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Where are newcomers going to live?
Perspectives on Swedish and Danish
refugee settlement policies
from Malmö and Århus

Translated from Swedish by L. A. Conde-Costas.



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Summary

Immigration from other parts of the world has meant new challenges for the Nordic welfare model and its fundamental integrative idea, namely social citizenship. This is particularly clear in the policy that aims at distributing newly arrived refugees and their next of kin amongst different regions and neighborhoods. In this report we present a comparative analysis of reception and settlement of newcomers in the Swedish municipality of Malmö and the Danish municipality of Århus.

The report has two objectives. The first is to study the factors that have an influence on the introduction process of newcomers, as well as the extent to which settlement of newcomers impacts the capacity of the municipality to manage other challenges, namely housing shortages and residential segregation. The other is to discuss how identified similarities and differences between the municipalities can be understood in light of national refugee settlement policies in Sweden and Denmark. The report is based on interviews with officials employed at diverse posts in the municipalities of Malmö and Århus and on official documents and public statistics.

The report's chief finding is that differences at the national level between Danish and Swedish migration and refugee settlement policies have a considerable impact on the municipal level. Whereas Malmö counts the number of newcomers per year in the thousands, Århus barely does it in double figures. Whereas Malmö, besides immigrants from Denmark, receives for the most part immigrants from such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan, Århus immigration consists above all of labor migration from Poland, Romania and Germany. In contrast to Malmö, where there is a widespread feeling of crisis in the reception of refugees, the view in Århus is that things are under control, especially in comparison to how it was before, during the 1990s, when the situation was more akin to Malmö's.

M3¹: Denmark is interesting in this sense. Their attitude towards refugees and immigrants is one thing, but the state has a better way to ensure municipalities really accept refugees. Period. The municipality gets a state grant and takes in an “x” number of refugees. The municipality will then provide housing, education and work.

G: It is thus less free both for individuals and municipalities.

M3: But it makes it possible for newcomers to be a part of society, while in Sweden you are placed in a municipality yet continue to move on to where relatives and friends are and it is more or less four-five municipalities that take them all in. I guess Södertälje has taken the greatest responsibility.

Å6: Even if we have been before a zero quota municipality, we have welcomed about one refugee every month. This we have been able to manage without friction because we are habitually contacted by Immigration Service one month and a half before the immigrant shows up to sign a contract assuming responsibility for integration. For somewhat longer than a month we cooperate with the Social Service Center and social housing allocation. It has worked flawlessly; newcomers are able to move to their own home from day one, one of reasonable size and price, as they are dependent on a start-up grant. When we assign them to a home, social housing allocation is shaped by political agreements directed at preventing the formation of ghettos, so you don't get settled in certain areas of Århus. It's really good, if I may say so, that they get settled in areas where, traditionally, not so many people from abroad live. It can encourage integration. During the time we admitted large groups of refugees there were large families related to each other and then it was onerous to settle them, since they really wished to live near each other.

Introduction

Where are recently arrived refugees and their relatives going to live? Should they themselves have the opportunity to choose place of residence or should there be a national regulatory standard responsible for the distribution of refugees throughout the national territory? And shall they, notwithstanding the existence of such regulatory standards, have the occasion to choose where and how they wish to live in the host municipalities, or should the latter have the option of housing them in specific areas and even to prevent them from residing in given neighborhoods?

In each country that accepts to take refugees, asylum seekers and next of kin, these are questions calling for an answer. The way in which these countries have chosen to deal with the said questions, as well as justifications given and consequences thereof, separate them markedly from each other, even when the countries discussed have historically had much in common concerning other welfare policy choices (Robinson, Andersson & Musterd 2003, Andersen 2012). This variation is interesting, both because of the real consequences of the policy settled on for the individual and communities affected, and as an illustration of the underlying tensions that emerge when Western welfare states seek to manage their moral obligations towards vulnerable and oppressed human beings, the need for foreign labor as well as a rising ethnic and cultural diversity.

This report is written within the confines of the research project *The welfare state and its newcomers: Refugee housing policies in Sweden, Denmark and Norway*. It builds on interviews with government officials holding various positions in the municipalities of Malmö (Sweden) and Århus (Denmark), but also on municipal documents and official statistics.

The report has two objectives. Firstly, it aims at studying the factors which have an impact on the introduction of newcomers in the said municipalities and, too, the extent to which the provision of housing for newcomers affects the prospects of these communities to manage such challenges as housing shortages and segregation. Secondly, we will discuss how similarities and differences between the two communities can be gauged in light of national refugee settlement policies in Sweden and Denmark.

The report consists of six parts. In Part I, *Refugee Settlement Policies: Developments and*

Debate, I describe the development of Swedish and Danish refugee settlement policies. In Part II, *Migration and Integration Policies*, this development is placed in a broader perspective that accounts for similarities and differences in national policies on migration and integration. I explain in Part III, *Why study Malmö and Århus?*, the reasons why it is interesting to compare these two communities and, further, go into greater detail about the course of action taken to collect and analyze the materials on which this comparison is built. Part IV of the report, *Immigration and Introduction*, uses statistics and information gathered from interviews to draw a picture of how newcomers are moved into the said municipalities as well as how things proceed when a newcomer actually arrives. In Part V, *Housing and Residential Segregation*, I present the factors interviewees believe shape the introduction process of newcomers and the former's grasp of the extent to which housing of newcomers has an impact on the prospects of the municipalities to manage such challenges as housing shortage and residential segregation. Part VI, where I explore the conceptions and experiences disclosed by the interviews in relation to both Swedish and Danish refugee settlement policies, concludes this report.

Refugee Settlement Policies: Developments and Debate

Sweden

Swedish policies with respect to the housing of newcomers, ever since the passage in 1994 of *Lagen om eget boende* (EBO-legislation), have given asylum seekers the opportunity to decide for themselves where they want to settle (Prot. 1993 / 94:74). During this period, more than half of newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers have had recourse to this law, while the rest have chosen to settle in so-called accommodation centers (ABO) run by the Swedish Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*) (SOU 2009:19, bilaga 4). The reason why EBO-legislation has led to dissatisfaction among municipal officials lies in their perception that the so-called “reception burden” is unfairly distributed (cf. Robinson, Andersson & Musterd 2003). A few municipalities have had to accept a very large number of newcomers while others, often affluent municipalities in big cities, have hardly taken on any newcomers at all. This situation has been repeatedly remarked upon and, indeed, has led the directors of the now defunct Integration Board (*Integrationsverket*, phased out in 2006) and its replacement, the Swedish Migration Board, to openly criticize those municipalities that refuse to welcome the number of newcomers they would be expected to accept, often citing a shortage in housing as justification (see, for instance, DN 2006-02-08).

A municipality which has clearly positioned itself as an opponent of EBO-legislation is Malmö. In January 2004 Malmö local authorities wrote a letter to the sitting Social Democratic government demanding a change of EBO-legislation. The letter was linked to previous studies carried out for a municipal reform program entitled *Welfare for All*, which the local government was to decide on during spring 2004. In this program, among other things, there was a proposal for a five-year moratorium on any further flow of unemployed immigrants into Malmö (Malmö stad 2004: 2009a). As a result of this letter, the Minister of Integration, Mona Sahlin, invited in February 2004 representatives of Malmö and other municipalities that took in the lion’s share of immigrants to a meeting. In connection to this invitation, she stated her position on Malmö’s demands in an article published in the Swedish national newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*:

Of course I feel for the problems of Malmö, but everyone that has been allowed into our country shall have equal rights and responsibilities. To prevent people from moving feels terribly wrong. But we will dispense with the special compensation for those who move of their own volition. That said, there are municipalities that want immigrants and get none. Maybe compensation should be raised for them instead.

The following month, a new proposal was already submitted by Barbro Holmberg, Minister of Migration, namely “to do away with compensation for those refugees who opt for living somewhere else than where they are offered housing”. A government bill (Prop. 2004 / 05:28), presented in October 2004, took effect 1 March 2005. However, this change had precious little impact and, after being thwarted by a temporary refugee law that came into force later that year, hardly influenced the housing patterns of newcomers.

Subsequent to the 2006 electoral loss and under fire from influential Social Democratic local politicians from Malmö, Göteborg, and Södertälje, Social Democrats engaged in a remarkable turnaround with respect to housing for newcomers during 2007 and early 2008. In March 2008, Mona Sahlin herself, who had become party leader the preceding year, called a press conference at which point she let it be known that she now wished municipalities to be compelled to accept refugees, and that the right of these refugees to choose place of residence during the introduction period, lasting one to two years, would be rescinded.

When the refugees' introduction period is over, they will be free to move wherever they want and are able to. But for the two years we need to settle them in municipalities that are not already crowded and where, based on the assessment of the Migration Board, an affinity exists between the labor market and the refugee's occupation and education received at home. (DN 2008-03-11)

Yet it was now the turn of the newly elected right-wing, “bourgeois” coalition government (hereafter *Coalition*) to repudiate all proposals which would restrict freedom of choice, both in regard to the right of municipalities to decide on how refugees would be received and the right of refugees to determine area of residence. In a joint reply to the aforementioned appeal from local elected representatives of Södertälje, Göteborg, and Malmö, the Liberal Minister of Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, and the Conservative Minister of Migration, Tobias Billström, let it be known that

Sweden will have a good, functioning reception of refugees. The way forward, however, is not for the state to coerce people to find a home where told to, not even for a limited period. People must have the opportunity to decide for themselves where they want to live. The state cannot on its own predict where the individual refugee enjoys the greatest chance of obtaining employment: this is better left to each person to decide in collaboration with job centers.

Rather than forcing individual refugees to move to a given municipality, the ministers argued for “the creation of incentives that would lead refugees to settle in municipalities where opportunities existed for quickly landing a job and becoming self-sufficient” (DN 2007-03-06). During its first year in power, the Coalition government ordained no fewer than four inquiries into the municipal settlement of refugees (Dir. 2007:52; Dir. 2007:172; Dir. 2008:12; Dir. 2008:16). In each and every one of these inquiries, the leitmotif was freedom, as much for newcomers as for municipalities, while the means to achieve this prioritized *incentives*.

Concerning so-called unaccompanied children, that is to say, youngsters and teenagers under 18 who, upon arrival to Sweden or thereafter, are or have been separated from both parents and/or guardian, the Coalition has shown a willingness to relinquish the principle of municipal freedom. In the directive by the government in February 2011, requesting an inquiry into the reception of asylum-seeking unaccompanied children, it instructed the investigating official to provide suggestions aimed at “a regulation which broadens the power of the Migration Board to assign asylum-seeking unaccompanied children to a municipality, even in such cases where an accord on how they should be dealt with is absent” (Dir 2011:9). The report (SOU 2011:64), finished in October 2011, did feature a proposal by the inquiring official, Göran Ewerlöf, though he deplored the fact that he was held back by the restrictions attached to the directive (SvD 2011-10-14).

The proposal authorizing the Migration Board to eventually force municipalities to welcome unaccompanied refugee children was, through a statement attached to the official report itself, strongly criticized by the interest group Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (*Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting*) (SOU 2011:64:103-109). Meanwhile, the responsible minister, Tobias Billström, made the following remarks on the report:

I have always supported voluntariness as a first approach but when we now corroborate that we do not as yet get enough places in the municipalities, the Migration Board must, as a last resort, be entitled to settle individuals even in municipalities with which the board has no previous agreement. [...] My responsibility as a minister is to ensure that the asylum process and the reception system work satisfactorily, as the parliament has legislated. Since it doesn't happen today we must do something about it.

Recapitulating, it can be affirmed that during the last few years the issue of providing accommodation for newcomers has been high in the Swedish political agenda, both national and local. On the national theater, we have among other things seen a Social Democratic turnabout occasioned by pressure on the party leadership from Social Democratic local government representatives belonging to municipalities hosting large numbers of refugees. It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that this change of mind took place after the 2006 electoral defeat, and that the Coalition government that came to power

had long ago rejected compulsory measures regarding, both, newcomers' prerogative to select the municipality of their choice and the rights of municipalities to opt out of admitting newcomers. The efforts made by the Coalition government to rely on incentives and information, not the least concerning the so-called "Introduction Reform" that became law in December 2010, does not hitherto seem to have had any palpable effect on the residential patterns of newcomers (IFAU 2011).

Somewhat of a reorientation may be discerned in the government's position apropos the right of municipalities to decline receiving unaccompanied children refugees. It is too early to see whether a similar change of course is in the offing with respect to adult newcomers. According to the news media in May 2012, the government is preparing a motion for the budget to be unveiled this autumn, in which newcomers who turn down an offer to work (including housing provision) that involves moving, will have their settlement allowance reduced. Minister of Integration Erik Ullenhag, confronted with a direct question on whether he plans to get rid of EBO-legislation, replied that it has not been considered.

You can, naturally, turn down a job offer in another region, but this will have consequences. You have a responsibility to do your fair share in securing work, thus to move if the situation calls for it.

Denmark

As regards the significance of policies of refugee settlement for host municipalities, political developments in our neighboring country during the first decade of the 21st century have created an interesting point of comparison. In Denmark, ever since the adoption of the Integration Act in 1999, a strict distribution system for newcomers has been in place, based on a formula that takes account of the number of people with foreign origin residing in the municipalities. Those municipalities that already have a high percentage of individuals with foreign origin have taken in few, if any, newcomers, whereas municipalities with low percentages have got to admit a larger number. When the newly arrived refugee has been settled in a municipality, he or she, by stipulation of the Integration Act, is legally expected to remain in the assigned municipality during the entire introduction period (lasting three years), unless a relocation is justified by a job offer elsewhere or the newcomer is accepted by another, target municipality. If the newcomer, in spite of the said legal stipulations, goes ahead and moves to another municipality, he or she forfeits the state financial compensation, the so-called *start package* (Integrationsministeriet 2007).

The intention behind the Danish refugee settlement policy is to create an equal distribution of the number of newcomers across all municipalities, so that "more hands can

handle the task” (Indenrigsministeriet 2001:66) and integration thus encouraged. There is also an explicit understanding that a dispersion of newcomers will come about, not only between, but within municipalities.

[...] refugees evenly distributed geographically across the country is the way to promote integration. Distribution policy, however, has also a local political dimension. The Integration Act namely indicates that municipalities, through housing policies, can contribute to a more felicitous distribution, both at the regional and local level. The link between housing and distribution policies is therefore an essential element of the Integration Act. This focus is reinforced by the fact that many municipalities see to it that foreigners are evenly distributed within the community, which is a key objective in local efforts at integration. Housing and distribution policies are thus part and parcel of the integrative efforts made by municipalities (Indenrigsministeriet 2001:66).

The fundamental tension between, on the one hand, an individual’s autonomy, and, on the other, working for what is best for individual and community, has in other words been handled totally different in Denmark vis-à-vis Sweden, which sets the table for an interesting comparison. (Ersbøll 2010; Borevi 2010a; Vad Jønsson & Petersen 2010).

There are reasons for pointing out that the tangible hardening of Danish integration policies that we have observed during the 2000s originated as far back as the early 1990s, when the Social Democratic mayors of west Copenhagen and Århus protested against what they believed was an unfair distribution of costs associated with national immigration policies. As opposed to Sweden, where Social Democratic local government officials had unsuccessfully criticized immigration policies in the national arena for two decades, Danish mayors were from early on supported by leading politicians in the *Folketinget* (the Danish parliament). The influential Social Democratic MP, Per Kaalund, among others, asked in March 1993 for changes in his own party’s position in the issue of refugee settlement.

Many Social Democratic politicians have held back because it is Danish mentality to first try on a voluntary basis. But I also feel that fear of being called racist also played a role. For a long while I have personally thought that Social Democratic policy in this area has been overly theoretical. But I think that the parliamentary group is moving towards a more realistic stance. (Berlingske Tidende 19 mars 1993, refererat i Vad Jønsson & Petersen 2010:184)

To be sure, there were leading Danish Social Democrats who strongly opposed toughening up migration and integration policies at this juncture, Svend Auken, the former party leader, being one of them. They were gradually outmaneuvered, however. When PM Poul Nyrup Rasmussen selected in 1997 the hitherto mayor of Århus, Thorkild Simonsen, as Ministry of Interior responsible for immigration and refugee policies, this

represented the dawn of new, radically different Danish integration policies (*Vad Jøns-son & Petersen 2010:180-193*).

Migration and Integration Policies

In the worldwide publications on migration, integration and ethnic relations, during the 2000s, Denmark and Sweden have been positioned as polar opposites. Or, as Norwegian sociologist, Grete Brochmann, and her social anthropologist compatriot, Anniken Hagelund, have put it in their broad comparison of Scandinavian migration and integration policies:

Along a “continuum of kindness” Sweden has often been placed at one end, with Denmark at the other end and Norway in a vacillating, intermediate position. This is a picture that is also reflected in The Migrant Integration Policy Index, which measures (in terms of rights allocation) the policies towards the integration of immigrants of 28 European countries. Sweden is at the top, Norway, number 8, while Denmark is found on a shared 21 spot. (Brochmann & Hagelund 2010:30)

Another example consists of the civic integration index, CIVIX, developed by the American political scientist, Sara Wallace Goodman. Here, Denmark’s legislation on citizenship, when compared to the then 15 EU-countries, is taken as representative of an obstructive (“prohibitive”) integration strategy, whereas Swedish legislation is portrayed as representative of a facilitating (“enabling”) strategy (Wallace Goodman 2010: 764). Wallace Goodman’s research is particularly interesting, as she has *inter alia* studied how the citizenship legislation of the old 15 EU-countries has changed between 1997 and 2009. She was able to corroborate that Denmark, during the period under scrutiny, and owing to its 1999 Integration Act, is the country that, together with Germany, has stiffened its legislation the most.

In the comparative research where an attempt is made to measure the most successful type of migration and integration policy via a number of indicators, e.g. employment, level of education, housing patterns, and criminality, Sweden and Denmark are also ranked far from each other, yet in these cases Denmark is generally placed higher than Sweden (see, e.g., Koopmans 2010; OECD 2010). Which of the two countries attains a higher ranking is thus contingent on what is being measured. The main point as regards these surveys is the conspicuous and consistent differences between the migration and integration policies of the two countries.

According to Swedish political scientist, Martin Qvist, a significant institutional stability characterizes Swedish “refugee and introduction policies”. He claims that this stability should be grasped as an expression of control practices which have been developed in Sweden and yield unintrusive regulations, rather than economic or regulating frameworks. Qvist, moreover, argues that this stability constitutes one of three peculiarities of Swedish introduction policies, when viewed from a European perspective. The other two peculiarities are, first of all, that the objective of “equal rights, opportunities, and responsibilities” remains strong in Swedish integration policies and, secondly, the orientation towards work and employment (the reputed labor policy) has attained an even more preponderant position in Swedish introduction efforts. As opposed to other countries, language proficiency and the sharing of basic values are two issues that have remained off the agenda (Qvist 2012; see also Dahlsted 2009).

In comparison to Denmark, at least since the 1999 Danish Integration Act took effect, it is quite correctly possible to observe pointed differences in relation to the Swedish peculiarities singled out by Qvist. The Danish Integration Act has been criticized because it does not seek to give individuals under Danish law the same rights, opportunities and responsibilities as Danish citizens. The law has, on the contrary, successively moved in a diametrically opposed direction during the 2000s: fewer rights and opportunities in combination with increased responsibilities (Midtbøen 2009; Uhrskov Jensen 2008; Sahlberg 2007). Within the context of these developments, stipulations calling for language proficiency and knowledge of Danish society have been introduced for receiving Danish nationality and permanent residence (Integrationsministeriet 2011).

Due to comprehensive changes in Danish migration policies the profile of immigration to Denmark has changed as well, from one consisting of refugees and next of kin from war-torn countries, as in Sweden, to one made up of labor immigrants from diverse European countries (Djuve & Kavli 2007). Long before the Danish Integration Act, the central component in Danish introduction policies has also been labor policy, and in this sense one important parallel exists between Danish and Swedish introduction policies, notwithstanding the fact that linguistic and value issues have been much more of a concern in Denmark than in Sweden (Vad Jønsson & Petersen 2010; Emilsson 2008).

Finally, Danish refugee and introduction operations are run by quite a different set of administrative practices, with a stricter economic and regulatory framework than its Swedish counterpart. Which concretely means that the potential for the state to change policy as much as praxis is obviously greater in Denmark than in Sweden (Vad Jønsson & Petersen 2010; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup 2008; Nielsen & Jensen 2006). Danish political scientist Martin Bak Jørgensen (2012) has, however, nuanced the picture of Danish integration policies in an intriguing way by showing that Danish municipalities, at the local level, do enjoy the latitude to pursue more active and inclusive integration policies than those stipulated nationally. Jørgensen has shown as well the variation that

exists between Danish municipalities in respect of the comprehensiveness and direction of local integration efforts. The two large municipalities of Copenhagen and Århus, for example, display a markedly more generous diversity policy than smaller ones. Copenhagen and Århus also allocate greater resources towards integration efforts, both in absolute and relative terms. This has resulted in a greater scope, among other things, for municipal professionalization in such areas as language learning for children and youth as well as in undertakings to face criminality and disturbances in vulnerable communities.

Considering the palpable interest Denmark and Sweden have been the subject of in the field of migration and integration research, each on its own and taken together, surprisingly little comparative research has been carried out on municipal reception, introduction and integration of newcomers in the two countries. Djuve & Kavlis' investigation on integration in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (2007) is perhaps the chief exception; but its focus is on the national body of laws rather than being a case study at the municipal level. With respect to comparative case studies at local level in Sweden, Qvist's work on Västerås and Växjö (2008; 2012) as well as on Katrineholm and Eskilstuna (2012) represents the most ambitious investigations undertaken during 2000s. That said, the central focus in these studies lies in the state's potential to direct, via discrete forms of collaboration, the introduction services of municipalities.

Why study Malmö and Århus?

One crucial reason as to why I decided to conduct interviews in Malmö and Århus is because these two cities resemble each other in a number of relevant ways. Both of these, old harbors and industrial towns, with a population hovering around 300,000, represent important regional centers that are nonetheless much smaller than the capitals Stockholm and Copenhagen. The geographical arrangement of these cities is also homologous: old, compact downtowns, a stone's throw away from water, surrounded by a semicircle of sparse settlements at some distance from the city center. In the cities, everything is more or less within walking distance, which has not for all that prevented the rise of substantial socio-economic, and of late ethnic, segregation within city limits. It is the case that an important similarity between the two cities is that Malmö's Rosengård and Århus' Gelerupparken have, for decades, stood in the center of each country's national debate on integration and diversity (Stigendal 2007; Scuzzarello 2010; Malmö stad 1999; Piil Damm 2007; Programbestyrelsen 2008; Urbanprogrammet 2007; Hansen m.fl. 2010; Andersen 2006a; Århus kommune 1985; 2007a; Arkitektur 1974).

Naturally, there are also contrasts between these cities. Århus is not solely an old industrial city, for it is as well a significant center of education. In this sense, Malmö is waging a determined campaign to acquire a place in the sun, partly in competition, partly in cooperation with Lund and Copenhagen. The cities share a sort of *little brother* syndrome vis-à-vis their respective capitals, Malmö's position being further complicated by having to relate to both Stockholm and Copenhagen. In comparison to Århus, Malmö has also a housing issue characterized by shortages and inefficient moving chains. That said, it behooves us to point out that Malmö's housing shortage has largely been caused by a physical development which has not kept pace with the revamping, successful in more ways than one, the city has gone through –from an industrially decaying city (1970s to 1990s) to an attractive commercial, knowledge, cultural center during the first decade of 2000s (Billing & Stigendal 1994; Dannestam 2009; Andersson, Bråmås & Hogdal 2007; Länsstyrelsen i Skåne 2008; Andersen 2006b).

With respect to existing conditions for the reception and introduction of newcomers, as we have already seen, the nature of the differences strikes us as of another sort, namely a distinction grounded on the respective national migration and refugee settlement

policies of Sweden and Denmark. First of all, changes in Danish migration policies have led Denmark to accept, during the entire 2000s, far fewer refugees and asylum-seekers than Sweden, whether in absolute numbers or as share of total inhabitants. Secondly, the Danish Integration Act has meant that in Denmark it is the state that has absolute control over refugee settlement policies, whereas the Swedish state, since the 1994 EBO-legislation, has got rid of its right to control newcomers' housing patterns, whether by affirmative action or some other legal framework. Taken to extremes, it has been argued that in Denmark it is the state that decides where newcomers are to reside, but in the case of Sweden newcomers themselves take that decision (Djuve & Kavli 2007:23; cf. Piil Damm 2007; Wren 2003).⁹

Changes in Danish policies in both of these areas have led the municipality of Århus to admit a few dozen recent arrivals yearly during the past few years. In contrast, the municipality of Malmö has taken in, when at its highest, around 3,000 individuals per year. On the other hand, post-Integration Act Danish municipalities have been responsible for compelling all non-western newcomers to go through a three-year integration program which consists of Danish, Danish social studies, and apprenticeships at various workplaces (Integrationsministeriet 2011; Nielsen & Jensen 2006; Rambøll 2005). As far as Århus goes, this has meant a fairly extensive responsibility for the reception and introduction of newcomers, in spite of the fact that the municipality hardly takes in any refugee who has just arrived in the country.

Another important difference between the refugee settlement policies of the two countries is that the state compensation for those measures Danish municipalities are liable for, according to the Danish Integration Act, is viewed as carefully weighed up. On this account, Swedish municipalities have long called attention to a seriously underfinanced system of reception and integration of newcomers (Djuve & Kavli 2007; Nielsen & Jensen 2006; Emilsson 2008; Integrationsministeriet 2011). As far as compensation for the reception and integration of newcomers is concerned, the so-called Introduction Reform (Prop 2009 / 10:60), which came into effect on 1 December 2010, has led to a change for Swedish municipalities. The major difference, in comparison with the earlier system, is that as of December 2010 the Swedish Public Employment Service bears responsibility for the reception and introduction of certain newcomers and that the earlier municipal introduction compensation has been replaced by a so-called publicly defrayed establishment reimbursement. In other words, the state has taken over some of the direct financial responsibility that previously lay with the municipalities. The Swedish system, from the perspective of defraying costs, has, after the Introduction Reform, taken a step closer to the Danish system.

As regards the report's central feature, namely a municipality receiving refugees, Malmö exemplifies well the small but noteworthy category of Swedish municipalities which, when taken as a whole, stand for the greater part of the reception of newly arrived refu-

gees and asylum seekers in Sweden, that is, Göteborg, Södertälje, Botkyrka and a few others. Malmö has also made a name for itself owing to its long-standing, active work with issues linked to integration and segregation (cf. Scuzzarello 2010). *Diversity, Meetings, Possibilities*, the city's motto, is but one of many expressions of a highly calculated profile (cf. Dannestam 2009). Concerning Denmark, one could imagine that Danish integration legislation, steered in detail as it were, in combination with the forcefully controlled state refugee settlement policy, would make it possible to find what is typically Danish in the reception and introduction of newcomers by simply studying any municipality. But, as suggested above, Jørgensen (2012) shows that tangible differences nevertheless exist between Danish municipalities in respect of local introduction and integration praxis, and Århus is mentioned as an example of a municipality that in this area is characterized by an unusually active and professional organization.

It is worth noting that both municipalities are known for their determination to receive, introduce and integrate newcomers in line with each country's respective national refugee settlement policies. As well, both municipalities work actively with researchers from a number of academic fields in order to increase their adeptness at introducing and integrating. The municipality of Århus, for instance, collaborates with Århus University and other universities to develop new methods of language instruction for children and youth of foreign origin (see, e.g., Programbestyrelsen 2008). Government officials from Århus municipality regularly partake in various national advisory committees within the field of migration and integration policies. In Malmö, the municipality has a specially close relationship with Malmö University College (founded in 1998) but has also sponsored prominent research reports on residential segregation (see, e.g., Andersson, Bråmås och Hogdal 2007).

A rather distinctive expression of Malmö's aspiration to base its settlement policies on scientific grounds is represented by the *Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö*, which during 2012 has had the task to work out proposals for strategies to reduce disparities in health and improve living conditions for Malmö's residents (Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö 2012). At the same time we cannot turn a blind eye to the uncertainty for Malmö's future that this commission symbolizes, which of late has been more frequently expressed as much in Malmö as in the sphere of national politics. Counter to the narrative of Malmö's success qua municipality, typically propounded by the mayor, Ilmar Reepalu (see Dannestam 2009; Stigendal 2012), frequent more or less sordid media portrayals of shootings, drug-related offenses, and other heinous criminal activity, share the limelight with news of rising social gulfs and poverty – in certain neighborhoods bordering on misery (Sydsvenskan 2012-04-14). This development has lately been depicted in what must be described as a small avalanche of literature about Malmö (see, e.g., Svensson 2011; Barkman och Palmkvist 2011).¹⁰

Methods and Material

In autumn 2008 the materials upon which this investigation is predicated began to be gathered. Two types of material from each municipality are fundamental to this work: (1) interviews with municipal officials positioned at various levels and with other relevant organizations and companies within the municipality, (2) municipal documents and public statistics.¹¹ The municipal documents I have studied have been downloaded through the municipalities' respective homepages (www.aarhus.dk and www.malmo.se). During my trips to Malmö and Århus, officials from the city halls and municipal libraries have assisted me in gaining access to documents otherwise unavailable via the said homepages. For statistics and information on legislation, the Danish Integration Ministry's homepage (www.nyidanmark.dk) has proven exceedingly useful. In Sweden there is no extant unified source of information (since the Integration Board was closed down in 2006); instead, the information is now to be found spread out through separate governmental authorities, especially the Migration Board (www.migrationsverket.se), the Central Bureau of Statistics (www.scb.se), the Ministry of Labor's Section for integration and urban development (www.regeringen.se) and County Administrative Boards (www.lst.se).

From autumn 2008 to spring 2012 I have taken a total of four trips to each city. The first trip to each city was devoted to the collection of data and to familiarize myself with the cities' social geography. In other words, I have caught the bus, biked and sauntered around the two cities in order to experience the character of their different neighborhoods. From the wealthy Skåde Bakker in southern Århus to the equally affluent Vejlbj Fed in the city's northern part I have traveled both along the beltway – through considerably poorer areas, such as Søndervangen, Bispehaven and, of course, Gellerup – and by the eastern waterfront towards the attractive university area, the charming center and the magnificent precinct around Marselisborg. In Malmö I have similarly gone from Bunkeflo in the south to Kirseberg in the north and from Västra hamnen to Oxie. I have been fascinated by the proximity of the well-to-do villa areas to the shabby apartment buildings in Fosie, and, needless to say, by the myriad impressions occasioned by the short walk from Möllevången to Herrgården in Rosengård. For a political scientist this type of activity may seem somewhat queer, but I feel that this way of assimilating local color, though superficial, has been of massive help with respect to posing relevant questions, not to mention that it has increased the interest of my interview subjects for the dialogue we have entered into.

During the first trip to each city I've also been blessed with the opportunity to present the research project, both at Århus University and Malmö University College, for colleagues and interns in the know. This has been invaluable with reference to the scientific exchange as well as the contacts I have thus been able to establish with municipal officials in leading posts.¹²

I have during subsequent trips interviewed a total of eight civil servants in Malmö and nine such in Århus.¹³ Interviews lasted between one and one and a half hour, apart from one interview in Malmö, where I simply took notes, all the rest have been taped. The interviews took place at the interviewees' office or in nearby meeting rooms. In the beginning of the interviews I presented the research project and explained the context in which the interviews would be used. The taped interviews have been written out in their entirety and the printouts have subsequently been sent via e-mail to the interview subjects so as to provide them with the opportunity to revise potential misunderstandings and errors. Concerning the Århus interviews, this has been particularly helpful, as I spoke Swedish and the interviewees Danish. I have thus translated their answers to Swedish as best I could and have later asked them to examine my translation and give their approval or, alternatively, suggest corrections. They did just this and, where corrections were proposed, I have made them.

It has not been possible to guarantee interview subjects complete anonymity in the report. I have however chosen not to write the names of the interview subjects, providing instead their organizational belongingness and position. Each subject has also been designated with the letter "Å" or "M", followed by a number. Interviewees have been informed about the limited confidentiality in relation to the interviews.

The selection of interviewees has been strategic in the sense that I have tried to contact government officials in central municipal positions as well as officials involved in hands-on operations of reception and introduction. Furthermore, I have interviewed a white-collar employee in Malmö working for MKB, the municipal housing company, and in Århus employees working for *Lærdansk*, a firm responsible for Danish lessons geared towards those individuals the Integration Act comprehends; at the public housing society, *Brabrand Boligforening*, which among other things administers all dwellings found in the Gellerup neighborhood; and at *Boligsociale Fællesskab*, an investigative and service agency collectively working for Århus' public housing society. As regards the people I have actually got to interview in Malmö, I have contacted individuals I found via the webpage of the municipality of Malmö. In Århus I have received help with contacting potential interviewees from a centrally placed municipal official, which facilitated my work immensely. This official, besides being interviewed (Å1), was also present in several interviews. It can strike those finding this procedure suspect that this is a way for the municipality of Århus to be privy to or maybe to exert undue influence over the interviews. Be that as it may, I have not experienced the presence of this official as inhibiting the interviews. On the contrary, the said civil servant has shown herself invaluable as possessor of considerable expertise. Secure in her competence, the questions she has posed to the interview subjects have been stimulating and valuable ones I did not at that time think of myself.

The purpose of the interviews has been to add to our knowledge of how the reception of

the newly arrived works in the two municipalities and which challenges and problems the municipalities believe they need to manage for a smooth reception of individuals. Interviews have been semi-structured in the sense that they have revolved around these topics without being held back by any formal template. The various positions expressed by the interviewees, thus the consequent perspectival differences and points of departure, have made it both, impossible and undesirable, to conduct the interviews in a uniform manner. Sometimes the conversations have proceeded at a very concrete level with respect to the organization of reception and introduction, at other times these have been sweeping within the field of migration and integration policy.

I want hereby to particularly point out that the interviews have focused on municipal efforts to manage the newcomers' reception and introduction. Descriptions of the efforts presented are therefore predicated on the perspective of governmental officials and may, of course, be grasped differently by the participants of the various introduction programs, that is to say, newcomers themselves. Our goal with this investigation is not, however, to study or assess municipal undertakings in this sense (cf. Qvist 2012; SOU 2009:19, bilaga 4; Larsen 2011; Hansen & Kolodziejczyk 2009; Lennartsson 2007). Neither is the focus on the relationship between the administrative official and the client, which has been taken up in other studies (cf. Schierenbeck 2003; Hertzberg 2003).

The statements made by interview subjects during the interviews cannot tout court be gauged as truthful or objective simply because the former touch upon events the latter have competence in. But this is not the point either. What I have been particularly interested in during the interviews are the perspectives and experiences that have surfaced; owing to these I have gained an appreciation which extends beyond statistics and official documents. As concerns statements of fact heard during interviewing, I have compared them to other available material, e.g. statistics and municipal documents. It can happen that another group of interviewees but with similar positions of responsibility would reveal another picture, in contrast, at least partly, with the one conveyed by the interviews I carried out. I would like to argue however that those I have interviewed hold key positions, so central in fact that their perspective for this research is particularly valuable. With respect to the presentation of interview material in the report, I chose to give a high profile to the interviewees' own formulations. Mostly because I believe that the trenchancy in the way interviewee subjects put forward their viewpoints merits highlighting (cf. Ponterotte 2006).

A number of changes have come about from 2008 onwards, as much in respect of national legislation related to migration and integration policy areas as of the public organizing of newcomers' introduction and integration in Malmö and Århus. The putting into effect of the Introduction Reform in December 2010 marks the single most significant change in Sweden since 2008. For Malmö, this reform means that the municipality no

longer creates introduction programs for newcomers: the erstwhile five Centers for Employment and Introduction (AIC) have fused into one unit called *JobbMalmö*, under the direction of Service Management (Malmö stad 2011). In Denmark, the most important change points to the electoral loss of the right-wing government, and maybe, above all, the fact that *Dansk Folkeparti* will as a result not be able to exert any direct influence on Danish migration and integration policies for the first time since 2001. What this means in practice remains to be seen. In the exposition below I follow the interviewees' descriptions as given in the situation then in hand.

Immigration and Introduction

Malmö

At the end of April 2011 Malmö's population surpassed 300,000 people. After a tremendous decrease in the population lasting from 1970 until 1985, the number of people in the municipality has increased steadily during 25 years: 18,000 people came just between 2008 – 2010 (Stadskontoret i Malmö 2011). One contributing factor, during the past few decades, to the municipality's long-term trend of population increase has to do with the inflow of new residents with foreign background. Since 1995, when EBO-legislation had become law and the Balkan Wars raged, the share of foreign-born residents in Malmö increased from 20% (48 233 of a total of 242,706) to 30% (87,554 out of 293,909). If to this one adds the rise of people born in Sweden of foreign parents, 5% (12,036) of the municipality's population in 1995, but 10% (28,276) in 2010, the share of Malmö's population of foreign-origin climbs, from 25% in 1995, to 39% in 2010. After Haparanda, Botkyrka, and Södertälje, Malmö occupies a fourth place in the country, as measured by share of foreign-born population (Stadskontoret i Malmö 2010). The increase of foreign-born during the period 2004 to 2009 averaged 4,000 people yearly, diminishing to 2,800 in 2010. *Stadskontoret* (The City Office) explains the abatement by pointing, partly to a lower rate among Iraqi immigrant groups, partly to a reduction in the number of Danish-born people since the opening of the Öresund bridge. Of those born abroad, Iraqis (9,940) make up the largest group, followed by Danes (8,972), people originating in former Yugoslavia (8,426), and Poles (7,053) (Stadskontoret i Malmö 2011:7).

In the record-year 2006, three fourths of newly arrived refugees and immigrants belonged to the category *foreign-born* (Malmö stad 2007). Since then the number of newcomers has successively declined and sank, from 797 refugee receptions by Malmö's Immigration Service in 2009, to 559 in 2010. Newly arrived refugees come predominantly from Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan. Undocumented Palestinian refugees constitute another fairly large group (Stadsbyggnadskontoret i Malmö 2011:14).

Up until the Introduction Reform was initiated in December 2010, Malmö's introduction centers differed in a number of ways from their Swedish counterparts. An important difference was the decision to open up the introduction to other groups of newcomers than

refugees and next of kin immigrants (Malmö stad 2010). Both, refugee groups and other immigrants, excluding those from EU and EEA member countries, were offered the same bargain. This had not least consequences for the economic aspect of municipal introduction services, as state compensation covered only the introduction of newly arrived refugees and next of kin immigrants (M4). The cost for newly arrived immigrants was partly defrayed by the so-called cost equalization grant for municipalities and provinces. More problematic was the insufficiency of state compensation, according to the municipalities' own calculations, for offsetting the costs attached to the integration of target groups. The state's standard compensation for a newly arrived adult refugee in 2008 was 181,400 SEK. This compensation would make up for expenses associated with first-year reception and thereafter three more years. On average, municipal costs for introduction compensation and housing went up to 7,500 monthly. Add to this Swedish language instruction for adult immigrants (*Sfi-instruction*), about 4,000 extra per month, for a total of 268,000 during a two-year period, but, too, expenses incurred for translators, child-care, etc., as well as administrative costs. Municipal calculations as to what the total cost for reception and introduction of an adult newly arrived refugee came to about 300,000 SEK (M3; Malmö stad 2009b).¹⁴

Those who came to Malmö as newly arrived refugees or immigrants up until November 2010 began by registering at Immigrant Service, the municipality's central agency for reception of newcomers. The matter stayed a couple of weeks with Immigrant Service before it was sent to the concerned district administration. While with Immigrant Service, Sfi was contacted and information put together as point of departure for the size of the introduction allowance, housing subsidies, childcare needs, etc. Immigration Service provided reception courses that shed light on everyday juridical questions, goods and consumption, health care system, and the like. Interpreters helped with the course. A majority of those that came to Immigration Service had obtained information from the Migration Board indicating whom to turn to, but many had also been assisted by relatives and friends (M1). When the case arrived at the municipal district office, an *introduction official* was assigned at the district's Employment and Introduction Center (AIC). For those people who had a right to an introduction allowance, meeting the introduction officer meant the joint drafting of an individual introduction plan in which the person's educational and professional background was noted and also the expectations the person had for the introduction period (M1). At AIC, more in-depth social orientation was to be had, at which juncture the participants were reminded that the introduction is as full of individual possibilities as it is of responsibilities (M2). During these, more thorough information sessions on civil society, a *bridge-builder* or public official hailing from the same milieu as the participants and conversant with their language, directly taught the largest immigrant groups. The lion's share of the official's responsibilities were taken up discussing conventional views of Swedish society and what one ought and ought not to do as newly arrived immigrant in Sweden.

M2: It is not assimilation, it is integration, then what these mean can be discussed. But we reiterate that you can be Muslim and have another culture, yet if you live in Sweden you have to follow Swedish laws and try to should all the same show some interest in how things work in Sweden.

The introduction period was limited in time to three years. Had you not become self-sustaining during this time you would nonetheless reach the end of the introduction, though you could continue to plan job search strategies at AIC. Sustentation changed forms at that point, from an introduction allowance to social assistance (M5).

In respect of teaching Swedish for immigrants, newcomers, after diagnostic testing, were placed in one of three lines: Sfi 1, Sfi 2, or Sfi 3. Within these lines you could study courses from A to D, where Sfi 1 took care of A & B, Sfi 2 of B & C, and Sfi 3 of courses C & D. Course A was geared towards the illiterate, while other courses had literacy and writing skills as prerequisite. The municipality emphasized divisions into levels to make teaching harmonize with the participants' educational level and the dimension of the course was such that things could be easily completed. A very great displeasure was felt among municipality officials towards the widespread preconception that academics and the illiterate were offered the same education.

G: So the picture that everyone is put in the same course is not true?

M1: Not just that. We have special schools for Sfi 1, Sfi 2, Sfi 3. If there's something that irks me – this is it. We hear this nonsense that people with no schooling sit in the same class as academics. Never have we done so in Malmö! Not at all in the big cities.

Sfi courses (courses run by *Swedish language instruction for adult immigrants*) concluded with a final grade in one or several of the four courses, an innovation since 2003. Therebefore a final grade from course D had been required for an Sfi diploma.

M1: We tried to give the chance for a grade even at a lower level. It would feel like an accomplishment. Then we had a bunch of participants who would not pass – what happened to them? Well, they went to the Public Employment Service and were told to go back to Sfi classes because their Swedish remained below par. They went, went, and went! School functioned in those times as a people's depot.

This change was apparently welcomed by AIC's civil servants. One of the interview subjects hinted at how he thought there had been exaggerated claims concerning the centrality of language for integration.

M6: The goal had for a long while been to learn Swedish above all else and one believed that lacking Swedish would not make it possible to get along in Swedish society. But that's a myth. We know of many in this country that speak no Swedish at all but get ahead exemplarily.

Be that as it may, Sfi classes was a major contributor to communal introduction programs, and if an individual with an introduction plan stayed away from Sfi classes too long a while, without legitimate reason, the introduction allowance could be suspended by the AIC officer. Sfi classes were in this sense comparable with other introduction services, for instance, workplace internships. It is important to point out that no link existed between Sfi school examinations and newcomers' opportunities to receive a permanent residence permit or Swedish citizenship.¹⁵

During the introduction period different types of labor market information and vocational education were offered. As a result of the Coalition's electoral victory, the Swedish Public Employment Service was given a concrete mission concerning the newly arrived, which also brought about a new situation at municipal level. The more active role assumed by the Public Employment Service by and large pleased municipal officials, though it did lead to a period of coordination strains and twice the effort.

M4: We pay education providers to do the same as the employment service does. It is confusing for participants and highly wasteful for us. [...] This is something that happens when you procure a few years in advance and so something new takes place at state level. That's the way it's been here, at any rate. Malmö has worked endlessly with a labor market oriented introduction, and we are used to the state being an inconsistent partner that comes and goes.

The expanded role of the Public Employment Service during the introduction period is understood to have resulted in prioritizing the alleged employment line, several interviewees believing this occurred at the expense of the introduction's other aspects, namely participation in and a grip on Swedish society.¹⁶

M2: I sometimes say that there is no obligation to work in Sweden during peace time. It is of course important that one becomes self-supporting to the greatest possible extent, but I am of the opinion that there's another perspective, when you can be involved in your community. I think, too, that it is important to let parents be parents and to support them in that role as needed.

M1: I think that the employment line receives too much attention. An employment focus we shall have, as it is a main goal. But the labor market orientation has been pushed too far. Another goal of integration policies I judge as important is community participation. But nowadays people don't speak about it as much as they do about self-sufficiency and the work orientation.

Coeval with the Introduction Reform, the Employment Service's broadened role during the introduction period has been institutionalized. Of newcomers who in April 2012 were schooled by Sfi, about 10% belonged to that category of newcomers that had an establishment plan drawn up at the Public Employment Service. During the two years the

introduction plan is in effect, the employment service has responsibility for these people and it is also this agency that pays introduction support. This means that the municipality needs no longer provide labor market services for newcomers. According to interviewees M3 and M4, with whom I spoke in April 2012, the Introduction Reform has thus far resulted in more inconsequential changes for the municipality than expected. Which means that the situation continues to be largely the same as before December 2010. To exemplify, no changes in the content of Sfi classes have occurred when compared to what was presented above. Yet from, and including, July 2009 the School and Education Division bears responsibility for securing and organizing the entire Sfi operations, that is, notwithstanding how long participants have lived in Sweden (in Malmö). At the time of writing 50% of Sfi operations are organized by external educational agencies while the other 50% is taken care of by the municipality.

Århus

The total population of Århus, 1 January 2012, reached 314,545 people (Statistiske informationer 2012). Foreign-born make up 11% of the population, or 34 353, Danes whose parents are not born in Denmark or do not have Danish citizenship, just about 4%, 12,937. This means, in other words, that 15% of Århus' population has a foreign background, markedly lower than the municipality of Copenhagen, where the share of inhabitants of foreign extraction goes up to 22%. Yet, it is at the same time higher than the Danish average, hovering around 10%, and more indeed than in all other larger Danish municipalities, such as Odense (13%), Esbjerg and Ålborg (both 8%).

The number of people of foreign descent living in Århus has, during the entire 2000s, increased by ca. 1,300 yearly – a much lower pace than in Malmö. The largest immigrant groups in Århus consist of people from Lebanon (4,803, including undocumented Palestinians), Turks (4,233), Somalis (3,868) and Iraqis (3,391). Granted changes in Danish immigration rules, the relative growth of these groups has been noticeably modest during the said decade. As an example, the number of Turks in Århus increased by no more than 400 people during the 2001-11 period. Sizable increases are instead represented by immigrant groups from Poland, Romania, Germany and Thailand (Statistiske informationer 2010; 2012).

The shift in country of origin indicates deeper changes in immigration patterns to Denmark. During 1980s & '90s immigration to Århus looked like immigration to Malmö, as it is now and as it was then: a large part of immigrants and next of kin to refugees from warring countries (Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, Palestina, and former Yugoslavia). Finding the exact numbers of newly arrived and next of kin refugees admitted into Århus during 2000 has turned out to be problematic, yet from 2003 to 2005, between 40 to 50 newly arrived refugees made their way to Århus, according to one of the interviewees (Å2).

After that, within the Danish settlement program, Århus became a so-called zero quota municipality for a few years, which in practice meant that only a few refugees with legitimate reasons, to wit, in need of medicinal help from Århus University Hospital, came as newcomers to the municipality (Å1). It was said that the municipality would in 2010 only take nine refugees, finally revised upwards to 27 for the year. Twenty-four newly arrived refugees were forecasted for 2011 (Å6). This can be compared with a reception of nearly 300 newly arrived refugees yearly during the end of 1990s (Å6).¹⁸ Apart from newly arrived refugees, about the same number of next of kin (to municipal refugees) enters the municipality each year. The better part of those originating in Iraq, Somalia, Palestine and Afghanistan, who find their way to Århus have, nevertheless, lived in some other Danish municipality during the three years the Integration Act was applicable, only to move to Århus thereafter (Å1).

The reach of the Danish Integration Act has been successively widened and, since 2010, only immigrants hailing from Nordic countries, thanks to the Nordic Treaty on Free Mobility, do not come under the province of the law during their first three years in Denmark. What we have here is a law that comprehends three different categories of immigrants: refugees, reunited overseas family members (that is, next of kin to people living in Denmark), and other immigrants (Integrationsministeriet 2011). Conditions differ, however, for each of the categories. Refugees and reunited overseas family members shall have a contract that includes language classes, Danish history and social orientation, and, too, employment or educational measures. Other immigrants are welcome to an introduction program with language classes, social science and history, though without a contract. Provision of employment support services are included if the immigrant so wishes. From the perspective of Århus municipality, this has for quite some time led the number of individuals subsumed under contractual introductions to remain stable – between 500-600, of whom 50 to 40 are, normally, refugees. Most of those with integration contracts are typically reunited family members who have come to Denmark to live together with a Danish citizen (Å6). Given the legislation at the end of 2010 hardening the rules pertaining to family-based immigration, e.g. more proficient levels of Danish, a 6,000 DKK fee for the application as next of kin, municipal officials at Århus expect the number of family-based immigrants to drop during the next few years (Å6). The total number of applications for reuniting families in Denmark quite rightly dwindled to 927 during the first quarter of 2011, down from 1,670 during the selfsame quarter in 2010 and 1,538 during the 2009 corresponding period (Politiken 2011-06-22).

In Denmark, the purpose of the state stipend is to cover all necessary costs incurred by the municipality in introduction services for people encompassed by the Integration Act. In practice, municipalities receive a basic sum of approximately 4,000 DKK once an individual is placed in the municipality. That sum is the municipality's regardless of how it handles the reception, and it is meant to pay for the introduction's administrative outlays. Moreover, to this is added a state subsidy amounting to 50% of the introduction

allowance and 50% of expenses related to employment support services. If someone passes the course in Danish within the allotted introduction period, an achievement bonus of slightly over 30,000 DKK is awarded. Should a person start regular school or be hired during the introduction period, the achievement bonus rises to over 40,000 DKK (Å6; see, too, Integrationsministeriet 2007). Taken as a whole, interview subjects I have spoken to believe the introduction allowance largely covers municipal costs (Å6 and Å1).¹⁹

In Århus, the municipal *Jobcenter* ends up being the primary contact for newly arrived refugees and for next of kin. When a refugee or a close relative is granted temporary citizenship in Denmark, the state agency Immigration Service (*Udlædingeservice*) notifies *Jobcenter*. As a rule, this contact takes place about one month and a half before the newcomer arrives at the municipality to sign his/her integration contract, at which point the municipality, as stipulated by the Integration Act, assumes responsibility for the newcomer. During 30-odd days the *Jobcenter* works closely with the Social Service Center and public housing societies (*almene boligforeninger*). Thanks to the system with social housing allocations, meaning each municipality has the right to use every fourth home available at the housing societies, newcomers are usually provided with own housing on the spot. One gets a home of suitable size and rent, based on start-up grants, settlement however cannot be to run-down urban areas, for living in these neighborhoods is believed to exacerbate integration (Å6; Århus kommune 2003; Århus kommune 2007b).

At the time of the first contact with Immigration Service a case is opened up and a *Jobcenter* official writes to the newcomer's address, in practice an asylum center for refugees or, concerning reunited families, the home of the locally settled family partner. The newcomer receives information about registering at Århus' Population Register and then proceeds to *Jobcenter* offices for a first meeting. By this juncture *Jobcenter* has received all pertinent data from the asylum center. When it is a matter involving younger individuals, often Afghani males aged 16-18, a social report, for instance, has been prepared by the refugee reception center. For this group, owing to the underage status of its members, routines as a whole stray from integration legislation and are administered by the so-called service law, which automatically transfers responsibility to the Social Service Center from the *Jobcenter*.

When the newcomer visits the *Jobcenter* a special "integration contract" is devised together with the officer. The contract is the fundamental linchpin during the introduction phase and it is penned in such a way that it is clear for the newcomer that s/he is responsible, together with the community, for integration to happen. The contract specifies goals for the language level the newcomer is expected to reach by the end of the course. Officer and newcomer sign the contract, binding for both partners (Å6).

In most Danish municipalities Danish lessons must be procured elsewhere. In Århus the company *Lærdansk* has been in charge of these lessons in the 2008-12 period. Inasmuch

as the content of Danish courses is stringently set by the Integration Act, who is ultimately accountable for them is less of an issue. The education coordinator is empowered to offer three distinct lines of schooling: *Danskuddannelse* (Learn Danish) 1, *Danskuddannelse 2*, *Danskuddannelse 3*. All foreigners ending up in Århus municipality and subsumed under the Integration Act are evaluated on the basis of educational background, linguistic ability, and reasons why Denmark was selected as a place to live, in order to decide on learning activities.

As opposed to Sweden, these courses do not follow one after the other stepwise, in the sense that you can start off with school program 1 and then continue with school program 2. They are rather parallel courses. When you are given an offer to start a school program, usually during the first or second week after arrival to Århus, you have up to three years to complete your education. After this period the applicability of the law lapses. The newcomer's right to Danish classes, according to the Integration Act, stands as well for the responsibility of the municipality to provide such instruction by a public or private instance during three years (Å3).

Each of the three schooling programs is set up around 6 modules and, to go on studying this program, one must pass a module test at the end of every module. Examination details are controlled by the state: the financing of the entire system is based on these tests. Education providers do not get paid by the hour or per lesson, rather for progression in the form of passing module examinations. In the municipality of Århus, the authorities have actually chosen to allow a deviation from national legislation: *Lærdansk* is granted a minor amount of money when each newcomer starts. All educational programs conclude with an examination. Educational program 1 ends with a test on Danish 1, educational program 2 with one for Danish 2, yet educational program 3 may be finished at two different levels. Either a test in Danish 3 or yet another module completed by a preparatory examination at high school level which thus provides eligibility to pursue a college education. The big difference in connection to the importance of the final preparatory examination vis-à-vis Swedish praxis is the former's link to Danish immigration and citizenship policies. To become a Danish citizen, it is necessary but insufficient to have passed Danish 3; for permanent residence, meeting the requirements of Danish 2 is likewise necessary but not sufficient (Å3).²⁰

Between 50% to 60% of newcomers comprehended by the Integration Act are given the option to go for school program 3, which signals for these students the feasibility of eventual Danish citizenship. The better part of this group consists of labor migrants hailing from Germany and Poland, among others, and those coming to Denmark to marry a Danish citizen. School program 2 is the option for those who have some years of education and aim to live and enter the labor market in Denmark. This group adds up to 30% of newcomers. The last 10% to 15% incorporates people with too little education and the illiterate, refugees and next of kin refugees for the most part, all placed in school

program 1: there is no chance of ever obtaining permanent residence, let alone Danish citizenship, never mind passing the final examination. As long as they are in Denmark, they must reapply for limited residence every year (Å3; LBK nr 1062 af 20/08/2010).

G: But if you're placed in *Danskuddannelse 1*, how are you meant to qualify for the Danish 2 test?

Å3: That's a good question. You can't!

G: Is there someone who's thought this out?

Å3: This is linked to the system change which happened in 2001 when we got a government supported by Dansk Folkeparti. Things took off in this direction and there's no doubt that political preferences lie behind it. For governmental support, the Dansk Folkeparti demanded far-reaching savings in the immigration sector. These ideas have their origin here and today stand behind Danish legislation in this area. It is so that nearly 50% of our class participants (*kursister*) may never become Danish citizens, for they are far from Danish course requirements for gaining nationality.

G: Since they were placed in *Danskuddannelse 1* from the beginning or due to failure to attain course goals?

Å3: They will never reach course goals.

Å1: Do alternative ways exist?

Å3: In theory they do exist, but not in practice. It is written in the law that you cannot get an academic exemption owing to post-traumatic stress, habitual among program participants covered by the Integration Act. [...] Most students today are EU-citizens and for them it matters less whether you have permanent residence permit or Danish citizenship, granted their rights as EU-citizens. These rules are created to realize the ideological ends of shutting out the Third World from Danish citizenship. And these people are hit by the rules accurately and hardest.

Changes in Danish immigration policies are felt not least in the distribution of students among all three educational programs. At the end of 1990s school program 1 was by far the largest, since students consisted for the most part of illiterate and refugees with minimal educational attainments. There were not many who went through school program 3, but the proportions have now shifted (Å3).

Another consequence of this change is that *Lærdansk* has become the most significant partner of the municipal's commercial and labor market divisions, instead of the Social Service Center, as it was in 1990s (Å3).

G: You've got twenty years' experience in teaching Danish. If you were to go back and ponder over your experiences, challenges, and problems that you face today, are they the same as they were twenty years ago? Has it changed?

Å3: It has changed a lot. 100%. An absolute turnabout. Twenty years ago language classes and the fight against unemployment were two sides of the same coin. We taught by and large unemployed people, about 90-5% of participants. We focused on jobs and nothing else. It was the essential. That is not the case today, for 95% are employed.

Concurrent with Danish lessons newcomers are encouraged to do internships, subsidized or regular work, up to twenty hours per week. So that course participants may have time for both education and internships, *Lærdansk* gives classes during the day, the evening, and via internet with the online tuition community Netdansk. This last-named is used not least by reunited overseas family members who live together with a Danish citizen (Å6).

Officers and career counselors at Jobcenter are housed in the same building as *Lærdansk*, making it easier to combine work focused introduction services with instruction in Danish. At the Jobcenter the first day one arrives in Århus is said to be the beginnings of introduction services.

Å7: We begin right away speaking about language, society, culture, education and work, and this we do in collaboration with the language center. It is all about school, case officers, and career counselors. We investigate right off what people have for experiences, educationally and professionally. The majority coming to Århus has some employment background and we take that as point of departure when we contact the labor market, businesses or educational institutions. We talk at the school about the Danish labor market and general requirements, e.g. education prerequisites. We also tell them about culture during this clarification or preparatory phase. As soon as course participants begin we try to get them in touch with firms, through intensive internships or company visits and talks with staff. It can be anything at all. It doesn't always work but we try to do it this way. We always do it with the underlying thought that language is crucial. It is the essential part. For instance, it can mean that someone with an engineering degree can find him/herself doing an internship in a child-care center so as to train linguistic skills.

G: How does an engineer react when placed in a crèche?

Å7: When we explain why we do it they see the rationality behind it. Many with engineer diplomas dream, of course, of working as engineers in Denmark. But they soon discover it is not so simple. Language is the pivotal hindrance.

The operations of *Jobcenter* are above all to help well-educated immigrants, often partners of labor migrants, join the labor market. For this group *Jobcenter* assists with translation and assessment of documents, putting together CVs, as well as informing about labor market conditions, qualifications and employment opportunities. *Jobcenter* also lends a hand with business contacts and thereby has recourse to Integration Act in order to provide wage subsidies, internships, courses, and education (Å7). Another important difference compared to how things looked before is that Århus firms have become more willing to welcome newcomers to internships and also to offer regular employment during the introduction period. Which does not mean language requirements have lost urgency – if anything the opposite!

Å3: The point of departure for teaching Danish is altogether different today. What is today important is the link to residency. This is the main thing. Not so much work, as those coming have work. As a matter of fact, our most important collaboration, for the municipality, is with the business division, not as before with the social and employment divisions. It is all about the municipal vision to provide labor and the business and municipal wish to keep it. And language is thus an important matter. Research has of late shown that there's a difference between attracting labor and retaining it. We know it is very expensive to recruit people with relevant skills from abroad. It costs several hundred thousand Danish crowns and for it to pay itself, you are meant to stay one year and a half. So for companies it is critical that new employees remain longer than a year and a half. They need to stay two, three, maybe four years before the company gets its money's worth. But many leave after one year, which is problematic. It has to do with family situation, partners' and children's. To be able to speak Danish and to interact socially and culturally with neighbors and in child-care centers. It is thus crucial that workers learn as much Danish as necessary to hang out with others and to understand what is being said at the cafeteria and in informal meetings. Many firms use English as company language and quite many have told us that Danish is not required, English will do. But it is still clever to learn Danish, given English is not spoken in the cafeteria, during leisure hours, and at home as part of social activities. That is why our role is so significant for local firms, both recruitment and retainment.

G: Is there some incentive for the employer to hire someone you call about rather than hiring someone else *Jobcenter's* career counselors suggest? Is there some stipend or allowance for the employer, say lower payroll taxes?

Å7: We offer the same deal. My colleagues at the *Jobcenter* may also provide internship salaries and the like, so there's no difference. I've noticed that, because of language issues, it is sometimes more difficult for me. Even if I have an engineer, employers hesitate when they find out he/she speaks only English. They fear how things will go with other colleagues. How will it work?

G: So, is it more concerns about the internal atmosphere than about how things will work elsewhere, that there are quite a few employers that have English as company language but the language spoken in the cafeteria is Danish?

Å7: That's correct. For example, I went to Vestas [a multinational concern producing wind-power stations, whose headquarters are situated in Århus – my clarification] with a group of highly-educated course participants, and there all tasks pertaining to work use English. But during the break one speaks about yesterday's football match in Danish. And so Vestas tells us that the ones coming must speak perfect English, and also enough Danish to make themselves understood. I think many firms feel similarly. It is about the social side of the firm. That side is not always in English. It is often in Danish and then they hesitate to interact with our course participants if they have no Danish at all. Some serious effort is needed!

G: It is pretty interesting that companies put so much emphasis on this. One would imagine that firms value above all competence and the capability to work in English. But the social is important too.

Å7: Yes, if a decision must be taken between a Dane and one of my students, it matters.

It is about language but also about cultural contrasts in the labor market. Some companies are, however, committed to bring in our people. They reckon it is exciting.

Interestingly enough it is the municipal authorities themselves that *Jobcenter* has the most difficulty in persuading to give internships to newcomers (Å7). According to an interviewee (Å1), the reason is that many municipal professions are tied to specific Danish educational programs and require concrete skills that, in practice, raise a wall around them. Yet, Å1 points out that various municipal sectors, for instance elderly care and collective traffic, do hire many of foreign descent.

Over and beyond the work done by Århus municipality on behalf of language schooling and internships for newcomers, generous resources are earmarked towards Danish lessons for children. With respect to newcomers' children, the municipality must by law provide Danish instruction but, in Århus, it has chosen to direct resources to those children who, after living in another Danish community for three years, come to Århus. Experience has shown that these children give evidence of greater difficulties in language learning than those who come straight to Århus, which in turn can worsen their chances to make it through school (Å1; Å2).

G: We have spoken now of people coming directly to Århus. How is it with those who come to Århus at some later point?

Å1: After three years you are no longer tied to the municipality where you've been settled, and then some refugees and immigrants choose to move to Århus or some other larger town. We've had, say, some Afghans that have found their way to Århus from municipalities in southern Jutland. It is a challenge for us, since we feel that many of those municipalities where this people are coming from have not done their job well, and you notice when someone has been through an integration program in a less ambitious municipality.

Å2: You see it in adults but even more in children. That is why, here in Århus, we have decided to start a massive undertaking to teach Danish even to those children who've been in Denmark longer than three years. We consider it an investment, for it goes better in school for those kids who speak good Danish than for those who speak Danish poorly. It means that we aim at a level markedly higher than what *Folketinget* requires. Many other municipalities aim at reaching minimum levels but it means that children from those municipalities who make it to Århus, on average, speak unsatisfactory Danish, if compared to children who arrived directly in Århus. There have been issues, say, with some Afghani children who arrived here after having lived in another community.

G: What can Århus do at that point? These are people for whom you no longer get the standard compensation, as they are outside the Integration Act.

Å2: There's not been so much talk about it, but several years ago it turned into such an issue that we wrote to the minister and explained the problem. An assessment of the quota distribution system reached in effect the conclusion that what you lose on the swings, you gain on the roundabouts. You try to manage it but when newcomers cannot secure work it turns into a problem and a municipal expense.

Å1: If more refugees were to arrive, it is quite possible that this issue can resurface.

Å2: The Integration Act has been presently changed, for changed immigration patterns have to be gauged. This act has been expanded in various aspects and, as regards language and other things, it now also applies to Europeans.

Å1: The new group is above all labor migrants' companions. A wife to an Indian physician, for instance, will hardly get offered work, so the law has now been changed so that she can secure an integration program with Danish instruction. It has been a big problem when partners of highly-educated labor migrants do not get to participate in Danish classes. The law has thus been changed and it is as well an expression of altered immigration patterns.

As specified by the Integration Act, municipalities are responsible for providing Danish lessons for children of foreign ancestry from the age of three years, yet in Århus children between 0-3 years of age have been targeted, and a special language screening is conducted at the age of three, though it is not compulsory (Å5; Århus kommune 2010; Jakobsen 2009). Existing legal rules have made it possible for students to be apportioned to predetermined schools based on their knowledge of Danish. This measure has led the municipality to, three times, be reported for discrimination but the municipality has always been acquitted, as it has been able to show that the measures taken have been successful (Å5).

G: What sort of power can you exercise in a system where schools are free to move students? Can you recommend or order a student to be moved?

Å5: We can decide because, in Denmark, there is a law that says that if you are in serious need of language instruction we can transfer you to a school we feel has better choices. We cannot do this willy-nilly, rather objectively and preplanned. Language screening at the age of 6 shows whether the child is in strong need of language instruction or can be sent to a host school, as we call them – we believe it is good for the child. If you are a child of a traumatized refugee family, where dad sits at home, shaking and banging his head on the wall and mom has a bunch of other issues, we do not then send the child away to another city neighborhood. But if we believe it is best for the child, we do it!

Å1: Does it happen that parents wish for the child to be sent to another part of town?

Å5: Yes. Many parents would like that. Many with children being taught Danish as second language want their children to attend a school where it is not just a question of bilingual children. Thanks to the freedom to choose schools one has been able to pick another school if there's room, but new school groups are not put together for this purpose.

G: Another thing I could not let go was when you said that you offer something to families that they are unable to decline.

Å5: Yes, as stipulated by law. If you have a child that studies Danish as second language and the child has language needs, you qua parent have a legal responsibility to ensure your child is linguistically stimulated. This can be done at home but very few go for that alternative. The other alternative is to put the child in a crèche or to have the child linguistically stimulated 15 free hours per week. If your income is relatively low, placement

in a childcare center is free of charge. It is called economic courtesy. Otherwise it costs about 3,000 DKK monthly to have a place in day-care centers. This legislation applies to children between 3 – 6 years old and all Danish municipalities adhere to this. What we have done in Århus is to stretch it so that it includes 0 – 3 year olds and to defray the costs ourselves. But we do this because we believe in the importance of bringing the child's Danish proficiency up to par. The municipal council in Århus has traditionally been more ambitious in this sense when compared to other municipalities. We have in here a good relationship between the political and the administrative levels.

Housing and Residential Segregation

Malmö

During the interviews I have had questions about factors that, first and foremost, are understood as having significance for the newcomers' introduction process. I have also asked whether the settlement of newcomers is viewed as having an impact on the ability to manage challenges such as housing shortages and residential segregation, and if so how and to what extent.

In Malmö it is above all two factors that are accentuated when it is a matter of the introduction process: housing and the newcomers' psychic disturbances.

M1: What occupies my thinking now is whether our participants have what it takes to go through the program. The answer is no, not all. A good number of them live in conditions that make sticking out the course difficult. The housing situation is for many simply atrocious. And is not news that this is the way it is in Malmö. It is likewise in Södertälje, Botkyrka, Göteborg, Landskrona, Helsingborg, to name but a few municipalities that have it rough. There's an impact on Sfi instruction. We had hoped that others would pass one of the school programs, but that is the missing prerequisite, housing. The other is psychic disturbances. You feel so wretched when you come. Things don't get better just because you enter the process here, the new country's migration process with everything it entails. Had we been able to manage psychic illness and housing, it would have made it easier, I think, to learn the language and, thereby, to integrate.

G: Will Malmö catch up?

M2: No. It will not happen. Not with the existing housing situation, for if it doesn't work a whole lot else doesn't work either. Now, I don't mean everything would be milk and honey if everyone had a place to live, but it would definitely make things easier. In many ways it is a problem when combined with post-traumatic syndrome, you feel uncertain, you have a hard time fitting in. And so, simultaneously, one is to live with another family and feel like an intruder. It becomes an issue for both the incoming and the host families. With kids, school, homework. Many are seriously tuckered out. You have no energy for a whole lot. I believe it's a lot about housing conditions. You sort of never get there. It's another story once you have a place, here we can live. It doesn't have to be anything fancy but you need to know you can stay. You can begin living again. But then you don't

and for many it's been years. The man leaves Iraq, through several other countries, and so the family must too.

M5: Primary needs must be met before you can assimilate further information and learn other things. If you don't have a place to live, neither does your family, and this is a thorn in the side of other introduction services. So, of course, it is an issue. And even if you are hardened as an officer, it feels awful to get to know that now the whole family is out in the street with three children and nowhere to go and the situation is chaotic. Yes, this has an impact.

G: Do you feel it even more stressful at this juncture when lots of next of kin immigrants arrive, that is, when families are coming? It could be worse than one person sleeping on a sofa, but now the whole family is coming.

M5: That's when you become seriously preoccupied. When families arrive. You have been a tenant and, on top of everything, it suddenly gets really crowded. And the people who signed the contract and accept another family, which is not permitted. And I don't know whether people are aware of this. What is one opening oneself to when, as contract holder, you let too many people live with you? Further, the flats get damp and damaged when twelve people are going to shower in a one-bedroom flat. The adverse impact on children schoolwork is severe, as for Sfi participants. It is simply difficult to study in cramped conditions.

How can these factors be confronted? With respect to psychic disturbance, Malmö began a special Sfi education called IntroRehab, an introduction educational package geared towards people being treated by Red Cross or undergoing psychiatric treatment due to migration-related complications (Malmö stad 2009c). Feedback from the said special education has been rather positive, but all too few get to go through it given the lack of resources (M1).

When we shift focus to housing, there's a widespread impression that Malmö cannot manage that issue locally, and that changes in national settlement policies are necessary in order to give Malmö, particularly its vulnerable districts, a breather.

M7: If some breathing space had been given to Rosengård for a few years, I think a lot could've improved. The unceasing dispatch of more people makes it very trying. EBO asks for a lot. Even if I am for people having the right to decide on housing, it takes a lot of effort. There are consequences for the families and, above all, for the children. [...] There's no room where you can do your homework.

A vigorous campaign can be witnessed at MKB, the municipal housing society, to revamp Malmö's derelict neighborhoods, especially Rosengård and parts of Fosie.

M7: It takes a while to grasp the connection. Above all what we are working with right now, to rehabilitate Rosengård. Rosengård is not like Stockholm's suburbs. It is a district in Malmö. It is but a 10 minute bike ride from the downtown area. It is exactly 1.2

km from Möllevångstorget, meaning nothing. It is not like the suburbs of Stockholm or Göteborg, lying by some hilly range to which the subway or commuter train takes you. Here it is in the middle of Malmö, but nothing is happening. Life is subdued. You don't have places to meet, no shops, nothing. The idea was to take the car, slide down the garage, and then be home. But today a whole different population structure makes its home here. We have an employment level of 34% in Törnrosen. Herrgården has 17%, lowest in Sweden. People are home a lot and it does not work with the old separation deal. Moreover, many come here from cultures where you lead an intensive urban life, everything is integrated, and then this structure doesn't work. [...] You can imagine endless hurdles but if you see problems in every direction you'll get nowhere. We have done that in Rosengård for ten, fifteen years. Only problematization. Nothing encouraging has been seen and the media has publicized the "problem child" view, so that it is the usual picture for people without knowledge of the neighborhood. You see yourself when you walk through this area. It is green and cool, but no journalist writes about that. No one comes here to write about blooming cherry trees and children playing in playgrounds. What is written about is the fires and riots in Herrgården. We have issues! There's no denying. In these areas, fifty percent are younger than 18 years old and there's no other place in Sweden with such a proportion of youth. But at the same time you can't just stay there and at MKB we are concretely looking for what needs to be done. The monotonous architecture we are working on, we are creating meeting points, and working with fundamental administrative tasks. If it's not in one piece, clean and attractive, it is a signal that we don't care. Fixing broken windows, getting rid of graffiti. It's all about acknowledging that there's someone around and we work that way at MKB. Acknowledgement. Visible and local superintending. That there's someone that cares, that addresses the people living here. Hence it is imperative to work both at the strategic level and at the basic level, this is when you get how things hang together. You work from multiple angles and wrap it up.

As foundation for the work done by MKL lies an obvious awareness about the symbolism of Rosengård in a Swedish, but also European, debate on segregation and estrangement.

M7: Rosengård stands for the debate's central arena. It has even become the European arena. We get correspondence from people everywhere in Europe who want to visit and study this area. The whole thing is bizarre. It is now time to do something else of for it. That is what we work with, in our limited ways. It is by no means a short process, it is a long haul. Twenty years it might take before Rosengård has been turned around.

G: You are talking now about long-term processes. What do you see facing you as opportunities?

M7: There are plenty of kids and young adults who have got an education and university diplomas but lack a place to move into. They can see themselves staying in Rosengård, but do not find flats. They seek something better and earn decent paychecks. One forgets about this category but they can get Rosengård going. The ones living in misery, illiterate women 50+ years, they will never lift Rosengård. Outspoken? But that's how it is! They will themselves never rise above all this. But we are mindful of their children, so

that they can move forward. For an illiterate 50-plus woman who came here five or ten years ago, the road to employment is so long that I'd rather put my money on children and youth who at this moment in time have another kind of opportunity to get ahead in Malmö than what their parents will ever have.

An aspect taken up by several interview subjects in Malmö is that the freedom EBO-legislation gives newcomers to locate a place to settle is limited. There are no legal hurdles to prevent newcomers residing in one municipality from eventually moving into another municipality (it is likewise in Denmark), yet if you change municipalities after one month of having received residence there's no assumption of legal responsibilities by the new municipality to offer an introduction program and introduction allowance.

G: There are so many people who want to live in Malmö. One imagines that with so many people wanting to live here this situation should be granted priority.

M4: It is so as long as it doesn't result in a wretched life, which it is proven to do. You get a sort of unsavory refill. This is not really the answer to your question but we return to this issue of housing and, when you opt for something according to EBO (one of Malmö's problems, this EBO!), you choose because you know what you're doing. You feel somewhat safe in unsafe conditions. Otherwise one would go for ABO, which more often than not means living with someone you don't know somewhere in a part of Sweden unknown to you. Of course you go for EBO. It is a thoroughly human choice. I think that everyone understands how they think. The problem is that when they get residence and find themselves in Malmö there are no flats and not a whole lot of help available. If they don't retract within a month from the time residence was obtained, Immigration Service offers no help. They are virtually hostages of the town they are in. One speaks of free movement, free choice, but this ends when you get your residence permit, and it is very hard if you change your mind once you've begun the introduction. Everything is terminated.

G: What you are saying is extremely interesting, not least as a background to the debate around the concept "municipal arrest". This is a sort of hidden municipal arrest.

M4: Yes, it is. Absolutely!

In collaboration with the administrative counties of southern Sweden and a number of municipalities, Malmö directed for a while project JobBo in order to try and help newcomers who wanted to leave Malmö to get to municipalities where the housing situation was more favorable. Malmö financed introduction allowances during the first month in the new municipality and even ensured that the standard compensations were transferred to that municipality. In the end, within the scope of the project, only a few families actually left Malmö for another municipality (M4; M2; Migrationsverket 2010). The question of how Malmö will be able to accept so many newcomers as it actually does and at the same time perk up the housing areas where newcomers are likely to end up, remains thus unanswered.

Århus

In Århus, too, I have asked questions on the issues interviewees feel they have to deal with during the introduction process. The answers, however, have centered more on anterior problems and those that could conceivably arise. There seems to be a consensus that conditions at the present time are good and that the situation, from the perspective of the municipality, is under control.

G: Have you got any problems with overcrowded housing conditions? One problem Malmö has is that very little is happening in the housing market.

Å2: In Gellerup there are many large flats, 120-30 m², so there's plenty of room.

G: Large families can thus get large flats.

Å2: Yes. Things have improved since the government introduced a system of "combined renting", which means that if the share of unemployed in a given area rises to a certain point, unemployed people next in queue to live in a vulnerable neighborhood may be turned down.

G: If you have financial support and are turned down for a flat in Gellerup, where do you then get a flat?

Å2: You are then assigned a flat elsewhere if you were already on the queue when the town council took the decision on combined rental.

G: But there must be flats in other areas. Are there enough flats around Århus so that you can say "no" to some people in some neighborhoods?

Å2: Combined rental works all right in the Bispehaven and Herredsvang districts. Demands for flats from the well-to-do can be an issue in Gellerup and if no such demand exists, the flats are rented out to people in the queue even if dependent on financial help.

Å1: This is one of the reasons why one wants fewer flats in Gellerup.

G: Are the flats in Gellerup, Søndervangen and Bispehaven much cheaper than those in other parts of town, so that you as a rule can afford to live there even when receiving financial support?

Å2: Yes, they are affordable. You often get a housing allowance if your earnings are lower than a certain sum.

One has a good idea as to how one reached prevailing conditions. When public officials in Århus speak of the pre v. post situation, with respect to the Integration Act and the stepwise hardening of immigration policies, contrasts are glaring.

Å1: What has really mattered is that one has tightened rules for reunited overseas family members. It has had a decisive impact on immigration patterns.

G: When did it take place?

Å2: Episodically during 2000s.

Å1: If the target group consists of newcomers from warring countries, like Lebanon, it doesn't really matter much how hard we try and how buoyant the labor market is. We cannot obtain as good an outcome as when immigration is mixed.

G: If I had come to Århus 10-11 years ago, at the end of 1990s, what reception services

would I have encountered? How did one work then and how did things look?

Å7: Ten years ago one did nothing for reunited overseas family members who had no stipends. One started a case but did nothing. But we have discovered that this group of people is very resourceful. Politically, properly speaking, Denmark has also changed but nothing was done then.

In spite of the changes, two worries cloud the sky, the source of which, civil officials claim, can be traced to pre-Integration Act times.

G: What is paradoxical for me when arriving in Århus is, on the one hand, the picture or feeling, which I have come across when meeting diverse others, that things are working well. One is well aware of the situation, who is admitted, and a flat is rapidly found, you get education and find work fast. There is, on the other hand, a Danish debate I view as uncompromising and visible, about ghettos and failed integration. How are you meant to make sense of this? Are those problems a persistence of errors hailing back to 1980s & '90s, or how to get a grip on it?

Å7: You're right. That is complex and a bit peculiar. I am generalizing now, but some of those living in ghettos, say Gellerup, are people who've lived in Denmark for nearly twenty years. They've most likely been instructed in Danish but have not been part of a more planned out integration process and, therefore, we began five years ago with a special service to put together a set of more felicitous services for earlier refugees and immigrants. But old habits die hard. I argue that through the work we do now we shall not in ten years have such a large group in Gellerup. I think so. We have fashioned a model that won't let you slip through the cracks. A few will fall but, in general, we get going those who move to Denmark and Århus. It is a bit more difficult with those arriving in Århus after having been in another community. But the ones that start the integration phase in Århus, we check on them and they are integrated properly. This means that in 10 years they will not be living in Gellerup.

G: If I were then to broach a somewhat provocative issue, I don't know, so I wonder how one should come to terms with it, I mean, it seems to work well with Århus' refugee reception services, at the same time a big discussion is going on focusing on the risks of a growth of parallel societies. The entire discussion about radicalizing, redesigning Gellerup, and the like. How do they fit together? The picture, on the one side, that things are brilliant and, on the other, apprehension.

Å1: The questions you're taking up express the view that we botched integration work during the 1970s, 80s, and 90s. We gave them cash and so parked them up. Some did not wish to learn Danish and we made few demands.

Å2: It is difficult to answer. It's got something to do with this "sense of belonging", I believe. If you take Gellerup and the issue of why they have settled there, it is not just an isolated problem of Århus. Nowadays, the discussion is more about how to create a more coherent city, one where people meet up and down and live more mixed rather than that some people live in some areas and others elsewhere. Before a lot was about employment, one thought that more commingling would strengthen networks and

create jobs. It is surely important but in the present climate it has to do with the attempt to design a sounder city.

The need to build a “coherent city”, Å2 says, becomes clearer when interviewee Å1 recounts a meeting that took place in Århus’ largest and most exposed district, Gellerup:

Å1: We had a meeting at the sports hall in Globus1. A little boy there said: see how many Danes are here today! And he said it in Århus dialect but he does not think of himself as Danish. It is the others that are Danish.

Intensive efforts are under way with the aim to turn Gellerup into a more attractive part of the city, for native-born Danes too.

Å8: Public housing societies try to offer flats that appeal to all kinds of groups. The complication is to get going with building flats in exposed neighborhoods that are found attractive by people of means. It is a challenge and we ponder how to make it happen in Gellerup. We discuss selling some of the existing properties, among other things.

G: Is it gauged as a problem, for the position and power of the housing society, that it is increasingly a part of the housing market that effectively takes care of people with scant resources?

Å8: It is of course a drawback that one does not have a housing area as mixed as before. If you get too many badly functioning areas, it affects too the sort of individuals taking part in administrative boards, and, by default, how these areas will be developed and run. That’s why there’s a commitment to try and create diversity.

G: So there’s both a political idea about the whole, a sort of social diversity, but even about the ones who in the future will join in and run the public housing society?

Å8: Yes, that much is clear. The more prosperous people in a particular district, the greater the chance that some of them will want to help take care of the area.

G: How do you think Gellerup has changed during the past twenty years and has the picture people have of Gellerup been modified in any way during this period?

Å9: When I began to work here 80% of area residents received some kind of financial assistance. The impression that it was poor prevailed already 15 years ago, but back then no one felt an urgency to refurbish the area. We had plenty of visitors even back then and the neighborhood was viewed as a bit exotic. You went up the staircase and it smelled of unusual spices. During the past several years I am of the opinion that things have got rougher. I don’t know whether this is due to altered social services or political developments or so they have less money and more difficulty to find jobs, but it seems harder these days. So it gets violent, fire engines arrive, rocks are flung, people focus on it. That is also why there is a tougher view, that something needs to be done with that area so that it does not turn into a community asunder the larger community. People spoke previously of how exciting it could be with discrete, coexistent communities but no longer.

G: Do you see a future when one stops talking about Gellerup in Danish debates?

Å9: If you can get rid of all social problems in Denmark. I mean, even if the area is revamped people are not going to disappear. If we were to build a mosque, demolish a house or create a homepage, there will always be a group of immigrants, I call them immigrants, without education and a lack of resources, poor and on the dole and whose children grow up in unfavorable circumstances and in turn bring children into this world. It is troublesome no matter whether it is in Gudrunsvvej or some other neighborhood and will always be there, in my view. There will always be, I think, bottlenecks. I can't imagine a situation in which they are systematically distributed throughout the country. You hear of Dutch areas that have achieved a turnaround but I believe that in our housing associations you don't solve social problems simply by dint of physical alterations. Yet I can imagine that Gellerup will, in ten years' time, be a hip place to live, where people think it is great to live in. If you refurbish it you will get great flats, not least penthouses, and it would also be an attractive environment.

The impression can be had that there is a serious gap between the question of how newcomers shall be distributed between different municipalities and the question of how municipalities are to engage in preventive work against social and ethnic housing segregation. But if anything has become clear to me during the interviews I conducted is that these issues hang together with how municipal authorities gauge policies of refugee settlement. This is why I consider it of import to bring this aspect to bear on the interview material. In the report's concluding section I shall discuss, in relation to Danish and Swedish settlement policies, ideas and experiences that have surfaced during the interviews.

Coda

During the past few years, when I have had the opportunity to present my findings in a number of contexts, one question keeps harping up, namely *what is best?* The Danish system, characterized by seriously regulated settlement policies within a framework of utterly restrictive migration policies and with an integration policy that, in all simplicity, may be summarized by the words *work* and *adaptation*. Or the Swedish system, featuring a refugee settlement policy that makes it possible for newcomers to pick their place of residence anywhere in the country immediately after arrival, within the framework of an integration policy that could be termed restrictive in an objective sense but that in comparison to Europe must be viewed as one of the most generous. And with an integration policy in which the employment orientation has begun to receive more attention but nonetheless leaves room for the objective “equal rights and responsibilities” and, granted, for some pluralism in connection to language issues and fundamental values.

My reply to this query does not normally lead to great enthusiasm. I tend to assert that there is no uniform answer, that it instead depends on what we consider significant and the time perspective. As I see it, differences between Swedish and Danish migration and integration policies, all the more noticeable this last decade, represent two contrasting points of view on how small and affluent welfare states are able to efficaciously rise up to challenges pertaining to a globalized world. Should we, like Denmark, deal with a minimum of commitments that, according to international conventions, we are meant to fulfill towards the downtrodden, while seeking to compete for the finest brains and nimblest hands in a global labor market? Are we to read integration, following Denmark, as immigrants adapting to “Danish values”, which is expressed in a highly selective re-discovery of Danish history and Danish?²¹ Or should we, as done in Sweden, attempt to live up to the spirit of international conventions, not just the letter, while simultaneously competing to the greatest possible extent in the international labor market? As in Sweden, should we at least redefine integration as mutual adaptation to novelty in a society where an increasing share of the population is made up of people descended from different parts of the world (cf. Mouritsen & Olsen 2011; Brochmann & Hagelund 2010; Borevi 2010b).

We cannot know at present how our societies will be affected in the future by the answers we give to these questions in this day and age. It is thus not possible to rule out in the long run the Danish model of migration and integration policies as better or worse than the Swedish. Yet we certainly can entertain philosophical, ideological and political ideas, but that's something else.

That said, there is really nothing stopping us from indulging the social scientific curiosity awakened by differences between Danish and Swedish migration and integration policies. In this report my point of departure has been the issue of where newly arrived refugees and their families are going to live during their first two or three years in the host country. I have shown the distinctiveness of the so-called refugee settlement policies of Denmark and Sweden. I have also claimed that refugee settlement policy constitutes a momentous bridge between migration policies and integration policies.

Against this background I have conducted a set of interviews with public officials from various organizations in the municipalities of Malmö and Århus. My purpose was to study the extent to which and the ways in which national refugee settlement policies in, respectively, Sweden and Denmark, are seen to have an impact on the municipal prospects to manage challenges brought by receiving and introducing newly arrived refugees and immigrants.

How does reception and introduction of newly arrived refugees and immigrants in Denmark and Sweden work when we shift from the national to the municipal level where we find Malmö and Århus? In a comparison, what is more salient, differences or similarities? Trying to answer such a question based on a case study of only two municipalities is, needless to say, a perilous task, for comparing two such communities tends to put the focus on differences rather than similarities. We need to remind ourselves that differences between the studied municipalities in each country and other municipalities in one and the same country, could be as big as those between the said municipalities. However, I believe that grounded on the investigation I present here it is possible to reach some conclusions on both, what Malmö and Århus have in common as well as what separates them and how these are linked with refugee settlement policies in each country.

Among what they have in common is the stress put on employment as the endpoint of the introduction and language learning in combination with internships as chief means. Another key likeness is the professionalism developed by both municipalities under scrutiny in the work involved in reception and introduction of newcomers. My impression is that in both municipalities there is a determination to create as efficient and humane reception and introduction plans as possible, given laws and regulations municipalities have to follow. Yet another similarity between the two municipalities, as far as I have understood it, would seem to be the absence of sharp political antagonisms regarding these questions at the municipal level. In both Malmö and Århus I have asked

questions and searched for material on political differences in connection to the undertakings of the municipalities in the reception and introduction areas, but the search has consistently led to the national level and, above all in Sweden, to political disagreements between the national and the municipal levels, as much between as within political parties.

It is also at the national level that we find the foundation of differences that, despite the similarities taken up, must be highlighted as the chief outcome of this investigation. It is namely at the national level, in the fields of migration and refugee settlement policies, that pivotal decisions are taken in these two areas. At the moment differences between Denmark and Sweden in both of these areas are behind the distinctive starting points for each country's municipalities. Another important difference tied to the national level has to do with the degree of detailed control concerning the municipalities' reception and introduction work. In Denmark the so-called Integration Act scrupulously regulates the organizing and financing of reception and introduction. As political scientist Martin Qvist has shown, it is totally different in Sweden. Only a broad legal outline for reception and introduction is set out in the law and since then, and up until 2006, it has been up to the Integration Board; thereafter the practical responsibility lies jointly with county administrations and municipalities.

Taken as a whole, divergence at the national level has led to far-reaching consequences at the municipal level. Whereas Malmö accepts thousands of newly arrived refugees and immigrants every year, Århus takes in 10+. Where Malmö takes in, apart from Danish migrants, immigrants from such countries as Iraq and Afghanistan, immigration to Århus is labor migration from Poland, Romania and Germany. In Malmö you are struck by a feeling of crisis in the reception of refugees, yet the feeling in Århus is that everything is under control, not least because public officials remember how it was before, during 1990s, when their situation resembled Malmö's.

The question is, of course, whether anchored in this comparative study, you can reach the conclusion that prerequisites for a harmonious refugee reception in Malmö would be fulfilled if Swedish refugee settlement policies would go back to the type of clear redistribution philosophy that was tested during the reputed 1985-94 *All of Sweden* strategy, or simply to a Danish model, with a nationally determined redistribution standard based on the number of people of foreign extraction in the municipalities. And would "breathing space" in the reception of refugees help Malmö to deal with issues of residential segregation, unemployment, poverty, and crime, rampant in the city these days?

Judging from experience in Århus, the answer is *yes*, when approached through the organization of refugee reception and introduction, and *no*, in the short run at least, granted residential segregation and allied problems in its wake. The regulation of Danish refugee settlement policies, together with a toughening of migration policies in the last decade,

have resulted in a negligible number of *direct arrivals* being settled. The few newcomers who go directly to Århus get a well organized reception, with housing, language lessons, and an internship already set up (often on arrival date). On the other hand, we cannot say that Århus has come a step closer than Malmö in how to manage social and ethnic segregation, and this in spite of a housing market in Århus which hardly seems to be, as in Malmö, under pressure.

These answers are interesting owing to both, how one from the Swedish government side has argued for maintaining the existing refugee settlement policy and, from the municipal side, argued for a change in existing policy. The key argument as much in Social Democratic as in "Coalition" governments for defending EBO-legislation has been that newcomers should enjoy the same rights to choose place of residence in Sweden as everyone else. Individual free choice has become a fundamental principle not to be touched, not even if and when it leads to a less than optimal outcome in the introduction process. It may be worthwhile mentioning that this argument lacked centrality when EBO-legislation was inspected in the beginning of the 90s. According to political scientist Karin Borevi (2010a: 94-9), EBO-legislation represents an emergency measure in a situation when public reception of refugees had crumbled and everyone thought that not even half of newcomers would pick this alternative. Ordinary estimates during preplanning stages put the figure around 10%. That so many newcomers would end up picking the EBO-alternative solved, however, a national urgent issue, which landed instead on the desks of a restricted number of municipalities that suddenly got to take care of an unexpectedly large share of newcomers. It is not irrelevant to be acquainted with this background, since it can arguably help us to grasp why the Swedish government is at the present time unwilling to regulate refugee settlement policies. Swedish migration policies, in a European perspective, is characterized by embracing principles that are both, more generous than most and more open to annual variations in reception. This variation would be difficult to handle within an approach, like Denmark's, which focuses on publicly regulated refugee settlement policies. Given EBO-legislation, the government plays the accordion, making it possible to manage comparatively large shifts in the number of newcomers from one year to the next. As such, this policy harmonizes with the open philosophy that continues to impact Swedish migration and integration policies. To the extent that these policies are carried out at municipal expense, economically and organizationally, there is reason to wonder whether it truly is a reasonable state of affairs.

It must be said, at the same time, that municipalities allowing many newcomers have, too, a responsibility for how the critique of current refugee settlement policies are phrased. My impression, both when I go through the EBO-legislation controversies of the past few decades and during the interviews conducted, is that the law is criticized for giving rise to untenable conditions for newcomers who wish to live in municipalities like Malmö, Södertälje and Botkyrka. This critique is often substantial and ought to be read as absolutely legitimate. On the other hand, the target of the critical commentary

has been the problems EBO-legislation generated for refugee receiving municipalities, directly in the form of unpredictability and underfinancing of reception and during the introduction process, indirectly in the form of increasing residential segregation, unemployment and poverty. As well, this criticism has to be taken seriously and is admissible, yet here lies a threat that the municipal government never took heed of, namely that the critique directed at EBO-legislation can be turned into a critique and problematization of newcomers, rather than of refugee settlement policies.

The issue is whether the Swedish government can afford, in the long term, to jeopardize the legitimacy of migration policies through taking a nonchalant stance towards EBO-legislation complaints made by refugee-welcoming municipalities or if it can come up with a refugee settlement policy model that provides a more proportional distribution of newcomers throughout all municipalities, without vitiating the ideal of a freely choosing individual. The Introduction Reform envisions a clearer rapport between the housing market and the labor market, but during the reform's first year not much has taken place in just this area (Statskontoret 2012: 4). It remains to be seen whether the proposition reducing compensation to newcomers declining work elsewhere leads to an even greater relocation amongst newcomers, or whether it simply results in the preference of newcomers for residing in our big cities, but with worsened financial resources than those of today.

It is my feeling, when looking at Danish refugee settlement policies, that at the present time no pressure for fundamental change is exerted by the municipalities, nor by any of the political blocs in *Folketinget*. During 2011 the immigrant question has for the first time in this century been outshined by other political issues, especially the issue of national redistribution policies, and it is too early to speculate on the consequences this can have on political developments in this field. It strikes us as utterly improbable that Denmark will in the foreseeable future come closer to Sweden in the field of migration, refugee settlement, and integration policies. A more credible scenario would be Sweden moving closer to Denmark, but notwithstanding loud protests from refugee-welcoming municipalities, it is not likely that what changes first is the refugee settlement policy.

My guess is that up until the 2014 national elections, we will see issues connected to immigration and integration become more preponderant than they have been of late, but whether this will in turn culminate in some political changes we must wait and see until after the election. During this period Malmö will carry on receiving more newcomers, and their relatives, than what it can manage, while Århus stays the course, creating a coherent city with and for the population already in place.

Footnotes

- 1 This quote is taken from one of the interviews I conducted with public officials in Malmö and Århus. Each interview subject has been given a designation using letter M and Å, followed by a number. In those cases where I quote myself while interviewing, I use G as designation. Interviews in Danish have been translated to Swedish. See section Methods and Material for more information about the interviews.
- 2 The project is financed by the *Swedish Research Council* (dnr 2006-1443) and is headed by Professor Bo Bengtsson, Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University (for more information about the project, see Bengtsson, Borevi & Strömngren 2007; Borevi & Myrberg 2010). In this report I compare the municipalities of Malmö and Århus. Initially, it has been my ambition to also include a Norwegian municipality in the comparison, but for diverse reasons it has not been possible (see, instead, Steen 2009; 2010; Shakar 2009 as well as Friberg & Lund 2006 for telling analyses of municipal strategies for receiving newly arrived refugees in Norway).
- 3 The focus of this report lies, first of all, in refugee reception and introduction or, put differently, in the last phase of migration policy and the first phase of integration policy. In this report, the category of immigrants included in reception and integration measures I refer to as *newcomers*. In those cases where it matters, I shall have recourse to the terms *refugee* and *immigrant*. In Sweden newly arrived immigrants is in use administratively to refer to that immigrant category which has the right to participate in introduction services. In practice, it is mostly about people (together with their next of kin) that immigrated within two years and who are in need of protection (Prop. 1997 / 98:16:19–20; see as well Qvist 2012). In Denmark you speak of *udlændinge omfattet av integrationsloven*, which is intended to include all immigrants during their first three years in Denmark (LBK nr 1062 af 20/08/2010; Nielsen & Jensen 2006; Integrationsministeriet 2011).
- 4 How to characterize the policies studied in this report is anyone's guess. In this area, as in many others, classifying policies is itself "political" in the sense that they express what this one person – who defines "politics" – views as what needs to be highlighted. This is why different researchers use different labels. It is feasible to trace clear differences as much between countries as between different historical periods. When I speak generally about the policies deciding how many people and which categories are permitted to enter a country I shall use the term *migration policy*, and when I refer to policies about people who have migrated, but also about policies for a society transformed by immigration, I shall have recourse to *integration policy*. For policies on where to place newly arrived refugees, asylum seekers and next of kin, or where they choose to reside geographically speaking, I will use the term *refugee settlement policy*. Alternative categorizations could be *housing policy* or *distribution policy*. The issue with all these labels is that they presuppose a central actor, the state, placing, housing and distributing newcomers, but as we have already seen it is conceivable to let newcomers decide for themselves where in the country they want to settle, even when this happens via extraordinary legislation at the behest of the state.

- 5 This temporary asylum law applied between 15 Nov 2005 to 30 March 2006 and led the Swedish Integration Board to suddenly get busy finding municipal spots for three times as many people with newly granted residence permits. For Södertälje municipality, with a population of 80,000, it meant that for a while it welcomed more Iraqi refugees than USA and Canada together. This situation received widespread media coverage both in Swedish and international press and in due time the then Social Democratic mayor, Anders Lago, was celebrated as a “humanitarian ambassador” during committee deliberations in the American congress in April 2008. Lago got to meet the then presidential hopeful Barack Obama who is said to have been ashamed of USA’s dereliction of responsibility vis-à-vis Iraqi refugees and applauded Sweden and Södertälje for their efforts (DN 2008-04-09; DN 2008-04-11; Borevi & Myrberg 2010).
- 6 The center-left government, led by Social Democrat Helle Thorning-Schmidt, who in September 2011 regained power in Denmark after ten years of right-wing administrations, has hinted at some changes in integration policies, among other things an easing of rules that make possible securing citizenship and permanent residence. It remains to be seen, however, the size of changes the new government will be able to get through, since fairly big tensions exist within the government regarding these questions and there is considerable resistance from the political opposition. Note that one of the new government’s first measures was to decide on closing down the Ministry of Integration Affairs, which had played such a central role in Danish migration and integration policies during all of 2000s, for it has at one and the same time functioned as government department, agency and think-tank. The ministry’s diverse responsibilities will now be redistributed among other ministries, one of which will be baptized with the name Social and Integration Ministry (Berlingske 2011-10-12). It is telling that this measure corresponds to the dissolution of the Swedish Integration Board in 2006, which was then an early measure taken by the incoming “Coalition” government after twelve years of Social Democratic administrations.
- 7 Earlier significant Swedish comparisons at municipal level have been done by Soininen’s (1992) investigation of refugee reception in Sundsvall, Bollnäs and Finspång as well as Kadhim’s (2000) dissertation on municipal refugee reception in Sweden. Other interesting cases studies of relevance for our investigation are Carlsson & Jacobsson’s (2007) study of cross-sectional collaboration in Malmö and Göteborg, Järtelius (2000) historical outline of reception of immigrants in Malmö, Iacobuccis (2008) exploration of refugee reception in Dalarna, as well as Bevelander, Emilsson & Hagström’s (SOU 2009:19, bilaga 4) inquiry into the social effects of EBO-legislation’s residential policies for asylum seekers in *inter alia* Malmö and Södertälje. In Denmark, the Integration Ministry has sponsored a long list of appraisals of the Danish Integration Act (see, e.g., Rambøll Management 2005; Hansen & Kolodziejczyk 2011). Apart from Jørgensen’s (2012) study named above of the relation between national and municipal integration policies, one should also mention Larsen’s (2011) incisive inquiry into the significance of social networks for newly arrived refugees in Danish rural municipalities.
- 8 In common with a few other larger municipalities in Sweden, Malmö has opted for *Malmö city* as self-designation. On account of congruence, I will in this report use both, municipality of Malmö and municipality of Århus, though this latter calls itself Aarhus municipality in official business. Concerning the of late lively debated issue of whether Århus with “Å” or “Aa”, I have decided to use the usual Swedish spelling, that is, with “Å”, even though the municipality itself has, from 1 January 2011, gone for “Aa”.

- 9 There is, as pointed out earlier, the chance for newly arrived refugees in Sweden to choose residential facilities (ABO) but the share of newcomers who pick ABO instead of own accommodations (EBO) has been below 50% during the entire period in which EBO has been around. If we follow studies of newcomers' choice between ABO and EBO, so the choice of EBO depends more on the former's bad reputation than on the latter's attractiveness (SOU 2009:19, bilaga 4; Borevi 2010a).
- 10 According to *Sydsvenskan* (2001-12-22), seldom have so many books been published about Malmö than in 2011. I should tell that during one of my visits to Århus out of pure curiosity and to juxtapose, I went inside a bookshop and asked to get tips on newly published books on Århus or with a plot played out in the city. The friendly bookshop employee, after musing on it for a while, returned with a ten-year old historical account as well as some books penned by the always worth reading crime novelist Elsebeth Egholm. No conclusive argument can be made from this state of affairs but it may highlight the disproportionate interest Malmö (and the rest of Sweden too) has in itself for a city of such size.
- 11 Over and beyond assembling the material, I have pretty much daily during the period in question read the web versions of the newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* (www.dn.se), *Svenska Dagbladet* (www.svd.se), *Sydsvenskan* (www.sydsvenskan.se), *Berlingske* (www.b.dk), *Politiken* (www.politiken.dk) samt *Jyllands-Posten* (www.jp.dk). The intention with so much newspaper reading has been threefold. First, it has given me the chance to keep myself updated on more important debates on migration and integration policies as well as changes in both countries at national level, and I have not been disappointed. As regards Danish newspapers, those days in which I found nothing of interest, relevant articles being the exception to the rule, I have, as writer Lena Sundström (2009), been fascinated by the media room accorded in Denmark to such issues as immigration, integration, radicalization, ghettoizing, border controls, etc. Secondly, reading *Sydsvenskan* and *Jyllands-Posten*, in particular, have furnished at least an incipient grasp of relevant debates and events in Malmö and Århus. This has shown itself to be worthwhile not least in the interviews I conducted, for it has facilitated figuring out the answers elicited by some of my questions and made possible follow-up questions on the spot. Thirdly, reading newspapers, especially Danish ones, has impacted the terminology used in this work. Partly, my Danish reading skills have improved, partly I have afterwards begun to get a hang of those words used in the Danish debate on migration and integration and, above all, how they are used.
- 12 A huge thanks to Professor Per Mouritsen, Institute of Political Sciences, Aarhus University, and to Professor Björn Fryklund and Dr. Anders Hellström, at the Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, Malmö University College, for organizing these seminars.
- 13 I have had the opportunity to interview, both in 2009 and 2012, two public officials at Malmö's City Office (M3 and M4), which has made it possible to ask follow-up questions about Malmö's development. I have also had steady email contact with two officials in Århus (Å1 and Å2) during the same period. These contacts spanning across time have been invaluable for grasping developments in both municipalities.
- 14 After the interview, M3 sent me the calculations used by the municipality so that I could have an overview of revenues and costs related to the introduction.

- 15 During the Coalition (right-wing) government which came to power 2006, the issue of how meaningful language is for the introduction of newcomers was debated often and, from 1 September 2010, the municipalities have got to pay a so-called Sfi bonus to newcomers that, within 12 months from an invitation to begin Sfi and at the most 15 months from the first civil registration, have passed courses 1B, 2C or 3D in Sfi (Malmö stad 2011). This, of course, should be seen as a way for city authorities to emphasize Sfi instruction.
- 16 An appraisal of Sfi operations in the municipality of Malmö, carried out by Malmö University College during 2011, shows telling differences of opinion between Sfi instruction when administered by the municipality and the services the municipality purchases from various external education providers, in connection to the issue of the relationship between language instruction and the work orientation. In the appraisal these differences are presented as an issue of control and collaboration that the municipality must face in order to create a coherent educational structure (Malmö högskola 2011).
- 17 In this report I shall use the term *citizenship* to render the Danish *statsborgerskab*.
- 18 A change is quite possibly about to take place concerning the scope of Århus' refugee reception. For 2013, the forecast is 104 people, which would therefore result in a clear modification compared to how it has been during the last decade (email communication with Å1 and Å2, 2012-08-30).
- 19 From, and including, January 2012, part of introduction expenses will be financed by a general supplementary contribution, the so-called budget guarantee. The basic amount has thus been lowered to 2,500 DKK. The performance bonus for completed Danish lessons has in 2012 been raised to 33,000 DKK, while the performance bonus for hiring has gone up to 44,000 DKK (email communication with Å1 and Å2, 2012-08-30).
- 20 It is possible to seek dispensation from the requirement to pass Danish 3 if you can show a medical document stating that the harrowing nature of your physical or psychological illness makes it unwise to force you to reach laid down levels of language proficiency and knowledge of Danish society and culture (email communication with Å1 and Å2, 2012-08-30).
- 21 Danish political scientists Per Mouritsen and Tore Vincents Olsen (2011) use the expression "forward-to-the-past" to describe the search for Danish values and traditions which has characterized the Danish debate on what exactly immigrants are to assimilate in order to be considered integrated.

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- DN 2006-02-08. "Tillfälliga asyllagen skapar risk för nya flyktingköer."
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Interviews

Designation Post

- M1 Head teacher at SFI and civil servant, Enheten för arbete och integration, Malmö stad. (2009-03-05)
- M2 Branch head, Centrum Stadsdelsförvaltning, AIC, Malmö stad. (2009-06-02)
- M3 Assistant head of department and investigator, Enheten för arbete och integration, Malmö stad. (2009-06-02 and 2012-04-17)
- M4 Planning clerk, Enheten för arbete och integration, Malmö stad. (2009-06-02 and 2012-04-17)

- M5 Head of department at Fosie Stadsdelsförvaltning, AIC, Malmö stad. (2009-06-03)
- M6 Head of introduction activities, Fosie Stadsdelsförvaltning, AIC, Malmö stad. (2009-06-03)
- M7 Head of property, MKB Rosengård. (2009-06-03)
- M8 Civil servant, Stadsbyggnadskontoret, Malmö stad. (2008-11-26)
- Å1 Development consultant, Beskæftigelsesforvaltningen, Aarhus kommune. (2010-05-19)
- Å2 Chief consultant, Borgmesterens afdeling, Aarhus kommune. (2010-05-19)
- Å3 Principal, Lærdansk, Århus. (2010-10-05)
- Å4 Architect, Planlægning og Byggeri, Aarhus kommune. (2010-10-06)
- Å5 Konsulent, Videntcenter for Integration, Magistratsafdelingen for Børn og Unge, Aarhus kommune. (2010-10-06)
- Å6 Head of department, Jobcenter, Aarhus kommune. (2010-10-07)
- Å7 Employment agent, Jobcenter, Aarhus kommune. (2010-10-07)
- Å8 Head of secretariat, Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat. (2010-10-07)
- Å9 Communications officer, Brabrand Boligforening. (2010-10-07)