Diversity policy in employment and service provision - Case study: Malmö, Sweden

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Diversity policy in employment and service provision

Case study: Malmö, Sweden
Background

Brief history of migration to Sweden

As Allwood et al (2007) remark, immigration to Sweden actually started when the Vikings invaded in the ninth century. During the Middle Ages, monks from different European countries and a considerable number of Danes, Finns and Germans arrived.

According to Borkert et al (2007), Sweden’s more recent migration history can be divided into three phases. The first phase started a few years after the Second World War, when the Swedish government encouraged labour migration, firstly from Italy and Yugoslavia. Swedish production was needed in the other war-torn European countries and developed faster than in the rest of Europe. Later on, in the 1960s, when guest labour was also introduced in the rest of western Europe, official agreements for labour recruitment were signed with Portugal, Spain and Turkey. Of these labourers, the Yugoslavs and Turks are still large communities in Sweden, as Table 1 shows.

Another stream of immigrants just after the Second World War consisted of about 30,000 refugees from the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – mostly from Estonia. However, Sweden’s neighbouring countries are among the largest sources of migration. Since 1954, an agreement on free movement between Nordic countries is effective, and Finns are currently the largest immigrant group, with 180,906 persons as at 2006. The Danish and Norwegian groups are smaller and of about the same size (44,444 and 44,727 persons respectively).

Table 1: Foreign-born persons in Sweden, by country of birth, 2006 (groups larger than 9,000 persons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Ranking of largest groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>9,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>27,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China, excluding Hong Kong</td>
<td>14,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>9,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>44,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea + Ethiopia</td>
<td>6,066 + 11,427 = 17,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>180,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>43,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>10,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>13,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>13,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran, Islamic Republic of</td>
<td>55,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>82,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea, Republic of</td>
<td>9,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>22,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>44,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>51,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>12,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>18,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union, former + Russian Federation + Estonia</td>
<td>6,667 + 12,121 + 9,820 = 22,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Arab Republic</td>
<td>17,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>20,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>37,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom (UK)</td>
<td>17,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>15,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>12,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia, former + Serbia and Montenegro + Macedonia + Croatia</td>
<td>73,671 + 6,805 + 3,669 + 6,063 = 90,208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån, SCB)
The second period in the immigration history of Sweden that Borkert et al identify started around 1965, when immigration management was substantially modified. Possibilities to move to Sweden were limited by introducing work permits, and any immigration except for refugees and Nordic citizens became extremely difficult. At the same time, more attention was paid to the integration policy for those who had already arrived. The message of the policy became: ‘equality, freedom of choice and cooperation’. Non-nationals were given the right to vote in local and regional elections, migrant associations, journals and magazines were eligible for a subsidy and people were given the right to study in their mother tongue at school. A further diversification of the immigrant groups resulted from this period.

A third phase of Swedish migration, according to Borkert et al, started around 1994 with the growing influx of refugee groups. The former Yugoslavian community increased further during the Balkan war in southeastern Europe and is now the second largest immigrant group, with 90,208 persons. Iraqi and Iranian refugee groups are the two largest non-European refugee groups, with 82,827 and 55,747 people respectively. In addition, considerable numbers have come from Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Afghanistan.

The most recent expansion of the European Union has, according to Borkert et al, not had much effect in the sense that the number of immigrants from EU Member States has not increased significantly. Nevertheless, the number of Poles is steadily growing, from 40,123 persons in 2000 to 51,743 in 2006. The Polish community already existed in 1973, with 6,138 Polish nationals; no figure is available on Swedish nationals of Polish origin. However, in 2006 more than half of the Poles are Swedish passport holders while 22,410 have Polish nationality out of 51,743 persons.

Allwood et al (2007, p. 27) present a diagram which shows the type of resident permits that were given in Sweden in 2005. The largest category receives a resident permit based on family ties (35%), while the second category includes EU or European Economic Area (EEA) immigrants (29%). The third group comes as guest students (11%), the fourth category is granted a permit for labour market reasons (10%) and the fifth group consists of refugees and persons in need of protection on humanitarian grounds (8%). Much smaller groups are: immigrants based on a temporary law (4%), quota refugees (2%) and adopted children (1%).

Religion is not registered in Sweden, so data on the religious background of immigrants are not available.

**National policy context**

Multiculturalism is defined in terms of equal rights, with the slogan ‘equality, freedom of choice and cooperation’. Anti-discrimination laws have been established at national level. As Allwood et al (2007, p. 30) explain, Sweden has an anti-discrimination law concerning the workplace since 1994 and an ombudsman against discrimination since 1986. This law of 1994 was tightened in 1999 with the aim of preventing discrimination and encouraging employers to take goal-oriented initiatives. Some of the laws are responses to EU legislation such as the Amsterdam Treaty\(^1\) of 1999, the Nice Treaty\(^2\) of 2000, Directive 2000/43/EC\(^3\) implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons

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irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and Directive 2000/78/EC\(^4\) establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation. Allwood et al present the following list of measures in Sweden (2007, p. 31), namely the:

- Act on the prohibition of discrimination and other degrading treatment of children and pupils, from 2006;
- Prohibition of Discrimination Act of July 2005 – the purpose of the act is to combat discrimination based on any of the following grounds: gender, ethnic origin, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability;
- Equal Opportunities Act of 1991;
- Act on measures against discrimination in working life on grounds of ethnic origin, religion or other belief, from 1999;
- Prohibition of Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Disability Act, from 1999;
- Act on a Ban against Discrimination in Working Life on Grounds of Sexual Orientation, also from 1999;
- Equal Treatment of Students at Universities Act 2001;
- Swedish Penal Code – Chapter 16, Section 9 contains provisions on unlawful discrimination.

Borkert et al (2007, p. 32) have noted that Sweden is a highly centralised and democratic state, and shows a balance of power between a strong central government and highly independent local authorities. This is important information, since the power that cities have in Sweden – in terms of both finances and decision making – is strong compared with other European cities.

Malmö is Sweden’s third largest city, with 280,000 inhabitants in December 2008. It lies in the southernmost part of Sweden near the border with Denmark, and has a coast and harbour on the Öresund strait that separates the Danish island Zealand (Sjælland) from the south Swedish province Scania (Skåne); this strait connects the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. Malmö is part of the Öresund region, which covers the provinces Skåne, Själland, Lolland-Falster, Mön and Bornholm.

Malmö developed during the 1900s as an industrial city with strong traditional industries, based on the engineering industry, shipbuilding, textiles and food production. A decline in these industries had already commenced in the 1960s. The economic crisis in the early 1990s, which had a serious impact on Sweden, had a greater adverse effect on Malmö than on any other Swedish city; in fact, the downturn marked the demise of Malmö’s traditional industrial structure. During the period 1990–1993, the city lost almost 20% of its job opportunities. The crisis coincided with a strong increase in the immigration of refugees and other new immigrants from war-torn areas in eastern Europe and the Middle East. The proportion of the population with a foreign background grew by 10 percentage points during the 1990s and now stands at 37%. The overall effects of the economic crisis, in terms of long-term unemployment, exclusion, poverty and segregation, were overwhelming and historically unique. During the years following the crisis, several crucial decisions were made concerning Malmö’s future, creating hope and confidence in its prospects. The most important of these decisions related to the construction of the Öresund Link, a bridge and tunnel link between Malmö and Copenhagen, which was ready for use on 1 July 2000.

Today, Malmö may be described as ethnically and socioeconomically segregated, with middle class neighbourhoods in the west and working class neighbourhoods in the south and east. Unemployment rates, crime rates and the number of households in need of social benefits correspond closely with this pattern (Andersson et al, 2003). Investments in infrastructure continue and include a railway tunnel under Malmö Centre. Malmö University, which first opened its doors in 1998, has in a short period of time become Sweden’s eighth largest institution of higher education, with more than 21,000 students. The strongest economic sectors in Malmö are logistics, retail and wholesale trade, construction and real estate. A number of well-known companies are also present within the fields of biotechnology and medical technology, environmental technology, information technology (IT) and digital media. Cooperation between colleges, science parks and companies provides a sound basis for entrepreneurs and creative development in Malmö.

City’s migrant population

In January 2006, 93,520 people among the city’s inhabitants were born abroad, representing 34% of the total. Currently, 171 different nationalities are living in Malmö. Table 2 shows the largest immigrant groups at the end of 2007, based on nationality.
As Table 2 shows, Danes are the largest immigrant group. The recent immigration from Denmark has increased after the completion of the bridge between Malmö and Copenhagen. There is a shortage of houses in Copenhagen and houses in Malmö are cheaper; by train, commuting to Copenhagen city centre only takes half an hour. Another recent practice is the immigration of Danes who want to marry a foreigner, which is not possible in Denmark due to Danish legislation, but is possible in Sweden, since European rules apply to Danes in Sweden.

While many other Swedish cities face the problem of an ageing demographic profile, Malmö has a young population: 47% are younger than 35 years of age. This is mainly due to the immigrant groups; of the children in Malmö, half have parents who are foreign born.

Table 3 reveals that employment in Malmö is not equally divided between the ethnic groups. While Swedes have an employment rate of 74% for men and 73% for women, all foreign born groups have a considerably lower rate, including the Danish immigrants. In most cases, the employment rates do not even reach 50%. The two groups with the lowest employment rates are Iraqis (22% for men and 11% for women) and Somalis (23% for men and 21% for women).

### Table 3: Employed persons in Malmö labour force among largest ethnic groups, based on country of birth and gender, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé et al (2007b, p. 21)
Another striking characteristic is the high concentration of immigrants in a few city districts. Concentration is higher than in most other European cities. This segregation is based on an older structure of socioeconomic division, and refugees have settled in the low income areas, where their fellow ethnic group members already lived; persons of Swedish origin have gradually moved out of these districts. In Sweden, refugees can settle in any city that they choose; they are not obliged to stay in the few refugee camps that Sweden has. When the rent of a flat is high for someone’s income, the municipality pays a share, irrespective of the total rent price or other characteristic of the flat.

Rosengård is the city district with the highest proportion of immigrants. On 1 January 2005, 59% of its population were first generation foreigners, 25% were second generation immigrants with two foreign parents and 10% had one foreign parent (Table 4). These shares amount to a total of 84%, leaving only 16% of the district’s population with two Swedish parents. Moreover, since the number of immigrants has grown since 2005, the figures in Table 4 have increased.

Table 4: Citizens of Rosengård with foreign background (first and second generation), by country, 1 January 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Born abroad</th>
<th>Born in Sweden, both parents born abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>1,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia Herzegovina</td>
<td>1,404</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>1,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>4,050</td>
<td>1,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,605</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,461</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of district’s population</strong></td>
<td><strong>59%</strong></td>
<td><strong>25%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: translated from City of Malmö, Rosengård factsheet, 2005

Other city districts with high concentrations are: Fossie (38% first generation and 12% second generation), Hyllie (26% first generation and 8% second generation) and Centrum (22% first generation and 6% second generation). In the latter two districts, the immigrants consist to a large extent of Danes.

City authorities

Compared with other European cities, the Malmö municipality has a relatively large number of employees (19,915) and considerable power; this is a consequence of the so-called Nordic model which allows for greater local governance. In addition to a large central administration, with the central political leadership having responsibility for strategic issues and taxing rights, 10 city district administrations exist, responsible for local services to residents. The city also has a determining influence in seven real estate companies, eight industrial companies, six service companies and four culture and leisure companies (Malmö annual report 2006, p. 9).³ City districts receive 80% of the budget and take care of citizens’ offices, schools and social welfare. The work is based on pre-set goals with 12 parameters to measure achievement. A city district is granted extra money on behalf of children of immigrant parents – twice that compared with a Swedish child.

³ Annual reports from 2002 to 2006 are available at:
http://www.malmo.se/servicemeny/malmostadinenglish/annualreport.4.33aee30d103b8f15916800024867.html
In the current political coalition, the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokraterna) and the Moderate Party (Moderaterna) have most influence. Some 25% of the councillors are of immigrant origin, which is the highest in Sweden. However, an extreme right-wing political party – that never gets more than three seats in the council – can be disruptive in the discussions on immigrant issues in the council. This party tends to protest against all specific measures for immigrants.

Within the central city office, the Department of Integration and Employment is responsible for induction programmes for newcomers. Close cooperation exists with the labour offices and schools to successfully arrange this scheme.
Historical background

In November 1999, the Malmö Integration Council within the city council drafted a proposal entitled ‘Action plan to promote integration in the City of Malmö’. The municipality recognised that it was difficult for people who have migrated to Sweden from other countries to be accepted and to participate in Swedish society. As already discussed, immigrants usually live in high concentration areas, separate from the rest of the population. Meeting places are few and it is difficult for immigrants to come into contact and establish social relations with native born Swedes.

The city council wants to create a city where all human beings are ‘ascribed equal value’ and where diversity is regarded as a resource. It strives towards a city that is free of fear of strangers, discrimination, xenophobia and racism. A common language, common legal norms and common meeting places are necessary if citizens are to function as members of the same social community. The action plan applies to all inhabitants in the city and comprises three sections:

- employment – Malmö is a city where everyone should be able to get a job;
- language – language education is multilingual and children have a right to mother tongue lessons. Translations are used in training courses, immigrants have a right to a translator in health issues and service providers are obliged to ensure that they reach the public;
- anti-discrimination – Malmö is the first city in Sweden that has enshrined anti-discrimination in its legislation; organisations can lose their subsidy or the right to service citizens if they are charged with discrimination, which is conditional contract compliance.

In Malmö, the integration policy is interwoven with the policy on diversity of staff. Aspects that deal directly with diversity of staff will be considered in the next chapter. A more general policy document was published in 2005, entitled ‘Welfare of all’. This document was valid up until 2008 and contains two important strands: firstly, it identifies the most significant problems of Malmö and, secondly, it emphasises that citizens, businesses and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) need to work together to solve these problems.

The national Swedish government and municipalities share responsibility for the integration and labour market policies. In Malmö in recent years, models have been developed that focus on groups who need public sector support to gain a foothold in the regular labour market. The aim has been to clarify the boundaries between the authorities’ main areas of responsibility and to reach agreement in areas where those boundaries are unclear. It is essential that municipal and government funding is made available to help to develop this trend in the right direction.

Perhaps surprisingly, media attention has influenced the development towards diversity in a positive manner.

Policy objectives

Most parts of the policy apply to all – native born Swedes, immigrants and their children. Specific measures are outlined under the following subheadings.

Introduction programme to the city

All refugees and other immigrants who live in Malmö join an introductory programme when they receive their residence permit. The law states that all adult immigrants should start the course within three months after being registered in the municipality. People can complete the programme within three years. The city of Malmö organises and finances the course in cooperation with the Public Employment Service, Region Skåne and the Swedish Migration Board.
A central reception unit is responsible for registration, an induction plan and the application for an introduction allowance if requested. The local offices at the 10 city districts then follow up with coaching and guidance, and decide on the introduction allowance. Overall, six introduction units exist, employing a total of 24 officials. In January 2008, the units had about 3,000 participants, including 1,250 families receiving an introduction allowance. Most of the candidates are from Afghanistan, Iraq and Poland. In 2007, the number of new arrivals was 2,400 persons, 50% of whom were refugees.

The overall objective of the introductory training is that the individual becomes self-sufficient, can get a job or is able to assume regular studies, and is able to participate in society. Programmes are individual and customised, taking the needs and potential of the individual into account; the courses consist of Swedish for immigrants, social information, labour market information, a professional evaluation and validation, workplace-based training and matching individuals to suitable employment.

The educational part of the training, ‘Swedish for foreigners’ (Svenska för invandrare, SFI), is highly flexible. A total of five schools offer courses for people with a different educational background; one school has completely flexible study hours, another school offers lessons for people with visual or hearing difficulties and a further school provides for people with post-traumatic stress disorder. Language education can continue in parallel with work, vocational or other education, or combined with work-based training. Immigrants have the right to ask for education in their own language; however, for practical reasons, this is only possible with a minimum number of students. This study will provide further detail on one of the schools, Hyllie Park Folkhogskola, in the chapter on diversity in service provision.

Support to find work
The labour market element of the training programme includes validation of the diploma and development of a qualification portfolio; this is carried out by a Validation Office. For the portfolio, actual diplomas are taken into account as well as other experience that may sometimes be unfamiliar to Swedish employers. Participants learn to present their experience in an application letter and job interview in an attractive and suitable manner. This will be further explained in the next chapter.

After the diploma validation and development of a qualification portfolio, immigrants are supported in finding employment. Vocational education is possible in engineering, road construction and maintenance, caretaking or guarding of property, cleaning, bus driving, commercial driving, work as a mechanic and the restaurant business.

According to the 1999 action plan to promote integration in Malmö, the general goal is that every individual, regardless of social or ethnic background, shall have access to the labour market on equal terms or be provided with a meaningful occupation. The action plan emphasises on the one hand that the Swedish language course should gain higher status and improve in quality. On the other hand, the plan advocates a less rigid attitude towards the need for Swedish language skills, combined with better adaptation to the practical circumstances in the workplace. The recommendations in the action plan (1999, p. 28) include the following provisions.

- The municipality should broaden the base for recruiting and strive for appointments that create working groups that are multidimensional and diverse, and can provide good service, comprehensive bases for decisions and promote creativity in the workplace.
- A guide should be written as a complement to the municipal personnel policy programme concerning how competence of various kinds should be assessed when employing people of foreign background. Particular attention should be paid to how foreign academic degrees and professional experience can be assessed, examined and utilised.
All employees should be given support to develop in their professional roles and the necessary training to ensure that they feel secure and confident in their encounter with Malmö residents of diverse origin. Every individual’s right to devise solutions independently should be respected.

Municipal programmes to support entrepreneurship should be designed to be adaptable to anyone who wants to start a business, regardless of ethnic and social background.

Efforts against discrimination and racism
A total of four of the 10 recommendations on combating discrimination and racism, as outlined in the action plan for integration in Malmö, apply to work situations (1999, p. 29).

- The municipality should take active measures to promote ethnic and cultural diversity in its operations, activities and programmes.
- The personnel policy programme should be supplemented with a rolling plan to transfer knowledge to all municipal personnel concerning applicable law, cultural encounters, prejudices and communication.
- Trade unions should be involved in efforts to prevent discrimination in the workplace with respect to terms of employment and working conditions.
- Cultural encounters should be considered natural and should be promoted in all areas, including the workplace.

All municipal employees should be made aware of the aims and content of the action plan, and it should also be communicated to everyone who lives, works or conducts a business in Malmö.

2007 action plan for increased integration and employment
A 2007 action plan for increased integration and employment has been developed as a follow up to the 1999 plan. In relation to integration, three objectives have been set – namely, to:

- develop new methods of working, in line with a new local development agreement to counteract economic and social segregation, applying additional resources from national and EU structural funds. The local development agreement was devised based on the national strategy ‘Development and justice – a metropolitan policy for the 21st century’;
- continue the implementation of ‘bridge builders’. The ‘bridge builders method’ is considered successful in establishing better communication between services and sections of the population;
- prepare and implement an anti-discrimination action plan, in line with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) group of ‘European cities against Racism’, which Malmö has joined. The work engages local businesses and focuses on spreading information, analysing discrimination and giving seminars on how to combat the problem.

The 2007 action plan presents more targets on employment, which give priority to young people and immigrants with little or no connection with the Swedish labour market. The Employment and Development Centres (Arbets- och utvecklingscentra, AUC) should provide all functions related to welfare and work.
Besides employment and anti-discrimination, two more subjects are considered important and have ambitious targets in the 2007 action plan:

- Adult education – 80% of recruitment training graduates should find employment and 80% of introductory training graduates should pursue vocational training, regular studies or some other competence-boosting activity;

- SFI – the targets for 2007 were that 80% of all participants completing an SFI introductory course should gain employment, commence regular studies or take up any other competence-boosting employment activity offered by the municipality or government. Furthermore, 80% of all participants completing the SFI introductory course will have done so in line with their individual syllabus and will have achieved their individual language target.

Responsibility: elected representatives and officials

At the time of writing, one of the deputy mayors in Malmö, Kent Andersson, is responsible for staffing, labour market and integration issues; Mr Andersson – from the Socialist Party (Socialistiska Partiet) – is one of six deputy mayors. The policy is executed at the central level of the City Office; the Department of Integration and Employment is part of the city council. All departments are responsible for applying the diversity policy in service provision and have to report to the city council. A total of 59 of the 61 council members voted for the action plan on integration; only the two right-wing councillors did not. Thus, the plan has considerable support.

Collaboration with social partners and non-governmental organisations

Cooperation with the trade unions and companies takes place, for instance, on staffing policy, and a total of 50 projects exist in this field.

Malmö encourages the establishment of companies through subsidies to organisations, providing a way out of unemployment. Several social partners support the promotion of an entrepreneurial spirit. Funding is available for trade and industry in connection with recruitment training. The social Enterprise Development Centre provides support in the form of matching individuals’ profile to suitable work, as well as offering education programmes, developing networks and giving advice.

The collaboration between the city and NGOs involves both consultation and more extensive common initiatives; examples of these are outlined under the following subheadings.

IntroRehab

IntroRehab is a joint project run by the City of Malmö, Region Skåne, the Swedish Red Cross, the municipal school of adult education Komvux Södervärn, the staffing and training provider Lernia AB, the municipal adult education and labour market education service provider Liber Hermods and the rehabilitation company Iris Hadar AB. IntroRehab is an initiative within the City of Malmö’s introduction programme, directed towards refugees and immigrants with migration-related stress including post-traumatic stress disorder. The aim is to offer a package solution, including treatment combined with some elements of the introductory programme in order to increase social integration and employment opportunities. At the time of writing, 20 clients were in the programme and more people were requesting the service.

Post-traumatic stress disorder can be caused by psychological or physical torture or loss of family members in a war situation in the country of origin, such as Afghanistan or Iraq. The usual symptoms are nightmares, flashbacks and anxiety; however, more severe problems like depression, anger, difficulties in socialising as well as physical symptoms
like breathing difficulties can also occur. After arriving safely in Sweden, concerns about family members do not disappear, and their uncertain status in Sweden further destabilises the individuals. They may have to wait a long time for a staying permit – for example, Iraq is officially not at war – or face housing problems and a lack of activities until the asylum procedure is completed.

It is very important, according to the project coordinator, that the traumatised clients have a daily schedule of activities, preferably work; however, on the other hand, work can easily become too challenging for them. Getting work means looking forward to the future, having money and gaining practice in some labour market situations. A normal language school is difficult because many of the clients have concentration and sleeping problems; therefore, the courses last only a few hours and take place in small groups.

While teaching similar things as in the integration programme, IntroRehab uses four basic strategies. The strategy to overcome anxiety, feelings of lack of control or lack of safety is to provide a safe structured and predictable environment, to use writing, art and dance as expressions of feelings, to allow a graded approach to unfamiliar activities and to allow exemptions from very difficult tasks. The strategy to overcome a depressed mood, the avoidance of new information or withdrawal from people is to provide a supportive environment in the classroom, while also providing one-to-one discussions, to set achievable goals, praise effort and promote cooperation. The strategy to overcome anger or low frustration tolerance – and to restore meaning and purpose in life – is to explain limit setting, discover what is troubling the student, address causes, allow for appropriate expressions of difficulties in telling somebody and offer an outlet through drama. Finally, the strategy to overcome guilt and shame and restore dignity is to communicate respectfully, allowing for gradual participation, to listen to students, and to acknowledge feelings, thoughts and fantasies.

Organisation for International women in Malmö

The Organisation for International Women in Malmö (Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö, IKF) arranges several programmes in cooperation with the city of Malmö, the European Social Fund (ESF), and other national and local partners. It works mainly with project money, although the 1,000 members – 40% of whom are Swedish and 60% of whom are other nationalities – also pay a contribution. Some of the activities of IKF include evening courses in Danish, English, Spanish, computers, music, health improvement and yoga, as well as sexual health programmes, labour market projects and training for political roles. IKF underlines the importance of the labour market, and offers programmes to increase competences, knowledge and to provide a place where unemployed women can meet and use the Swedish language.

The ‘Competences days for female entrepreneurs’ initiative works well, as does the network of mentors in leading positions in companies. By connecting business mentors with young, educated immigrant women aged 25 to 30 years, many jobs have been found for unemployed women. Both the mentors and the clients benefit from the experience. Individual immigrant women become familiar with the formal and informal rules of the labour market, while the mentors increase their multicultural skills, and prejudices about foreign employees dissipate in the companies.

Women from countries like Iraq or Somalia are not always encouraged by their personal surroundings – that is, their husband or community – to engage in society and sometimes they are even stopped from attending language courses or further education. From the Swedish side, no pressure is put on women to work when their children are younger than 18 months old. On the other hand, women may find it possible to work with two children, but it becomes much more difficult when they have perhaps eight children. Personal attitude also determines whether a woman will choose to remain in a possibly isolated environment at home, or enter the educational system or labour market.
IKF currently has three immigrant women and four Swedish women among its paid staff; however, that total changes whenever new projects get funded. In addition to paid staff, the organisation relies on numerous volunteers. IKF won the Malmö integration prize for 2007.

Other projects
Various other projects take place in cooperation with NGOs, for example with the Swedish church association, with Children’s Rights in Society (Barnens Rätt i Samhället, BRIS) – concerning training staff who come into contact with children and young people – and with the Malmö Non-profit Umbrella Organisation of Youth and Immigrant Associations (Malmö Ideella föreningars Paraplyorganisation, MIP/Malmö Idrottsföreningars Samorganisation, MISO). Projects take place on integration through associations.

Policy and practice on monitoring progress
Monitoring is extensive in Malmö and many aspects of the integration policy are monitored. According to the 2007 action plan (p. 16), compilations of activity statistics should constantly be available in a standardised form. Evaluation is based on four criteria: how the participants experience the activity; whether the activity achieves the target at a reasonable cost; whether the methods, competence, efficiency and productivity are satisfactory; and whether the organisation recognises the targets and profits with long-term renewal.

The central administration and other institutions of the administration receiving integration and labour market funding must indicate how the specified targets will be achieved, together with reviews of and reports on the results. The institutions are expected to implement and record the contributions made in their area, and to include the outcomes of such contributions and subsequent analyses in their annual reports. In general, employment is monitored by the labour office, while the central administration monitors the development of the characteristics of the municipality staff. The city’s annual report for 2006 reveals, in relation to cultural diversity among its staff, that more than 24% of the municipal employees have a foreign background.

Key challenges faced in implementation and broad lessons learnt
The two largest challenges of the integration policy is the concentration of immigrants in certain city districts and neighbourhoods, and the limited participation of immigrants in the labour market. Migrant communities are growing and too much separation between Swedes and immigrants will have a negative influence on society. The municipality wants to promote diversity and equality in the labour market and works to bring about changes regarding attitudes that currently impede immigrants from competing for jobs. A lesson that has been learnt is that labour market initiatives must be tailor made, suitable to the specific needs and characteristics of that particular person. Measures that are implemented too generally do not work, whereas looking carefully at a person’s portfolio – as is done in the Validation Office – increases the chance that someone is successfully assisted towards the labour market.

Potential future policy development
The 2007 action plan emphasises the importance of active skills enhancement initiatives for the educational, work experience and other interventions that lead to jobs. Particular attention will be given to immigrants who are, for various reasons, considered unemployable.

Work with diversity shall also include other groups who are currently discriminated against in the labour market. Information and training have to develop in order to increase the opportunities for choice among immigrant women in the labour market. The tailor-made approach will be implemented in all of these situations.
According to Malmö City Council, housing segregation is a serious impediment to long-term sustainable growth, which must be eliminated. Malmö’s segregated housing areas need to be developed to ensure that they become more attractive places in which to live. Development plans for specific areas will be prepared in conjunction with residents and other parties interested in the particular area. The development plans shall comprise public and private services, communications, social work and changes to the physical environment.
Employment policy, practice and outcomes

Profile of city employees

In 2007, the city of Malmö employed 19,915 people, 4,948 or 25% of whom have a migration background. Among them are a majority of women (3,739) and a minority of men (1,209). The main reason for the relatively large number of immigrant women is that many women work in childcare (1,628) and as nursing assistants (3,619).

Table 5 shows the relative percentages of those employed by the city administration divided by the proportion in the city’s population, calculated by Broomé et al (2007b). A positive figure means that the country of origin is overrepresented in the administration’s workforce; a negative figure means that the country is underrepresented.

Table 5: City administration employees in relation to population, by largest ethnic groups, country of birth and gender, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé et al, 2007b, p. 23

As these data show, Swedish men and women were slightly overrepresented, while most other ethnic groups except Finns were underrepresented in 2001. The largest underrepresentation at that time was shown for Iraqis. Broomé et al (2007b) remark that it is of course difficult to represent all smaller ethnic groups in the same manner as the larger ethnic groups. The figures have probably improved since 2001, but no later data are available.

The data on age groups are more recent. As Table 6 shows, more immigrants are found in the older age groups of 40 to 59 years. The registration system does not include second generation immigrants; however, it is likely that a certain proportion of second generation immigrants might be found in the younger age groups.

Table 6: Immigrants among city’s employees, by age group (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>% of immigrants among city staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30–39 years</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–49 years</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–59 years</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60–69 years</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Malmö City Council
Among the 906 managers in the city council, women are overrepresented with 551 (61%) and men are underrepresented with 355 (39%).

Broomé et al (2007b) also analysed the level at which immigrants were situated in the organisation. While the strongest employment position is a permanent job, the weakest position would be a temporary job with a fixed hourly rate. Table 7 gives the proportion of people employed on the latter basis for the main ethnic groups.

Table 7: City administration employees with temporary job with fixed hourly rate, by country of birth and gender, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé et al, 2007b, p. 30

Among Swedish, Danish, Finnish and Hungarian employees, only 7% to 11% have temporary employment contracts; however, among Iranians, 30% hold such contracts and, among Somalis, 41% have a temporary job with a fixed hourly rate. Moreover, the position of women of the latter two nationalities is worse than among men. Interestingly, Iraqis are not too badly affected by precarious employment contracts and fare better than was reported for them in previous tables.

Employment diversity policy

In 1996, the first programme on employment diversity was written, known as ‘P96’, which stated that the staff of the Malmö administration should reflect the city’s population. The P96 programme has four chapters on working, gender equality, ethnic diversity and the generation shift, and it is directed towards all employees of the city. This study mentioned earlier that 50 projects have been undertaken with companies and trade unions to improve staffing policies.

As noted, the 1999 ‘Action plan to increase integration and employment’ has an anti-discrimination section. Complaints about discrimination, including in relation to the municipality, are sent to the ombudsman. The city co-finances the Malmö Anti-Discrimination Bureau. In other cities, this bureau is internal but the Malmö administration prefers to organise it as an external NGO so that it can function more independently.

In 2001, a new policy document was published, entitled ‘Engagement for Malmö’, which targets people in leading positions. In total, 950 managers, including small team managers, were sent on management development training. Small groups with a mixed professional background – for instance, administrative officials, teachers and various technicians – discuss diversity and their values, and receive training to improve selection procedures, to manage diversity in teams and to consider diversity as an asset. Every year, a follow-up programme is offered and, in 2005, a second one-and-a-half day event was added to discuss the core values of the city administration. One of these values is that the population is diverse and the administration also has to work in a diverse manner. All managers were required to attend.
The objectives of the employment diversity policy in the local administration have been clearly set. The proportion of employees with a migration background has to mirror the share among the total population in Malmö; in 2008, the latter proportion was 36%. As at December 2007, the city employees with a migration background represented 25% of the workforce, so this percentage has to increase. It should be noted that it improved substantially from 13% in 1997 to 25% in 2007. The primary goal is to ensure fairness and equality.

The city is also considering more qualitative objectives in the organisation in respect of diversity, after a report showed that managers still have a tendency to choose people who look like themselves when they select a new candidate for a job (Broomé et al, 2007).

The employment diversity policy is directed at people with a migration background, including the second generation. People with a foreign background are not excluded from any job.

**Challenges in developing and implementing policy**

Among the staff, not many tensions arise in relation to employing immigrants. However, in the council, the same discussion takes place once a year and defending the money for immigrant projects is sometimes difficult because the conservative parties always voice protest.

**Recruitment, training and promotion**

The employment diversity policy covers non-discrimination in the recruitment procedure. It highlights the significance of diversity and its importance to the benefit of the organisation. The recruitment policy emphasises the organisation’s values, norms and routines, including preparation, recruitment channels, advertising, selection, interviews, reference gathering, decision making, and documentation and records. The city has been successful in augmenting recruitment from among people with a migration background. Employees with a foreign background increased from 16% in 2001 to 25% in 2007.

Staff training and career development take place in all types of programmes; for example, in educational and development programmes, elements relate to ethnic diversity. The development programme ‘Commitment for Malmö’, designed for all managers, has effectively contributed to an increasing awareness of the significance and meaning of diversity.

In promotion procedures, just like in application procedures, non-discrimination is important. Within the recruitment process, fair and equal treatment has to be guaranteed, but no special treatment is given to any category on the basis of migration background.

**Equal pay and working conditions**

The policy is meant to guarantee equal pay and working conditions for people who work on the same level. This is part of both the national and the local policy.

**Harassment**

In Sweden, complaints about harassment are generally handled by the police. No specific procedure exists for harassment within the local administration.
Health and safety

Translated leaflets are available in Sweden about dangerous machinery, hygiene risks – for instance, in hospitals – and fire prevention. Of course, the 166 nationalities in the country cannot all receive their own translation; thus, this service is only offered to the largest groups. Interpreters and foreign language contact persons are also available at the city district councils.

Induction and language tuition

No specific induction and language tuition is offered within the local administration. The general system is rather intensive, however, as described earlier.

Recognition of qualifications

As mentioned earlier, the City of Malmö has a Validation Office, where diploma verification takes place and where clients work on their qualification portfolio. The centre is part of the City Education Administration’s Department of Adult Education and cooperates with the Employment Service, Malmö University and the municipalities of Skåne. Although the validation process is in Swedish, it is obligatory for new immigrants. It is also possible to undertake the procedure at a later stage, for instance if the person loses their job.

The process includes the following four steps:

- firstly, an exploratory survey, which is interpreted by a guidance councillor;
- secondly, a one or two-hour intensified identification of occupational skills by a vocational teacher, who prepares a report;
- thirdly, a three to five-day occupational assessment, in which the basic occupational demands are discussed and practised – this stage concludes with a certificate;
- fourthly, an assessment of four to eight weeks to take courses in upper secondary school, on completion of which the person receives an upper secondary school certificate.

Since 2000, more than 2,000 newcomers, unemployed people, employed persons and others have completed their qualification portfolio. Since 2001, 800 customers have been sent on upper secondary school courses. Identification of occupational skills started in 2007 and, by January 2008, 70 newcomers had been supported.

Questions for clients working on their portfolio investigate, for example, what they have done, how they carried out their work tasks, what responsibilities they had and what skills were required. The process of creating the portfolio has become almost as important as the product, as became apparent during the first year of work. Because supplementary descriptions are added to the curriculum vitae (CV), a clearer picture of the person’s competences emerges. This is useful for the individual and for employers. It increases the individuals’ insight, self-confidence and ability to communicate their skills.
Complaints

As noted above, the Malmö Anti-Discrimination Bureau is an NGO, paid for by the municipality and some 20 funders; it applies every April for a subsidy. Complaints on gender, disability, ethnicity and sexuality can be sent to this office. Age discrimination was to be added to the list of possible complaints when new legislation was implemented.

The office has three main duties: to treat individual complaints, to give information about the law and try to educate the public, and to influence society by writing articles for newspapers and influencing decision makers.

Some 70%-80% of the complaints in Malmö concern ethnicity, mainly discrimination in the labour market and in relation to housing, discos and restaurants refusing entry to foreigners, and harassment in the street. At the time of writing, two officers had handled 80 complaints, 50 of which were resolved by counselling, while 15 cases were taken to court and 15 were forwarded to the central Swedish Ombudsman on Ethnic Discrimination; Sweden has four central ombudsmen. When people make a complaint, they become members and pay a membership fee. Of the complaints related to ethnicity in employment, 25% concern the public sector. Labour complaints are usually first sent to the trade unions. Sometimes, the anti-discrimination bureau contacts the trade union, since the union has the first right and duty to help their members. Trade unions are not always happy with the involvement of the anti-discrimination bureau, but the two institutions can cooperate on occasion.

When customers have no money, they get legal support; however, the insurance easily covers sums up to SEK 10,000 (€952 as at 11 May 2009). All kinds of clients approach the bureau, not particularly one category. An important characteristic of the Swedish situation – which makes discrimination much clearer than in other countries – is that all applicants have to be informed of the successful candidate after an application procedure. Therefore, it is easier for applicants in Sweden than in other countries to establish whether they have been discriminated against. When the case seems clear to the anti-discrimination bureau, it telephones the employer, explains about the law and gives a warning. Giving information to employers is very important as, although the laws are good, people are not familiar with them. A telephone call by the anti-discrimination bureau serves as a warning. That this bureau works locally is an advantage compared with the national ombudsman, since it knows the local situation well and is therefore more influential.

Special initiatives

A special initiative that has most probably been very beneficial is the close cooperation between the city administration and the Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER) at Malmö University. The researchers Per Broomé, Inge Dahlstedt and Tobias Schölin have been able to study extensively the diversity of employment within the administration of Malmö, which shows an openness to critique and readiness for improvement. The research has added to the knowledge on how the process of diversifying the staff works, and has provided a broader scope with creative ideas suggested by the researchers. Moreover, during the research interviews and the presentation of the results, the staff have had a greater opportunity to discuss the process openly and in detail, and to contribute their own solutions and opinions.

Monitoring

The central office of the administration registers the country of origin of the administration’s staff members and monitors this and publishes the findings in its annual report.

Monitoring of the Validation Office takes place by asking all participants about their experience working on their qualification portfolio. Of the respondents, 68% answered that it better prepared them to plan for the future, 48%
considered that it created better conditions to learn relevant Swedish terminology for the labour market, 32% felt that it increased their general motivation and 27% believed that it was an effective way to learn Swedish. Only 5% of the respondents reported that it had no added value. When asked whether the qualification portfolio supported their education planning, 49% of respondents replied positively. The employment officers were also positive about the qualification portfolio: 30% found it easier as a result to match jobseekers with suitable work, 17% found it easier to communicate with jobseekers about their competences and 16% found it easier to present jobseekers to employers.

Impact of policy and lessons learnt

The Malmö administration has managed to recruit employees with an immigrant background in its own offices; however, it has been less successful in reducing the unemployment rate of immigrants, which is higher than that of Swedes. It is interesting that Malmö managed rather quickly to increase the proportion of foreign employees in its own administration. The policy was relatively effective probably due to the comprehensive approach adopted, which not only aimed to raise the educational and professional level of the immigrants but also to create awareness among managers and convince all layers of the organisation of the need to work with diversity.

Another factor in the success of the policy might pertain to the relatively strong anti-discrimination laws, which oblige employers to inform all applicants of who has been chosen for a job. Although discrimination is always hard to prove, this procedure makes it easier for applicants to compare their own qualifications with those of the successful candidate and to make a judgement about possible discrimination.

The cooperation with researchers has also had a positive effect, both in increasing the opportunity to discuss the issue and in the amount of knowledge on the process. Nevertheless, as Broomé et al (2007b, p. 42) remark, the quantitative aspects do not reveal much about the quality of the foreign representation in the different offices. Firstly, it would be impossible to represent all of the smaller nationalities of the 166 groups. Secondly, the purpose of representation is not just to attain certain numerical targets, but also for instance to improve the communication between the different nationalities, to provide an example to other institutions, to profit from the diversity of staff and to improve service provision towards non-Swedes.
Diversity in service provision

Services provided and contracted out

The city of Malmö provides 80% of the public and official services. The city also gives limited funds to ethnic organisations; however, most of the services are provided directly by municipal institutions. More specifically, the city authorities provide most labour market, educational, healthcare, elder care and information services. As discussed earlier, the Malmö Anti-Discrimination Bureau has been intentionally established as an independent, subsidised office.

Diversity policy in services

The city provides special services to immigrants. Although the aim is to provide all services insofar as possible for all citizens, some language groups receive extra attention when a person is hired in the office who speaks that language. For instance, the administration employs an Arabic speaker, as well as Afghanis and persons from the former Yugoslavia. Four examples of services will be considered here.

Information office

The Information Office at the city district council of Rosengård can help its clients in 12 different languages. There are only three staff members, but one Sudanese woman speaks six languages. When employing staff members, people who speak many languages are preferred. It is considered important that people receive the right information, which is why it is provided in their own language when possible.

The information office works on many issues: it acts as an intermediary between families and schools; it advises on preschool facilities; a nurse is available to advise on healthcare and elder care; it advises on staying permits and citizenship questions; it supports associations, for instance by paying for the building of four women’s associations; it helps with social security, including filling in forms; it functions as a mediator in case of problems with the welfare office; it helps people to find suitable housing; it gives support on starting a business; it helps to apply for scholarships; each April, tax advisors are available to help with the annual tax form; and it provides public computers with direct contact through a webcam with five other offices.

Language courses

As a second example and as explained earlier, the city provides Swedish language courses in the languages of the countries of origin. Immigrants have the right to ask for education in their own language, but for practical reasons this is only possible with a minimum number of students. The school Hyllie Park Folkhögskola offers the SFI course in the mother tongue for Albanian, Arabic, Dari, Kurdish, Pashto and Somali speakers. The Folkhögskola had an important role in Swedish history, since it developed from the working classes. It was established when farmers, who wanted more influence in the parliament, arranged their education themselves. Currently, the school is particularly interested in listening to what students consider as their needs. In 2000, municipal administrators held a survey among immigrants and identified that the most urgent need that people highlight is language lessons in their native language. The administrators found that women who had taken Swedish courses for three years had learnt very little. Thus, the organisers applied for funds and the mother tongue project started as a pilot. Considerable discussion still revolves around lessons in Swedish versus lessons in the mother language, but the results are very successful. In January 2008, 160 students with a low or no formal education background were following courses; some of the groups comprised only women. All of the teachers speak both Swedish and one foreign language; therefore, their recruitment almost automatically takes place among teachers from other countries. Currently, one third of the staff of the Folkshögskola come from abroad.

Since many of the students are illiterate, they initially learn to read and write in both languages. It is much easier for people to learn writing and the alphabet in their mother language. Since the students have to progress through the stages
of primary school, arithmetic and computer use are also part of the first course. Step by step, they develop their general level of knowledge and their language capacity. They learn new concepts that they did not know in their mother language, in addition to the Swedish words. Hyllie school is convinced that this method works much better than classes conducted exclusively in Swedish, in which students tend to lose their self-confidence because they constantly misunderstand the teacher. Research by Thomas and Collier (1997) shows that the test results of bilingual children with bilingual education are much better than the results of education in the new language; moreover, the test results are even better than the results of children who are educated in their mother tongue. Because of bilingual teaching, the capacity to think abstractly increases. Since dignity and cultural background are important aspects of people’s identity, the learning process takes place faster and people also develop in their own language. Swedish teachers have in the past often remarked that it is very difficult to teach grammar to illiterate women from Arab countries, for example; however, after grammar was taught in Arabic, some of the women became highly interested in grammar.

Employment and development centres

The third example of service provision arose as a consequence of an agreement between the city of Malmö, the National Labour Market Board and the Social Insurance Agency. Further to this agreement, employment and development centres have been set up in those city districts where a majority of citizens are born abroad. The employment and development centre is a labour market policy programme in Malmö with the purpose of helping people to find work experience and/or rehabilitation and/or employment, particularly people facing various barriers to employment.

Bridging activities

The fourth example refers to the already mentioned ‘bridging activities’, which form an important aspect of the 2007 action plan for increased integration and employment. One such initiative is found in the city district of Hyllie, where people are supported in their own language with so called ‘link workers’. The link workers form a link between individuals, ethnic groups, organisations and the different authorities (Andersson et al, 2003). The link worker has a social position in two different groups and can help individuals in both groups to increase knowledge, understanding and contact between the groups. This service helps to make Malmö a multicultural city with equal opportunities for all. A total of 25 link workers are available, who work in schools, after school activities, meeting points, citizens offices and the employment and development centre. As part of this study, the author met link workers from Afghanistan, Iraq and Kosovo, and one of Roma origin at the labour office. The link workers have a network in the Hyllie district, they cooperate closely with the city office and they have contacts in the southern cities of Gothenburg, Helsingborg and Ladskrona, as well as Copenhagen in Denmark; they also have contact with the European Intercultural Workplace.

Work methods in Hyllie are especially targeted at work and schools. It is important to connect people to the labour market, while ensuring that the right people are not in the wrong place, and to cooperate between the secretary of the labour office and the officer handling the introduction. Besides knowledge of at least one foreign language, a link worker needs to inspire confidence, to have an optimistic outlook and positive attitude, and to be convinced of the positive contribution of diversity. Obstacles that link workers encounter are: a negative interpretation of integration, traditional attitudes within authorities and organisations, passivity among people, and lack of knowledge in working with projects and organisations. Andersson et al (2003) show that link workers not only mediate, they are also role models who show how to use two cultural codes. Furthermore, they give practical advice as gatekeepers to social institutions and isolated communities.

Employment profile of service providers

Malmö is able to provide a breakdown of employment data showing occupations and migrant background, and due to the work of Broomé et al (2007b) it is possible to present a detailed analysis. Three areas of economic activity have been analysed in further detail, namely childcare and kindergarten, primary school, and health and elder care. These activities
are relevant because their services are important for immigrants and also because they tend to be understaffed and therefore attract members of immigrant groups, especially the first and the third areas.

Table 8 shows the representation of immigrant groups within the staff of childcare and kindergarten institutions. A positive figure indicates that more persons of that particular ethnic group are working in that field than would be representative, while a negative figure indicates that people of that ethnic group are underrepresented. The results indicate, generally speaking, that Rosengård seems to manage better to find immigrant staff from, for instance, the Iranian, Somali and former Yugoslav communities than the other two city districts do. Fosie and Södra Innerstaden have particular difficulties in finding Iraqis (-0.6 and -0.7) and Somalis (both -1.0).

Table 8: Childcare and kindergarten employees in relation to total sectoral workforce, for three city districts, by country of birth, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fosie</th>
<th>Rosengård</th>
<th>Södra Innerstaden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.7</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Romania</td>
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<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé et al, 2007b, p. 34

Table 9 shows similar figures for the employees of primary school. The analysis assumes that working in primary school requires a higher qualification level than working in childcare. The most striking outcome is again that the city district of Rosengård seems to manage better to find immigrant teachers and primary school staff than the other two districts do. In Rosengård, the representation figures for Swedes and Danes are negative; however, most of the representation figures of the poorer immigrant groups – including Iranians, Iraqis, Somalis and former Yugoslavs – are positive. By way of contrast, in Fosie and Södra Innerstaden, Swedes are overrepresented and Iranians, Iraqis and Somalis are underrepresented.

Table 9: Primary school employees in relation to total sectoral workforce, for three city districts, by country of birth, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fosie</th>
<th>Rosengård</th>
<th>Södra Innerstaden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
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<td>2.3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé et al, 2007b, p. 36
Table 10 shows the representation of ethnic groups in health and elder care. Generally, this is a sector with many vacancies, so it might be expected that immigrants would easily access the lower occupational levels at least. In fact, in the health sector, underrepresentation is visible for certain ethnic groups in all three districts, namely for Iraqis, Somalis and former Yugoslavs. Swedish workers are slightly overrepresented and Finnish staff are more clearly overrepresented. The assumption that immigrants would often hold jobs in this sector was not correct.

Table 10: Health and elder care employees in relation to total sectoral workforce, for three city districts, by country of birth, 2001 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fosie</th>
<th>Rosengård</th>
<th>Södra Innerstaden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Broomé and others, 2007b, p. 37

Access to services

The citizens offices in the 10 city districts of Malmö welcome citizens seeking information, advice or other services. These offices also act as coordinators between the citizens and local politicians, officials and various organisations, and aim to give the right information and advice to people. In this manner, Malmö guarantees that people gain access to services as easily as possible. The offices are nearby, are accessible and operate in several languages.

Employees in the citizens office have daily contact with the migration office, the social security department, the social benefit department, the central national fund, parties in the labour market, housing companies and more. The office cooperates with other resources that are available to help those in need of access to public services, such as childcare and preschool facilities, schools and services targeting young people who are experiencing difficulties, elder care, family and school coordination, advisors on local associations, physiotherapy, advice on starting or expanding a company, and a healthcare advisor.

International health advisors have been employed in the medical field; these advisors are born abroad, have a professional medical background and give health advice in the mother tongue at an individual level as well as at group level.
Monitoring of access and outcomes identified

As already noted, the central administration and other institutions of the administration receiving integration and labour market funding must indicate how the specified targets will be achieved, together with reviews of and reports on the results. The institutions are responsible for implementing and recording the contributions made in their area, and for including the outcomes of such contributions and subsequent analyses in their annual reports.

Cultural awareness of staff

Managers of the municipal administration are trained on cultural awareness, fair selection procedures and equal treatment of their staff members. Since foreign language speakers work at the service desks of the district information offices, the language schools and at the labour office, the staff at these facilities already have some cultural awareness.

Discrimination against service users

Complaints can be directed towards the Malmö Anti-Discrimination Bureau, as previously outlined. All kinds of complaints about service provision are reported to this office. Immigrants complain rather often about the service officers of social security, the so-called ‘social officers’. Although a national office controls the quality of social officers, they seem to be often perceived as not being polite or respectful. This situation has not improved much in recent years. When the anti-discrimination bureau telephones the social officers, it takes considerable effort to convince them of the need to ensure fair treatment and to warn or discipline them.

Special initiatives

Malmö has been successful in creating links between offices within the bureaucracy. A special initiative is the ‘Local agreement with regard to cooperation in the integration of asylum seekers, refugees and other immigrants to Malmö City’. This agreement comprises the following signatory parties: the Department of Integration and the Labour Market in the City Administrative Office, New Immigrants to Malmö in the Employment Office, the Southwestern Skåne Healthcare District and the Malmö Admittance Unit in the Migration Board. As a consequence, these offices work closer together and the general service provision towards asylum seekers and refugees improves.

Impact of policy on access to and quality of services

Three successful initiatives in Malmö that are not common in other cities have already been described:

- language courses in the mother tongue, access to healthcare in the mother tongue and access to information and labour market support in the mother tongue;
- the Validation Office – through this service, both native-born Swedes and immigrants, employed and unemployed, can prepare their qualification portfolios. Immigrants receive special attention, since they sometimes have useful experience that does not show in diplomas;
- professional ‘link working’ as a means of integration, providing a link between individuals and groups – including immigrants – authorities and organisations. The concept of link workers was promoted to foster mutual dialogue with different groups of inhabitants and services, and participation has been developed in schools, neighbourhoods and the labour market.
In general, it may be said that Malmö’s policy is strong in providing immigrants with a powerful integration programme: it gives immigrants the chance to study in their own language and to have their experience and diplomas validated in a manner that increases their prospects in the labour market. This study has gathered insight into the provision of information and employment services, where efforts have been made to design more approachable services suitable for immigrants; the current research has not examined other important areas like primary schools or health and elder care.

Malmö seems to be successful in connecting different services and institutions within the local bureaucracy. For example, the link workers are a product of this strategy and many other initiatives are organised and funded by several institutions in a coordinated manner. This is a valuable quality in the increasingly complicated field of services that immigrants, who are often uneducated, have to tackle.
Generally, the stated policy – and the practice – of the Malmö administration in relation to integration and diversity focuses primarily on improving the disadvantaged socioeconomic position of immigrants. Thus, the policy aims to improve the quality of education and enhance employment opportunities. The policy documents and actual policy do not tend to focus on ethno-cultural factors such as religion and culture. No statistical data are available on the number of Christians, Muslims and other religious groups; the domain of culture and religion is understood as a private matter. In this sense, the policies reflect a republican view of citizenship.

According to the administration, one of the most serious challenges that Malmö encounters is its severe level of segregation, which has significant consequences, and causes great difficulties and expense. A proportion of only 16% of native Swedes in the Rosengård city district shows how serious the segregation is. The most problematic consequence is that large groups of children and young people are not being given an opportunity to pursue education and develop their real potential. Building plans and diversification plans are therefore being prepared. A second challenge is the high unemployment among immigrants compared with Swedes.

As noted earlier, Malmö managed to increase the proportion of foreign employees in its own administration rather quickly. This helps to diminish unemployment in general, since the administration is one of the largest employers in the city; furthermore, it promotes an example to other employers. The comprehensive approach that was adopted, which aims to raise the educational and professional level of immigrants while also creating awareness among managers at all levels of the organisation, is relevant to this success.

A second factor for success may be the strong anti-discrimination laws, which oblige employers to inform all applicants of who has been chosen for a job. Although discrimination is always hard to prove, this procedure makes it easier for applicants to compare their own qualifications with those of the successful candidate and to make a judgement about possible discrimination.

Thirdly, cooperation with researchers has had a positive effect on increasing the opportunity to discuss issues concerning immigration and diversity, while also adding to the amount of knowledge on the process at all levels of the administration. Malmö’s attitude of openness towards critique and development through the involvement of research is very positive.

The aspects of service provision that this study has examined more closely concern information provision, language courses and the labour market. It has concentrated less on primary and secondary education, healthcare, social or other services. Attempts to make services more accessible and suitable for immigrants often focus on providing personnel who speak many languages and attracting staff with a migrant background, who understand and communicate more easily with immigrants. Obviously, this is helpful for the largest foreign language communities but not for the smaller communities. The gatekeepers have an important role both in communicating with ethnic group members and as role models.

However, as Broomé et al (2007b, p. 42) remark, the quantitative aspects of recruiting immigrants do not reveal much about the quality of this representation in the different offices. The purpose of representation is not just to achieve certain numerical targets, but also to improve the communication between the different nationalities, to provide an example to other institutions, to profit from the diversity of staff and to address the specific needs of non-Swedes.
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List of persons contacted

The following people were interviewed between 13 and 15 January 2008:

Kent Andersson, Deputy Mayor responsible for staffing, labour market and integration issues

Andreas Konstantinidis, Department of Integration and Employment, and District Mayor of Rosengård city district

Raja Sundman, Coordinator of the City Office, Department of Integration and Employment

Ronny Nilsson and Angela Bergman, Coordinators of the Validation Office in Malmö

Per Broomé and Tobias Schölin, Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER), Malmö University

Two representatives of the Region Skåne Anti-Discrimination Bureau

Eva Johansson, language teacher for analphabetic Arabic immigrants at Hyllie Park Folkhögskolan

Representative of the Rosengård City District Library

Thoira El Shaikh, Head of the Citizen Office, Rosengård city district

Tobias Wideberg, Coordinator of IntroRehab, a project for traumatised refugees

Lars Ekström, Section Chief of the Employment and Development Centre, Hyllie city district

Hussein Sadayo and seven colleagues from Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo and Romania, link workers

Ulrika Melander, Maria Pålsson and three colleagues from the Organisation for International Women in Malmö (*Internationella Kvinnoföreningen i Malmö*, IKF)

*Anja van Heelsum*, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam