Securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration affecting Swedish integration policy

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“Unemployment is a restriction of people’s social networks and the feeling of participation in the society”

-Marita Eastmond & Lisa Åkesson

Abstract

The main aim of this study is to discuss integration in the labour market by analyzing and discussing a governmental Proposition and a Pilot Project as well as the results of the field work herein carried out. In order to understand how integration in the labour market occurs and to provide some suggestions to improve the governmental documents, the concepts of securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration were used as analytical frameworks. The Pilot Project chosen is Pilotverksamhet med etableringssamtal och etableringsplan – Uppdaterad projektplan med mål och riktlinjer för den utvidgade försöksverksamheten based on the Proposition 2009/10:60 “Nyanlända invandrarens arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd”. The research questions are 1) which questions are left aside from the Proposition and which are possible suggestions to the questions found? 2) How are the interviewees and the Pilot Project/Proposition affected by securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration? Furthermore, suggestions to improve the proposition were discussed. Interviews with primary and secondary stakeholders were also carried out. This analysis was carried out together with the results of the field work in Kronoberg (focused on residents of Araby, Arbetsförmedlingen and Växjö Kommun) in the view of the concepts of securitization and transnational migration issues. The method of this research is qualitative with an abductive approach. The result of this study indicates a number of issues to be improved in the Proposition document before the law be promulgated by the government, as well as some issues that hinder the integration process of the primary stakeholders. Reflection for future studies concerning the influence of securitization and transnationalization phenomena, as well as suggestions to improve people’s integration processes are presented in the conclusion of this study.

Keywords: Arbetsförmedlingen, Araby, county, immigration, integration, international migration, municipality, Kommun, policy, Proposition, securitization, Sweden, Swedish, Växjö
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“Alors sans avoir rien
Que la force d'aimer
Nous aurons dans nos mains
Amis le monde entire”

– Jacques Brel

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“Seus olhos meu clarão,
Me guiam dentro da escuridão.
Seus pés me abrem um caminho.
Eu sigo e nunca me sinto só.”

-Arnaldo Antunes, Carlinhos Brown and Marisa Monte
1 Introduction

“Many of the new immigrants, even after living long time in Sweden – even if they are Swedish citizens and were born here in Sweden – do not feel Swedes and do not see Sweden as their nation. They do not want to be Swedish and they do not think it is possible for a foreigner to become a Swede.” -- Ingrid Björkman

According to Hulenvik (2008), integration is the opposite of segregation. In other words, integration can refer to everyone in a society who, for some reason, needs to become part of it or part of some spheres. For example, a person can be integrated in the society because she can communicate well in the official language and she is not isolated from other people but she can lack integration in the work market, as she does not have a job. On the other hand, she can have a job but not be integrated fully in the society because she does not have political rights to vote, she cannot communicate her wills and decisions nor can she execute her deeds.

At old times, when human beings did not need to work to support themselves, they could produce their own food from their pieces of land and trade them with other people. Nowadays, this sort of survival form is not always suitable, since most of our human industrialized societies already produce enough food to support our countries and sometimes an amount to support even more than one country. From the point that this need is fulfilled, people who do not produce their own agricultural products need to offer their services to the society to survive. The kinds of services they offer depend on what is needed in the societies or regions where they live in. Consequently, they cannot integrate in other ways without offering their services to their societies. Therefore, it could be a reason for integration in the labor market nowadays to be one of the most important forms of integration if compared to others, such as learning a language, being able to study at university in the new country etc. That can be explained by the fact that even if you speak the official language of the country you live in, it does not necessarily mean that you are integrated in that society.

To be able to live more independently, having a job is usually seen as a very important factor for most people that move to another society, which is understandable since not having a job makes one feel dependant on other actors. This could cause a feeling of not being
necessarily able to govern your own life and plans. In other words, when you can influence your own life, you are also able to contribute to the society in many positive ways, such as providing services, paying taxes and even creating other job opportunities for other people.

In some countries in Europe, there is a very serious problem with integration of foreign people. Sometimes, this problem is discussed as ethnical or nationalist issues. Other authors, discuss integration problems in terms of a securitization phenomenon in some countries (i.e. Abiri, 2000). According to Abiri (2000), securitization means any societal problem regarded as a non-military threat to the society in the post-Cold war: as integration is many times discussed in Sweden. Moreover, security means “survival in the face of existential threat”, even if “what constitutes an existential threat is not the same across different sectors” (Buzan et al, 1998:27). In order words, immigration can be considered as a threat to the society when it starts to be understood by the local population as a threat to their lives and security. For instance, some immigrants who are supported by tax money, as well as other immigrants who are working, when there are lots of locals unemployed. A threat against Swedes? Other nationalities taking control of their country and changing their rules? Alien people taking locals’ money (tax money) and living by other people’s expenses?

Even being characterized by a country in which many people emigrate and immigrate, Sweden has faced an increase of integration problems in the last decades (Abiri, 2000). This increase has enhanced the need for the government to create integration policies possibly to minimize the social stratification and segregation of the population according to origin group or other labels. It appears to be unclear whether the government has mostly intended to integrate people that are currently segregated or simply trying to use the existing knowledge and work experience of these people living in Sweden due to the need to provide work force in certain areas in the labor market. Even though the circumstances mentioned before, the Swedish government has intended to change the scenario by creating/developing propositions and laws. The biggest motivation behind this could be that many immigrants take many years to integrate (here means to find a job, be independent and be able to govern their own life and make their own decisions) and depend on financial help from the government for many years.

Due to the fact that politicians and decision makers realized that Sweden is changing and that Sweden needs to adapt to the new situation, that is, that many different people from different cultures come to Sweden with heterogeneous backgrounds, the Proposition
2009/10:60 (more information about this Proposition, see Subsection 1.1) came as suggestion to speed up the integration in the labor market of newcomers to Sweden.

Furthermore, according to my own experience, another motivation for writing this thesis was that the reaction towards immigrants seems to depend on which country the person comes from, skin color, appearance, names and so forth. This matter seems to make the integration process harder for some of these people, who seem to be declined to getting jobs sometimes even if they are well qualified for the tasks they apply for.

As previously described, there seem to be many issues connected to integration problems in the Swedish society that motivates the focus of this master’s thesis. In this study, the focus is on integration in the labor market of newcomers (living up to 5 years in Sweden). Therefore, new policies that the Swedish government has proposed about integration focused on the work market are in the center of this study.

1.1 Aim

The main aim of this study is to discuss integration in the labour market by analyzing and discussing a governmental Proposition and a Pilot Project as well as the results of the field work herein carried out. In order to understand how integration in the labour market occurs and to provide some suggestions to improve the governmental documents, the concepts of securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration were used as analytical frameworks.

The governmental Pilot Project “Pilotverksamhet med etableringssamtal och etableringsplan – Uppdaterad projektplan med mål och riktlinjer för den utvidgade försöksverksamheten” (Pilot Project with settling meetings and settling plans – updated project plan with goals and guidelines for the expanded experimental project [my translation]) (herein called Pilot Project) is a Project based on the Proposition 2009/10:60 “Nyanlända invandrarens arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd” (Proposition 2009/10:60 Newcomers’ settling in the labour market – own responsibility with help of professional support” [my translation]). The former is therefore based on the latter and we are going to concentrate the analysis on the former due to its more practical nature.

The proposition intends to change the responsibility of the “Introduction” of refugees and asylum seekers (integration process which takes up to 24 months) from the Municipality
(Swedish counties) to Arbetsförmedlingen (Swedish Public Employment Service) and Migrationsverket (Swedish Migration Board). In order to test the Proposition before the promulgation of the law, a Pilot Project has been in force since March 1, 2010 up to November 30, 2010. This Pilot Project has Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket as project owners.

As to sum up, the aim of the Proposition is to “improve and minimize the integration difficulties in the work market for refugees and asylum seekers in Sweden, so that they can promote their own sustainability and thereby strengthen their participation in the work market and in the Swedish society” (Pilotverksamhet, 2010). Therefore, the following research questions are raised:

1) Which questions are left aside with the Proposition and which are possible suggestions to the questions found?
2) How are the interviewees and the Pilot Project/Proposition affected by securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration

In addition, the suggestions presented herein intend to help improve these documents as well as different actors to improve the integration policy in Sweden as well as integration processes of individuals.

1.2 Scope

The scope of this thesis is limited to analysis of the results of the field work in the labor market region of Växjö and the Terms of Reference of the Pilot Project based on the Proposition, according to the concepts of securitization and transnational migration.

As Migrationsverket does not have main reception office there, the focus was switched to Arbetsförmedlingen, as it became easier to carry out interviews and the employees were receptive to this study and open to contribute with materials, as well as interviews with secondary stakeholders (people indirectly involved in the integration process of immigrants in the region, such as representatives that work with integration issues).

As integration is a very broad term with many different possible discussions to be brought up, the scope of this study was also limited to integration in the labor market. Furthermore, the target group chosen is similar to the Pilot Project’s, that is, it includes
refugees and asylum seekers living in Sweden up to 5 years seeking to integrate in Sweden and in the labor market. In order to obtain a more general result with more information, the group of immigrants to be interviewed was also broadened to all kinds of immigrants (mixed group) with different types of visa (not only refugees). By choosing a mixed group, this study intended to provide more information about integration processes that take place in the society from different points of views, as it was understood that not only refugees undergo integration problems (Mikkelsen, 2005:89).

As it was mentioned before, the study was focused on the labor market region of Växjö, with attention to the population living in Araby. This choice was due to the fact that, besides being located in the labor market region covered by Arbetsförmedlingen in Kronoberg, more than 50% of the inhabitants of this region (Araby) were born in other countries or born in Sweden with foreign parents. According to Hulenvik (2008:15), Araby inhabitants have in average lower income and higher unemployment rate if compared to the average rate of Växjö Kommun. The ones working who are living in Araby usually earn half of what the other inhabitants of Växjö Kommun earn in average. Therefore, there seems to be a higher concentration of social problems and unemployment amongst new comers to Sweden in this region. Moreover, the importance of putting this region into focus of this study makes it possible for this work to convey the needs and interests for integration of the group that seems to be in most need for it.

As to sum up, the scope of this study includes the investigation of the relation between securitization of migration, transnational migration and the results of the field work in the labor market region of Växjö and analysis of the terms of reference of the Pilot Project.

1.3 Limitations

In the Terms of Reference of the project, it was mentioned the place Alvesta because Migrationsverket has its refugee reception center there. In this case, Arbetsförmedlingen Växjö is covering the region Alvesta and Växjö. Notwithstanding, they have main offices in Växjö. Therefore, it was decided to focus the study on the region of Växjö, paying much importance to the inhabitants of Araby – as we mentioned before due to the special regional characteristics of the population residing there. We also decided to limit the age of the interviewees to the age mentioned in the project (from 18 to 64 years old) as well as focus on integration in the labor market.
Another difficulty appeared from whether to work with the Pilot Project or with the Proposition, or even with both because they are two different documents. Therefore, in this study, the focus switched to the Pilot Project due to its more practical nature than the Proposition. The Terms of Reference of the Pilot Project was also understood herein as a summary of the Proposition and it seemed more realistic to work with. However, references to the Proposition in this study are due to its more complex and complete nature, and also because it originated the Pilot Project.

Another limitation concerned the fact that the interviews were focused on the target groups of the Project/Proposition. Consequently, interviews were carried out with immigrants and representatives of Arbetsförmedlingen and Växjö Kommun. Therefore, interviews with other actors, such as employers were not included in this study, although it could be argued that their perspectives could be interesting to be taken into account.

In addition, the choice of focusing the research questions of this study on securitization and transnationalization issues in relation to the primary stakeholders came out from the point that, throughout the interviews, a certain difficulty to understand the needs and interests of the immigrants was pointed out from the authorities’ side when attempting to understand the needs and interests of the primary stakeholders and at many times the immigrants were identified as a threat to the society. Besides, the needs and interests of the primary stakeholders in their integration process do not seem to be clear in most documents and governmental policies. As a means to achieve a researchable material, the focus of this study was switched to analysis of the Terms of Reference of the Project and the results of the field work in terms of securitization and transnational migration issues (for more information about these concepts, see Section 2).

2. Material and Method

In order to carry out the field work, observation sections and an interview guide were used - the latter was chosen in order to keep track of questions to be asked to the target groups. The interview guide was focused on the needs and interests of the primary stakeholders in their integration processes, in order to identify the relation between their answers and securitization and transnational migration issues. The choice of target people to participate was random within the target group mentioned before (i.e. refugees, asylum seekers living in Sweden up to
5 years and immigrants of other sort with living visa), both men and women and from 18 years old to 64 that could successively communicate in English, Swedish, Portuguese or Spanish. The number of participants was 40, in which 19 were women and 21 were men.

The field work was based on interviews carried out with primary stakeholders (herein means those “who will be directly or ultimately affected by an intervention, either positively or negatively” (Mikkelsen, 2005:72)) in the area of Kronoberg (with focus on Växjö) and secondary stakeholders (here means “intermediaries such as implementing organizations or other individuals, persons, groups or institutions involved in interventions, including funders” (Mikkelsen, ibid)). The latter includes authorities entitled to execute the Pilot Project and who work with the Proposition in question in a daily basis.

By interview guides, the primary stakeholders developed their speeches around the matter that most concern them. Therefore, the interview guide was flexible and the process of discovering the main needs and interests connected with the integration process was continuous from interview to interview. In other words, this is a qualitative study and not intending to quantify data but to understand the aim of this study as well as attempt to find answers to the research questions. Furthermore, this study presents suggestions to the Proposition and new policies, as well as to future integration processes.

The interviews were carried out at different places in Växjö to collect a bigger amount of information, such as Komvux – a school where many refugees and other immigrants recently arrived in Sweden learn Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) and other Swedish courses as a second language as well as acquire more knowledge about the Swedish society, Tallgården, Panncentralen (Activity Centers in Araby, Växjö) and random people I met at Linnaeus University and Lessebo. The Araby region in Växjö was in focus of this study due to its higher concentration of immigrants and refugees, many of who are unemployed or under the average income of the region (Hulenvik, 2008:15ff), as it was mentioned in Subsection 1.2. Part of this study was also concentrated on interviews at Linnaeus University, where there are many people who study and have been living in Sweden for a short while. Interviews were also carried out with authorities representing Arbetsförmedlingen and Växjö Kommun.

Concerning the interviews with secondary stakeholders (representatives of Arbetsförmedlingen and Växjö Kommun working with integration issues), the analysis was carried out somewhat differently. There was no interview guide, but rather probing questions directly related to our research questions, such as: to describe the project and the proposition,
how the project is being carried out since its start, whether they feel that there is any big problem to carry out the project/proposition guidelines if it turns into law (if yes, which), if they are aware of the needs and interests of the primary stakeholders and how the implementation of the project could be improved. These probing questions could lead to more dynamic and objective interviews around the subject (Mikkelsen, 2005:89)

In order to execute the analysis, interviews were carried out with key stakeholders at Växjö Kommun, Arbetsförmedlingen and primary stakeholders – people in need for integration in the Swedish society. Other immigrants out of the Pilot Project’s target group (refugees and asylum seekers) were also interviewed and asked their opinions, as mentioned previously in subsection 1.2. In addition, in order to analyze the result of the field work and the terms of reference of the Pilot Project/Proposition, the concepts of securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration were herein used as framework.

These two perspectives, one from the target group and the other from the authorities (public sector) were both important in this study, due to the fact that the main thought of this thesis was to understand the relation between securitization and transnationalization of migration issues and the perceptions of the primary stakeholders and the perception of their needs by authorities and the Project’s Terms of Reference. Furthermore, suggestions were presented concerning the areas left out in the project/proposition, as well as measures which could be taken to avoid or minimize the problems identified.

Therefore, the method applied here is qualitative with an abductive approach, which consists of an attempt to understand the problem in question: how integration in the labor market could be improved by means of an analysis between the two perspectives from the different stakeholders and the governmental document, since it seems that governmental policies have not been very successful in the area of integration. In order to achieve that, we attempted to understand the problem with lights of securitization and transnational migration issues. By understanding the problem in question and presenting suggestions of how the problem could be minimized or solved, this study enables future researches as well as primary and secondary stakeholders to change the Project/Proposition, as well as people’s own integration process in Sweden.

Moreover, the materials used herein were books, internet pages, governmental documents (such as Proposition, Pilot Project) and interviews with primary and secondary stakeholders, aiming at enriching the substance of the results of this study.
2.1 Limitations

A relevant limitation during the interviews was the difficulty in communicating due to the oral level of Swedish, English, Portuguese and Spanish of the interviewees. As most of the interviewees tried to speak Swedish, especially those from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan, for instance, some of them were not able to understand certain concepts or deliver certain answers that would require a higher level of abstraction in the target language.

By observing people within the target group, another perception of their needs and interests during their integration process was obtained. However, there are limitations for both methods. Interview guides can lead to non-exploration of a few questions rather than others. By carrying out interviews, as well as by observing the target group can also lead to non-neutral conclusions, as the researcher is a not a neutral person but she is surrounded by mental filters. This could lead to, for instance, focus on certain topics rather than others. Consequently, my own role as an interviewer is an important factor to obtain relevant and important results from the field work. The interviews themselves may also affect the way the conclusions and answers are presented by the interviewees by making the interviewees think and reflect upon issues that they maybe haven’t thought of before from different perspectives, i.e. participatory learning (Mikkelsen, 2005:94).

Another obstacle during the interviewing process is that many secondary stakeholders did not reply to my e-mails, calls or attempt to book meetings and some of them were not even aware of the Project guidelines and the Proposition in question, even though they were employed by authorities who were supposed to carry out this Pilot Project. Notwithstanding, some representatives of Arbetsförmedlingen showed a big interest to collaborate with this research. Hyresgästföreningen also provided relevant material and support for this study. Apart from that, the authorities in general connected to this study could present the initial problems and their personal views about the project, which can of course affect the whole course of work during the project time (see Section 5).

3. Previous research
As mentioned in the introduction, integration can be interpreted as a general term that can be applied to nationals of a country or immigrants moving to another country. It can also be directly related to border-crossings due to many different reasons, such as war, better life conditions, attempt to find jobs and so forth. Therefore, many different kinds of people migrate to Europe, i.e. refugees, relatives (family ties), workers, asylum seekers etc. In addition, the reason why integration in the labor market was chosen in this study was also enlightened in the introduction, as supporting oneself and having access to basic needs seem to be a pre-requisite to be able to integrate in other areas and also contribute to the society as a whole.

The reason why people cross borders has to do with transnational migration issues, that is, migration between different countries physically or mentally. Transnational migration can be seen in two ways: physical migration is when a person migrates to another region or country physically, whereas mental migration means migration in different societies, due to different links the person has (cultural, political, religious etc), although the person might be located physically at one place. In other words, people can be “both transnational and take part in the new society at the same time” (Eastmond et al, 2007:9).

To be transnational means that people can have different citizenships, travel between different countries and live in different parts of the globe while being physically placed in a specific country. By this way, people can keep their ties with their home countries. Nowadays, this process of transnationalization of migration appears to be much more complex, since the globalization phenomenon has helped to increase the possibility to keep and develop different kinds of ties all over the world, such as by means of technological possibilities (i.e. internet, phone, cams etc) and cheaper costs to travel (Eastmond et al, 2007:10ff).

By crossing borders, people are bound to create contacts in the place where they live not to live isolated. How they are able to create new ties and be part of the new society is related to how they are able to integrate there. In order to be able to integrate, they may experience that their migration is interpreted as a security issue, that is, a threat to the local society. Besides, it can trigger a question mark of how the States deal with people’s integration processes and whether these Propositions and Laws are promulgated in the western societies to decrease the existing social problems and provide a better life to the immigrants or to protect the native population against a threat to destroy or change their societies. In other
words, integration is sometimes discussed as a securitization problem, in a way that it has the potential to threaten national and international security. Consequently, from the moment a country understands that cross-border migration becomes a problem, it may, for instance: start to reformulate its migration policies; create difficulties for foreign people to come in and settle in the territory; create measures to integrate so that a major problem is prevented in the society; as well as come up with bureaucratic processes as barriers for these immigrants to have the same access to societal levels as natives. (Abiri, 2000:2ff).

Securitization is a common term used in the field of migration studies. According to Abiri (2000:47), an issue to be securitized is one that is interpreted as a threat to the society, such as environmental deterioration, international criminality and drug traffic, ethnic conflicts, population growth and migration. In addition, Buzan (1998) argues that economic, social and environmental aspects of security are analyzed according to the economic, social and environmental damage that can be made to the physical base of the state, such as ideas and institutions. In Sweden, some foreigners can be perceived as carriers of terrorism or belonging to a challenging culture or religion, which could lead to i.e. islamophobia. Some nationals can perceive some foreigners as a threat because the latter are believed to take scarce job opportunities away or live on taxpayer’s money. This issue can result in xenophobic feelings from the local populations. Therefore, cross-border migration can be seen as a “weakening” of control of the government (questions its sovereignty), as well as reason for racism and right-wing parties to increase in force, especially in a few European governments, such as Sweden. However, there are just people moving and settling if there are government policies that allow it to happen (Abiri, 2000:3ff).

The concept of security has also expanded with time, as well as broadcasted by the media. According to Abiri (2000:49), the concept of security consists of different analytical levels, such as individual security, security of the family, security of the identity group, security of the local community or the territorially bounded society, state security, security of the macro-region, international and global security. All these security concepts are related to how people perceive threats in their societies, which can create a securitization problem.

In 1996, refugees were officially introduced as a threat to Swedish security in Sverige I Europa och Världen (1995) (Swedish document published by the Defense Department), where refugees were presented as ‘new non-military threats’. What before was interpreted as a human rights’ attitude changed in the 1990’s to a view associated with the thought that
cross-migration is something bad, causes difficulty for the society to assimilate those people who are less educated, increase in criminality rates, change of the idea of the national identity and the development of the thought that “immigrants are doing the jobs that Swedes, Americans, Australians etc won’t do” (Abiri, 2000:10ff).

Sweden joined the European Union in the 1st of January, 1995. From then on, Swedish policy changes are made with reference to the EU. In other words, Sweden started to be subject to a supra-state level influence, instead of being just influenced by its national and local levels. However, politicians should also justify the changes regardless of the membership in the union (Abiri, 2000:13). This fact could explain how the integration in the Swedish society is today for many refugees, asylum seekers and even other immigrants (such as qualified workers, students and others coming for family ties).

Up to the nineties, Sweden’s international profile corresponded with the idea of equality and democracy. The focus was on human rights, right to self-determination of states, democracy and international co-operation. Therefore, the Swedish official security policy was centered on non-alignment, neutrality and disarmament (Abiri, 2000:30). Abiri (2000) also argues that Swede’s geographical position between West and East (two blocs in the bipolar conflict – cold war) makes it understandable why to promote international co-operation and state’s self-determination, in order to minimize Sweden’s vulnerable position.

The immigration in Sweden is usually defined with two peaks in the post-war era, according to Abiri (2000). One in 1970 (77,326 immigrants) and the other in 1994 (84,598 immigrants). However, in 1972, Sweden had 41,579 emigrants and in 1997, it had 38,518. Moreover, refugee immigration started in the 1980’s. Between 1987-1999, 313,591 asylum applications were received, while 182,246 residence permits were given on the ground of asylum. 58% of the asylum applications were given a positive answer (Abiri, 2000:31ff).

Besides the fact of being “foreigner”, Kullberg (2006) pinpoints that there is also prejudice depending on the person’s gender. As a result, he found out that women are given relatively little support in finding a job in Sweden. In that way, many jobs to newly arrived people, such as “Instegsjobb” (introduction job, a program from the government spread out by Arbetsförmedlingen) are usually assigned to men. According to Thomas Sjöberg, manager of Tallgården (a center for local activities) in Araby, many women that came to Sweden in the three last decades who could not communicate in Swedish and did not have a job were also subjected to domestic violence and were not able to defend themselves.
Eastmond et al (2007:10ff) clarifies that the international binds between immigrants and their relatives in their own countries are strengthened, especially when they do not feel that they belong to their residence country. Many reasons are exemplified as possibilities to the lack of belonging in a target society, as when people are subject to discrimination, denied opportunities offered to natives, when they are looked down as different etc. These issues could be associated to securitization of migration and could create a barrier to their integration. According to Eastmond et al (ibid), having limited possibilities to vote, work, study, many immigrants decide to live part of their lives in different societies transnationally, either physically or mentally.

According to Eastmont et al (ibid), transnational migration and relationships are a result of globalization processes taking place nowadays, in which there is no need to live in just one society, as there are many possibilities due to the technological developments and decreasing of prices to travel, for instance. This way, a person can live in Sweden, contact their relatives daily in Burundi, they can do things together with some friends living in Taiwan by internet and travel around these countries frequently because they have different nationalities and different visas in different countries.

Many people also describe their feeling of exposure and isolation in Sweden (Eastmond et al: 18ff): “It is about concrete experiences of discrimination and isolation but also subtle feelings of segregation”. This way, the authors carried out many interviews with immigrants, whose results indicated that many interviewees were not satisfied with the fact that they could not work in Sweden with some kind of work that they had experience of or education from their home countries. Unemployment is, therefore, a restriction of people’s social networks and the feeling of participation in the society. Consequently, the authors also concluded that to be immigrant in Sweden has a negative connotation (ibid).

### 3.1 Integration in Växjö

Integration difficulties in Växjö are mostly discussed in terms of Araby. Consequently, Araby is the place in the region of Kronoberg that has most attention against exclusion (SMP, 2007). According to a research carried out in Araby by Hulenvik, the area considered to present lowest levels of development and highest levels of social problems. Besides social problems,
Araby is also seen as an area where there is a high concentration of foreign people living together and a low index of education if compared to other areas in Växjö (Hulenvik, 2008).

According to Hulenvik (2008), Araby is considered to be an unsafe and unattractive place. Therefore, this author carries out a study about possible measures to the public sector to fight against social problems and issues that hinder the regional development. Moreover, Hulenvik explains that Araby has grown considerably since the approval by the government of the Million Program (*Miljon Program*) between 1946 and 1960 (program started at 1965), in which more than one million apartments were planned to be built in the region within 10 years, in order to provide housing to many Swedes and immigrants (especially from Finland, Yugoslavia and residents of other countries after the second world war) coming to Växjö for work/settling down. Since then, Hulenvik (2008:9) further clarifies that Araby became the area of the immigrants in Växjö. In addition, the State launched policies to combat isolation of such areas in the country and to review and invest on projects to integrate and connect these areas to the whole cities in different municipalities (Ibid, 2008:19).

Hulenvik (2008) adds that the Million Program solved temporarily the problem of lack of housing and crowded apartments in Araby and some parts in Teleborg with many people or families living in small places. However, he further explains that the criminality increased and that many apartments and buildings needed to be reformed with time, due to the different requirements of materials to isolate these places and create warmth, for instance. In the middle of 1970, grants were also given by the State/Counties to improve the environment in Araby (*miljöförbättringsbidraget*), such as building playgrounds, gardens and so forth. Notwithstanding, today Araby is still seen as a monotonous place to live (Hulenvik, 2008:24).

Another important point that selects Araby in the discussions about integration in Växjö is due to the segregation: social, economic and ethnic living segregation. According to Hulenvik (2008:27), integration is the opposite of segregation because *by means of integration, people can leave segregation* [my translation]. On the other hand, integration means unite, be brought together to an entity – in this case, the society. Hulenvik explains, consequently, that a key for integration is the ability to master Swedish, get in the work market and have good contacts (ibid, 2008:30).

According to Hulenvik (2008:31), integration can happen in different ways. At one hand, a minority needs to get accustomed to the majority, in which is a win-lose game, where the minority needs to give away the original culture. On the other hand, a win-win solution
would be that both the minority and the majority groups would get integrated between each other by accepting both.

4 Results

In this section, the following issues are discussed:

1) Which questions are left aside with the Proposition and which are possible suggestions to the questions found?
2) How are the interviewees and the Pilot Project/Proposition affected by securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration

In this study, the word refugees include all types of people holding visa issued in Sweden due to war or any other conditions that threaten the lives of people involved and that caused them to move to Sweden. Furthermore, the result of the interviews carried out is presented herein.

As discussed in Section 3, securitization of migration in this study means a process in which indicates a threat when some migrants move to another country (Sweden, in this case). Moreover, this threat can include different kinds of analytical levels, such as economic (i.e. living on taxpayer’s expenses, migrants getting scarce jobs in the national market etc), social-political (i.e. migrants belonging to specific groups or cultures which may constitute a threat to a society) and environmental-physical (i.e. migrants causing damage to important institutions or structures in the societies). Transnationalization of migration is also understood herein as increased or intensified linkages between the migrants and their home countries (and cultures) they have experienced, learned and/or acquired on their way to Sweden or those they would like to get acquainted with physically (such as travelling to). In other words, it was discussed in Section 3 that transnational migration can be interpreted both physically and mentally, where either the migrants’ minds or bodies are somewhat connected to different cultures and countries.

In this section, an overview about the Project and the Proposition are provided, as well as an analysis of the points that seem to pose a threat or could be improved in these documents. Therefore, suggestions are provided as a complement of the analysis of the interviews with primary and secondary stakeholders. Furthermore, an analysis of the terms of reference and the results of the field work is carried out in light of the concepts of securitization of migration and transnationalization of migration. The intention herein is to
provide a better understanding of how these two phenomena may affect the integration processes of the immigrants as well as the Proposition/Pilot Project.

4.1 What is intended with the reform?

In order to discuss this issue, there is first a need to understand what motivates the creation of reforms, in this case: integration reforms. Governmental policies are seen to be motivated by different perspectives, such as: a) a perspective that focuses on the fear from the government, in which the society would become more foreign and less acceptable to existing rules when more immigrants are not able to integrate; b) the wish from the government to understand the needs of the population and create measures to integrate these immigrants, in order to provide them better chances in the society and better life quality, as well as by empowering them in the society, that is, “transferring control over decision-making and resources” to stakeholders (Mikkelsen, 2005:116).

According to Abiri (2000), securitization is the main reason for the authorities to create measures to integrate foreigners in the Swedish society. Furthermore, Abiri (2000) explains that it is not a matter of philanthropy but simply a fear and a conservatory feeling to defend one’s country, which could be changed and damaged by immigrants. She further explains that European countries in general have been more conservative against immigration nowadays because of their need to defend their own nation as well as preserve their national identity.

In addition, the question of identities can be quite tricky, since globalization came to the world and social networks, as well as family networks have kept on in longer term relationships due to the possibilities to have access to technology and other means of communication, as well as transportation. In other words, people can have different identities, as well as different nationalities and they can also be citizens of more than one country. Taking into account the technological progress and higher possibilities for people to travel around the earth, they are sometimes bound (and sometimes even strongly bound) to their families and friends in their original countries, when they live in countries in which there is racism against immigrants and other sorts of isolation. This could lead to the fact that many of these immigrants could be proud of being nationals of their original lands - or their parents’ original countries, if they were born in Sweden.
Abiri (2000) also explains that the increase of the rate of immigration average in Sweden in the last 10 years (such as refugees) was not just an act of philanthropy either but a matter of a need for work force in the Swedish labor market, since the average population growth was negative or very low. However, it rather sounds a contraction, since there are still many high educated refugees and immigrants coming to that come to Sweden and have their work experience and education rejected in the work market, or delayed to get validation. Sometimes they even have to go through a very long process to complete their studies according to the Swedish system, even though they have experience in the areas they are searching for jobs.

As the government realized that the unemployment rate has been increased since the world financial crisis started to affect Sweden, many reforms came as suggestions to improve the living conditions of people (Regeringen, 2009:13). In addition, it has been noticed that refugees has been pointed out as the most affected group in the society and which has taken more time to integrate in the labor market. This is justified by the fact that many people belonging to this group have been depending on social economic help from the Swedish government (so-called socialen) for a long time to be integrated.

In need for changes, the Proposition 2009/10:60 has been sent out by the government. In order to test this Proposition and how it would work practically, a Pilot Project called Pilotverksamhet med etableringssamtal och etableringsplan – Uppdaterad projektplan med mål och riktlinjer för den utvidgade försöksverksamheten was created. In other words, this Pilot Project switched the responsibility from the counties to Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket. This way, Arbetsförmedlingen acquired responsibility for an important part of the introduction (integration) process of newcomers to Sweden. Moreover, this project is also called experiment (försöksverksamhet) to try to implement settling meetings (so-called etableringssamtal) and settling plans (so-called etableringsplan), as it is stated in the Proposition document. The main aim with these meetings and plans is said to speed up the integration in the labor market of newcomers to Sweden (Pilotverksamhet, 2010:4).

According to the Pilot Project, settling meetings intend to integrate the target group in the labor market, for instance, by drawing a plan and showing paths to help refugees to have quicker access to the labor market and be able to support themselves without help from the government. That can include advice to complete their education according to the Swedish
system, by offering internships, as well as suggesting adequate place to live where they can have a bigger possibility to obtain a job (Pilotverksamhet, 2010:4).

This Pilot Project was planned to start by the first of March 2010 in several places in Sweden, where Migrationsverket has reception units in which carries out visa meetings. The places are Solna, Västerås, Uppsala, Lindesberg, Örebro, Norrköping, Flen, Vingåker, Göteborg, Trollhättan, Borås, Skövde, Karlstad, Hedemora, Karlskrona, Kristianstad, Helsingborg, Malmö, Alvesta, Högsby, Uppvidinge, Jönköping, Söderman, Sundsvall, Skellefteå, Umeå, Vilhelmina, Boden and Kiruna. Växjö is the main office for Arbetsförmedlingen, which is responsible for the labor market region of Alvesta and neighborhood. The intention of the Project is to create cooperation between Migrationsverket and Arbetsförmedlingen, as well as with other organizations during the time that the asylum applicants await for their visa as well as when they got their visa. This way, the intention of the project is to place newcomers in an area where they can most find a job, according to their experiences and education (Pilotverksamhet, 2010: 7).

The work with Arbetsförmedlingen starts with meetings with the target group and they are intended to gather experience, knowledge and goals from the target group, in order to make it easier to integrate to the labor market. After the meetings, an integration plan (settling plan: etableringsplan) is made.

In the contact with Arbetsförmedlingen, their agents intend to identify people’s qualification and experience. After that, they are placed in the Municipality that most fits them, according to the possibilities to find jobs.

According to the Proposition, which led to this Pilot Project, all Swedish municipalities will be responsible for all other issues related to the integration process of this target group, which are not tackled by Migrationsverket and Arbetsförmedlingen.

According to the Proposition 2009/10:60, Migrationsverket shall send information to the newcomer living in governmental houses about available places in a Municipality, latest four weeks after the person obtained her visa (Pilotverksamhet, 2010: 8). Then, the responsibility for integration lays on Arbetsförmedlingen. Further responsibility not established to Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket are to be tackled by the municipality, as mentioned previously.
4.2 What has been carried out and what are the main problems identified/questions left aside by the Proposition/Pilot Project?

**Economic help, transportation and marketing**

According to the interviews carried out with secondary stakeholders, Migrationsverket seems to be cooperating well with Arbetsförmedlingen throughout the introduction process in a few places in which there is old lasting relationship between these two organizations (see List of names and abbreviations). Although, the project seems to be not very famous yet and some people in the project seem to experience difficulty with transportation to the places where settling plans and settling meetings are taken place.

According to interviews carried out in Arbetsförmedlingen, the main reason for people involved not to participate in this project seems to be that they do not have more economic help than their financial daily help (aktivitetsstöd, see List of names and abbreviations). This aid is given to people in need involved in special programs carried out by Arbetsförmedlingen – in this case the introduction program to integrate refugees, which includes settling meetings and settling plans. In order words, most people registered seem to encounter problem with transportation because it seems to be costly for them to go back and forth, from their home to meeting places and they are not rewarded financially since their daily help is only enough to buy food and general basic living costs. This way, they have to pay the travel costs using their financial help. On the other hand, according to the interviews with refugees, all of them were not aware of the existence of the Pilot Project. This indicates that the Pilot Project is still not broadcasted enough.

**Communication and cooperation, residence and rolls**

Another problem pointed out by the interviews with secondary stakeholders was that the new cooperation with Arbetsförmedlingen seems to take time to be well coordinated. In that way, it seems that the communication should improve between these two organizations (Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket) concerning the introduction process. Although, it was mentioned that the cooperation between these two organizations has occurred since a while ago, it seems to be new in many places.

In an interview with Växjö Kommun, costs were identified as the main forthcoming problem to the counties in Sweden. Växjö Kommun said that the many costs will probably
affect the municipality, as the Pilot Project and the Proposition point out that all municipalities in Sweden are responsible for taking care of the integration process of all other people not involved with Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket. On the other hand, the government itself establishes that compensation for service provision in the area of integration is going to be rewarded to the counties - such as “society orientation” (samhällsorientering) (Länsstyrelsen, 2010).

According to Växjö Kommun and Högman et al (2009), a very strong problem is the lack of residences (houses and apartments) available to the people that come. In this way, all municipalities are responsible for allocating people after they obtain their visa to live and work in Sweden. This seem to cause a big problem concerning the availability and location of apartments/houses, since the Proposition and the Pilot Project mention that people will be allocated according to their work experience and education, in order to increase their chances to find a job. Furthermore, the municipalities need to send reports/statistics about places available to live. Therefore, it seems it is not clear how the municipalities are going to tackle this problem. Furthermore, besides the residence issue and the society orientation (samhällsorientering), it seems that it is not clear what each county is responsible for, according to the Proposition.

Project limitations, validation, competence and time frames

An agency called “Kompetensförmedling” (Competence Agency, see List of names and abbreviations) was a suggestion from the social democrats in their motion to the parliament (Högman et al, 2009:1). According to the motion, there should be another agency specialist in enhancing competence to take care of the introduction of newcomers to the labor market.

The target group was also criticized by the social democrats in their motion to the parliament. In order words, it seems that the target group of the Proposition as well as the Project is very limited to refugees. They highlight the importance of focusing also on women and other groups not included in the documents (Högman et al, 2009:1).

“A system for national validation of education, degrees and professional knowledge should become reality” (Högman et al, 2009:3 [my translation]). In order words, it seems that it is important to change the system; in order to include people with different kinds of
knowledge from their home countries, otherwise there will always be, for instance, taxi drivers in Malmö with doctor degrees.

According to interviews carried out with Växjö Kommun, when an immigrant moves to Sweden, there is usually a period of three months for him/her to start studying SFI (Swedish for immigrants). Sometimes this period is extended depending on the reply from the counties and good will. Some primary stakeholders mentioned during the interviews that they waited for their letters in their mailbox for many months and did not get any. There is however no change concerning the time to start studying SFI in the Proposition as well as in the Pilot Project, although it seems to be very important for newcomers to master the Swedish language and be able to communicate to be able to find a job, instead of sitting at home waiting for a long time to go to school. According to the motion of Högman et al (2009:4), social democrats are requesting a period of one month instead.

In the Pilot Project itself, there is a section of Risks (Pilotverksamhet, 2010:14ff). In the list, some of the issues are lack of personnel resources, lack of time, since the workers seem to keep their old work load before the Pilot Project started, lack of resources to the program, lack of adequacy to the needs of the target group, workers or cooperation partners not fulfilling undertaking, lack of competence and involvement, lack of competence of cooperation partners and suppliers, unclear practical issues and a quick start, Arbetsförmedlingen, Migrationsverket and Kommuner (the municipalities) not have enough time to get ready as well as planning time, Migrationsverket have a time limit for providing aid within a month before settling people in the counties (Law 1994:137 om mottagande av asylsökande mm, 8§) because the Pilot Project establishes three months.

Commuting to work

As it shows, there are many issues that the Project’s terms of reference itself identified as problematic. For example, a possible consequence for being placed far from the possibility to get a job, as well as choosing a region in which is not the best according to one’s skills is that many people have to commute from one place to another. According to Hyresgästföreningen (2010), around 34 000 people commute from their counties to others, in order to work. Around 16% commute from Växjö to other regions and 40% from Alvesta to other places. Furthermore, it seems that this problem with available residences are closely connected with
the fact that there is only support by the government to owners of new residences including houses by decreasing taxes with a rate of 30% of interest costs (Hyresgästföreningen, 2010:10ff). In order words, tenants as well as landlords do not have the same benefits, in order to decrease the costs. Around 42% of the income of retired women are directed to rent fees (Hyresgästföreningen, 2010:19).

Another problem that has affected the integration process and it seems to continue to influence how newcomers integrate in the labor market is that Sweden has been affected by a financial crisis and many people are unemployed. In Växjö, people unemployed enrolled in a governmental program are around 9% of the population between 16 and 64 year old. Between 18 and 24 year old, the number increases to approximately 12% by January 2010 (Hyresgästföreningen, 2010:16). This lack of employment in the Swedish population has caused an increase in the exclusion or prejudice against foreigners, especially against those who have a job. In other words, this reaction can also be explained by interpreting immigration as the cause for unemployment and not the financial crisis and outer effects in the world market. According to Abiri (2000), this happens so because the Swedish society is treating the immigration issue as a security problem.

By discussing immigration as securitization problem, many employers seem to decline jobs to certain candidates who have a different appearance from average Swedes, if their names are not Swedish or if they have a slightly foreign accent. According to the interviews with the refugees, most of them indicated that their names, appearance and accent affect negatively as first impressions when they are trying to get a job. Besides, they also indicated that there are many Swedes unemployed and that the interviewees felt that the employers would rather give a job to one of the unemployed Swedes than to the qualified immigrant, especially if the latter has been living in Sweden for a few years.

4.3 What are the main needs and interests of the new immigrants?

In this study, interviews were carried out at Komvux (a school for adults mainly responsible for teaching Swedish for immigrants), Panncentralen, Tallgården, Lessebo and Linneaus University. The interviewees were older than 18 years old and younger than 65. The total
number of interviewees was 40, in which 19 were women and 21 are men. The main results from the field work with the primary stakeholders were:

- They were not aware of the introduction program (Pilot Project)
- 95% of the interviewees have been living in Sweden up to 3 years. All of them started to learn Swedish at Komvux. Some of them were still studying SFI – Swedish for Immigrants.
- 95% of the interviewees were younger than 30 year old and used to work and/or study in their home country
- 18 interviewees were from Somalia.
- 13 interviewees were from Iraq
- 38 of 40 were refugees
- 95% of the interviewees prioritized to find a job
- 50% of the interviewees argued that they have difficulty to socialize with Swedish people
- 100% of the interviewees recognized that it is important to speak Swedish to find a job
- Approximately 40% of the interviewees had university degrees from their home countries
- 90% of the interviewees live in Araby because they claim that it is easier to find an apartment there and that they have friends/family living in Araby. They complained about the lack of houses and apartments to rent and that one must wait in a queue for years to find a good apartment. Furthermore, they clarified that they were living or lived in small apartments with their family in the region. Notwithstanding, they mentioned that they felt it was better to live in such area than having to live outside Växjö, where transportation seems not to be so easy as in the city, especially for those who study Swedish, at university, work or have family/friends in Araby.

“Since I moved to Araby, I became happy, although the apartment conditions are different compared to other parts of Växjö. But it was not possible for us to choose to live somewhere else because the apartments were easier to access in this region. I also liked that some people from my country and other countries live here. It seems that
people help each other much more and are much more open because there are so many people from different countries” – Interviewee from Iraq

- 99% of the interviewees complained that they cannot validate their education in Sweden or that it takes a long time. Some of them were studying high school subjects again in Sweden because according to their country regulation, they were not accepted in Sweden. Besides, when asked how they would try to validate their education, they did not know how to proceed or they explained that they experienced difficulty in having their degrees translated to Swedish, since the authorities responsible seem to take a while to carry it out.

“I had already studied most of the subjects I have to study again in Sweden, like history, math and science. It is sad to have to study all over again because it takes much time for me to be able to come to university if I continue to study. If I find a job, I am going to start working, but I would like to have started to study at university since I moved to Sweden. I have heard from my classmates that there are some graduated at universities in their countries and they had to wait for more than six months to get a validation of their degree. But I wonder if it is really useful to get it because it seems to be still difficult to work in Sweden, especially because we do not have work experience and education from Sweden” – Interviewee from Iraq

It was unanimous that all interviewees indicated as their main need to have a job. Even though we discussed before that having a job does not necessarily mean to be integrated in all ways – maybe a start in the integration process-, it seems that this main need and interest corresponds to the goal of the Pilot Project as well as the Proposition. However, to find a job in their point of view does not mean that they are going to live one hundred per cent in the Swedish society, nor live their whole life in Sweden physically (i.e. move back to their countries at some time in the future if they have possibility or even somewhere else). All of the interviewees living in Sweden up to three years showed still strong ties to either relatives abroad or other countries – see transnational migration issues in Section 2.

They recognized the importance of learning Swedish but they mentioned that the easiest way to integrate in Sweden was by having a job. All of them wanted to integrate but only 25% said that they would like to feel as Swedes, having the same treatment in the society. In other words, most of the primary stakeholders did not wish to become Swedes or new Swedes. Instead, the interviews showed that most people living in Sweden more than two years recognized their nationality and were proud of their origin much more than when they moved. However, when the term immigrant came up, all of the interviewees reacted negatively
against it, although they themselves recognized that they are immigrants and that they were not Swedes, that they could not become Swedes and did not want to become them either.

An interesting finding herein out of the interviews was that four people explained that they had given up trying to find a job or another way to provide them economic support without relying on help from the government. In other words, they clarified that they were depressed and without hope to change their life situation, since they attempted many times to be included but have felt excluded and segregated since they moved to Sweden. By having in mind the concept of securitization discussed before throughout this study, we can draw conclusions to the fact that these interviewees could represent a group that perceive themselves as a securitization problem. In other words, they understand themselves as if they were some kind of obstruction with lack of importance in the Swedish society. Consequently, this motivates a paradox: if the goal of integration is to provide the same rights, deeds and possibilities in the Swedish society no matter which ethnical or cultural background people have (Eastmond, 2007:19), why are these people feeling excluded and seeing themselves as a securitization problem?

4.4 Is the reform enough according to the needs and interests of the immigrants?

According to the needs of the immigrants as discussed above, they indicate mostly that to find a job is the most important issue for them, even though speaking Swedish seems to also be very important for them. Most of them argued that they spend almost the whole day studying SFI at Komvux, which makes them unable to work or that they have to leave their studies if they find a job. Some others (5%) were more interested in finishing their studies before they would start working but these interviewees were part of the group with no higher education in their home countries. Others complained that it takes around six months (if not more) to get validation of their foreign degrees into the Swedish system and, therefore, they would continue studying Swedish until they got it. However, according to the interviews, it was indicated that some interviewees were unhappy with the fact that even getting their degrees back validated in Sweden, they still have difficulty in finding a job in Sweden, since they argued that most employers require work experience in Sweden and, therefore, they find it hard to start in the work market, even though they have higher education.
Their contact with authorities seems not to be so happy either. In other words, they were unsatisfied when contacting their landlords, Arbetsförmedlingen and other authorities, because they claimed that they were not listened. With the landlords, 50% of the interviewees claimed that they could not proceed with their issue or the landlords never fixed their home problems because they felt prejudice as foreigners. With authorities in general, they claimed that they do not seem to have patience with them when they speak Swedish or because they have a foreign accent. 100% of the interviewees claimed that they felt they were treated differently. As their main problem to access to work market seems to be lack of experience in Sweden (as identified), it seems that their contacts with Arbetsförmedlingen were not very rewarding because they argued that they were mainly interested in studying some programs that would lead them to a job or internships that would lead to a job. Furthermore, 90% argued that they took time to be registered in Arbetsförmedlingen and that they expected to get more direct service (i.e. intervention and direct contact with employers) from the agency and not just counseling with validation and translation of their documents.

Another problem with authorities that they claimed since they came to Sweden is that they said that it usually takes a long time to get basic things done in Sweden, such as personal number (personnummer), ID card, bank account and especially when they start studying Swedish. Many complained that they have never received a letter from the county stating that they could start studying after they had applied to start studying Swedish at Komvux. Some of them indicated that it took more than three months for them to start studying SFI, which made them become “unmotivated, sit at home and wait”, as an interviewee explained:

“I do not know why it should take so long time to start studying Swedish and why they (county) are so careless with us. It takes a long time to start SFI. I sat at home for at least six months and now there is no class for me to start. I have to wait for a few months more. If I had started studying when I came to Sweden, I would have already been finished with SFI. It is very sad that besides the fact that we need to study many subjects all over again in Sweden, that we have to wait to be able to have a normal life in Sweden. It seems that we have to work and study two times more than an average Swede” -interviewee from Afghanistan

The reform intends to leave the responsibility for residence on the hands of the counties, as it has used to be. In other words, this does not necessarily mean that the living situation of the immigrants is going to change. For most of the interviewees, 95% did not have driver’s license and could not drive in Sweden either. Therefore, they have to use public transportation from and to possible work places. If they live in isolated areas, that means that they have to
spend more money with transportation and also depend on a scarce possibility to transport themselves, as there would be a possibility for them not to have bus back home if they work up to late, as their argued.

Another problem indicated by the interviews with Arbetsförmedlingen is the time frames. Herein time frames mean that the time established to carry out settling meetings and plans seem to be too short to delimitate and understand the life, wills and plans of an individual. In order to understand more about the plans as well as how to achieve the plans of every person coming to the introduction meetings carried out by Arbetsförmedlingen, there seems to need a deeper understanding of the needs as well as the goals of every one. In other words, a few months work to prepare a plan frame and to allocate a person in a region according to these plan and the possibilities to find a job in a certain area seems to be unrealistic according to Arbetsförmedlingen, since the plans and the understanding of people’s own reality and the Swedish reality changes with time. Understanding the own situation as a refugee moving to a freedom country and getting acquainted with the possibilities in Sweden as well as understanding how previous occupations work in Sweden seems to take time. According to interviews with primary stakeholders, some of the refugees also changed their life plans after they moved to Sweden.

Besides the possibility to change plans and the fact that it seems to take more than a few months to prepare a plan to integrate in the work market, there is a need for accurate statistics of living possibilities to allocate these people in specific regions depending on their work experience and education.

In 2009, Sweden received 18 487 refugees, in which 7700 (the biggest group) counted as immigrants coming with family ties to Sweden (not refugees) (Länsstyrelserna, 2010). These numbers were not included in the Proposition either. Therefore, these immigrants cannot be included in the Pilot Project, nor receive help from any sort. A few of the immigrants interviewed explained that there were many other immigrants they know that come to Sweden with family ties that do not receive any help to integrate in the society, except for the free Swedish course. Therefore, their Swedish counterparts need to handle all their living costs and development costs, which is not harmonic with the integration goals of the government where “everyone shall have the same rights, deeds and possibilities in the Swedish society, no matter which ethnical and cultural background they belong”. (Eastmond et al, 2007:19). This way, they do not have right to financial aid to study if Migrationsverket has not issued permanent
visa to these people (Migrationsverket, 2010). In other words, it could be a case that these immigrants live in Sweden with a visa of 2 or 3 years and cannot get any financial aid to study at university or Swedish at Komvux, which could lead to pressure in their families to support them. This could cause all the members not to grow together harmonically until everyone is more independent and integrated. If they stay in Sweden and get extension of their visa, then they are granted financial aid to study, for instance. This problem could cause a delay in the integration process of this group, as many people could stop studying Swedish or not continuing their studies at all for lack of incentive and support – reducing the possibilities to increase their qualification to be absorbed by the work market quickly.

4.5 How would the proposition be changed to be able to reach a better integration policy?

Broadening the limitation

First of all, the proposition seems to influence the target group in a way that there is a big limitation to the group of refugees. The Proposition argues that refugees usually take longer time to integrate in the work market. However, by integrating other groups of immigrants, the Swedish government creates more equal opportunities for all the groups of foreigners to integrate as well as to increase the number of people active in the work market, which is positive to the national economy.

Validation

Even though, many young Swedish people are also unemployed, all other immigrants moving to Sweden seem to experience a similar integration process in which requires that they have, for instance, their studies validated in Sweden, that they acquire initial work experience in Sweden (as discussed before), as well as that they master the Swedish language and many people have to complete their studies in Sweden, since the requirements seem to be much more demanding to recognize a foreign degree in Sweden. International experience as well as different focus on education as well as work is not usually understood as good in Sweden, but it seems that everyone should have a national model of education. Notwithstanding, international experience and education can add much to the development of Swedish education, as well as enlightening many work places with new ideas and ways of viewing different tasks, especially in some occupations, such as for teachers. For example, to
recognize teaching education from other countries in Sweden seems to be a very long process and teachers should usually have multicultural, experiences and studies in different areas, which is positive in such occupation. However, the process seems to be bureaucratic and take a great amount of time.

*Competence*

For the Project to be successful, it requires that there is competence from the authorities carrying it out to integrate immigrants in the labor market. By competence, as discussed previously, it means ability, knowledge and experience to work with the issues to be handled. Competence to work with integration in the labor market requires understanding of the situation of the immigrants in the target group. Therefore, people who experienced themselves the need to be integrated could be an asset to these places to increase their competence. Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket could, for instance, employ more immigrants with relevant background in the area of integration from different countries and languages. Multilingual skills help the work in the area of integration in having more tools to understand other immigrants in question. As well as multilingual skills and experience in the area of integration, by employing immigrants with relevant background to specific tasks, projects or jobs, these authorities would show that they are willing to integrate new Swedes to their personnel.

*Time frames*

As discussed before, time frames seem to be a problem in accomplishing the project well. Three months to elaborate the settling plan should be extended to at least six months, in order to be able to understand the situation of the immigrant, as well as to follow up her constantly in a weekly basis. Besides, new Swedes could be studying SFI at the same time as being followed up by Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverketet. That is to say that it would be better, if not best, to start studying SFI as soon as the person moves to Sweden. Migrationsverket seems to be providing Swedish introduction to many refugees nowadays, even if their visa process is still ongoing, however Swedish introduction should be carried to everyone moving to Sweden with a residence permit.

*Communication and cooperation*
Communication and cooperation should be improved between Arbetsförmedlingen, Migrationsverket and the municipalities. In order to be able to carry out what the Proposition establishes, these three organizations should create a mutual system of communication about integration issues. This way, it would be positive to create a board of representatives with weekly meetings about what has happened, what is needed and how the integration process should be improved. This would improve the knowledge about the roles of the actors engaged as well as how the Proposition is executed in practice etc.

Residence

The residence issue is an old issue in many counties in Sweden. According to interviews, it has been a big problem with the lack of apartments and the lack of access to apartments in Växjö (due to the “queue system”, in which people for a longer time in the list have more points and, therefore, more chances to choose the area and which apartments they want to live in). How this problem should be tackled by the counties is not clear yet. Different kinds of financial or tax support to the organizations to decrease the monthly rent fees of the apartments could be a solution, as many new apartments have higher fees even though their size does not increase, if compared to others (Hyresgästförenigen, 2010).

Even with the problem with finding apartments, according to the interviews with primary stakeholders, most people were willing to live in small apartments or with friends, rather than having to live isolated, outside Växjö. In other words, people living in Araby were willing to live close to their friends and family network, as well as closer to downtown, where they illustrated that they could have more options of transports, as well as schools and jobs. This is confirmed by Hulenvik (2008), as mentioned in subsection 3.1, when clarifying that people prefer to live in “crowded apartments” in Araby, rather than isolated in other areas.

Another important point to be taken into account in this subsection is that the Proposition seems to be formulated in a way which it does not correspond to the bottom up perspective. In other words, the Proposition and the Pilot Project seem to possess governmental and top-down ideology and they also seem not to correspond to the ways the target group would like to be integrated in the society. Consequently, the position of the government and the position of the primary stakeholders are confronted. For instance, this interpretation explains why the problem of residence seems to continue, even though the Proposition attempts to tackle the subject in an innovative way (by developing settling plans with the target groups, then analyzing where it would be best to locate people according to
their education and work experience, attempting to make them find a job easier.) If people are willing to stay where their family and friends are, they are not going to be willing to move to other regions where they do not know anyone, when settling in Sweden. Therefore, they are not going to be willing to collaborate with the terms described in the Proposition and in the Pilot Project.

Transnationalization of migration can impact these issues presented before according to the behavior of the immigrants. If they have strong linkages to other societies or cultures, they are not going to be willing to follow requisites described in the project/Proposition, as their interests and perceptions do not seem to be harmonic with the content of the Proposition and the Pilot Project (see Subsection 4.6).

A suggestion for this problem of residence is that the municipalities could create partnerships with local housing organizations, as well as landlords and offer incentives in trade of lower renting fees and lower points in the queue. Partnerships with research institutes, such as local universities could also help the municipalities with good statistics to provide more accurate results about the region, such as work market indicators, occupations, unemployment rates, apartment availability etc.

4.6 How do transnational migration and securitization affect the elaboration of the Pilot Project/Proposition, as well as the interviewees’ integration processes?

As it was discussed before in this Section and in Section 2, securitization and transnational migration may affect the integration processes of the interviewees as well as the Project/Proposition. In Section 2 and 3, there was also a discussion that immigration has been securitized in the Swedish society because it has been interpreted as a threat and sometimes this threat is unconsciously reproduced in the society, causing people to blame the lack of jobs to the immigration phenomenon rather than other issues, such as financial crises. It was also discussed, according to the results of the interviews, that a possibility for the motivation of the Proposition is that tension amongst non-integrated immigrants can arise (increasing social problems) as well as when the more immigrants are unemployed, the more immigrants are dependent on governmental economic help. Therefore, policy making can be directly related to how some issues are securitized in a society.
In this study, it was also enlightened that transnational migration can mean that people are connected to different societies, if these people have strong ties in other countries and live their lives in different societies, rather than creating roots in their actual society, as it was illustrated by Eastmond (2007). Eastmond (2007) also argued that the lack of interest to integrate in all levels in a target society can be lead to the fact that many people do not want to become Swedes or do not think that it is possible to become Swedes.

4.6.1 How transnational migration and securitization affect the elaboration of the Pilot Project/Proposition?

As discussed before in Section 1, 2 and 3, the Pilot Project was motivated by the Proposition. The focus of the Proposition was integration in the labor market, in order to help people integrate quickly in the society. We also argued in this section that by having a job does not mean integrating in all aspects but partly. We also considered that transnational migration and securitization are two important phenomena which affected the elaboration of the Project and the Proposition. Why is the government interested in creating such projects and proposition?

According to interviews with secondary stakeholders at Arbetsförmedlingen and Växjö Kommun, it was identified that many people are dependent on the social system which helps them to receive an amount of money to support themselves when they do not have a job. It was clarified that what the government attempts to do is to integrate people in the labor market, so that they can also pay taxes, as Sweden still has a high rate of non-productive people in the work market (unable to work, elders or declared as sick) – even though this situation is changing as foreign women living in Sweden are having a rate of 2.2 children compared to 1.8 children of Swedish women (SBC, 2008). Consequently, there is a possible correlation between the securitization and the efforts of the Swedish authorities to increase efficiency in integration of migrants, by creating policies of integration, thereby reducing potential threat.

The Proposition herein analyzed together with the Pilot Project indicates in harmony with the results of the interviews with secondary stakeholders that the main thought in trying to integrate immigrants (refugees in this case) have as main target to decrease the isolation and segregation of this group, which could constitute a bigger threat to the Swedish society, since they could form gangs, keep on depending on governmental money and increase social problems in the society. Notwithstanding, for the Proposition to achieve greater success and be able to influence the integration process of the target group, it should be formulated in a
way in which it could take into consideration the needs and interests of the immigrants, especially the different linkages people have and develop in different societies and countries before they came to Sweden and during their stay in the country. As a result, these immigrants might not be interested in integrating in the society the same way as a Swede that has Sweden as its only linking country and culture, if these linkages are not taken into account. Consequently, these different linkages could also be influenced by the way the society itself accepts the immigrants and the way the immigrants understand and accept the society they live in. Therefore, it seems that the authorities’ efforts have not been very successful to integrate the target group because their interests diverge from the authorities’ interests – since the interviews also indicated that most of the immigrants did not want to become Swedes and they did not want to be integrated in the conventional way either, although they wanted to get a job.

4.6.2 How do transnational migration and securitization affect the interviewees’ integration processes?

All the interviewees mentioned that they still have some kind of tie with their home countries, although the intensity of the tie seemed to vary from person to person. In average, it was unanimous in the results of the interviews that people living in Sweden for more than three years decreased their ties as they developed roots in the country. Although, some people whose initial integration process took more time (herein means not having jobs, still studying basic Swedish and been living in Sweden for more than three years), showed to keep these ties stronger by keeping frequent contact with their compatriots in Sweden, their relatives and friends in the home countries. Furthermore, depending on their age, the interviewees argued that people older than 40 were unable not learn Swedish at the same pace as younger people and tended to keep old habits and contact compatriots.

Besides that, as the interview results were presented in the beginning of this Section, the reason for the interviewed immigrants not to have enough contact with Swedish people can be interpreted as a securitization issue, since they themselves mentioned that some Swedish people are afraid of the initial contact with them. Moreover, they argued that they themselves tried to contact Swedes at times but they were unable to keep on with the friendship, since they claimed that it was difficult to break the ice and that they were misinterpreted at many times. As Eastmond (2007:18) argues that the limits of integration is related to “concrete
experiences of discrimination and exclusion and also subtle feelings of isolation” [my translation]. Eastmond (ibid) also clarifies that still many groups do not feel welcome in the society and even some people born in Sweden.

By looking at these two sides, the immigrants’ and the governmental measures for integration chosen in this study, it appears to be that the latter attempts to change the scenario of integration of the immigrants but partially (focusing on finding a job). 90% the refugees interviewed in this study clarified that they still have a dream of coming back to their home countries and they are still attached to their culture and cultural habits. Due to the fact that they argued that they would like to return to their home countries, they themselves confessed that they were not making any effort to become new Swedes but simply live in the Swedish society as they can. On the other hand, the other immigrants also interpreted the difficulty of keeping relations with Swedes in up to three years living in the country but they were said that they were more interested in become Swedishized, even though they were aware that their cultures were important to be kept. A question assure from this discussion: do their integration process depend more on the way that they are welcomed in the Swedish society or their personal links abroad?

These two views presented before lead to an interesting group splitting where the goals of these groups – refugees and other immigrants – may affect the total course of their integration. The results also showed that most of the refugees herein interviewed had more cultural differences comparing to the Swedish culture, than the other immigrants in general. Therefore, the question of identity may vary in these two groups, as well as to how they perceive Swedes and the Swedish society. Consequently, they might keep their ties, develop their ties abroad or decide to cultivate ties in Sweden. By doing that, these immigrants could either concentrate on local identities (by developing and creating roots in Sweden) or divide their identities between Sweden and abroad (Eastmond, 2007:23). As to sum it up, it appears to be that the group of refugees interviewed interpret their own integration process in Sweden as a threat (securitization issue), while the other immigrants accept it more than the former but not fully. One reason which might illustrate why the latter accepts more than the former could be that the refugees’ nationalities are faced with more obstacles than the others. For instance, nowadays their names are stereotyped as more “foreigner”; their appearance is usually much more different than the average Swedes; their habits and religious usually differ considerably; they need to fulfill additional requirements to validate their degrees and studies than if they came from other European countries or some Western countries.
5 Discussion

According to the results, the issues that are left out from the Project and Proposition, as well as those who seem to be able to cause a problem were analyzed in the in the by broadening the limitation the target group, creating different measures for degree and study validation, investing on competence, changing time frames, improving communication and cooperation between authorities, and creating measures for residence in different places throughout the cities were the issues identified as suggestions to improve the Pilot Project and the Proposition. Furthermore, the interviews with primary and secondary stakeholders as well as the analysis of the Project in terms of securitization and transnational migration provided a better understanding how the integration process of the interviewees is influenced by these factors and that by having a job does not mean that the immigrants become fully integrated in the society, even though they wish to get a job and the Project/Proposition focus on this issue.

5.1 Suggestions to the Proposition

The limitation of the target group can be solved by rewriting the Proposition before it turns into law, before 1st of December 2010. By broadening the target group, more immigrants have access to the integration in the work market and Sweden establishes a more equal law, in which more opportunities are given to other people experiencing similar integration problems, as all immigrants (sometimes even born Swedes) seem to experience having to integrate in a new society – although in different forms, as it seems to depend on personal motivations and interests.

Validation of documents, such as degrees and education rapport, does not seem to be an easy issue to be solved, since changes in the whole system of validation in Sweden would be required. Validation here means that even though the documents are translated to Swedish or one of the acceptable languages, the education background as well as degrees should also be validated in the work market. Still, the weight of foreign degrees and education seem not to be equivalent to the Swedish education and degrees. In other words, when applying for a job, some of the interviewees claimed that a person with a Swedish degree would be chosen rather than one that had a degree issued in Iraq, even having equivalence in Sweden by Skolverket (see list of names and abbreviations).
Competence is another issue which seems to be difficult to measure, in terms of quality of the personnel as well as which courses employees should do, experiences etc. A good competence could, however, take place by means of employing multicultural staffs with experience in the area of integration, as well as people that experienced the need for integration themselves in their lives. By employing immigrants or new comers themselves that show quick development in their integration process in these organizations with relevant experience background, besides enriching the team and bringing new and real integration and societal perspectives, these organizations would give these people a chance to be even more integrated in Sweden.

The issue of time frames can be easily solved by means of changing some details in the Proposition before it turns into law, such as decreasing the time to start studying SFI, as well as increasing the time and intensity of the meetings in the settling meetings and plans. By doing that, it can increase the chance for people to be directed to right regions afterwards when they already have a communicable knowledge in Swedish.

Communication and cooperation are important issues that define how the Project is going to be successful as well as how the implementation of the law is carried out. Communication is usually a problem in big organizations, where the amount of information is divided and focused on a few departments or on a few people. Communication between organizations is even more complicated, since they have different ways to gather and distribute information. However, it is possible to decrease these barriers by means of creating a mutual board, in which common meetings are carried out to update, identify problems and create solutions to the problems.

Residence is one of the most complicated issues from the Proposition, since it is quite difficult and uncertain to allocate people according to their abilities, experience and education in specific areas where there are more possibilities to find jobs and integrate in the labor market quicker, especially if they want to be located in other regions than suggested. The uncertainly comes from the lack of accurate statistics about the housing possibilities connected with the labor market. The possibility to work in certain areas does not necessarily mean that there are available apartments easily to access after recently moved to Sweden. Another indicator that is not clear is that, as the market is changing quickly, yearly statistics sometimes are not enough to understand the needs of certain areas, as well as lacks. In many areas, where there are available apartments, there are usually not many stores, entertainment
places, schools, frequent means of transportations, stores usually close early and the inhabitants usually need to travel a while from their places to buy certain products, solve certain problems, enjoy themselves and even go to emergency at hospitals.

With all the interviews carried out, an important conclusion is that the Swedish society is changing and it is not only immigrants that have to adapt and integrate but Swedes too. Nowadays, Sweden has around a fifth of the Swedish population is foreign. In other words, 1.6 million are foreigners living in Sweden out of the total population of 9.3 million (The Local, 2010). Nowadays, Sweden is multicultural. Prejudice or conservatism to maintain old rules are forced to change when the environment changes. In other words, accents, values, language and habits change with generations, influence from different cultures and families.

5.2 Securitization and transnational migration

Securitization and transnational migration were showed to affect the integration processes of the interviewees as well as their life in Sweden, especially concerning their attempt to find a job. In order to keep their job, if the immigrants are in an environment coordinated by Swedish people or if it is a Swedish institution, they must learn how to relate to the existing rules and people. How they relate to the rules and to the people depend on how they perceive people in their environment and how people interpret them. If one of them or both perceive each other as a threat or avoid contacting each other, there would be the securitization issue still happening, even though these people would be integrated, for instance, in the labor market. Whether it does not work and these people get fired, they would experience difficulty to get another job, since newcomers are still learning about the rules of the society, language, they experience many cultural shocks and the Swedes can also react to them. Consequently, these immigrants could either continue to develop their identities in different societies or could insist on attempting to integrate themselves in Sweden.

Throughout this study, another important finding arose behind the design of the Proposition and the Pilot Project affected by securitization of migration. As we discussed in the beginning of the results, reforms can be motivated by securitization issues in the society as well as by governmental interest to change something good in the life of the people in question. Securitization of migration can be interpreted herein as a spoiler of integration in the society, in relation to some groups of immigrants and the locals. It can also be interpreted as a driver for the government to create integration policies, which otherwise it would maybe not.
However, at the same time that the reforms can aim a good change to the society, they can be influenced by securitized issues by absorbing different perspectives as well as points of view of the policy makers, as we noticed by studying the Proposition and the Pilot Project. Consequently, the result of that could be that the governmental reforms do not correspond to the needs and interests of the target group, i.e. in this case the immigrants. As a result of the field work in this study, we concluded that their interests and needs seem to be related to getting a job as well as recognizing the importance of learning the local language, however due to their multiple identities, they were not willing to be integrate in all societal levels.

As a result of the field work and the analysis of the terms of reference of the Pilot Project and the Proposition, the following model was obtained:

Model 1 – Securitization and transnationalization of migration affecting policy making

According to Model 1, securitization and transnationalization of migration together with the interests and needs of the primary and secondary stakeholders and their interpretation of the securitization and transnationalization of migration may lead to two different perceptions. Consequently, it leads to (1) how policy making is performed connected to the needs and interests of the policy makers affected by securitization and transnationalization issues (how they perceive immigrants and their needs and interests); (2) how the immigrants perceive their
own integration process, that is, how their needs and interests are together with how they feel that that the society receive and accept them. Consequently, they form their own perception of their integration process and how they would like to integrate in the society in question, which can differ from the aim of the integration policies.

According to Model 1, we notice that depending on how immigrants are attached to other cultures, habits and societies, they are going to be willing to integrate in other areas than the labor market or not. It also shows that, if there were a more participative approach, in which it would mean that the immigrants themselves were more involved in the way the policies are made and implemented, it could certainly result in a different perception of the integration processes and maybe different aims and ways of implementing the policies. In other words, it is understandable that if the policy makers are not part of the target group, they are maybe not going to focus on certain issues that are relevant for the target group.

Securitization of migration can also help clarify, for instance, why the Proposition is focused on the labor market. As it was illustrated by our interviewees (secondary stakeholders), we realized that the need for making the population more economically active seems to be the main goal of the governmental policy, and not a humanitarian wish to integrate people for them to feel part of the society, as to feel part of the society seems to include other factors, such as social networks and being able to develop roots in the society, be able to vote and have the same rights as a Swede.

Transnationalization of migration can come into the scenario as a phenomenon that is also affected by how the society accepts and sees the immigrants, because depending on their acceptance, they can decide to develop roots in the country where they are living than be constantly attached to roots elsewhere. On the other hand, it seems that transnationalization of migration can also increase the way issues are securitized, in a way that if a person or a group of people is too attached to other cultures and societies abroad and have therefore difficulty to accept the society where they live, they tended to be seen as a threat by the population living in the society where they moved to. As we discussed before in Section 2 according to Hulenvik (2008:31), a win-lose game where the immigrants have to lose their culture and background to be able to adapt in the new society is usually seen as a negative way of integrating, which creates reaction on both sides. Therefore, a suggestion for this is a win-win integration instead, that is, an integration where both sides (society and immigrants) would win by maintaining and respecting the immigrants’ background, although having some effort from the immigrants’ to also adapt to the new society and respect the other culture. In other words, a win-win integration requires integration from both sides, and that is maybe a reason
for the Swedish policies of integration to face difficulty to succeed, since it seems that the immigrants have to adapt fully to the Swedish society, such as the latter’s education, validation etc, as we mentioned previously in Section 4.

This lack of flexibility with adaptation from both sides seems to create a shock between the two groups – the newcomers and the dwellers integrated in Sweden (as we indicated in the results that we concluded that there were two different groups in the field work – those who were more willing to accept the Swedish system and others that had more difficulty because they also felt more excluded in the society). The shock has been illustrated by Model 1, in which it shows that two different perceptions can be formed by these two groups. Beyond that, we also realized that even in the group of immigrants, the perceptions were somewhat different, depending on their background, the reason why they moved to Sweden and which country they come from –as we explained that some of the interviewees coming from certain countries experienced difficulty in studying in Sweden because they were obliged to study subjects they had already study in their home countries or face a bureaucratic process when having to validate their degrees or have access to the labor market when they had work experience in their home countries.

6 Conclusion

The suggestions to improve the Project/Proposition as well as the issues put aside from the Proposition/Pilot Project were presented in Section 3 and 4: broadening the limitation of the target group, validation, competence, time frames, communication and cooperation, and residence, as discussed in Section 4. By changing these items, it helps decrease the feeling of isolation and segregation, which decreases the feeling of choosing to live in different societies at the same time in this globalized world (Eastmond et al, 2007:8).

We also concluded that when people have the opportunity to develop roots where they live, by being participants in the society where they are, they tend to focus their life moments and connections to this place, instead of sharing them between different places. Sweden still has many people living in different countries at the same time that they are physically present in the country, which could be related to their links abroad as well as securitization issues because some groups of immigrants seem to be interpreted as a threat where they live.
Isolation and segregation are the main reasons that motivate people not to participate in the society compared to integrated people.

The Pilot Project is together with the Proposition a good attempt from the State to try to change the current integration situation of the target group, although it is limited to integration in the labor market and some issues were discussed in this study as abstract issues, such as statistics of where to place people in Sweden according to where they could find jobs best. Notwithstanding, even if the Project and the Proposition worked practically, there are still many people that are not included in the target group, who need attention and intervention from the government in their integration processes. A reason for that seem to be that the Proposition and the Pilot Project were motivated by securitized issues in the society, i.e. immigrants that are seen as threat in the society, and not because there is an intention to promote equality and same life conditions for everyone.

A very important factor focused on this study, immigrants’ needs and interests, seems to be a key issue to be able to implement the Project and the future law successfully, as we realized from the results of the field work that that the immigrants perceive the society differently and have different interests and needs. In this study, the field work has been carried out to find out the main needs and interests of the group interviewed as well as the main perspectives from the authorities concerning the Project and the Proposition. Therefore, attention to the fact that not everyone is willing to be integrated the way it is proposed by the government is very important to take into account when writing reforms as well as awareness that by helping new comers to find a job can be a temporary measure, since the reform is not helping them to integrate in other ways – especially because the roles of integration are divided between different organizations and they seem not to be clear in the Proposition i.e. how the municipality would tackle the residence issue. In order words, the Swedish top-down perspectives (i.e. governmental perspectives) are not necessarily right or most adequate when trying to handle problems, conflicts and needs from grass-roots levels. Knowledge about the cultures included in the Project and the Proposition as well as multicultural staff could help booster the reform enormously.

Not taking into account the grass-roots’ perception about people’s own needs and interests in the Proposition as well as the Project, just solve part of the problem temporarily. The feeling of not wanting to be Swedes is strengthened in the society amongst those who are excluded, segregated or subject to discrimination. Therefore, the transnational perspective
discussed before in Section 2 is given room, where people develop multiple identities due to ties to different communities and countries as well as different citizenships. This issue results in lower participation in the different society levels and it is also a clue that the governmental goal with integration is not fulfilled, as people are not treated equally, their rights, deeds and possibilities depend on where they came from, which ethnicity they belong to and where they were grown up.

As a conclusion, this study discussed and analyzed the questions left aside from the Proposition/Pilot Project and how the Pilot Project and the Proposition as well as interviewees are affected by securitization and transnational migration issues. Lastly, suggestions to improve future integration policies as well as the Proposition were presented.

To sum up, securitization and transnational migration are important phenomena to be taken into account when drafting propositions, laws or governmental measures to improve integration processes of immigrants or even Swedes in the Swedish society. It is important to remember that integration is not just acquiring a job, since a job can be lost and people can be segregated again in the society. To work with people’s integration is to work with helping them to develop roots in the society, that is, cultural roots, identities and the feeling of belonging to Sweden. Maybe the first step to develop roots in Sweden is to accept people that move to Sweden together with their experience and education, as something valuable to develop Sweden – not as a threat to destroy the Swedish way of being but as a way of enriching the country. Sweden is already changing and has changed all over the years. To keep up with the changes is to be able to develop it even more.
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Annex 1 – Interview Guide

Interview Guide to Field Work

Master’s in Peace and Development Work

Date: __________________ Time: __________

Place: ___________________________________

Name (optional): ____________________________________

1. Which is your mother tongue?______________________

2. If you came from another country:
   a) How long have you been living in Sweden?__________
   b) How long have you been living here?___________

3. Where are you from? _________________

4. What is your biggest need and interest to integrate in Sweden?

5. What would you like to change in your current state of living?

6. Could you explain why did you move here?

   ________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________

7. Do you feel you can influence your own life situation and make it better here? What factors can most influence your life?
   a) How? __________________________________________________________

8. Do you know about any integration program carried out by Arbetsförmedlingen or Migrationsverket?
9. Have you gotten any help from the authorities during your integration process?
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________

10. What is integration for you? Do you consider yourself to be integrated?
___________________________________________________________________________

11. Are/is there particular change(s) that you will like to see?

a) In your area and community: ________________________________________________

b) In your apartment/house: ____________________________________________________

c) Activities: _________________________________________________________________

d) Education: _________________________________________________________________

e) Health care: ________________________________________________________________

f) Transport: _________________________________________________________________

g) Others: _________________________________________________________________

12. Do you: ( ) pay rent ( ) own your place?
___________________________________________________________________________

13. Are public institutions willing to help if you have any problem?
( ) yes ( ) no If no, why? ____________________________________________

14. Is it easy to contact the necessary public institutions (by phone, email) or to access the necessary institutions (if they are easy to reach by bus, car, walk)?
___________________________________________________________________________

a) Do you get clear explanations for your questions? ____________________________

b) Is waiting time for replies and feedbacks to your requests ( ) short or ( ) long?

15. Have you experienced any prejudice in Sweden? If so, which kind?
16. Have you worked in Sweden? In what? If not, tell more. Have you experienced any kind of difficulty to work in Sweden/with have you have experience?

17. What would you like to do in 5 years? Do you want to continue to live in Sweden?

18. Do you usually have contact with your family and friends abroad? If so, how often?

19. How do you feel living in Sweden?

**Background questions**

1. Family members

   ( ) single ( ) married/living together with partner ( ) single parent ( ) living with relatives/

2. Education background

   ( ) primary school ( ) secondary school ( ) high school ( ) university ( ) graduate school

3. Occupation

   ( ) student ( ) unemployed ( ) employed full time ( ) employed part-time ( ) employed less than 20 hours ( ) employed more than 40 hours ( ) others _______________________

   More details about occupation: ___________________________________________________________

4. Where is your work place? __________________________________________________________

5. How do you get to work? ( ) bus ( ) car ( ) train ( ) bicycle ( ) others ____________

6. Age: ________________________
Annex 2 – Pilot Project
List of names and abbreviations

Aktivitetsstöd – economic help to people involved in a program carried out by

Arbetsförmedlingen.

Arbetsförmedlingen – Swedish Public Employment Service

Etableringsplan – settling plan

Etableringssamtal – settling meeting(s)

Kommun – Swedish municipality, county

Kompetensförmedling – An agency supposed to help people integrate in the labor market, in

the motion 2009/10:A10 from the social democrats.

Introduktionsprocess – Process of introduction of refugees to the Swedish society

Migrationsverket – Swedish Migration Board

Pilotversamhet – Pilot Project

SFI – Svenska för Invandrare: Swedish for Immigrants

Skolverket – Swedish National Agency of Education