THE GOVERNANCE AND LOCAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND EUROPE'S REFUGEES

WORK PACKAGE 2: SWEDEN AND MALMO

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The current ‘migration crisis’ presents openings and well as challenges. The aim of GLIMER is to generate research that will help European cities and regions facilitate the long term inclusion of displaced people in a way that remakes local spaces.

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1. APPROACHES TO ASYLUM AND INTEGRATION IN SWEDEN

In a historical perspective, Sweden has transformed from being a country of emigration to one of immigration. Top emigration rates were reached in the 1880s. Immigration has exceeded emigration since 1931, but it didn’t really take off until after the Second World War (Nilsson 2004). The proportion of foreign born residents in Sweden in 1930 was less than one per cent; in 2016 it reached almost 18 per cent. Over this period of time, the approaches to asylum and integration have shifted. In the early post-war period, in particularly from the early 1950s to the late 1960s, the national borders were ‘open’ and most immigration was categorised as labour immigration. It was dominated by immigration from European countries. After this, from the early 1970s and until the late 2000s, labour immigration was very limited. The 1980s is usually described as the decade when immigration to Sweden shifted to non-European and refugee immigration. This is also the decade when the Swedish government reformed the system for the integration of refugees. In Sweden, on both policy and operational levels, there is a distinct separation between the reception of asylum seekers and the integration of refugees and their families. While the reception of asylum seekers has always been the responsibility of the state, between 1985 and 2010 the reception of refugees was transferred from state to local authorities. The Swedish welfare model, as it developed after the Second World War, has meant that civil society organisations have played a marginal role in the reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees. As the model have transformed, in particularly since the 1990s, the role of civil society organisations has changed. Below, we describe the shifting approaches to asylum and integration divided into three periods.

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1. In a long-term historical perspective, the development of Sweden has, of course, depended on immigration (see e.g. Harrison 2016).
1.1 FROM 1945 TO THE 1970s

In Swedish immigration history, the period after the Second World War and up until the oil crisis in the early 1970s is typically depict as a period of labour immigration. Although the relation between labour immigration and refugee immigration is contested, in Sweden the development of social rights and integration for refugees and their families must be understood in relation to how rights of labour migrants developed during this period. The early welfare state schemes were established to protect Swedes in Sweden, but after the Second World War foreign citizens, labour migrants and refugees alike, gained access to social rights and welfare services. Central to this development was the alliance between the ruling Social Democratic Party and the national confederation of Swedish trade unions (Landsorganisationen i Sverige, LO).

Many refugees left Sweden after the second world war, and very few new refugees arrived. At the same time, Sweden experienced economic growth, a booming industry and a labour power shortage. Already as the war was about to end, the Swedish government established an agreement with the Nordic countries about labour contracting of Nordic citizens. Building on this, in 1954, a common Nordic labour market was established. Nordic citizens could work and take up residence in other Nordic countries under the same conditions as national citizens. While the agreement was mutual, in practice it functioned to supply the Swedish labour market with workers, in principal from Finland (Byström and Frohnert 2017).

However, the Nordic immigration did not cover the labour shortage in Sweden. The Swedish government was cautious about opening up the borders for labour immigrations, not least on nationalist protectionist grounds (Johansson, J. 2008; Johansson, C. 2005; Byström 2012). Nevertheless, in 1946 the government appointed a group to prepare the recruitment of foreign labour (Beredningen för utländsk arbetskraft) and in 1948 a new authority, the Swedish Labour Market Board (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, AMS) was established to manage labour market issues, including labour immigration as well as the reception of refugees and the selection of quota refugees (Byström 2012).

Swedish ‘labour import’ started slowly in 1947 (from e.g. Italy, Austria, Hungary), and from the early 1950s until 1967 the borders were in practice open for labour immigration. Over this period of time, 1950–1970, foreign born tripled from 200 000 to 538 000 in Sweden, Finnish born being the largest group (Nilsson 2004). In line with ideas central to the Swedish welfare state model – equality and universalism – it was established that foreign, also non-Nordic, residents should have the possibility to live on the same standards as natives. This was also in line with the ideals of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Another central aspect to this development was worries that immigrant labour would lead to dumped salaries and a worsening of work conditions. Against this background, the trade unions safeguarded that immigrant labourers were contracted under the same conditions and with the same salaries as national workers. In addition to this, trade union membership was made mandatory for migrant labourers (Johansson, C. 2005; Johansson, J. 2008). It should also be mentioned though, that foreigners gained access to different segments of Swedish social services and rights at very different pace (see e.g. Rihard 2017).
From around the mid-1960s a discourse of immigration and immigrants as a societal problem grew strong; the adaptation of immigrants (invandraras anpassning) became a key topic. The discourses on the ‘immigrant problem’ (invandrarproblemet) had several grounds. One part of it had to do with a decline in the labour market, increase of immigration, and growing difficulties in finding job contracts. Additionally important was the severe housing shortage (e.g. Lundh 2010). Other factors that such as the change of immigrants’ countries of origin (e.g. Yugoslavia and Turkey), in combination with discourses of national superiority and protectionism also played a role in this development (e.g. Johansson, C. 2005; see also Mulinari and Neergaard 2004). Starting in 1967, and through a number of sequential decisions by the government and the national confederation of the trade unions, non-Nordic labour immigration was definitely stopped in 1972 (Frank 2005). The bottom line argument for this shift set focus on the equality and universality of the Swedish welfare model. In order to maintain this model building on full employment in the population, labour immigration should be regulated and assessed against the structure of the Swedish labour market and labour force, including women (Frank 2005). The economic recession and the strained situation on the Swedish labour market that followed on the oil crisis and economic restructuring in the early 1970s, meant that immigration from the Nordic countries also slowed down and that return migration increased (Lundh 2010; Nilsson 2004). As labour immigration was stopped, the regulation of family reunification was liberated; family members were granted residence permit independently of labour market or supply conditions. Hence, obviously Sweden opted for another model than, for instance, the German guest worker model. At this time, the refugee immigration to come was not anticipated (Frank 2005; Byström and Frohnert 2017).

The debate on the adaptation of immigrants was influential in several ways. The government appointed the Immigrant Investigation (Invandrartredningen, IU) which worked 1968–1974. This led to the establishment of a new field in Swedish politics, namely immigrant policy (invandrarpolitik), what is usually referred to as integration policy. During the first period of debate on the immigrant issue, a political line of universalism was maintained. This meant that cultural, ethnic and religious activities and associations should stay outside the sphere of governmental intervention. However, following on the Immigrant Investigation and a governmental decision in 1975, Sweden took on a multiculturalist approach in integration politics. This has later been replaced by first a selective and then by a residual integration policy (Dahlström 2004). However, while on the rhetorical level, a number of distinct approaches to integration can be identified, in terms of implemented interventions, the Swedish approach to integration has remained rather constant. The table below, illustrate how politics have shifted over time, and that interventions started before politics was established, and once they were established most of them have remained even though politics changed.
Figure 1. Immigrant policy objectives and programmes in Sweden, 1964–2000

In international comparisons of integration politics, Sweden is typically depicted as a country with an extensive integration policy (see e.g. the work by Will Kymlicka and Keith Banting). Indeed, in the latest updated version of the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), from 2015, Sweden scores number one out of 38 countries.\(^2\) It should, however, also be recognised that Sweden scores low when labour market integration is compared (see also Brochmann and Hagelund 2011). For instance, when the difference in the employment rates between native and foreign born is compared, in Sweden huge differences are revealed. Unemployment rates are specifically higher among persons born in a non-European country and the newly arrived, but also among young persons in general (Bevelander and Pendakur 2009; Korpi and Tåhlin 2011; Dahlstedt 2017). Moreover, in a comparative European perspective, the gap is bigger for women than for men. For men, Sweden is third last after Denmark and Belgium, and for women Sweden is second last, after Denmark (OECD 2015, p. 69;).

After labour immigration stopped in the early 1970s, followed a period of relatively stable and limited net immigration, dominated by refugees and family members. Among the earlier refugee immigrations are Chileans (approx. 10 000) who came after the coup in 1973 and the so called boat refugees (approx. 6 000) from Vietnam who came after the war had ended in 1975. Large numbers of refugees have arrived from countries in the Middle East since 1975 and onwards. Since people are registered according to their nationality, important groups, such as the Kurds and Christian Assyrians are not registered in the statistics (Svanberg and Tydén 2005).

At this time, a more generous asylum policy developed. While it had emerged by way of praxis from the 1960s, in 1975 the government decided to extend the grounds for residence permit for asylum

seekers beyond the definition in the 1951 Geneva Convention. This regarded several groups, for instance, military service refusal (kriegsvägran) now became a ground for residence permit, and persons who could not go back to their country of origin could now be granted residence permit as ‘de facto refugees’. At this time, permanent residence permit was also introduced, as a measure to lessen the insecurity temporary permits implied. Of significance, not least in international comparison, is the introduction of voting rights in municipal elections for foreign residents (Byström and Frohnert 2017).
1.2 FROM THE 1980s UNTIL 2010

From the mid-1980s, asylum applications and granted residence permit grew in numbers. Below are two graphs, the first showing the growing number of asylum seekers, and the second the relation between various forms of granted residence permit.

![Graph 2: Asylum seekers per year, 1987–2015](image)

Source: DELMI (our translation).

![Graph 3: Type of residence permits, 1980–2016](image)

Source: DELMI (our translation).
The increased number of asylum seekers and refugees led to political debate of the refugee reception. The Swedish Labour Market Board (Arbetsmarknadstyrelsen, AMS) meant that the reception of asylum seekers and refugees was beyond their area of competence, and requested it to be transferred to the Swedish Immigration Agency (Statens invandrarverk, SIV). This happened in 1985 when the government implemented what has been named the Whole-of-Sweden Strategy (Hela Sverige strategin). This strategy meant that the Swedish Immigration Agency was made responsible for the reception of asylum seekers and asylum seeker facility accommodations where the asylum seekers were expected to stay for a limited period of time while their asylum application was managed. After residence permit had been granted, the responsibility was to be transferred to a municipality by way of a municipality placement (kommunplacering). The Whole-of-Sweden Strategy was meant as a way to support the integration of refugees, but also a way to disperse refugees in the country counteracting (ethnic) housing segregation in urban areas (Byström and Frohnert 2017).

However, the reception system did not live up to the demands and the Whole-of-Sweden Strategy was criticized from the beginning. One ground for critique was that the reception of refugees was transferred to local authorities’ Social Service Departments. This meant that the reception of refugees was transformed from a labour market to a social issue; refugees who could not provide for themselves were associated with social problems. From 1992 the local authorities could pay a special Introduction Allowance (introduktionsersättning) to refugees in the Introduction Program (the first two years with residence permit). This was meant to make it more rights-based like, but many municipalities continued to pay out means tested social welfare (ekonomiskt bistånd) to refugees, also during the first two years of residence. Another criticism had its ground in the high and unforeseen numbers of refugees. In 1985 nine facility accommodations (flyktingförläggningar) hosted 1 500 asylum seekers. In 1993, and in spite of a more restrictive refugee immigration since December 1989 (Luciabeslutet), around 270 refugee facility accommodations hosted 90 000 asylum seekers (Lundh and Ohlsson 2004, ref. in Byström and Frohnert 2017, p. 73), the increase of refugees was partly due to the Balkan war. On top of this, some municipalities refused to contract municipality placements for refugees with the Swedish Immigration Agency (Statens invandrarverk). Hence, many refugees with residence permit were locked-in in facility accommodation with delayed integration as a consequence. The situation was unsustainable and, after ten years, the Whole-of-Sweden Strategy was abandoned (Byström and Frohnert 2017). In 1994 it was replaced by what is often referred to as Own Housing (Eget boende, EBO).

The Own Housing strategy, implemented in 1994, meant that asylum seekers can participate in daily activities and be eligible to day allowance (dagersätting) also when they reside outside of a Facility Housing (Anläggningsboende, ABO). Moreover, a housing allowance could be paid to persons in Own Housing. The reasons for implementing Own Housing was to avoid asylum seekers’ passivity by emphasising the responsibility the asylum seeker had for him/herself. The changed regulation resulted in increased concentrations of asylum seekers and refugees to certain neighbourhoods in urban areas such Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (Boverket 2008). In Malmö, it was severely critiqued during the 2000’s, as presented below.

The 1990s is a decade of growing inequalities in Sweden, foreign born being overrepresented at the lower end of the continuum. It is also a decade of fundamental restructuring of the Swedish model of welfare. This has led to far reached ethnic and socioeconomic housing segregation. Certain neighbourhoods reached unemployment rates of 95 per cent (Schierup 2010). Overall, housing and

4. Lag 1994:137 om mottagande av asylsökande
housing segregation is a field of growing political significance, also in relation to refugee immigration and reception.

The 1990s also implied a new, at least in the political discourse, relationship between the state and civil society. Sweden has a history of a strong civil society. Historically it is typically described in terms of ‘people’s movements’ (folkrörelser) and refer as such, for instance, to the labour movement, the non-alcoholic movement, and faith based movements with roots in the nineteenth century. The concept of ‘civil society’ was introduced to Swedish politics in the 1990s as a critique of the relation between the labour movement and the Social Democratic Party (Amnå 2005). This same vein of debate, also problematized that civil society organisations in Sweden, as in the Nordic countries more generally, was comparatively weak in the production of social services. In 2009 the Swedish governmental policy on people’s movement was replaced by a policy on civil society (Prop. 2009/10:55). This policy shift entails a growing emphasis on engaging civil society in the social service production and integration work through dialogues and agreements with relevant organisations. A first agreement with regard to social services was signed by the government, civil society organisations within the social field, and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (Sveriges kommuner och landsting, SKL) in 2008, and a second regarding integration work was signed by the government, civil society organisations in the integration field, and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (Sveriges kommuner och landsting, SKL) in 2010. This shift was of significance during and after the immigration of refugees and asylum seekers in 2015.

5. Överenskommelsen mellan regeringen, idéburna organisationer inom det sociala området och Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (government decision id.nr. JJ2008/2110/UF).
6. Överenskommelsen mellan regeringen, idéburna organisationer inom integrationsområdet och Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (government decision id.nr. JJ2010/2235/UF)
1.3 FROM 2010 ONWARDS

Following on the critique of the reception of refugees at the municipal level, the government reformed the system in 2010: The Establishment Program. Since then, the reception of refugees and their families is again the responsibility of a state agency, the Swedish Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen, former Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, AMS). The reception of asylum seekers has with some exceptions remained with the Swedish Migration Agency.

The number of asylum seekers arriving to Sweden has grown since 2012. As many other European countries, Sweden experienced the arrival of an unparalleled number of asylum seekers in 2015 when 162 877 people applied for asylum in Sweden.

![Image of asylum seekers in Sweden, January 2010–December 2017](image)

**Figure 4.** Asylum seekers in Sweden, January 2010–December 2017
Source: Swedish Migration Agency (our translation).

Among the asylum seekers, the proportion of men in relation to women has slightly grown over this period of time. Most significantly, the number of unaccompanied minors have grown. In 2015 every second asylum seeking minor, arrived without a legal guardian.
In 2015 the largest group of asylum seekers came from Syria, followed by Afghanistan and Iraq. The increase of unaccompanied minors, is dominated by Afghanistan as country of origin. In 2015, 23 480 unaccompanied minors came from Afghanistan, 3 777 from Syria, and 2 058 from Somalia (Parusel 2016).

Table 1. Asylum seekers in Sweden, 2011–2015
Source: Swedish Migration Agency, in Parusel 2016

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2015 (%)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29,648</td>
<td>43,887</td>
<td>54,259</td>
<td>81,301</td>
<td>162,877</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>10,708</td>
<td>16,142</td>
<td>19,496</td>
<td>26,484</td>
<td>48,149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>18,940</td>
<td>27,745</td>
<td>34,763</td>
<td>54,817</td>
<td>114,728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>9,699</td>
<td>14,151</td>
<td>16,452</td>
<td>23,110</td>
<td>70,384</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which unaccompanied minors</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>3,578</td>
<td>3,852</td>
<td>7,049</td>
<td>35,369</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 2. Main countries of origin among asylum seekers in Sweden, 2011–2015
Listed by order of share in 2015
Source: Swedish Migration Agency, in Parusel 2016

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2015 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>7,814</td>
<td>16,317</td>
<td>30,563</td>
<td>51,338</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>4,122</td>
<td>4,755</td>
<td>3,011</td>
<td>3,104</td>
<td>41,564</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,322</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>2,666</td>
<td>20,858</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>2,289</td>
<td>6,921</td>
<td>7,863</td>
<td>7,716</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>1,647</td>
<td>2,356</td>
<td>4,844</td>
<td>11,499</td>
<td>7,233</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>3,981</td>
<td>5,644</td>
<td>3,901</td>
<td>4,831</td>
<td>5,465</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>1,172</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>4,560</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>1,156</td>
<td>1,699</td>
<td>2,615</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>1,209</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>1,779</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29,648</td>
<td>43,887</td>
<td>54,259</td>
<td>81,301</td>
<td>162,877</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The comparatively high numbers of asylum seekers in the fall of 2015 caused massive pressure on the reception system for asylum seekers, for instance regarding registering and providing housing and material support. Arguing that society was facing a “collapse” in November 2015 the Social Democrat and Green coalition government presented measures intended to decrease the number of asylum seekers. These measures included the implementation of temporary identity controls at the border between Sweden and Denmark. This meant that you could not cross the border without a valid identity card and stands in stark contrast to the Nordic agreement of free mobility formalised in 1954 as well as to free mobility within the Schengen Area. In practice, the border was closed for asylum seekers, hence the drop of asylum seekers visible in the graph above. Later, in June 2016, new measures also included the introduction of temporary residence permits for refugees, except quota refugees. Several restrictions on family reunification was introduced in July 2016, including for persons with temporary residence permits and without means to economically support their family members. Additionally, in this context, the possibility of ‘changing track’, from asylum seeker to labour migrant that was made possible through the law on labour immigration introduced in 2008, implies a lowered threshold for asylum seekers in low-pay sectors such as service, domestic, and construction work, Politically this implies a big change in Sweden when the borders between labour immigration and refugee immigration becomes officially more blurred (Sager and Öberg 2017).

This political shift was very controversial for other reasons as well; permanent residence permits and family reunification had been central to the Swedish approach to refugee and migrant integration. It should be mentioned that while these measures are considered extreme and have caused aggressive debates in Sweden, they are not new. The government took on similar measures in the 1990s to diminish the number of asylum seekers from the Balkans.

The reformed system for reception of refugees, the Establishment Program (etableringsprogrammet), aimed at strengthening the emphasis on labour market integration. Persons between the age of 20 and 65 with a residence permit as a refugee, quota refugee or as a person in need of protection, and their family members, can be included in the program that lasts for 24 months. The Swedish Employment Service allot full time activities, for instance Swedish classes, and participants are eligible to an allowance.

A political concern that has grown over time regards housing for asylum seekers and refugees. It is, in part, grounded in worries about the increasing socioeconomic and ethnic housing segregation, and it is linked with a long-standing critique of the Own Housing system for asylum seekers described above. But is also grounded in a concern about that many refugees remain in asylum seeker facility accommodations long after they have a residence permit. Some, but too few, municipalities have voluntary agreements about refugee reception with the Swedish Migration Agency. Hence, in March 2016 the government implemented a law on the allocation of refugees to municipalities. This law stipulates that municipalities must receive and find housing for allocated refugees, even though there is no voluntary agreement with the Swedish Migration Agency. It aims both at facilitating the integration of refugees and dispersing the burden of refugee reception among the municipalities.

8. For details, see: Lag 2010:197 om etableringsinsatser för vissa nyanlända invandrare.
9. Lag 2016:38 om mottagande av vissa nyanlända invandrare för bosättning, often referred to as the Settlement Act (Bosättningslagen).
Another major concern regards unaccompanied minors. This concern is on the one hand grounded in the special needs of this group since it regards children without legal guardian. On the other hand, there is a concern about large numbers of unaccompanied minors. In 2015, when Sweden received 35,000 unaccompanied minors, Germany received second largest numbers, 14,400 unaccompanied minors. The introduction of identification card controls on the border to Denmark in the fall of 2015, is probably the main reason why the numbers of unaccompanied minors have dropped. In order to safeguard the special protection needs in this group, asylum seeking unaccompanied minors is not the responsibility of the Swedish Migration Agency, but of the municipalities, often the Social Services Department or any other unit working with child protection, also after they have received a residence permit. All unaccompanied minors have the right to a legal guardian appointed by the municipality.
2 IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM IN Malmö

Located in the south of Sweden, where the bridge since 2000 physically connects Sweden with the continent, Malmö is what we, at least by Nordic measurers, can call a gateway city. While it towards the end of the nineteenth century was a major port of emigrant departure, it is today a port of immigrant arrival. This was not least visible at the Malmö train station in the fall of 2015.

This is indeed noticeable among the people inhabiting the city. While the proportion of foreign born in Sweden on average reaches 18 per cent, in Malmö 34 per cent of the inhabitants are foreign born. In November 2017 the population in Malmö counted to 331 201 and it included 178 nationalities (Malmö stad 2017a). Out of the ten largest groups of foreign born in Malmö, are Iraq and Former Yugoslavia, together with neighbouring Denmark and Poland the biggest.

![Foreign born population in Malmö, nationalities, 2016](image)

Figure 5. 10 largest groups of foreign born residing in Malmö, 2016
Source: City of Malmö (our translation)

It is also city with a population that over two last decades has been growing at a faster pace than at both the regional and national level (Region Skåne 2017). Looking at it from a longer historical perspective, the population grew from the late nineteenth century up until the oil crisis in the early 1970s when it started to decrease due to out-migration. Population has been growing again since 1984, and more significantly so since the 2000s. The graph below shows how net migration to Malmö among native and foreign born has shifted over time. While the population decline in the 1970s depended on out-migration of native born, the increase from the 2000s primarily depend on the in-migration of foreign born to the city (Salonen 2012).
Even though Malmö has a gateway location, Stockholm and Gothenburg, the largest and second largest city in Sweden, have received larger absolute numbers of refugees. The graph below shows how the numbers of refugees are divided between the three major urban areas in relation to their population sizes. Obviously, when refugee reception is considered in relation to the population size of each city, Malmö has the largest reception of refugees, and has had so over time.
When asylum seekers are residing in Own Housing (Eget boende, EBO), they will have their municipal placement (kommunplacering) in the municipality where they are already residing. Own Housing depend on the individual’s ability to find accommodation and that in its turn relies on personal networks and know-how. The system is widely criticised for increasing housing segregation in urban areas. The graph below shows how the number of refugees from Own Housing varies in relation to the total number received in the municipal reception systems in the twenty largest municipalities in Sweden. The twenty biggest municipalities received in between three and eleven refugees per 1 000 inhabitants. Malmö received almost eight refugees per 1 000 inhabitants and almost five where already residing in Malmö at the time they received their residence permit. The following figure shows how the proportion of different categories of refugees received in Malmö has varied over time. Refugees from Own Housing has increased, as have the number of unaccompanied minors, in principal over the last few years. On February 1st, 2017, 2 794 persons waiting for a residence decision were in Own Housing in Malmö. Moreover, in 2017 Malmö was expected to receive 408 persons through the new Settlement Act (Bosättningslagen). This means that the City of Malmö is expected to provide these persons with housing (Malmö stad 2017a).

Moreover, being a city of arrival, Malmö has the responsibility of allocating the asylum seeking unaccompanied minors to other municipalities (kommunplacera). In 2015, when very high number of asylum seeking children without legal guardian arrived, almost 14 500 children were in transit and the responsibility of the City of Malmö (Malmö stad 2017b). 2015 is a great contrast to 2016, when 399 unaccompanied children arrived.
Figure 8. Reception of refugees per 1 000 inhabitants in Sweden’s 20 biggest municipalities in 2016. Source: City of Malmö (our translation).

Figure 9. Refugees received in Malmö, 2005–2016
Source: City of Malmö (our translation)
Native and foreign born are not living on equal terms and they are not equally dispersed in the city. Between 1990 and 2008 socioeconomic polarisation and ethnic segregation increased. Additionally, the neighbourhoods with poor and foreign born residents increased in relation to neighbourhoods with wealthy and native born as well as with mixed populations (Salonen 2012).

In addition, the population in Malmö is poor compared with the populations in Stockholm and Gothenburg. The table below shows that unemployment together with low levels of incomes are characteristic for Malmö. In Malmö the number of foreign born persons and persons with no access to unemployment allowance are higher than in the other cities as well as for the nation at large.

![Graph showing population share in Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg and Sweden.](image)

*Figure 10. Share of population in Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg and Sweden.*
*Source: Socialstyrelsen, Öppna jämförelser ekonomiskt bistånd (our translation)*

The city of Malmö is, in part due to its geographic location as an arrival and transit place of refugees and other migrants, a city facing challenges of inequalities and segregation. In 2016 the reception of refugees in Malmö was reviewed by the City Board of Auditors (Revisorskollegiet). The review identified a need to clarify aims and strategies for the reception of refugees and other migrants in a long-term perspective, as well as to facilitate collaboration between different bodies within the city. Additionally, the review pointed to the need to strengthen and evaluate actions for labour market integration, housing, education – specifically Swedish language education, the relation between health and employment and other dimensions of integration. To need to adjust the municipal reception of unaccompanied minors in relation to the state refunding is mentioned specifically, as well as the need of employing qualified teachers and produce study guides in the pupils’ mother tongues (Malmö stad 2017, p. 29).
2.1 INTEGRATION, NETWORKS AND GOVERNANCE IN MALMÖ

The first initiatives to manage the chaotic situation with exhausted, hungry and, sometimes, ill masses of people that arrived in Malmö as their first stop in Sweden, were civil society organisations and networks and citizens. When the City of Malmö and the Swedish Migration Agency responded to the situation, a tented reception centre was raised next to the Central Station offering, among other things, cooking facilities, a playground for the children, showers and toilets to the newly arrived asylum seekers. The early initiatives by civil society organisations and networks and citizens was perceived as outstanding; this is not how things are usually managed in the Swedish welfare state context where the responsibility is put on the state – not on private initiatives nor civil society. Hence, while civil society initiatives have been celebrated, also by the municipality and region, it is also significant that as the City of Malmö in a report mapping the refugee reception in Malmö, and make a list of important actors, civil society actors are not mentioned (Malmö stad 2017b). Yet, especially since the fall of 2015, several initiatives have been taken to increase the collaboration between public and civil society initiatives. There is however, no published report or review to rely on in order to describe this. Obviously, this will be an important contribution of the GLIMER project.

In wake of the fall of 2015, a regional agreement to support the integration of asylum seekers and refugees (Regional överenskommelse (RÖK) för att underlätta asylsökandes och nyanländas etablering) was concluded between, primarily, public agencies. The network for civil society organisation (Nätverket idéburen sektor) was included to represent civil society. The regional agreement relies on Partnership Skåne (Partnerskap Skåne) and is a way to formulate common goals in the reception and facilitate collaboration between various actors. These common goals are formulated in program declaration.\(^{10}\)

Following on the government policy of a civil society, adopted in 2009 and briefly described above, followed initiatives of implementation on regional and local levels. In Malmö this work was initiated in 2014. On initiative of the Malmö umbrella organisation for civil society organisations (Malmö ideella paraplyorganisation, MIP), the city directory (kommunstyrelsen) decided to support an agreement between the city and civil society organisation within the social field. Next step in the process was taken in March 2016, when the city decided to finance the work leading up to an agreement. This work proceeded over the fall of 2016 and the spring of 2017, and in May 2017 an agreement was signed by the city mayor (kommunstyrelsens ordförande). The agreement has the name ‘The Malmö Spirit’ (Malmöändan) and is an agreement of commitment between civil society organisations and the City of Malmö on what ethics collaborations in Malmö shall build on. As the City of Malmö currently is reviewing its system for the reception of refugees, civil society organisations are consulted on the basis of the Malmö Spirit agreement.

Other examples of how the integration is managed in Malmö is the MILSA project, a support platform for migration and health. It is run by a network of stakeholders who in different ways encounter

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11. ‘Överenskommelsen Malmöändan – en processbeskrivning’ (Agreement Malmö Spirit- a process description), link: http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b15cd_ec22b8e3b99546ee8a4a9fc2cbfd16a6.pdf
12. ‘Överenskommelsen för samverkan mellan idéburen sektor i Malmö och Malmö stad. För ökad demokrati, delaktighet och jämlighet i Malmö’, http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/0b15cd_f2d5f2f84df84381a26fa72807de2c87.pdf
issues related to health among refugees. MILSA also focuses on gender equality, and on mothers as important actors to improve the health of children, the education for better health and sports activities. There are also projects focused on language training and on extending the contact surface between refugees and established residents (I Malmö möts vi). In cooperation with the city there are many In cooperation with the city there are many projects targeting children and youth who are accompanied accommodated in family homes (e.g. Yalla jämställda barn), projects in cooperation the Children, the region and the city of Helsingborg to work out routines for the management of unaccompanied children that disappear, for example while waiting for an asylum decision (Inga Barn skall försvinna).
3. AN OVERVIEW OF THE WP TOPICS IN MÅLÖ

WP3: URBAN REGENERATION, ACCOMMODATION AND EXCLUSION

The backdrop to the socio-economic and ethnic segregation in Malmö is described as a series of events. Generally, socioeconomic and ethnic housing segregation emerged as a political problem in 1970s, as the Million Housing Program (Miljonprogrammet) was in the making. Malmö was hit severely by de-industrialization, from the late 1960s until the 1980s; the manufacturing industry, textile and clothing industry, the cement industry and the shipyard industry were either closed down or severely decreased. The population decreased due to out-migration of native born. It was at this time, that Malmö started to consider the inequalities in city. The native born population had an employment rate of 70 per cent, only slightly below the national average. The foreign born population was employed to an extent less than half of the native born, it reached only 34 per cent (Emlisson 2012). The economic crisis in the 1990s added on as unemployment rates increased. In addition, there were in-migration of foreign born, for instance refugees from former Yugoslavia. Hence, socioeconomic and ethnic housing segregation increased (Salonen 2012). Malmö started its transform from an industrial city to a ‘knowledge-intensive economy’ comparatively late. This has, in part, involved the branding of Malmö as knowledge based city moving away from images of a failed industrial city, and instead nurturing discourses of Malmö as the network city, the urban entrepreneurialism, flexibility, creativity, centre of the region, an enhanced focus on the region and also with important new markers in the infrastructure such as Malmö university, the new neighbourhood Västra hamnen (Western Harbour) which has replaced the former industrial shipping harbour with housing close to the water and the controversial skyscraper Turning Torso (Möllerström 2011; Emlisson 2012).

A motor in this regeneration process, was the former mayor, Ilmar Reepalu (mayor of Malmö 1995-2013). Reepalu, with a background as architect, was important to the new framing of the city as a centre for knowledge, internationally connected, urban creativity and entrepreneurialism etc. (Möllerström 2011, p. 74). On a national level, Reepalu loudly and widely critiqued the Own Housing (Eget boende, EBO) for asylum seekers, which meant that Malmö received many refugees in relation to its size and population.

The Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö (Kommissionen för ett socialt hållbart Malmö), often referred to as the Malmö Commission, was inspired by the WHO report ‘Closing the gap in a generation’ (CSDH 2008). The Malmö Commission appointed a number of panels with different focus areas, and which produced a number of reports on the situation in Malmö. 14 The work of the commission has no particular focus on refugees and migrants, instead, relying on the concept of social sustainability, it emphasises a focus on the city as a whole. It problematizes socioeconomic and ethnic segregation, not only by looking at the poor neighbourhoods with many foreign born, but also the wealthy neighbourhoods with many native born. In fact, these neighbourhoods tend to be more segregated.

After the introduction of the Settlement Act (Bosättningslagen) in 2016 the pressure on the municipality has increased to arrange housing for newly arrived. In Malmö Stad a group was formed with representatives from different municipal bodies, “The creative group”, the group is involved in

14. For information of the work of the commission, including links to all reports, see http://malmo.se/Kommun--politic/Sa-arbetar-vi-med../Socialt-hallbart-Malmo/Kommission-for-ett-socialt-hallbart-Malmo.html
finding new solutions for organizing housing for newly arrived. In 2017 the municipality bought apartments in locations that was regarded to be “B” (parts of the center, Möllevången) and “C” (Rosengård) locations in the city and rented these apartments to newly arrived refugees. This was however met with political criticism and stopped in the same year. Other solutions are the mobile “module apartments” that are being placed in different areas in the city, such as parking lots. While organizing and providing housing for newly arrived is the responsibility of the municipality, there are however new local initiatives in regard to housing such as the example of cooperation between the civil society and the municipality is the NGO Refugees Welcome and Malmö to match newly arrived persons need for housing with accommodation let for rent by inhabitants of Malmö. A prior version of this project was initiated in 2015 through the municipal property owners (MKB) but encountered problematic issues as the offered housings not always met a proper standard. Perspectives on housing can however be related to broader issues such as residential well-being, safety, living standards, social integration etc. Locally civil society do play an important role in relation to such issues and perform a range of activities such as supporting homework for children and after school activities such as baking, theatre activities and arranging discos. There are also examples of how civil society engage in activities aimed towards newly arrived such as providing food as well as cultural activities, these activities do not necessarily take place in segregated housing areas but in central Malmö and provide important meeting spaces. Kontrapunkt is one such example of an NGO that very early became engaged in 2015 when refugees started to arrive to Malmö central, their activities, cooking and providing food and drinks for newly arrived as well as a “fresshop” that offer clothes for free. Other activities are aimed at asylum seekers such as legal advice but there are also culture events and course activities.

Making Malmö accessible as an inclusive space for newly arrived persons is also part of how the city work strategically through its cultural institutions such as the library that offer free wifi and has increased the numbers of computers. Another example is Malmö Konsthall that invites unaccompanied minors and newly arrived children to activities at the art museum.

WP4: EDUCATION AND DEVELOPING LINGUISTIC COMPETENCES

Swedish language education for immigrants became a political question in 1965 (Dahlström 2004). Then it was a trial project on the agenda of the Swedish National Labour Agency (AMS) and carried out by the Swedish National School Board. Education in the Swedish language was not organized due to a national model or part of any larger education project but organized in study circles and about 45 000 persons participated in the first years 1965-1966.

The language training course, Swedish for immigrants (svenska för invandrare, SFI) is since 1986 the responsibility of the municipalities (Dahlström 2004). All residents in Sweden who does not speak Swedish to the level of the training, has the right to participate in the teaching free of charge. Among refugees, the language training is typically among the first activates of the Establishment Program. While municipalities are obliged to offer the language training course, it is not necessarily the municipality who organises it. There are, in fact, many, also private businesses, who organise these courses. The language training is generally critiqued for long waiting lists, low quality and low results in the sense that comparatively many participants fail to pass the tests or otherwise complete the course. It was only in 2015, when the government introduced Swedish From Day One (Svenska från dag ett), that asylum seekers could access Swedish language training. Swedish From Day One is organised in the form of non-formal adult education and organized by Folk High Schools (folkhögskolor) and Adult Education Associations (studieförbund). Besides this, in Malmö there are several so called Language Café, run by the various actors. These are meeting points between newly arrived and others who wants to train their Swedish together with volunteers.

Children of school age, both during the asylum assessment and after, have the right to go to school. Since 2013 this right also includes children with an irregular status. The prior system for children received a lot of critique (Bunar 2017) since it put a focus on the linguistic competence with little access to other subjects. Among the consequences of this system were the lack of a coherent system made it unclear when children were to be transferred to regular classes, creating local and national inequalities in this matter, the newly arrived children became socially isolated from other children and did not receive necessary education in other subjects and there was confusion regarding if the regulations on bi-lingual assistance in the classroom were to be perceived as a right or not. In 2011 the Government introduced the Introduction Program at upper secondary level allowing for newly arrived students to study according to individual plans. The program allows for a focus towards reaching the goal of completion and more flexibility in relation to the individual student’s needs in terms of level or format, the program might include taking courses also from the last year in the elementary school or becoming an apprentice in a company. Another reform was the amendment of the Educational Act in 2016 when four important components (Bunar 2017) was introduced: 1) the definition of who is a newly arrived child in relation to the educational system in Sweden, this can be a refugee, a child of a labour migrant, a child with Swedish parents born in another country etc., 2) Compulsory mapping of childrens’ prior knowledge, 3) Preparatory classes where a student can spend a maximum of two years. 4.) Reallocating hours for newly arrived children in school, hours can be allocated to be used where they are needed but the total amount of hours per year is regulated as it is for all children in the Swedish educational system (Bunar 2017).

The organized reception of newly arrived pupils refers to all who have recently arrived to Sweden, independently of cause. In Malmö, the reception of newly arrived pupils starts with a mapping of prior knowledge and school experience. This mapping is centrally co-ordinated and provide a basis for a
decision on which grade the pupil will continue in. Newly arrived children aged 6–12 years are assigned to, and do the mapping, in a school close to their housing. Children aged 13–14 go to a specialised program to receive specific support before they are assigned to the relevant school. Children who are newly arrived and 15 years old go to a central preparation school (Dammfriskolan) as they prepare to begin secondary school (gymnasiet). Children and young adults in the ages of 16–19 go to Language Introduction (språkintroduktion). In Malmö that is a one-year programme, but pupils can continue their education within the programme at various levels during four years. The programme is intended to prepare for secondary school, adult learning programmes or a professional life. In a report from 2016 some problems with the Language Introduction was identified, for instance the organization of the Language Introduction and that the classes are overcrowded. While there has been a considerable increase of the number of pupils, the increase of schools offering the language introduction programme has been modest. Most schools offering the programme are public. The schools who run the programme have problems not only to manage the high number of pupils, but also to recruit teachers. Another issue is the results: among the students who entered the programme in 2011, only 9 per cent had graduated four years later (Skolverket 2016).

In June 2017 a new law, the Secondary School Law (Gymnasielagen) was introduced. This opens up for some asylum seeking pupils, accompanied and unaccompanied alike, to receive a temporary residence permit so that they can complete school.

Moreover, in 1970 the first mother tongue language training for children aged 7–15 was organized. This training was regarded a strategic and politically important part of a multicultural society. Native language education has undergone reforms and it is more selective on who has the right to enter this education and the financial support to arrange education have been cut (Dahlström 2004).
WP5: INTEGRATION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET AND SKILLS TRAINING

In Sweden, asylum seekers have the right to work if they fulfil the requirements on identification, providing papers, passport, birth certificate etc. that are approved by the Swedish Migration Agency. All newly arrived refugees have the right work and the Swedish introduction program for refugees, the Establishment Program, is organised by the Swedish Employment Agency and the program entirely focussed on labour market integration. The municipality where the refugee resides is expected to organise housing, schooling and labour market integration on the local level. Activities within the Establishment Program can be labour related projects aiming at facilitating a faster integration into the labour market (e.g. Yrkes-SFI i Skåne, Etablera flera, Hela familjen 2.0). These projects sometimes involve language training, sometimes specific professional languages, and they can also be related to higher education. Other activities focus on the family and its members, connecting issues such as social integration, the children's education and the importance of parents' labour integration.

Since it was implemented in 2010, it has had a limited, but yet positive effect on labour market integration, in comparison to the previous introduction program. As a deficit, women and men are treated differently. Women are generally allocated fewer activities, to a larger extent ‘empty’ activities, and receive less attention from the case worker (Larsson 2015).

Asylum seekers have the right to work under certain conditions. One crucial factor is that the asylum-seeking person can provide identification papers (passport, birth certificate etc.) that are approved by the Swedish Migration Agency. This is however something many asylum seeking persons are unable to do, since many lack their papers. An employment, living up to certain specified criteria, opens up for the possibility to apply for a work permit, instead of asylum. This possibility, that is regulated by law, goes under name of changing track and is part of the demand driven labour immigration regime that was implemented in 2008, but very few asylum seekers have used this possibility (Bevelander et al. 2014). ‘Fast tracks’ (snabbspår) are provided for newly arrived refugees with certain higher education degrees, for instance social work, dentistry, nursing and teaching. The intention is to facilitate integration into specific professional areas. In Malmö, this is part of the regional agreement between the city, the Swedish Migration Agency, the region, representatives for the civil society and Malmö University (Regional överenskommelse, RÖK).

Generally, programs for introduction and labour market are organised by public bodies and contracted so called complementing actors (kompleterande aktörer). Civil society organisations, including immigrant organisations, play no or a marginal role in this. When civil society organisations participate, they do it under the same conditions as private businesses, often having their specific knowledge and competences overlooked (Hellström 2014).

In response to the municipal responsibility to support labour market integration, the city of Malmö has established a special unit, WorkMalmö (JobbMalmö), that is responsible for labour market integration. This unit works in collaboration with the Swedish Social Security Agency (Försäkringskassan), the Swedish Employment Agency and other agencies. The WorkMalmö is divided into different areas that chart and map prior education and professional experience, coaching, health activities, work training, language practice etc. Many of the programs include measures for refugees and other migrants, such as language training, PTSD- programs etc. WorkMalmö also organizes internships, both within the municipality and externally in private companies.
WP6: GENDER DYNAMICS OF RECEPTION AND INTEGRATION

The Swedish welfare state model relies on a dual-earner model. This family model was introduced in the 1970s by way of replacing family with individual taxation, the introduction of public childcare, and by embracing ideologies of gender equality and gender equality of opportunities. In a comparative study on care, work and welfare, Sweden was depicted as a country with a small family and a big state, meaning that the state takes on a comparatively large proportion of care work as both women and men are expected to enter the labour market (Daly and Rake 2003). Sweden has a pronounced policy on gender equality of opportunity aiming at women’s and men’s equal power to shape society and their lives and the government brand itself as 'the world's first feminist government'. It is also true that Sweden repeatedly has been top ranked in the Gender Equality Index (European Institute for Gender Equality 2017). The response to gender dynamics in Swedish reception and integration must be understood against this backdrop.

The government is concerned about the weak labour market integration among refugee and other migrant women. This concern is not solely based on an ideology of gender equality, but also the fact that many parts of the Swedish social security schemes, such as unemployment benefit, sickness benefit, parental benefit, temporary or long-term care child benefit, retirement pension, etc. are based on previous incomes. If you have no employment history, you will only receive a small basic benefit, often too small to live on. And, following on the individual taxation, most household needs two salaries to make ends meet.

Hence, in 2011 the government appointed a special government investigation to propose intervention for an increased labour market participation among newly arrived foreign born women and family member immigrants (Dir. 2011:88). An important aspect here, was the use and sharing of the parental leave insurance. The two reports that followed (SOU 2012:9; SOU 2012:69) show that refugee women and men are as eager to find an employment as a native born, but they seem to have higher thresholds to pass, including labour market discrimination. Immigrant mothers use more parental leave immigrant fathers, and the reports discuss to what extent the parental leave might be regarded a benefit or a trap (for women). The final report identifies women with no or very short schooling background as in particularly vulnerable. In addition, the activities the Swedish Labour Agency can refer Establishment Program participants to, are inadequate for this group. Hence they propose special courses on Folk High Schools (non-formal education schools) (SOU 2012:69), which were introduced in 2014. This is also a way to engage civil society in the reception of refugees.

Having outlined the Swedish welfare state normative approach to family life and labour market participation, it shall also be emphasised that Sweden, of course, in practice often is far from a country of gender equal opportunity. The asylum investigation has, for instance, in Sweden as elsewhere, been criticized for its gender blindness or reliance on male stereotypes when assessing for asylum applications. Not only has a male norm been used in the asylum process but also an adult norm. UNHCR declare that child and gender perspectives shall be developed and used when interpreting the 1951 Geneva convention in order to recognize relevant forms of persecution (Bexelius 2008; UNHCR Excom Conclusion 2007).

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