greatest differences were apparent in the exit rates. Exit rates fell markedly for all the immigrant categories during the mid-1990s in Sweden, but while exit rates for natives and HIC children largely rebounded at the turn of the century in Sweden, exit rates for MLIC children generally remained low up to the close of period studied. Hence, while children in Sweden were not entering poverty with much higher rates during the period, those children who did become poor were more likely to remain poor from one year to the next.

Figure 4. Rates of Exit from Child Poverty by Immigrant Category in Norway and Sweden. 1993-2001.

³ See also Tables A.2 and A.3 in the Appendix.

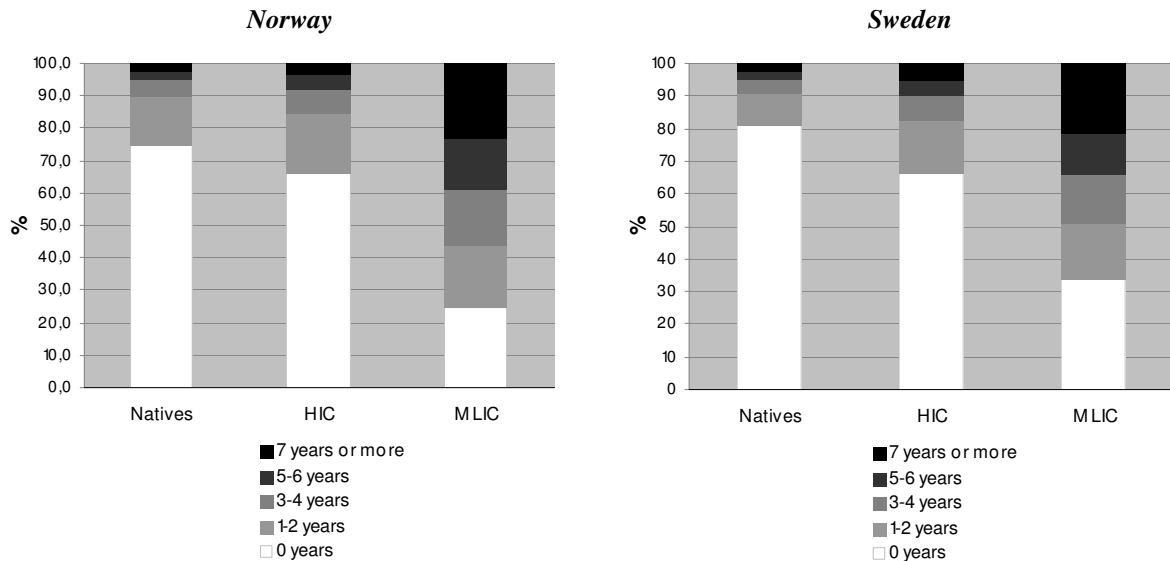


Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

3.3 Number of Years in Child Poverty

In order to elaborate on such issues as the persistence or duration of child poverty, we can investigate the number of years of poverty children in the different immigrant categories experienced during the 1993-2001. In Figure 5 we focus on children age 0-9 years in 1993, i.e. those who were under the age of 18 for the entire period 1993-2001, and present the distribution of the number of years of poverty experienced by the children in each group.⁴ Note that the years spent in poverty do not have to be successive, i.e. they do not represent a duration *spell* per se. A child who experienced several years of poverty might have been poor one year, non-poor the next, poor again the year after that, etc.

Figure 5. Distribution of Children by Number of Years of Poverty in Three Different Immigrant Categories.



Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

⁴ See also Table A.4 in the Appendix.

The vast majority of native children in Norway (approximately 75 %) and Sweden (approximately 80 %) did not experience any poverty at all in the period studied. The somewhat higher incidence of poverty for native Norwegian children compared to native Swedish children is almost entirely attributable to differences in experiencing poverty for 1-2 years. This is in general compatible with the previous suggestion, based on the study of entry and exit rates, that there is somewhat higher fluctuation in child poverty in Norway. Note, however, that approximately the same proportion (10 %) of native children in both countries experienced more than 2 years of poverty, i.e. the two countries were very similar in terms of the extent to which native children experience poverty of a more persistent or prolonged nature.⁵

Whereas the vast majority of native children in Norway and Sweden experienced no poverty during the course of the 9 years studied, the vast majority of MLIC children in Norway and Sweden did experience at least one year of poverty; a mere one-quarter of MLIC children in Norway and one-third of MLIC children in Sweden did not encounter any poverty at all in the period 1993-2001. The incidence of poverty for 5 or more years, i.e. more than half of the 9-year period, is also very high for MLIC children in the two countries; nearly 40 % of MLIC children in Norway and approximately one-third of MLIC children in Sweden experienced poverty in 5 or more years.

Finally, we can see that HIC children more closely resemble native children than their MLIC counterparts in both Norway and Sweden and that the distribution of the number of years of poverty for this group is very similar for both countries.

3.4 Poverty and the duration of residence

Previous studies of poverty among adult immigrants in Scandinavia⁶ suggest that a longer period of residence in the host country is associated with lower poverty rates; the main forces behind this relationship are assumed to be the process of adjustment and integration in terms of language and skills in the labor market as well as the society as a whole. Although one would thus assume that a similar pattern exists for immigrant children in relation to their parents' duration of residence, this is not necessarily the case. Families with children might face particular difficulties and challenges in adjusting to the host country. Furthermore, the speed of the adjustment, i.e. the length of time needed for a truly significant decline in the probability of poverty, is particularly relevant in the context of children; a prolonged period of adjustment associated with economic hardship might, in fact, encompass a large part of a child's formative years. This, in turn, may affect that child's educational attainment and own adjustment in the host country.

In order to provide some initial insight into this issue, Table 1 presents poverty rates for newly arrived immigrant children from Middle- and Low-Income Countries in Norway and Sweden. We follow each yearly arrival cohort for the years after immigration to the country. Thus, the 1993 arrival cohort is followed for the years 1994-2001, whereas the 1994 arrival cohort is studied for the years 1995-2001, etc. If we first study separate arrival cohorts on their own, we see that the poverty rates generally fall for subsequent years in both Norway and Sweden; thus, longer periods of residence do seem to be associated with lower poverty rates. Note, however, that poverty rates for these immigrant children are still very high after many years in the country, i.e. they do not seem to quickly converge to rates similar to natives.

Table 1. Child Poverty Rates for Children from Middle- and Low-Income Countries (MLIC) Age 0-17 Years by Arrival Cohort. 1993-2001. Norway and Sweden. Percent.

Arrival cohort	Poverty Rate for Arrival Cohort in Year							
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<i>Norway</i>								
1993	63,2	50,1	47,7	44,6	40,1	35,2	33,6	34,4
1994		49,2	43,9	44,2	40,5	35,2	35,2	36,2
1995			47,6	42,3	41,5	37,4	36,4	38,4

⁵ We will return to a more extensive discussion of poverty of a more persistent or chronic nature shortly.

⁶ See Galloway and Aaberge (2005) for Norway and Blume, Gustafsson, Pedersen, and Verner (2006) for Sweden and Denmark.

1996				46,1	39,6	35,3	37,2	38,4
1997					42,0	34,7	34,9	38,2
1998						41,0	33,5	36,7
1999							52,9	44,6
2000								47,1
<i>Sweden</i>								
1993	64,2	60,8	57,5	52,5	45,1	44,2	38,9	35,5
1994		69,1	63,9	57,0	49,1	48,2	43,4	40,0
1995			71,5	63,0	52,4	50,8	43,4	39,0
1996				68,1	54,3	51,5	44,6	39,8
1997					62,4	56,6	48,4	43,5
1998						69,8	55,8	49,1
1999							64,3	56,8
2000								67,8

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table 1 also illustrates another relevant point; the starting poverty rates, i.e. the poverty rates in the first full year after arrival, as well as the poverty rates for subsequent years vary for the different arrival cohorts. There are two possible explanations for this. First, the composition of the different arrival cohorts in terms of education, skills, age, ethnic background, etc. might simply be different, thus leading to different poverty rates. Second, the differences in poverty rates might also reflect economic conditions during the initial phase in the country. More specifically, immigrants entering the country during good economic times will be expected to have better opportunities to integrate into the labor market and in general gain a foothold in the economy of the host country; immigrants entering during economic difficulties might struggle in this regard.

The pattern of poverty rates for different arrival cohorts in the two countries does coincide with the previously mentioned economic developments in the two countries. Immigrants to Norway in the mid-1990s and at the turn of the millennium faced more difficult economic conditions during their initial years in the country and also exhibit higher initial poverty rates; Sweden experienced a period of economic hardship during the mid-1990s and this, too, is reflected in higher initial poverty rates for arrivals of immigrant children during that period in Sweden. Hence, descriptive analysis suggests that both the duration of residence, the composition of arrival cohorts and economic conditions at the time of arrival would be expected to have an impact on poverty rates among immigrant children. Disentangling these effects present a substantial challenge to any analysis of the poverty rates among immigrant children and is a topic, among others, to be addressed by our later analysis.

4. Chronic Poverty among Children in Scandinavia

4.1 Why Focus on Chronic Poverty?

The previous discussions of short stints of poverty and suggestion of a slightly higher fluctuation in the poor population in Norway brings up issues of the extent to which the measure of poverty based on income from just one year is satisfactory for capturing the essential elements of why we are interested in poverty, be it among adults or children. Intuitively, an occasional short period of poverty does not necessarily entail extreme welfare losses nor would it seem a cause of great concern. For this reason, we wish to employ a somewhat different measure of ‘chronic poverty’ in order to better capture the intuition that it is poverty of a more prolonged nature which is the true focus of concerns associated with child poverty. In other words, we wish to provide a better basis for assessing the extent to which the poverty experienced by children – native or immigrant – may be prolonged and a serious cause for worry in Scandinavia.

Income fluctuations can have a number of different effects on the nature of the poverty experienced by individuals and such income fluctuations can thus, in turn, affect summary statistics on poverty rates such as those presented above. In the case of unexpected fluctuations in income,

different scenarios are possible. An individual may in general be well-off and have a good income well above the poverty line, but unexpected fluctuations in income, due to such unfortunate events as illness or unemployment, may lead the individual to experience a short period of low income, i.e. income below the poverty line. Similarly, a second individual might be generally poor, i.e. generally have income below the poverty line, but he might occasionally manage to raise his income above the poverty line. We would expect that the first person – i.e. the one that was generally well-off – would be able to handle her short poverty experience without suffering severe welfare losses. She would be able to dip into her savings, re-mortgage her home, trade in her car for a less expensive model, etc. The second person, i.e. the one that was generally poor, would, however, have a hard time truly raising his standard of living based on just an occasional year with decent income.

The ability to save and borrow also means that a generally well-off individual may sometimes *choose* to have low income; income fluctuations might, thus, not be solely determined by events beyond the individual's control. Indeed the ability to undertake such intertemporal re-distributions of income is just one further indication of a relatively good standard of living for the person with decent earnings.

The two individuals discussed here are, thus, very different in the manner in which they experience bouts of poverty. The extent to which the poor population is made of individuals of the one type or the other is very important if we wish to properly understand and address the problems of the 'generally poor' individual. However, the inevitable fluctuations in income from one year to the next means that we will at any given time classify some generally well-off persons as poor and some generally poor persons as 'non-poor'. To help minimize such misclassifications, we extend the income period used to determine poverty and define a relative poverty line based on three-year income in much the same manner as the poverty line based on income from one year. More specifically, the new poverty line is drawn at 60 % of *median three-year equivalent income* and we refer to the resulting poverty classification as 'chronic poverty' in order to emphasize its more prolonged nature. More specifically, equivalent income is first determined for each year (based on the household composition in that year) with the traditional OECD equivalence scale.⁷ The equivalent yearly incomes thus calculated are then adjusted for inflation and summed up over a three-year period. The *chronic poverty line* is then defined as 60 % of the median of the three-year incomes in the population.

The choice of a three-year period is somewhat arbitrary, but does help to eliminate some of the above-mentioned weaknesses due to income fluctuations. In addition, with data from the nine-year period 1993-2001 and a chronic poverty definition based on three-year income, we are able to construct measures of chronic poverty for three successive three-year periods – 1993-1995, 1996-1998 and 1999-2001. We are thus able to uncover and discuss trends, i.e. changes in *chronic poverty* during the period. Finally, we are still able to discuss topics such as the persistence and duration of *chronic poverty* in much the same manner as we do with yearly poverty; in other words, we are still able to discuss the extent to which children experience one period or several periods of chronic poverty.

4.2 Rates of Chronic Child Poverty

Table 2 presents the rates of chronic poverty among children in Scandinavia as a whole and by immigration category. The same basic trends as discussed above for annual poverty rates, i.e. a decline in child poverty rates in Norway and a rise in rates in Sweden, are reproduced in the rates of chronic poverty for the period 1993-2001. Thus, the increase in annual poverty rates in Sweden is not solely due to short-term experiences of poverty. Note, however, that the chronic poverty rates for native children and HIC children are noticeable lower than the annual rates, whereas chronic poverty rates for MLIC immigrant children are in the same general range as the associated annual rates for the relevant three-year period (see Figure 2 and Table A.1 in the Appendix). Thus, the more prolonged nature of the poverty experienced by immigrant children, as suggested by Figure 5, is neatly summarized and more forcefully represented by the differences in chronic poverty rates for the children belonging to different immigration categories in Norway and Sweden.

⁷ Note furthermore that in this construction we are forced to focus only on those children in the country and under the age of 18 for the entire three-year period in question.

Table 2. Chronic Poverty among Children in Norway and Sweden by Immigration Category. 1993-2001. Percent.

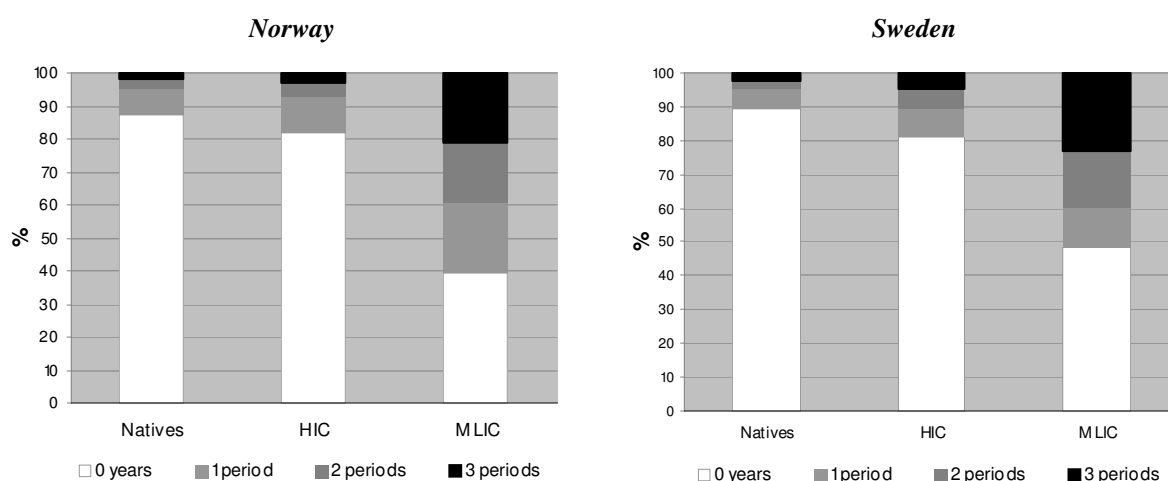
	1993-1995	1996-1998	1999-2001
Norway			
Natives	6,2	6,3	5,9
HIC	10,4	10,1	10,1
MLIC	47,4	41,7	34,6
All	8,3	8,3	7,8
Sweden			
Natives	5,4	7,1	6,2
HIC	11,0	13,6	14,6
MLIC	34,0	42,6	44,8
All	8,6	11,4	11,7

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

4.3 Number of Periods of Chronic Child Poverty

While the concept and definition of chronic poverty discussed above already attempts to capture the essential feature of *prolonged* poverty as the true topic of interest, we are still able to discuss the extent to which chronic poverty persists, i.e. is experienced in more than just one three-year period. Figure 6 presents the distribution of children age 0-9 years by immigration category in the Norway and Sweden according to the number of years they experienced chronic poverty in the period 1993-2001. The differences between native and immigrant children once again appear quite clearly. Nearly 90 % of native children experienced no chronic poverty in the period, whereas more than half of MLIC children experienced at least one period of chronic poverty. Furthermore, multiple periods of chronic poverty were very rare among native and HIC children. In contrast, in both Norway and Sweden approximately 20 % of MLIC children experienced chronic poverty in two three-year periods and another 20 % experienced chronic poverty in *all three periods*. Note, too, that MLIC children in Norway were generally more prone to experience at least one period of chronic poverty than their counterparts in Sweden.

Figure 6. Distribution of Children in Three Different Immigrant Categories by Number of Periods of Chronic Poverty in Period 1993-2001



Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

5. Underlying Features of Chronic Poverty among Immigrants in Scandinavia

5.1 Focus of Regression Analysis

The regression analysis in this section aims to give further insights into the main features of the experience of chronic child poverty in Scandinavia with particular emphasis on the differences between native children and immigrant children from Middle- and Low-Income Countries. The descriptive analyses presented in the previous sections suggest that there are two main differences in the child poverty for immigrant vs. native children in the Scandinavian countries. First, the *incidence* of poverty is much higher for MLIC immigrant children. Secondly, the poverty experienced by MLIC children is of a much *more prolonged nature*. Furthermore, the use of a measure of chronic poverty based on income from a three-year period helped us to more elegantly represent and illustrate these differences. Thus, we wish to continue to work within the framework of chronic poverty and further elaborate on the features of the experience of *chronic poverty* for children in Scandinavia. To this end, we use a multinomial logit framework to estimate the probability of experiencing 1, 2 or 3 periods of chronic poverty during the period 1993-2001.

A number of explanatory variables are used to help uncover the extent to which observed characteristics are associated with a higher incidence and persistence of chronic poverty during the period. These include the age of the (eldest) parent, parents' education, the local unemployment rate, various family or household characteristics, as well as the parents' duration of residence in the host country.⁸ We have attempted to define and code variables in as comparable a manner as possible for the countries; there will, however, always remain small differences due to the structure of societal institutions and data collection. Focus is limited to the analysis of native and MLIC children age 0-9 years in 1993; separate regressions for the two groups (for each host country) are performed in order to allow for flexibility in the parameter estimates for the observed characteristics. The composition of MLIC immigrant children in terms of ethnic background or country of origin is very different in Norway and Sweden; hence, variables on the ethnic origin of immigrant children are based on the most relevant immigrant countries or ethnic categories in each specific (host) country. There do, however, exist immigrant children in sufficient number from some of the same countries in both Norway and Sweden and these will be of particular interest for the analyses presented in this section.

5.2 Parents' Duration of Residence and the Probability of Chronic Poverty

The parameter estimates from the multinomial logit models of the probability of multiple periods of chronic poverty are presented in Tables A.5-A.8 in the Appendix.

Tables 3 and 4 as well as Figure 7 present estimates of the risk of experiencing multiple periods of chronic poverty for selected immigrant groups in Norway and Sweden. Particular emphasis is given to the parents' duration of residence in the country in order to indicate the extent to which differences between native and immigrant children decrease with increased (parental) experience in the country. Large differences between immigrant and native children generally remain even if the parents of the immigrant child have been in the country for many years. Note, too, that recent arrivals to Sweden are predicted to be less likely to experience chronic poverty than their counterparts in Norway, but that this difference between the host countries decreases with a longer period of residence.

Mention that the composition of immigrants from the same ethnic groups can still be different in the different host countries!

Table 3. Estimated Risk of Multiple Periods of Chronic Child Poverty for Selected Ethnic Groups by Duration of Residence. Norway.

For a reference child*

Risk of Experiencing Chronic Poverty in:

⁸ Note that these variables are generally measured at the start of the period, i.e. in 1993. Thus, parents' duration of residence, age or education is as of 1993.

	0 periods	1 period	2 periods	3 periods
<i>Native children</i>	0,9477	0,0367	0,0117	0,0039
<i>Turkish background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,3053	0,3759	0,2123	0,1065
3-4 years	0,3845	0,3043	0,2016	0,1096
5-6 years	0,4517	0,2878	0,1713	0,0891
7-8 years	0,5193	0,2650	0,1193	0,0963
9 + years	0,6635	0,1836	0,0966	0,0563
<i>Iranian background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,4416	0,3492	0,1580	0,0512
3-4 years	0,5340	0,2714	0,1440	0,0505
5-6 years	0,5988	0,2451	0,1168	0,0393
7-8 years	0,6633	0,2174	0,0784	0,0409
9 + years	0,7807	0,1388	0,0585	0,0220
<i>Chilean background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,4710	0,3702	0,1176	0,0412
3-4 years	0,5666	0,2862	0,1067	0,0405
5-6 years	0,6280	0,2554	0,0855	0,0311
7-8 years	0,6874	0,2239	0,0567	0,0320
9 + years	0,7998	0,1413	0,0418	0,0170
<i>Somalian background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,3952	0,3832	0,1556	0,0660
3-4 years	0,4862	0,3030	0,1444	0,0663
5-6 years	0,5522	0,2771	0,1186	0,0521
7-8 years	0,6170	0,2479	0,0803	0,0548
9 + years	0,7457	0,1625	0,0615	0,0303

* The reference child is defined as having parents with some secondary education, eldest parent age 40, local unemployment equal to the national rate in 1993.

Table 4. Estimated Risk of Multiple Periods of Chronic Child Poverty for Selected Ethnic Groups by Duration of Residence. Sweden.
For a reference child*

	Risk of Experiencing Chronic Poverty in:			
	0 periods	1 period	2 periods	3 periods
<i>Native children</i>	0,9511	0,0299	0,0121	0,0069
<i>Turkish background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,4109	0,2507	0,2344	0,1041
3-4 years	0,5047	0,2174	0,185	0,0929
5-6 years	0,5106	0,2039	0,1807	0,1048
7-8 years	0,5913	0,1731	0,155	0,0807
9 + years	0,6149	0,1219	0,1962	0,0670
<i>Iranian background and parents in the country for:</i>				
1-2 years	0,5639	0,2283	0,1700	0,0378
3-4 years	0,6543	0,1870	0,1268	0,0319
5-6 years	0,6638	0,1759	0,1241	0,0361
7-8 years	0,7305	0,1419	0,1012	0,0264
9 + years	0,7524	0,0990	0,1269	0,0217

Chilean background and parents in the country for:

1-2 years	0,7801	0,1629	0,0432	0,0138
3-4 years	0,8362	0,1233	0,0298	0,0107
5-6 years	0,8436	0,1153	0,0290	0,0121
7-8 years	0,8809	0,0883	0,0224	0,0084
9 + years	0,9038	0,0614	0,0280	0,0069
	0,7801	0,1629	0,0432	0,0138

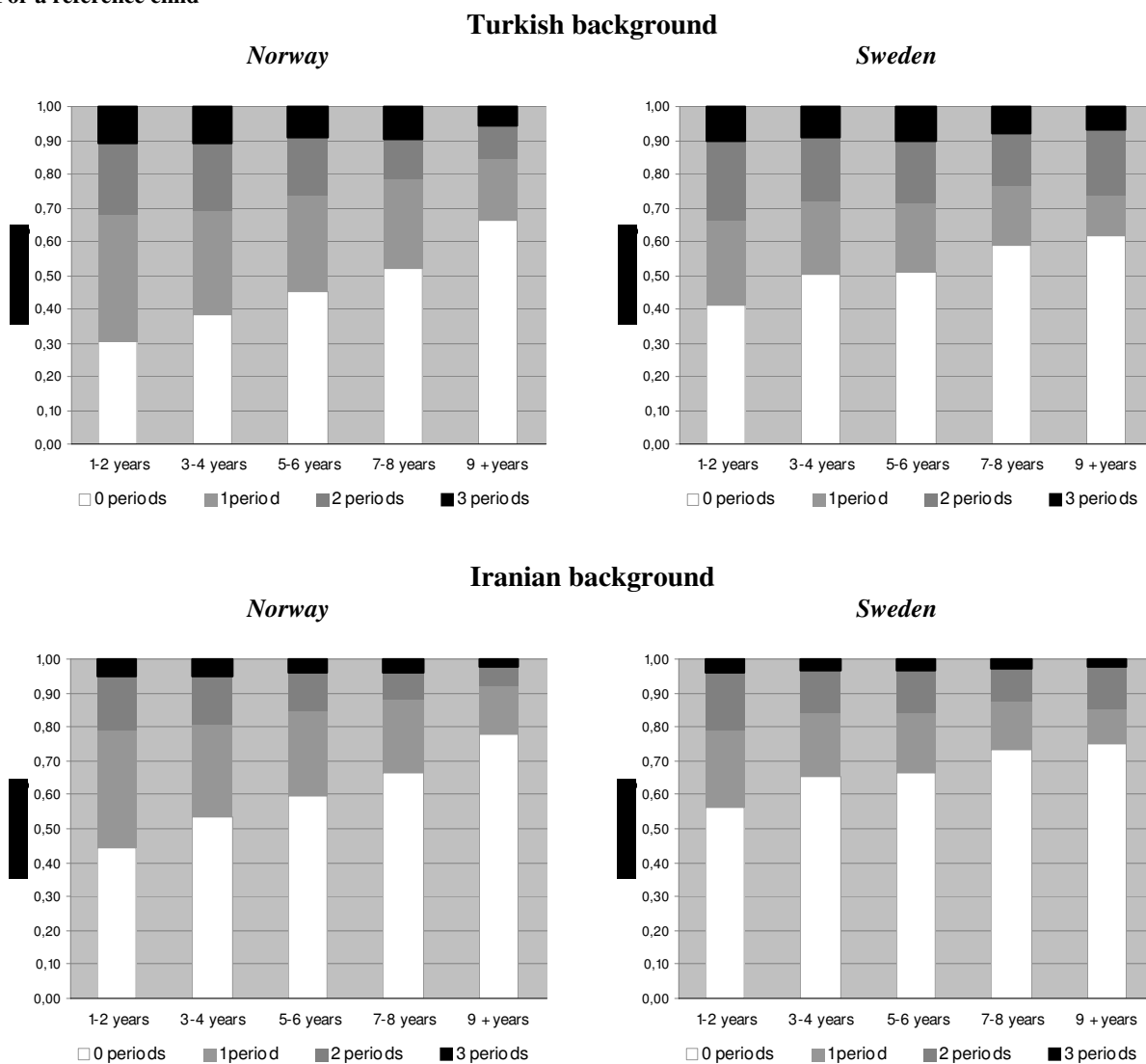
Somalian background and parents in the country for:

1-2 years	0,5783	0,1949	0,1375	0,0893
3-4 years	0,6654	0,1584	0,1016	0,0746
5-6 years	0,6697	0,1477	0,0988	0,0838
7-8 years	0,7385	0,1195	0,0807	0,0614
9 + years	0,7640	0,0837	0,1016	0,0507

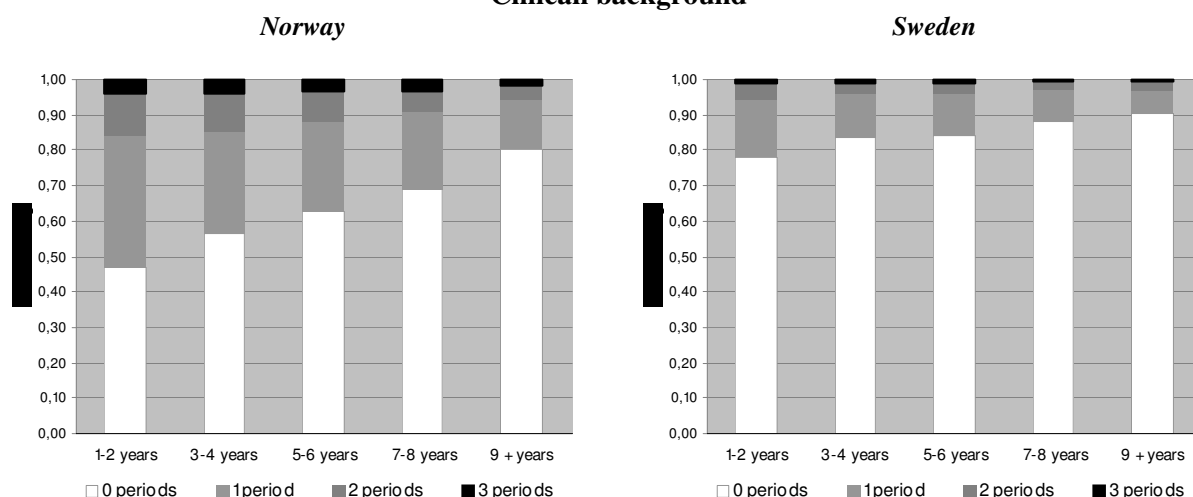
* The reference child is defined as having parents with some secondary education, eldest parent age 40, local unemployment equal to the national rate in 1993.

Figure 7. Estimated Risk of Multiple Periods of Chronic Child Poverty for Selected Ethnic Groups by Duration of Residence.

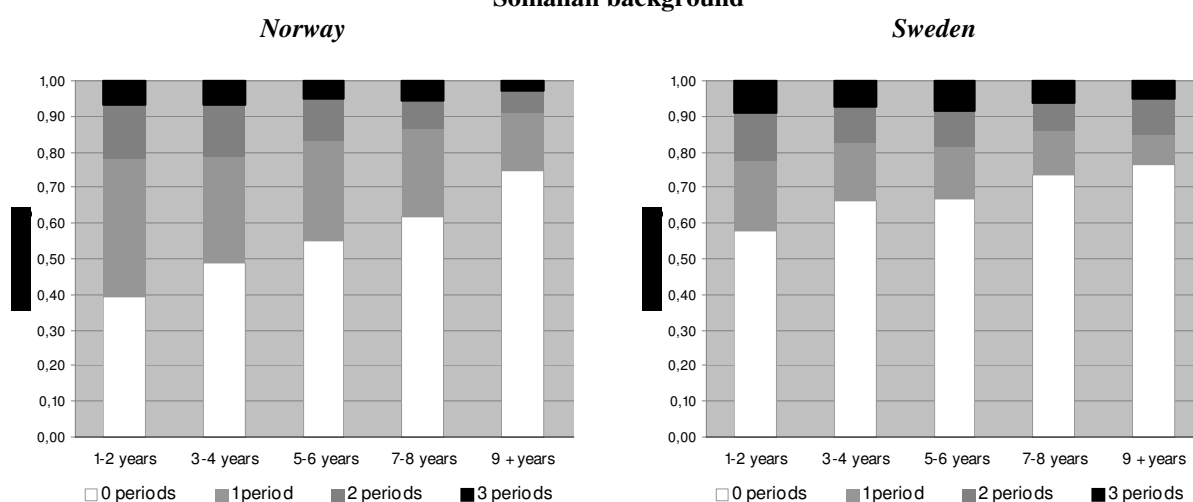
For a reference child*



Chilean background



Somalian background



* The reference child is defined as having parents with some secondary education, eldest parent age 40, local unemployment equal to the national rate in 1993.

5.3 Parents' Education and the Probability of Chronic Poverty

Tables 5 and 6 present the probability of experiencing chronic poverty in none, one or several periods based on parental educational levels for Norway and Sweden, respectively. While parents' education plays a significant role in the probability of poverty for native children as well as immigrant children, the effect of higher levels of parental education is much more pronounced for immigrant children. Immigrants with low levels of education are also much more likely to experience chronic poverty in Norway than in Sweden.

Table 5. Estimated Risk of Multiple Periods of Chronic Child Poverty for Selected Ethnic Groups by Parents' Education. Norway.
For a reference child*

	Risk of Experiencing Chronic Poverty in:			
	0 periods	1 period	2 periods	3 periods
<i>Native children</i>				
Compulsory education	0,8735	0,0796	0,0325	0,0144
Short secondary education	0,9477	0,0367	0,0117	0,0039
Long secondary education	0,9758	0,0178	0,0049	0,0016
Short higher education	0,9906	0,0078	0,0014	0,0003

Long higher education	0,9808	0,0156	0,0031	0,0005
<i>Turkish background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,2493	0,2267	0,1993	0,3246
Short secondary education	0,4194	0,2568	0,1611	0,1628
Long secondary education	0,4818	0,2414	0,1447	0,1320
Short higher education	0,6723	0,1242	0,0930	0,1105
Long higher education	0,5585	0,2096	0,0953	0,1366
<i>Iranian background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,3408	0,1991	0,1750	0,2850
Short secondary education	0,5293	0,2082	0,1306	0,1320
Long secondary education	0,5915	0,1904	0,1141	0,1041
Short higher education	0,7615	0,0903	0,0677	0,0804
Long higher education	0,6632	0,1599	0,0727	0,1042
<i>Chilean background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,3422	0,1987	0,1747	0,2844
Short secondary education	0,5309	0,2075	0,1301	0,1315
Long secondary education	0,5930	0,1897	0,1137	0,1037
Short higher education	0,7627	0,0899	0,0674	0,0800
Long higher education	0,6646	0,1592	0,0724	0,1037
<i>Somalian background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,2966	0,2124	0,1868	0,3041
Short secondary education	0,4784	0,2307	0,1447	0,1462
Long secondary education	0,5415	0,2136	0,1281	0,1168
Short higher education	0,7226	0,1051	0,0788	0,0936
Long higher education	0,6163	0,1822	0,0829	0,1187

* The reference child is defined as having a parent age 40. Local unemployment is set equal to the national rate in 1993. The given educational levels are for both the mother and father. The parents of the reference immigrant child are assumed to have resided in the country for 7-8 years (as of 1993).

Table 6. Estimated Risk of Multiple Periods of Chronic Child Poverty for Selected Ethnic Groups by Parents' Education. Sweden.

For a reference child*

	Risk of Experiencing Chronic Poverty in:			
	0 periods	1 period	2 periods	3 periods
<i>Native children</i>				
Compulsory education	0,8828	0,0675	0,0281	0,0215
Short secondary education	0,9469	0,0316	0,0123	0,0091
Long secondary education	0,9511	0,0299	0,0121	0,0069
Short higher education	0,9788	0,0144	0,0042	0,0026
Long higher education	0,9923	0,0062	0,0013	0,0003
<i>Turkish background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,5799	0,1816	0,1343	0,1042
Short secondary education	0,5913	0,1731	0,1550	0,0807
Long secondary education	0,6328	0,1822	0,1146	0,0704
Short higher education	0,6909	0,1210	0,1487	0,0395
Long higher education	0,7836	0,0825	0,0904	0,0435
<i>Iranian background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,7258	0,1508	0,0889	0,0346
Short secondary education	0,7305	0,1419	0,1012	0,0264
Long secondary education	0,7597	0,1452	0,0727	0,0224
Short higher education	0,8032	0,0933	0,0914	0,0122
Long higher education	0,8729	0,0610	0,0532	0,0128
<i>Chilean background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,8755	0,0939	0,0197	0,0110
Short secondary education	0,8809	0,0883	0,0224	0,0084
Long secondary education	0,8897	0,0877	0,0157	0,0069
Short higher education	0,9218	0,0553	0,0193	0,0037
Long higher education	0,9514	0,0343	0,0107	0,0037
<i>Somalian background and parents' education level:</i>				
Compulsory education	0,7251	0,1255	0,0700	0,0794
Short secondary education	0,7385	0,1195	0,0807	0,0614
Long secondary education	0,7678	0,1222	0,0579	0,0521
Short higher education	0,8188	0,0792	0,0734	0,0285
Long higher education	0,8771	0,0510	0,0422	0,0297

* The reference child is defined as having a parent age 40. Local unemployment is set equal to the national rate in 1993. The given educational levels are for both the mother and father. The parents of the reference immigrant child are assumed to have resided in the country for 7-8 years (as of 1993).

6. Discussion

Questions for further analysis: Why does Sweden seem to 'perform' better in terms of preventing poverty for the children with the 'weakest' background (low duration of residence or low parental education)? Are immigrant families with children gaining a better foothold in the labor market in Sweden or are the differences due to more generous social assistance?

References

Blume, Kræn, Björn Gustafsson, Peder J. Pedersen and Metter Verner (2006): At the Lower End of the Table – Determinants of Poverty among Immigrants to Denmark and Sweden, forthcoming in *Journal of Ethnic and Migrant Studies*.

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Appendix

Table A.1. Child Poverty Rates in Norway and Sweden by Immigration Category. 1993-2001. Percent.

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<i>Norway</i>									
Native	8,2	7,6	7,8	7,8	7,9	7,5	7,0	7,0	7,7
HIC	14,2	13,3	13,8	13,6	13,3	13,2	12,1	12,7	13,6
MLIC	49,9	50,3	47,3	45,1	43,7	40,2	36,8	38,1	39,0
All	9,9	9,5	9,7	9,7	9,8	9,4	8,8	9,1	9,8
<i>Sweden</i>									
Native	6,7	6,2	6,8	8,3	8,4	8,1	8,2	7,9	7,8
HIC	12,1	12,7	14,5	16,0	16,6	19,0	18,9	19,6	20,0
MLIC	32,0	35,4	40,3	42,1	42,3	46,2	48,6	47,3	46,3
All	9,7	9,6	10,7	12,5	13,2	13,7	14,5	14,5	14,7

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table A.2. Child Poverty Entrance Rates by Immigration Category. 1993-2001. Norway and Sweden. Percent

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<i>Norway</i>									
Natives	3,1	3,5	3,6	3,6	3,4	3,1	3,4	3,9	3,1
HIC	4,8	5,7	5,6	5,5	5,4	4,7	5,7	6,5	4,8
MLIC	18,7	20,4	20,2	19,2	15,8	13,5	14,2	16,0	18,7
<i>Sweden</i>									
Natives	1,9	2,6	3,1	2,9	2,3	2,9	2,0	2,4	1,9
HIC	4,8	5,3	5,6	4,6	5,0	5,3	3,9	5,0	4,8
MLIC	13,1	16,4	15,6	13,0	13,8	16,0	12,2	13,5	13,1

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table A.3. Child Poverty Exit Rates by Immigration Category. 1993-2001. Percent

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
<i>Norway</i>									
Natives	42,6	41,0	44,7	42,6	43,8	44,3	42,9	40,5	42,6
HIC	37,1	35,1	38,6	36,8	37,2	40,5	35,9	34,7	37,1
MLIC	22,5	25,0	26,4	25,3	26,7	28,8	27,1	24,1	22,5
<i>Sweden</i>									
Natives	37,6	33,4	30,7	31,1	41,5	36,5	43,6	39,6	37,6
HIC	35,7	31,3	30,7	30,2	36,3	30,8	33,8	31,8	35,7
MLIC	25,0	21,2	20,9	22,0	29,0	17,8	21,5	21,6	25,0

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table A.4 Children Age 0-9* by Number of Years of Poverty in Period 1993-2001. Percent.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
<i>Norway</i>											
Native	74,6	9,9	5,0	3,2	2,2	1,6	1,2	0,9	0,7	0,7	100,0
HIC	65,9	11,6	6,8	4,6	3,2	2,3	1,8	1,4	1,2	1,3	100,0
MLIC	24,4	10,5	9,0	8,8	8,3	8,0	7,3	7,2	7,8	8,7	100,0
All											

<i>Sweden</i>											
Native	80,7	6,6	3,6	2,6	1,7	1,5	1,1	0,7	0,6	0,8	100,0
HIC	66,2	10,4	5,4	4,9	3,4	2,2	2,0	1,9	1,6	2,0	100,0
MLIC	33,6	10,8	6,4	6,6	8,2	7,1	5,7	6,7	7,3	7,6	100,0
All											

* Age 0-9 years in 1993.

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table A.5. Children Age 0-9* by Number of Periods of Chronic Poverty in Period 1993-2001. Percent.

	0	1	2	3	Total
<i>Norway</i>					
Natives	87,5	7,6	3,2	1,7	100,0
HIC	81,7	10,8	4,7	2,9	100,0
MLIC	39,1	21,4	18,3	21,3	100,0
<i>Sweden</i>					
Natives	89,6	5,5	2,8	2,1	100,0
HIC	81	8,5	5,9	4,6	100,0
MLIC	48,6	12	16,3	23,1	100,0

* Age 0-9 years in 1993.

Native children have two native-born parents. MLIC refers to children with background from a Middle- or Low-Income Country. HIC refers to children with background from a High-Income Country. See Section 2 for further details on these definitions.

Table A.5. Multinomial Logit estimating number of years in chronic poverty. Zero years in poverty is the comparison group. Children from Middle- and Low-Income Countries. Norway.

	Chronic Poverty in 1 Period			Chronic Poverty in 2 Periods			Chronic Poverty in 3 Periods		
	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z
No father	-0,3477	0,0565	0,0000	-0,6355	0,0631	0,0000	-1,1170	0,0700	0,0000
Father No education information	0,5917	0,3265	0,0700	0,8507	0,3268	0,0090	0,3264	0,3471	0,3470
Father Secondary education le 2 years	-0,0166	0,0535	0,7570	-0,0883	0,0574	0,1240	-0,1484	0,0568	0,0090
Father Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,1308	0,0624	0,0360	-0,2551	0,0702	0,0000	-0,4359	0,0723	0,0000
Father University lt 3 years	-0,3964	0,0711	0,0000	-0,3425	0,0780	0,0000	-0,6595	0,0835	0,0000
Father University ge 3 years	-0,8117	0,1297	0,0000	-0,7531	0,1457	0,0000	-0,8275	0,1451	0,0000
No Mother	-0,0989	0,1424	0,4870	-0,0164	0,1474	0,9110	-0,2103	0,1563	0,1790
Mother No education information	-0,2658	0,4132	0,5200	0,0128	0,4095	0,9750	0,3045	0,3953	0,4410
Mother Secondary education le 2 years	-0,2648	0,0605	0,0000	-0,4783	0,0685	0,0000	-0,7743	0,0745	0,0000
Mother Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,1997	0,0657	0,0020	-0,6368	0,0801	0,0000	-0,8993	0,0878	0,0000
Mother University lt 3 years	-0,7823	0,0802	0,0000	-1,0008	0,0922	0,0000	-1,2418	0,0985	0,0000
Mother University ge 3 years	-0,7859	0,1658	0,0000	-1,5276	0,2388	0,0000	-1,4622	0,2268	0,0000
Parent's age in 1993	0,0126	0,0029	0,0000	0,0174	0,0031	0,0000	0,0313	0,0031	0,0000
Child 0-3 years of age in 1993	0,1679	0,0383	0,0000	0,1820	0,0416	0,0000	0,2730	0,0422	0,0000
More than 2 children	0,6230	0,0411	0,0000	1,1295	0,0441	0,0000	1,6371	0,0453	0,0000
More siblings during the period	0,1823	0,0407	0,0000	0,5138	0,0442	0,0000	0,7385	0,0451	0,0000
Local unemployment rate in 1993	0,0808	0,0286	0,0050	0,3599	0,0339	0,0000	0,3254	0,0349	0,0000
Serbia	-0,2108	0,1117	0,0590	-0,3592	0,1160	0,0020	-0,4420	0,1176	0,0000
Marokko	0,2917	0,1151	0,0110	0,3073	0,1144	0,0070	0,0150	0,1145	0,8960
Somalia	-0,2390	0,1256	0,0570	-0,5684	0,1337	0,0000	-0,7368	0,1386	0,0000
Sri Lanka	-1,0095	0,1009	0,0000	-1,6448	0,1211	0,0000	-2,2421	0,1434	0,0000
India	-0,8406	0,1098	0,0000	-1,0757	0,1231	0,0000	-1,4073	0,1343	0,0000
Iran	-0,4427	0,0995	0,0000	-0,6646	0,1075	0,0000	-1,1019	0,1200	0,0000
Pakistan	0,5465	0,0768	0,0000	0,5244	0,0780	0,0000	0,7511	0,0755	0,0000
Vietnam	-0,1513	0,0786	0,0540	-0,5274	0,0836	0,0000	-0,9422	0,0867	0,0000
Chile	-0,4489	0,0979	0,0000	-1,0238	0,1147	0,0000	-1,3826	0,1315	0,0000
Other ethnic background	-0,5617	0,0775	0,0000	-0,6956	0,0810	0,0000	-0,6874	0,0806	0,0000
Parents in the country 3-4 years	-0,4420	0,0820	0,0000	-0,2823	0,0863	0,0010	-0,2025	0,0907	0,0260
Parents in the country 5-6 years	-0,6587	0,0759	0,0000	-0,6062	0,0812	0,0000	-0,5698	0,0854	0,0000
Parents in the country 7-8 years	-0,8809	0,0910	0,0000	-1,1074	0,1028	0,0000	-0,6316	0,1027	0,0000
Parents in the country 9 or more years	-1,4925	0,0774	0,0000	-1,5638	0,0832	0,0000	-1,4131	0,0860	0,0000
Constant	-0,2413	0,1807	0,1820	-1,8457	0,2046	0,0000	-2,4677	0,2097	0,0000

Table A.6. Multinomial Logit estimating number of years in chronic poverty. Zero years in poverty is the comparison group. Native born parents. Norway.

	Chronic Poverty in 1 Period			Chronic Poverty in 2 Periods			Chronic Poverty in 3 Periods		
	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z	Coeff.	Std.Err.	P > z
No father	0,0895	0,0183	0,0000	0,0674	0,0254	0,0080	0,0630	0,0327	0,0540
Father No education information	0,0718	0,1913	0,7070	0,1084	0,2633	0,6800	-1,6827	0,7175	0,0190
Father Secondary education le 2 years	-0,2515	0,0143	0,0000	-0,2703	0,0199	0,0000	-0,3175	0,0256	0,0000
Father Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,5797	0,0154	0,0000	-0,7367	0,0223	0,0000	-0,8920	0,0298	0,0000
Father University lt 3 years	-1,0285	0,0218	0,0000	-1,2057	0,0329	0,0000	-1,4012	0,0455	0,0000
Father University ge 3 years	-1,3484	0,0380	0,0000	-1,8358	0,0679	0,0000	-2,2754	0,1068	0,0000
No Mother	-0,1948	0,0410	0,0000	-0,3422	0,0602	0,0000	-0,5463	0,0855	0,0000
Mother No education information	-0,9764	0,3023	0,0010	-1,6782	0,5875	0,0040	-0,0159	0,3911	0,9680
Mother Secondary education le 2 years	-0,2748	0,0142	0,0000	-0,3668	0,0196	0,0000	-0,5069	0,0251	0,0000
Mother Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,5797	0,0166	0,0000	-0,8008	0,0242	0,0000	-0,9345	0,0320	0,0000
Mother University lt 3 years	-1,1032	0,0218	0,0000	-1,4630	0,0338	0,0000	-1,6745	0,0464	0,0000
Mother University ge 3 years	-1,5526	0,0670	0,0000	-2,1273	0,1280	0,0000	-2,9357	0,2534	0,0000
Parent's age in 1993	-0,0271	0,0009	0,0000	-0,0010	0,0013	0,4170	0,0151	0,0017	0,0000
Child 0-3 years of age in 1993	0,2197	0,0098	0,0000	0,4030	0,0143	0,0000	0,6212	0,0195	0,0000
More than 2 children	0,8963	0,0106	0,0000	1,2944	0,0150	0,0000	1,7549	0,0199	0,0000
More siblings during the period	0,4456	0,0103	0,0000	0,7707	0,0151	0,0000	0,9664	0,0203	0,0000
Local unemployment rate in 1993	0,0631	0,0057	0,0000	0,1221	0,0084	0,0000	0,1472	0,0112	0,0000
Constant	-1,5793	0,0456	0,0000	-3,7646	0,0662	0,0000	-5,3262	0,0883	0,0000

Table A.7. Multinomial Logit estimating number of years in chronic poverty. Zero years in poverty is the comparison group. Children from Middle- and Low-Income Countries. Sweden.

	1	Coef.	Std.	P> z	2	Coef.	Std.	P> z	3	Coef.	Std.	P> z
Parent's age in 1993		0,0062	0,0128	0,6300		-0,0469	0,0139	0,0010		-0,0314	0,0137	0,0220
<i>Reference: Turkey</i>												
Eastern Europe and Russia		-1,2312	0,4026	0,0020		-1,6056	0,3978	0,0000		-1,8634	0,4429	0,0000
SubSahara and Etiopia		-1,1897	0,3888	0,0020		-1,2869	0,3616	0,0000		-1,7701	0,3738	0,0000
Arabcountries		-0,1387	0,3183	0,6630		-0,3235	0,2934	0,2700		-0,1430	0,2803	0,6100
Chile		-1,0719	0,3658	0,0030		-2,3316	0,4522	0,0000		-2,6636	0,4787	0,0000
South America		-1,2759	0,4838	0,0080		-2,1972	0,5555	0,0000		-2,3283	0,5704	0,0000
Iraq		-0,6962	0,3639	0,0560		-0,6742	0,3316	0,0420		-0,8464	0,3269	0,0100
Iran		-0,4100	0,3329	0,2180		-0,6376	0,3197	0,0460		-1,3284	0,3458	0,0000
Somalia		-0,5933	0,4838	0,2200		-0,8752	0,4688	0,0620		-0,4953	0,4261	0,2450
Asia		-0,5793	0,3356	0,0840		-1,2747	0,3322	0,0000		-0,8404	0,3057	0,0060
Single parent in 1993		-0,4298	0,1971	0,0290		-1,1911	0,2437	0,0000		-1,4489	0,2592	0,0000
More than 2 children		0,3786	0,1685	0,0250		0,7822	0,1760	0,0000		1,3986	0,1857	0,0000
Child 0-3 years of age in 1993		0,3570	0,1604	0,0260		0,5733	0,1632	0,0000		1,0060	0,1700	0,0000
More siblings during the period		0,3418	0,1834	0,0620		0,5473	0,1813	0,0030		1,2091	0,1800	0,0000
<i>Reference: Parents in the county 1-2 years</i>												
Parents in the country 3-4 years		-0,3481	0,1935	0,0720		-0,4422	0,1954	0,0240		-0,3198	0,1938	0,0990
Parents in the country 5-6 years		-0,4239	0,2321	0,0680		-0,4775	0,2444	0,0510		-0,2101	0,2483	0,3970
Parents in the country 7-8 years		-0,7342	0,3287	0,0260		-0,7776	0,3449	0,0240		-0,6188	0,3434	0,0720
Parents in the country 9 or more years		-1,1237	0,3143	0,0000		-0,5809	0,2814	0,0390		-0,8437	0,2938	0,0040
No mother		-0,0818	0,6948	0,9060		-0,1427	0,6955	0,8370		0,5394	0,6206	0,3850
No father		0,4486	0,4347	0,3020		0,8236	0,4661	0,0770		1,9666	0,4724	0,0000
Mother Secondary education le 2 years		-0,0690	0,2013	0,7320		-0,1363	0,2041	0,5040		0,0760	0,2051	0,7110
Mother Secondary education ge 3 years		0,0994	0,2971	0,7380		-0,4994	0,3594	0,1650		0,1976	0,3545	0,5770
Mother University It 3 years		-0,4215	0,2587	0,1030		-0,2523	0,2547	0,3220		-0,3005	0,2840	0,2900
Mother University ge 3 years		-0,8690	0,4875	0,0750		-0,7412	0,4736	0,1180		-0,4250	0,5185	0,4120
Mother No education infomation		0,4286	0,3557	0,2280		0,5045	0,3609	0,1620		0,8692	0,3309	0,0090
Father Secondary education le 2 years		0,0016	0,2090	0,9940		0,2599	0,2105	0,2170		-0,3517	0,2099	0,0940
Father Secondary education ge 3 years		-0,1833	0,3038	0,5460		0,2532	0,3020	0,4020		-0,6768	0,3447	0,0500
Father University It 3 years		-0,1601	0,2498	0,5220		0,1787	0,2528	0,4800		-0,8453	0,2754	0,0020
Father University ge 3 years		-0,2217	0,3609	0,5390		0,0444	0,3756	0,9060		-0,7491	0,3965	0,0590
Father No education infomation		0,6908	0,3621	0,0560		0,6505	0,3772	0,0850		-0,1280	0,3840	0,7390

Unemployed in the LLM in 1993	0,0381	0,0722	0,5970	0,0717	0,0739	0,3320	0,1845	0,0731	0,0120
_cons	-0,9863	0,8278	0,2330	0,6044	0,8396	0,4720	-1,3561	0,8457	0,1090

Table A.8. Multinomial Logit estimating number of years in chronic poverty. Zero years in poverty is the comparison group. Native born parents. Sweden.

	1	2	3
	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
	Std.	Std.	Std.
	P> z	P> z	P> z
Parent's age in 1993	0,0111	0,0195	0,0420
Single parent in 1993	0,3299	-0,1396	-0,6107
More than 2 children	0,8148	1,3943	1,3256
Child 0-3 years of age in 1993	0,1675	0,1312	0,4747
More siblings during the period	0,7535	1,0065	0,8248
No mother			2284691,
	2,3089	3,2587	-27,6441
No father	1,1844	2,0573	0000
Mother Secondary education le 2 years	-0,5509	-0,5490	1,0446
Mother Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,4476	-0,2974	0,5311
Mother University lt 3 years	-0,7938	-0,6841	0,1805
Mother University ge 3 years	-1,7525	-1,1975	-0,7528
Mother No education infomation	-1,8425	-1,3445	0,2990
Father Secondary education le 2 years	-0,2774	-0,3481	0,2707
Father Secondary education ge 3 years	-0,4416	-0,6191	0,4320
Father University lt 3 years	-0,8561	-1,3152	0,0010
Father University ge 3 years	-0,7500	-2,0284	0,6390
Father No education infomation	0,0274	0,2470	1,1601
Unemployed in the municipality in 1993	-0,0158	0,0188	0,1804
_cons	-2,8856	-4,3814	-5,3356