

The reception and introduction of asylum seekers and new arrivals in Gothenburg

Successes and failures in the development of a new system

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Overview and analysis of the reception and introduction of asylum seekers and refugees 2000 - 2011. The report deals with the national systems as well as the implementation of these systems in the Gothenburg region.

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1. Introduction

This report, commissioned by the European Social Fund in Sweden, mainly investigates the reception of asylum seekers and new arrivals in Gothenburg for the period of 2000 – 2011.¹ It gives an overview of the asylum procedure, the reception of asylum seekers and the introduction of new arrivals. Furthermore, it analyses issues, such as housing and health, which influence the integration into educational and vocational programmes and the labour market. During this period, around 315,000 individuals applied for asylum in Sweden. 139,500 applicants were granted leave to remain.²

The text is built on qualitative methods, mainly the more than 50 interviews and consultations carried out with representatives from all parties involved.³ Interviews with officials have been about their work and their reflections over the system while interviews with refugees have been about their life story. Official documents, websites, reports and studies are also part of the material. We are grateful for the good will and interest that we have met from all those that we have been in contact with.

The report begins with a short historical background to the reception and integration systems and continues with a presentation of Gothenburg, the second largest city in Sweden (Chapter 2), followed by a short depiction of the *Swedish Migration Board* (Migrationsverket), SMB, the asylum procedure and the reception of asylum seekers (Chapter 3). Next, the introduction of new arrivals will be more thoroughly discussed (Chapter 4).⁴ In chapter 5 we examine the situations of undocumented people. Chapter 6 is about the role of NGOs offering activities to asylum-seekers and new arrivals. Five refugees who were granted leave to remain in Sweden and who chose to reside in Gothenburg tell about their experiences in Chapter 7. In the last

¹ See Appendix 1 – Vocabulary and Main authorities

²For more detailed statistics on asylum seekers to Sweden, see Appendix 2, and for further information about the asylum rules and different grounds for leave to remain see: www.migrationsverket.se/info/443_en.html

³See Appendix 3.

⁴In this paper we will use the names of laws in English as given by the Government and the names of authorities as they are translated by the authority itself.

chapter (8) we summarise the conclusions that we have made, and indicate areas to develop, in order for asylum seekers and new arrivals to get access to the labour market and to feel/be integrated into the Swedish society in general.

Background

In the first years of WWII Sweden's refugee policy was restrictive. Two years into the war, however, Sweden changed its policy, which meant the most to Jews in Norway and Denmark. At the end of the war about 250,000 refugees from the Nordic countries were in Sweden. After the war 45,000 survivors from the concentration camps were received. Some remained and others moved on. In 1956 Hungarian refugees from camps in Austria arrived and from 1968 to 1972 Czech and Polish refugees arrived. Greeks fled from the Junta and Americans from the war in Vietnam and during the 1970s many refugees from Latin America and the Middle East arrived. Throughout the 1980s Sino Vietnamese refugees and refugees from the war in Lebanon arrived. During the 1990s refugees came from the war in the Balkans.

After WWII there was a need for manpower in Sweden and people came from many countries around Europe. One example is from Gothenburg where, in 1971, SKF employed people of 37 nationalities, constituting 42 per cent of the total labour force.⁵ "In those days you arrived on a Sunday and on Monday morning you started to work," says an immigrant who arrived in the 1950s (Interview, 2011). During the 1960s the situation on the labour market changed drastically; the labour unions demanded a regulation of immigration to Sweden, which came into force in 1967.⁶ Until the end of the war in former Yugoslavia, most of the immigration to Sweden was refugee-related. Thereafter, family reunification constitutes the largest number of immigrants.

In 1968 the SMB began its work as a regulatory agency. Since then, the system of examining asylum applications and the reception of asylum seekers has developed. This development is as a result of changing requirements and adjustments to the progress of the harmonisation efforts within the EU to develop minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers (European Parliament and Council Directive 2003/9/EC).

⁵ SKF Group is a leading global supplier of bearings, seals, lubrication systems and services including technical support, maintenance, engineering consulting and training etc.

⁶Agreements about a common labour market were signed by the Nordic countries in 1957. This agreement is still in force.

Shorter wait

The SMB has the main responsibility for the Asylum Examination and the Reception of asylum seekers, by ordinance of the Swedish Parliament and Government.⁷ It answers to the Ministries of Justice and Employment. Through the work of the SMB, practice is established concerning decision-making: collective knowledge, traditions, experiences, interaction between different parties, negotiation situations, scope and freedom of action, etc.⁸

Critique of the system is always present; one being that fewer applicants are being granted permission to stay in Sweden. During the 1970s-1980s around 80 per cent of the applicants were given permission to remain in Sweden, whereas the percentage today is much lower and differs from year to year.

Period	Number of asylum applications	Leave to remain granted to asylum seekers
1984-1989	109,000	90,000
1990-1999	246,500	159,500
2000-2011	315,000	139,000

Source: SMB⁹

Another area of critique has been the long decision-making phase. In order to deal with this problem a new organisation was created in 2009, “Shorter wait”. The goal was twofold; to reduce waiting times for the applicants and to improve legal rights. It started as a project in Gothenburg and the aim was to test and develop a new approach to processing asylum cases. At the same time as Shorter Wait was established the SMB decided to use the working model *Lean*.¹⁰

For each individual asylum seeker, a tailored plan is drawn up identifying the investigation stages required to reach a decision. Shorter Wait is now part of the ordinary national system.

⁷ Förordning (2007:996) med instruktion för Migrationsverket and Lag (1994:137) om mottagande av asylsökande m.fl.

⁸ According to the Swedish Constitution, a minister cannot micromanage an authority. The authorities answer to the government and it is very little that the individual minister himself can decide, other than internal management of the department of their own. The prohibition of ministerial rule dates back to the Age of Liberty in Sweden and was intended originally to counter the absolute monarchy Kungörelse (1974:152) om beslut av ny regeringsform (Notification of a new constitution).

⁹ The numbers in the two columns cannot be directly compared. An asylum seeker may have waited several years for a final decision of his/her application. 97,112 asylum seekers were granted asylum - 1980-1989. 90,000 for 1984-1989 is estimation. For the original tables, www.migrationsverket.se/info/2591.html

¹⁰ *Lean* is a set of management practices based on the Toyota Production System (TPS). See *Lean thinking* by Womack and Jones (2003).

An asylum investigation should be carried out within one week of the application and the average examination time should be no longer than three months in the first instance. Until 2009, the average examination time was nine months. By 2012 it had decreased to around half of that in the first instance. In the second instance, waiting time is much longer; therefore, the total waiting period is still prolonged; in some cases several years.

Summary of SMB statistics	2010	2011	June 2012
Average time asylum seekers are registered with the SMB ¹¹	473 days 15,8 months	467 days 15,7 months	483 days 16,1 months
Average time for case management in first instance	130 days 4,3 months	149 days 5,0 months	121 days 4,0 months
<i>Of which</i> Unaccompanied minors	153 days 5,1 months	144 days 4,8 months	106 days 3,5 months

Source: SMB

The Swedish National Audit office (Riksrevisionen) is currently investigating the reception of asylum seekers. A report is expected to be published in late November 2012.

Introduction and Integration

During the 1950s and 1960s it was presumed that immigrants would assimilate into the Swedish society. The first move from a policy of assimilation to a policy of integration came in 1975, when the government introduced a new integration policy with three key terms: freedom of choice, equality and cooperation.¹² Integration is a multifaceted concept. It has over the years been discussed in relation to different areas such as settlement, school results, participation in elections and referendums, health, learning to speak Swedish and work. Today the integration policy aims at helping new arrivals to establish themselves in the country as well as to develop the Swedish society's ability to integrate immigrants into its various structures and social life. The objectives are equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all; the main focus is on access to the labour market.¹³

For the introduction of those who are granted leave to remain there are several central and local public authorities involved. Critique of the outcome of the integration efforts is ongoing

¹¹ The asylum seeker is registered from the date of submitting the application until the case is closed and he/she has moved to a municipality (application approved in first or second instance) or left Sweden (application rejected). Source: SMB.

¹² Prop. (1975:26) om riktlinjer för invandrar- och minoritetspolitiken. (Guidelines for the immigrant and minority policy).

¹³ Prop. (2008/09:01), Budgetproposition and Skr. (2008/09:24) Egenmakt mot utanförskap - regeringens strategi för integration (Empowerment against exclusion - government strategy for integration).

within the political debate. Some areas in the cities have few Swedish-born inhabitants and the unemployment rate in these areas is higher than the national average. Population density is also higher in those areas, and school results are lower than the average. In order to support new arrivals to get access to the labour market, the government introduced a new system, *the Act on Establishment Activities for Certain New Arrivals*, which came into force on December 1st, 2010.¹⁴ The law aims to facilitate and accelerate the path to a job or higher studies, thus giving the individual opportunities for self-support.¹⁵

EU funds

Sweden has benefitted from the possibilities given by the various EU funds available for the development of integration. The SMB administrates two funds: The European Refugee Fund and the European Return Fund support projects within asylum and migration.¹⁶ The Swedish ESF Council supports projects financially via two different funds: The European Social Fund supports projects that promote the development of skills and counteract alienation and exclusion and the European Integration Fund supports projects that improve the systems for the reception and integration of immigrants from countries outside the EU.¹⁷

The Equal programme was an ESF initiative that operated between 2002 and 2007. The programme worked through Development Partnerships and included support for future integration of asylum seekers.¹⁸ The projects were evaluated by impartial evaluators. To a certain extent, this paper is built on interviews; three with refugees who were participants in the Equal project “Arrival Gothenburg” at the time when they were asylum seekers and two with refugees who did not participate in the programme.

¹⁴ Lag (2010:197) om etableringsinsatser för vissa nyanlända invandrare.

¹⁵ It is also meant to counteract the much higher unemployment rate among immigrants. As one PES officer said "It is a risk that young people consider a low level of work force participation among immigrants as almost natural. This view is not only wrong but it is also a threat to immigrants' wider participation in a democratic society" (Conference, County Administrative Board in Malmö, September 11, 2012).

¹⁶ www.migrationsverket.se/info/400_en.html

¹⁷ www.esf.se/sv/english/Our-programmes/The-European-Social-Fund. Refugees and asylum seekers are not included in the programme.

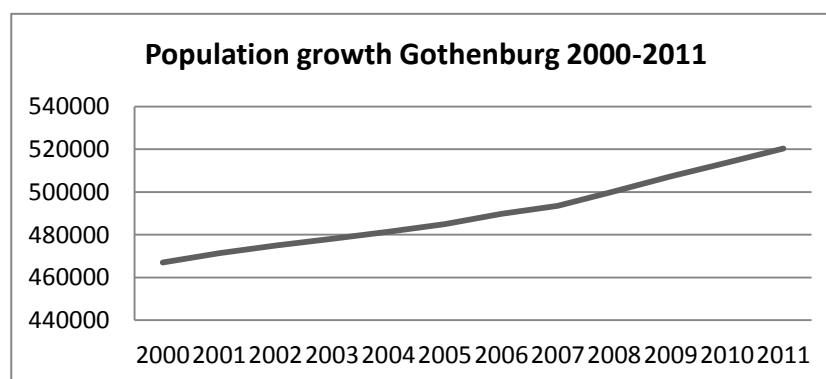
¹⁸ The experience of Development Partnerships as a method is discussed in a doctoral thesis by Sofia Wistus (2010). She finds a number of positive values and prerequisites for successful and democratic development work. At the same time she shows that partnership is not a quick fix to complex societal problems. “Combining top-down and bottom-up strategies, democracy and effectiveness, development and planning and working in equal relations are all dilemmas that become visible when the idea of partnerships is put into practice” (Sofia Wistus, 2010).

2. Gothenburg

Gothenburg is situated in the Västra Götaland region, which has 49 municipalities and 1.5 million inhabitants. The city has a strategic position at the mouth of the Göta River and has been an important trading centre since the 12th century, although the area has been inhabited for at least 8,000 years. The city, originally built according to Dutch patterns, was granted its charter in 1621. In the 18th century the East India Company made Gothenburg a flourishing city. The second half of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century was a period of large emigration to the Americas through Gothenburg. In the 19th century there were major changes in the city structure. Most of the many fortresses were demolished and room was made for two big parks in the centre of the city. Gothenburg has always maintained its maritime character, with large shipyards.

Gothenburg has the largest port in Scandinavia. Around 70 per cent of Scandinavia's total industrial capacity is located within a 500-kilometre radius of the Gothenburg Region. Some of the industries are well known, such as ESAB, Hasselblad AV, Volvo and SKF. The University of Gothenburg has 38,000 students and Chalmers University of Technology has around 11,000 students.

The population of Gothenburg was 520,374 as of December 31st, 2011. From 2000 to 2011 the population of Gothenburg increased by 53,384.



Sweden Statistics, SCB, and www.ekonomifakta.se

115,013 persons were born abroad (22.4 per cent). Of the 183 nations represented among all those who have immigrated to Gothenburg, the ten most common countries of birth, apart from Sweden, are:

Country	Number	Per cent
Iran	10,983	2.1%
Iraq	10,930	2.1%
Finland	7,299	1.4%
Yugoslavia	6,743	1.3%
Bosnia/Herzegovina	6,535	1.3%
Poland	5,233	1.0%
Somalia	4,448	0.9%
Turkey	4,134	0.8%
Norway	2,898	0.6%
Germany	2,700	0.5%
Other countries	53,110	10.3%
Total:	115,013	22.4%

The City Council is the supreme decision-making body of Gothenburg and is responsible for making all general decisions. There are 10 City Districts with their own Committees.¹⁹ They promote democratic influence and guarantee that the citizens get the services they are entitled to. The Committees make political decisions about basic compulsory education, care of the elderly, child welfare, local culture, recreation, social support and support for the functionally impaired. The City employs about 47,000 people, of which about 33,000 work in the district committees.

Specialised Committees work within a broad range of activities, such as special transportation services, water and sewage, recycling, sports, environmental issues, education, land and housing. Municipal Companies are arranged in business areas, such as industry and commerce, land, housing and premises, infrastructure, eco-cycle and environment, cultural affairs and leisure.

3. The reception of asylum seekers

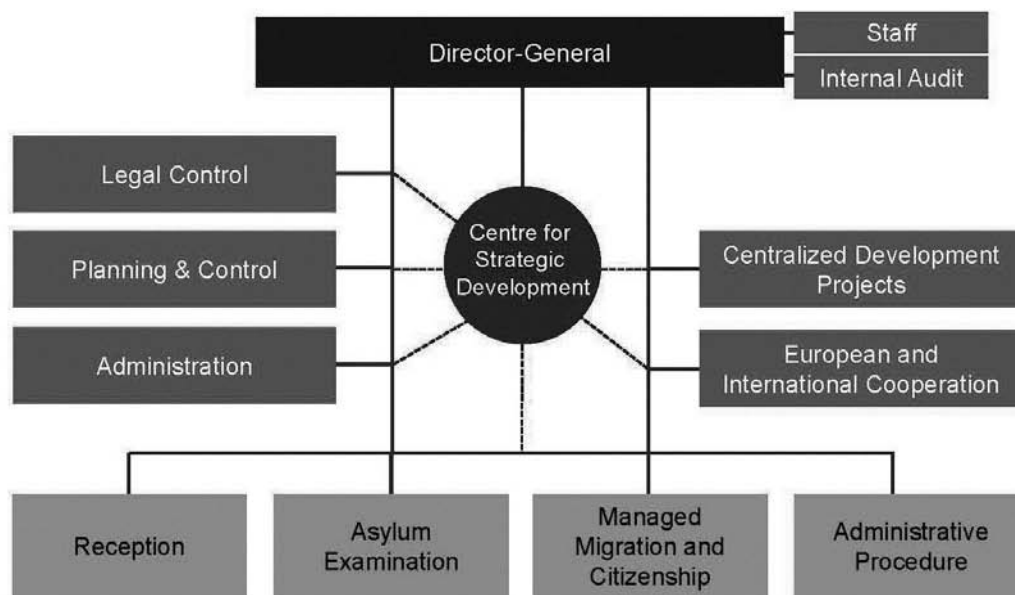
The head office of the SMB is situated in Norrköping, a town of 130,000 inhabitants, 160 km south of Stockholm. Around the country there are some 40 different regional offices. It is possible to seek asylum at six of these offices.²⁰ Of the roughly 3,400 employees about 700 work on asylum cases and another 1,400 work with reception matters. 895,600 applications for leave to remain in Sweden were approved between 2000 and 2011. 277,370 of these were asylum seekers and their family members. 618,230 approvals were not refugee related; this paper does not deal with them.²¹

¹⁹ See Appendix 4 for more detailed information about the 10 districts.

²⁰ Malmö, Göteborg, Norrköping, Stockholm, Märsta, and Gävle

²¹ www.migrationsverket.se/info/2591.html: Beviljade uppehållstillstånd 1980-2011. See Appendix 2 for details.

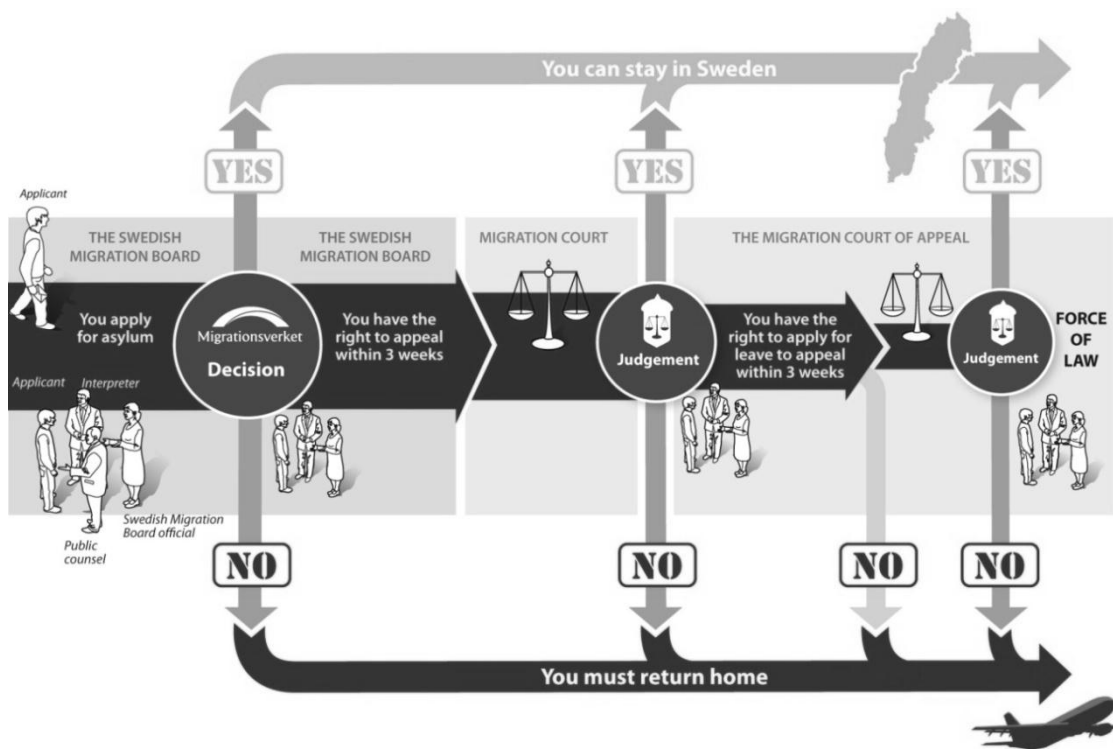
The SMB is organised as shown below:



Source: SMB

One of the regional offices is situated 30 minutes by public transportation from the Gothenburg city centre. This is where all asylum applications in Gothenburg and the neighbouring Falkenberg, Kungsbacka, Mölndal, Partille, and Varberg are made, and where the asylum seekers meet with the officers from the *Asylum Examination Unit* and from the *Reception Unit*, which is divided into three teams (Reception, Examination and Return). The average number of asylum seekers registered in Gothenburg during 2000 – 2011 is 1,900/year (SMB head office).²² The chart below shows the asylum process from the first SMB decision to the legally binding decision, or the final denial.

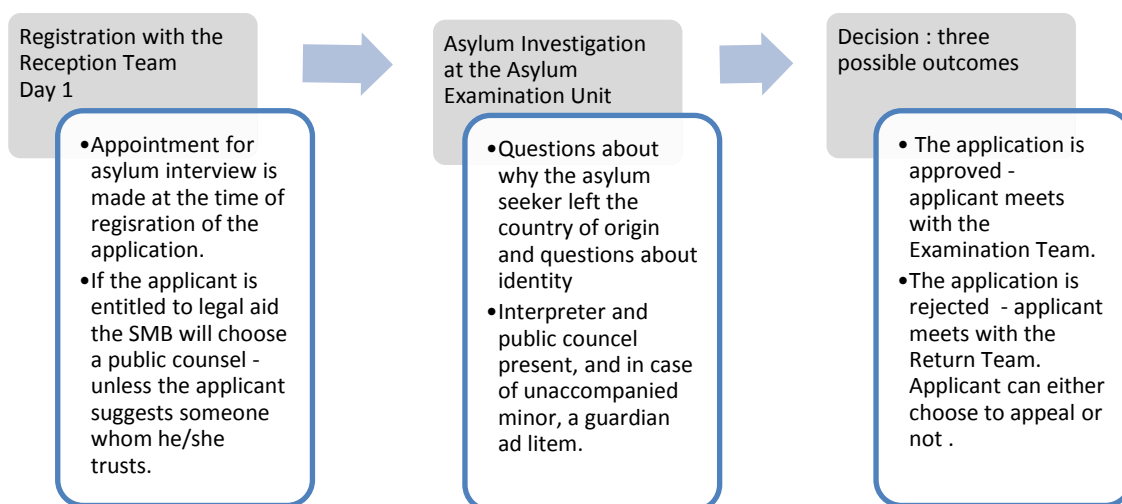
²² For additional statistics from Västra Götaland and Gothenburg, see Appendix 5.



Source: SMB

The Asylum Examination

It is the task of the Asylum Examination Unit to offer fair and efficient procedures to asylum applicants. When someone applies for asylum he/she will meet a system that may be illustrated by the following chart:



Most asylum seekers apply from within the country and only a few at airports or ferry terminals. The day of registration with the Reception Team is called *Day 1* in the process of the individual asylum applicant. The application will be given a case number and the asylum seeker will be asked to show documents proving his/her identity. A photograph will be taken as well as fingerprints of all applicants over the age of 14. The fingerprints will be sent to the Eurodac database to see if the asylum seeker has applied for asylum in another country that also uses the database. They will also be checked against the Schengen Information System database, SIS. If there are no matches, the asylum application will be examined in Sweden.

During the asylum interview the asylum seeker will have the opportunity to give a full account of the reasons for asking for protection. An interpreter will be hired and in most cases a public counsel will be present.²³ Those who work at the SMB are bound by secrecy.²⁴ This also goes for the public counsel, the interpreter and the guardian ad litem, if there is one present. The Asylum Examination Unit will make a decision as to whether asylum will be granted or not based on the interview, the plea entered by the lawyer, general knowledge of the situation in the country of origin, and in accordance with Swedish laws and the international conventions to which Sweden is a signatory.²⁵

Should the application be rejected, the asylum seeker will be directed to the Return Team within the Reception Unit. At the first rejection the applicant will be informed about the possibility to appeal and also invited to discuss the possibility of return. If the applicant makes a declaration of acceptance the decision will be legally binding. A large number of the rejected cases are however appealed and re-examined, first by the SMB and then in second instance by one of three Migration Courts (Migrationsdomstol) sorting under the administrative courts in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö²⁶ (chart on next page).

²³ All asylum seekers will not be assigned a public counsel, e.g. individuals who have a case under the Dublin Regulation or if it is obvious that the person will be granted asylum.

²⁴ Offentlighets- och sekretesslag (2009:400), (Public Access to Information and Secrecy Act)

²⁵ Categories for granting leave to remain in Sweden (www.migrationsverket.se/info/start_en.html).

Work and study: (employee, researcher, seasonal workers, trainee/Au-pair, artist)

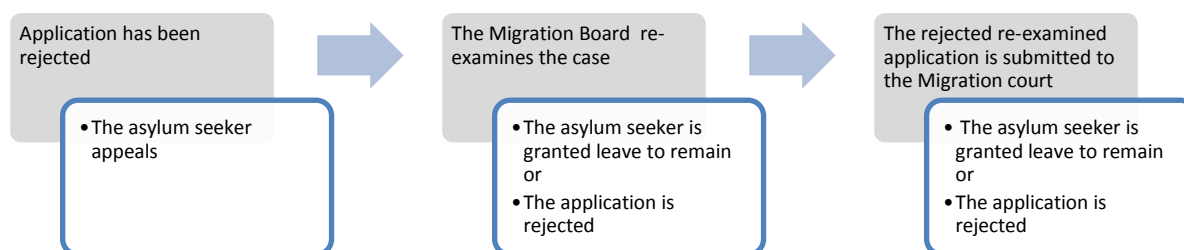
EU/EEA: Employee, Self-employed, Family reunification, Student

Family reunification/formation: Family members, Adoption

Asylum: Refugee status according to the Geneva Convention and Swedish law, Subsidiary protection status declaration, Status declaration as a person otherwise in need of protection.

Quota refugees

²⁶ See Appendix 5.



There is a possibility to make a second appeal to the Administrative Migration Court of Appeal in Stockholm, where the previous decision is either determined or notified appeal. After a new trial, the final decision about leave to remain or rejection will be made. The decisions of the Migration Court of Appeal guide the SMB in its application of the law.

A final rejection is legally binding. The applicant will be asked to cooperate with the administration of return (e.g. applying for a passport at the embassy of the country of origin). With participation in the planning of the return, the applicant may receive help in getting in contact with relatives and NGOs in the country of return, and also to decide when, where and how to depart from Sweden. A reestablishment support is available on returning to some countries.²⁷ If the applicant does not comply, he/she may be put under supervision or be transferred to a detention centre, which also could lead to a re-entry ban for one to five years to Europe. If the applicant disappears, the case may be referred to the police.

Under certain circumstances there is another possibility for those who are rejected and have a job, and that is to “change tracks”, which means to apply for a work permit when the decision on expulsion is no longer subject to appeal (res judicata). This is possible if the person has been working for at least six months and is offered continuation of the employment for at least one year. The employment also has to meet basic requirements as formulated by the workers’ unions to qualify as ground for a work permit. The application for such a work permit must be made within two weeks of the final rejection of the asylum application (www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9685/a/90346).

Year	2009	2010	2011		Total
Asylum application rejected, work permit instead	425	465	303		1,193

Source: www.migrationsverket.se

²⁷ www.migrationsverket.se/info/515_en.html

If the asylum seeker is granted permission to stay in Sweden, he/she will be called to the Reception unit for information about the steps that follow. The SMB continues to have the responsibility for his/her welfare for a period of maximum 30 days. The new arrival then moves to a municipality where the *Public Employment Service* (Arbetsförmedlingen), PES, is responsible for the establishment activities (see chapter 4). Most asylum seekers in Gothenburg stay where they are also after having been given permission to stay in Sweden.

The Reception of asylum seekers

A common European asylum system was agreed upon in Tampere in 1999. The agreement included questions about integration, education and labour of and for asylum seekers and refugees. The Reception Directive (European Parliament and Council Directive 2003/9/EC of 27 January 2003) laying down minimum standards for reception of asylum seekers) ensures asylum seekers in the European Union a decent reception with comparable reception conditions in Member States. An asylum seeker arriving in Sweden is thus subject to certain rights during the period of waiting for a decision. These rights, and obligations, are regulated in the *Act on the reception of asylum seekers*.²⁸ They are valid from the submission of the application for asylum until the applicant has obtained leave to remain in Sweden or has been refused and left the country.²⁹ These rights are valid on the condition that the applicant does not go into hiding to avoid enforcement of an expulsion or deportation order. As mentioned above, the SMB adopted the Lean method in 2009. According to interviews with officials at the Examination Unit, this is an improvement: “This is an improvement for all, the whole process is well thought out. /.../ in our everyday life we see how important it is to keep the case alive, maintain contact with the Asylum Examination Unit – to update, communicate.”

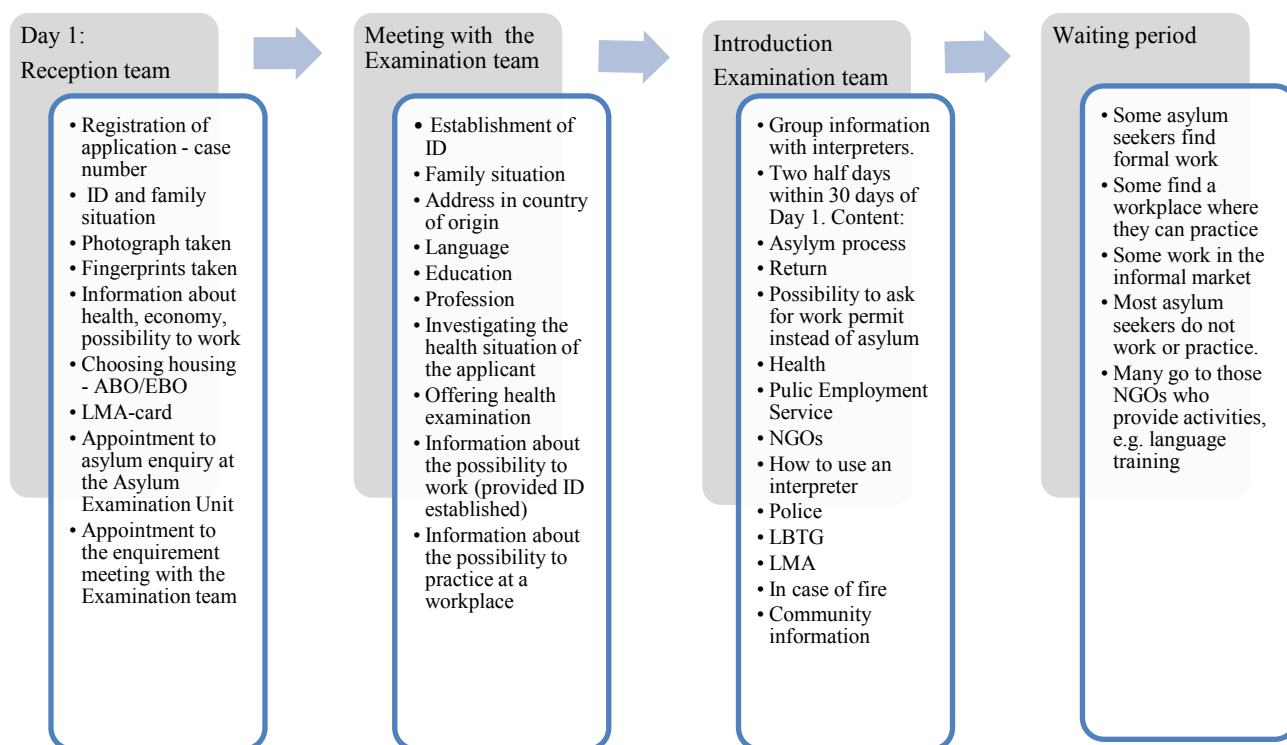
Work is described as more fun and better functioning after “Shorter Wait” was introduced:

One can pursue the matter, know that something will happen. Formerly, we knew that if nothing had happened in May nothing would happen until the fall. Now the right information is given at the right time. The different parts of the procedure follow each other successively. From Day 1 the applicant knows which items are included in the asylum process. Now, everyone knows where they are in the process and the number of questions has decreased (SMB, 2012).

The main parts of the reception are outlined below:

²⁸ Lag (1994:137) om mottagande av asylsökande m.fl. (Act on the reception of asylum seekers and others).

²⁹ Sweden does not turn International conventions into national law, but rather adjust existing laws to be coherent with a ratified convention.



As mentioned above, the asylum seeker is registered by the *Reception team* on *Day 1*. At the same time a first interview about identity and reasons for seeking asylum is conducted. The asylum seeker will be asked about his/her family situation and an appointment with the Examination Unit will be booked within two weeks of *Day 1*.

At the meeting with the *Examination team* the applicant will be interviewed about his/her health, education, family and social situation. The applicant will also be asked to prove his/her identity with the help of documents etc. With a valid passport, this is easy. In other cases an overall assessment is made. Applicants from Somalia seldom have documents to verify their identity, while applicants from Iraq and Syria usually do. Still, they might not leave their passports with the SMB if they fear a rejection. Establishing the identity is important for the possibility to work while waiting (AT-UND).³⁰

The SMB asks for the applicants' education and work certificates as part of a first mapping for the future. Moreover, information will be given about the process, the possibility to work, matters concerning children and so forth. According to the interviewed officers, the meeting with the Examination team in Gothenburg normally takes about 90 minutes with a single per-

³⁰ It is explained why establishing the ID is important, for a quick decision of the asylum application, for the possibility of AT-UND, Swedish citizenship, etc. See: www.migrationsverket.se/info/465_en.html

son and three hours with a family. The content is adjusted according to the individual applicant.

On Day 1 the asylum applicant will get an Asylum seeker card, so called *LMA-card*.³¹ This card shows that the person is an asylum seeker and thus has a right to reside in the country while awaiting the outcome of the application process. The card entitles the asylum seeker to a lower fee than what is normally charged at healthcare centres. It is, however, not an ID card.

The SMB will arrange suitable *accommodation* for those asylum seekers who cannot organise lodging themselves (ABO). Accommodation offered by the SMB is mostly situated in residential areas in the municipalities, and consists mainly of self-catering apartments. Asylum-seeking families are generally offered separate housing, while single persons mostly share accommodation with others of the same sex.

Since 1994 asylum seekers may arrange their own living (EBO).³² Predominantly this means moving in with relatives or friends already residing in Sweden. The right to EBO stemmed from political ideas of free movement within Sweden, but was also an answer to critique of an inflexible system where for instance elderly parents or unaccompanied minors could not move from the SMB accommodation to relatives. It was estimated that only few per cent of the asylum seekers would choose this option, while in fact 50 per cent actually chose EBO. Asylum seekers moved to places all over Sweden, but mainly to the larger cities where there has been a development towards cramped housing. When EBO was introduced the asylum seeker had a right to economical compensation, but this right was stopped in 2005. In later years voices have been raised to put restrictions on the EBO possibility, e.g. the Social Democratic Party Congress in 2009 decided to replace EBO with a new system should they come into power. This has been endorsed by municipal politicians.³³ During the summer of 2012 there have been several articles in Gothenburg newspapers debating the negative consequences of EBO.³⁴ Voices of concern from municipal officers are common, not only concerning overcrowded housing and lack of contacts with the Swedish majority but also concerning the situation of the children, development of poverty and the informal labour market: "EBO causes

³¹ Article 6:1 EU Council Directive 2003/9/EC.

³² ACT 1994:137

³³ E.g. www.dn.se/nyheter/valet-2010/anders-lago-positiv-till-andringar-i-ebo-lagen

³⁴ www.gp.se/nyheter/ledare/1.676088-serien-om-integration-harda-nypor-i-hjallbo

problems and for sure politicians at the national level could have done something about the black market that has emerged” (Municipal officer, 2012).

In 2012, approximately 60 per cent of the asylum seekers in Sweden choose to live in the accommodation offered by the SMB. There are, however, no ABO possibilities in Gothenburg, and those choosing ABO will stay for a short while in transit accommodation (ABI) and then move to other parts of Sweden where ABO is offered.

Asylum applicants mainly live in six areas in Gothenburg. As mentioned before EBO often means overcrowded living. Many find it is impossible to turn down a request from a family member to come and share a flat, although there are consequences. NGOs in Gothenburg talk about lack of space for personal integrity, which in turn affects the situation for young people, especially girls growing into women. Also things like doing homework, sex life of adults, the possibility to rest, and peace and harmony in the family are affected by over-crowding. During the period of the first instance of the asylum examination EBO might work, but a rejection often means malaise or even depression and, as the process of the appeal takes much longer than the process in the first instance, things often grow very difficult for the host family as well as for the asylum applicants. In other cases the asylum seeker moves around among family and friends. The children’s schooling is affected and it is difficult for the SMB to reach the individual, and there is no actual control by the SMB of the living conditions in EBO. It is hard to say exactly how severe the problems are. Nonetheless, they are noticed by interviewed NGOs, municipality representatives and others.

There are a couple of studies made which indicate that the defined problems would best be taken seriously. Brekke studied asylum seekers in ABO through pictures they took with an instant camera. Among other things, these pictures showed the effect that waiting has on the concept of time, and the clearly negative effects of not knowing when the decision is going to be made or whether the application is to be accepted or rejected (Brekke 2004).

In 2007, an ethnological study called “Between hope and despair” discusses experiences and strategies while waiting for asylum, living in EBO (Lennartsson 2007).³⁵ Some of the grounds that asylum seekers give to the choice of EBO are proximity to relatives and friends and wishes for an independent living. Bigger cities are preferred over small towns, where the SMB accommodations are mostly located. Asylum seekers say that they are freer, more inde-

³⁵ www.temaasyl.se/Templates/Page.aspx?id=1667

pendent and less supervised in their own homes. The opportunity to work weighs heavily as well as a better way into the Swedish society. An important finding is that EBO feels like a home where the asylum seeker can achieve a living without the constant reminder of the impermanence and uncertainty of waiting for a decision of the application.

In December 2008 the *Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning* (Boverket) issued a report about EBO, to a large extent endorsing the findings of other critics.³⁶ The report finds that it seems as if many asylum seekers do not actually choose EBO as much as avoid ABO. Many of those interviewed in the report believe that more asylum seekers would choose ABO if this option improved so that it corresponds with the labour market. Many asylum seekers try to enter the labour market as soon as possible; for them settling in a small place with no job alternatives might not seem rational. Several respondents commented on the overcrowding and isolation that ABO creates. Families with children often share apartments with other families. The report also shows that there are certain positive effects of EBO. The statistical analysis shows that those who have been granted residence permits in Sweden during the last ten years and who have been EBO-positioned have a slightly better housing and employment integration in comparison with those who were ABO-positioned (Boverket 2008)

The *Act on Healthcare for Asylum Seekers and Others* regulates the county councils' responsibility for providing asylum seekers and others with health and dental care in accordance with special agreements between the State and Local Authorities and Regions.³⁷ All asylum seekers are offered a *health assessment*. The intention is that acute illness should be detected early and to ascertain that the person is not carrying any communicable diseases. Treatment of such diseases as well as of diabetes is free of charge. 54 per cent of the asylum seekers were assessed in 2011 (SKL 2012).

Asylum-seeking children are offered the same healthcare as a child residing in the country. Adult asylum seekers are offered treatment that cannot be deferred, maternity care, care for abortion and contraceptive advice. Adult asylum seekers are charged 50 SEK to see a medical doctor or dentist as well as for prescribed medication, and 25 SEK to see a nurse or a physiotherapist. An interpreter is summoned if medical staff is unable to communicate in a

³⁶ www.boverket.se/Om-Boverket/Webbokhandel/Publikationer/2009/Asylsokandes-eget-boende-EBO---en-kartlaggning/

³⁷ Lag (2008:344) om hälso- och sjukvård åt asylsökande m.fl.

satisfactory way with the asylum seeker.³⁸ The county councils receive a fixed remuneration. The estimated costs for 2011, however, exceed the state compensation of SEK 106 million or almost 12 million Euro (SKL 2012).

Approximately 50 per cent of the asylum seekers in Västra Götaland consented to undergoing a health examination. This is, at least partly, because applicants in Gothenburg choose EBO. It is common that letters sent out with information about the appointment for a medical examination do not reach the applicant. “People move around and therefore we tell the healthcare centres to call us and check the address before sending the letter.” (SMB, 2012)

The primary healthcare in Gothenburg was not satisfied with this, one reason being that it poses problems for the healthcare system later on in the process. One big problem here is the difficulty to reach asylum seekers living in EBO. Therefore, the primary healthcare was assigned the task to address this problem and find ways to reach everybody. From 2012 this assignment is centralised to the *Adult refugee unit* within the primary healthcare in Gothenburg (versus earlier nine health centres receiving refugees for medical examination) where the staff is highly skilled. There, they find that it is more common that “people want the medical examination and to vaccinate their children” (Primary healthcare unit, 2012).

The *Swedish Institute for Communicable Disease Control* (Smittskyddsinstitutet) is currently running a project entitled “Improvement of structure and coordination in the medical screening of asylum seekers” in collaboration with the SMB, the *Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions* (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, SKL) the *National Board of Health and Welfare* (Socialstyrelsen), four county councils and two universities (January 2012 - June 2014). The main objective of the project is to achieve a higher number of health assessments among asylum seekers.³⁹

Under certain circumstances asylum seekers are *exempted from the obligation to have a work permit* (AT-UND).⁴⁰ It is required that the asylum seeker can prove his/her identity, and that the application will be considered in Sweden. This information is given on Day 1,

³⁸ Administrative Procedure Act (Förvaltningslag 1986:223) regulates the way cases are handled by the administrative authorities and it specifies that a public authority should use an interpreter ‘when needed’. The Health and Medical Services Act (Hälsa- och sjukvårdslag 1982:763) states that health care must be provided with respect for equality and respect for human dignity meaning that people who do not understand or speak Swedish are entitled to the same access as others to proper health care, information about their illness and the care they are receiving.

³⁹ www.smittskyddsinstitutet.se/publikationer/ovriga-publikationer/publikationer-2012/information-om-projektet-forbatttrad-struktur-och-samordning-vid-halsundersokningar-for-asylsokande/

⁴⁰ c.f. EU Directive 2003/9 EC, Art.11.

encouraging the asylum seeker to bring ID papers to the meeting with the Examination team. The criteria for receiving AT-UND changed in conjunction with the new legislation on labour migration that entered into force in December 2008.⁴¹ From then on the applicants need to assist in clarifying their identity. In comparison with the numbers of previous years, it is clear that a significantly lower number of those seeking asylum from 2009 have received AT-UND. Throughout 2008, for example, 16,783 AT-UND were issued. The corresponding figure in 2009 was 2,828 (SMB Annual Report 2009). In June 2012 there were about 1,500 asylum seekers registered in Gothenburg. Around 150 of these had received AT-UND, and 72 had found a job in June 2012.

All asylum seekers are entitled to look for job-practice without payment. If an asylum seeker finds a place to do job-practice, the SMB will sign a contract with the employer concerning insurance, working hours and such. The employer is not allowed to pay the asylum seeker. In June 2012 there were 30 asylum seekers with a contract on job-practice. Frequently, employers do not act according to these agreements. One interviewed asylum seeker, waiting for a decision in the second instance, said that he has to work 10-12 hours a day in spite of the agreement. The employer does not pay for the extra hours. The asylum seeker is a computer technician and learned Swedish all by himself, at the library and by listening to Swedish radio and CD courses.

The educational and professional background of the asylum seeker is mapped by the SMB. For the majority of the applicants it does not mean much, seeing that they will not be able to study or work during the waiting period.

Vocational training is not available for asylum seekers.

Until 2011, Organised Activities, OV, prearranged by the SMB were available to asylum seekers between 18 and 64 of age. The background is to be found in the Act on the reception of asylum seekers (1994:137). OV was based on a principle of normalisation, i.e. asylum seekers should be a natural part of the society in which they reside. The activities primarily consisted of Swedish language training, but also learning English and computer skills, management of refugee reception centres and other activities that contributed to a meaningful existence during the waiting period. Ultimately, these activities were meant to facilitate the

⁴¹ Nya regler för arbetskraftsinvandring: www.regeringen.se/sb/d/10026/a/105151. Prop 2007/08:147. (New rules for labour immigration).

establishment in Sweden if a residence permit was granted, as well as facilitate the return if there was a refusal. In November 2004 nearly 20,000 asylum seekers were entitled to participate in OV. 43 per cent participated. More than 5,000 classes in Swedish language training were organised around Sweden. More than 1,300 asylum seekers had some kind of job practice and 666 had their own work. The SMB proposed a change in the organised activities to increase participation and as of January 1, 2006 all asylum seekers between 18 and 64 were offered personalised activities 3 hours per day. The daily allowance was reduced if the asylum seeker was absent from the activities. Asylum seekers with a deportation order were offered repatriation-related employment for at least 10 hours per week.

In December 2011 the SMB decided to close OV completely (VCA nr 223/211). As of January 2012, the SMB no longer provides teaching in Swedish for asylum seekers as organised in the past. One reason the SMB gives for this decision is the shorter wait in the first instance. Focus is to be on job practice and the possibility to work. The asylum seekers are informed about the possibility of contact with NGOs, libraries and websites for contact with the Swedish language.

In order to cope with everyday life in Sweden, you have got a small glossary in Swedish. To learn more Swedish, you can visit websites on the Internet where you can study Swedish on you own. You need access to a computer and some experience working with computers and Internet. The Swedish Migration Board does not provide computers, but you can borrow a computer at the library (Information handed out at introduction meetings).⁴²

In case of rejection of the application focus will be on motivating the applicant to return. The time waiting for return can be long and voices have been raised within the SMB that, from a health perspective, it can be devastating to be unoccupied (VCA nr 223/2011).

Asylum seekers who have their own income or own assets assume their own costs. Asylum seekers with no personal means to support themselves are offered a daily allowance to cover expenses for food, clothing and footwear, leisure activities, personal care and other consumables, healthcare, dental care and pharmaceuticals. This allowance has been SEK 71/day since 1994.⁴³ The SMB may grant extra allowances for costs that are necessary for a decent life, e.g. for glasses, winter clothing, food supplements, disability or baby equipment.⁴⁴

⁴² www.digitalasporet.se/eng/index.htm - www.digitalasporet/safir/index.htm - lexin.nada.kth.se/lexin/ - www.lattlast.se - www.8sidor.se/start - sverigesradio.se/sida/default.aspx?programid=43 - sverigesradio.se/sida/default.aspx?programid=83 (Migrationsverket 2012)

⁴³ 71 SEK is around 8 EUR. Those asylum seekers who cannot find work or for some reason do not have money, can apply for a daily allowance. In *ABO* where free meals are included, the benefits are: 24 SEK/day for adult singles, 19 SEK/day per person for adults who share a household, and 12 SEK/day for children up to 17 years (from the third child the compensation is halved)

Introduction for asylum seekers

The Examination Unit offers all applicants two half days of introduction to the Swedish society. The introduction meetings are held once a month and the applicant will normally be invited within one month of arrival. Interpreters are called in for all participating languages and the asylum-seekers sit in groups with their interpreter. Consecutive interpreting is used. Representatives from different authorities in Gothenburg are invited to present their areas or work. A nurse informs about the rights to health- and dental care for asylum seekers, where to turn to make appointments and in case of an emergency, costs etcetera. The police informs about such things as laws that regulate traffic, drugs and violence, and where to turn if there is a crime to report. The PES gives a presentation of its mandate and the SMB inform about the asylum process, rights and obligations as an asylum seeker, AT-UND and job practice, the rights of children, schools, “in case of fire”, LGBT, and social orientation.⁴⁵ NGOs are invited to talk about their activities. Written information is handed out in all participating languages.

According to the EC Directive (2003/9/EC) on minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers and others, the SMB must take into account *people with special needs* such as elderly, disabled, pregnant women, unaccompanied minors, victims of torture or sexual violence, and others. County councils and municipalities are responsible for certain actions and the SMB will, upon arranging accommodation for asylum applicants, reflect on specific needs.

Since July 2006, municipalities have been responsible for accommodation and reception of asylum-seeking unaccompanied minors. In Gothenburg around 150 unaccompanied minors live with relatives. There are three group homes: one for 16 children, always with at least four asylum seekers, one for six young people of 16 – 21 years of age, and with permission to stay, and one for young people over 18 years of age, with permission to stay.

In *EBO* the daily allowance is 71 SEK / day for adult singles living on their own, 61 SEK / day and person for adults who share a household, 37 SEK / day for children up to 3 years, 43 SEK / day for children 4-10 years, and 50 SEK / day for children aged 11-17 years (from the third child the compensation is halved). The Government Report (SOU 2009:19) suggests an increase in the daily allowance to 80 SEK/day with a possibility to increase the sum to 120 SEK/day if the applicant participated in activities. Lobbying for higher allowances is ongoing. E.g. see www.dn.se/debatt/asylsokandes-ersattning-har-blivit-skamligt-lag (DN August 3, 2012)

⁴⁴SOU 2003:89, www.regeringen.se/content/1/c4/14/29/ed702141.pdf

⁴⁵ LGBT - Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Under a special agreement and with a clear allocation of responsibility, Sweden's municipal authorities and county councils, together with the SMB and the National Board of Health and Welfare, have joint responsibility for separated minors.⁴⁶ Confidentiality is observed between the different authorities. The SMB is responsible for examining the minor's asylum application, for matters related to assistance and matters related to returning home. The SMB is also responsible for signing agreements with municipal authorities governing the reception of separated minors. The responsibility of the County Council includes health- and dental care to the same extent as for other young people in Sweden.

Since January 2002, all asylum-seeking children and young people have the right to education, preschool and child care on the same terms as children resident in Sweden. Compulsory school attendance does not include asylum-seeking children and, in fact, there are no reliable statistics showing to what degree these children attend school, except for unaccompanied minors living in group residences. "The children are forgotten in the system" (NGO, 2012). The SMB pays the municipalities for the children's schooling, but does not know how the children are doing or under what conditions the children actually live. One reason for this is secrecy between authorities (SMB officer, 2012). NGOs testify that children in their programmes carry the worries of their parents and that they take grown-up responsibilities when the parents fail. "Talking about the family situation is a very difficult subject for the children and when it comes to unaccompanied minors there is an almost palpable anguish in the room" (NGO, 2012). This observation is consistent with other studies of unaccompanied minors (cf. Norström and Gustafsson, 2010 & Gustafsson and Norström & Fioretos, 2012).

As long as the separated child is an asylum applicant, responsibility for finding any remaining family rests with the SMB and the municipal social welfare services in the area where the young person lives. The Swedish Red Cross co-operates in finding family and kin, should this be the young person's wish.

The municipal authorities that accept separated minors are compensated for the cost. On arrival in Sweden, the minor is first placed in a transit home. The SMB should refer the minor to a municipal authority as soon as possible. The municipal authority is then responsible for

⁴⁶ In 2002, the Government assigned the SMB and the Board of Health and Welfare, in consultation with the Swedish Integration Board, the Children's Ombudsman and the SKL as well as other organisations concerned, the task of improving the reception of separated, asylum seeking children and young people.

ensuring that the minor receives the support and help stipulated in the *Social Services Act*.⁴⁷ Among other things, the municipal authority is obligated to investigate the needs of the minor and to decide on a suitable place to live. This could mean one of the group residences run by the municipal authority, or a family home, or sometimes a relative. As the processing of a minor's asylum application should normally be continued within three months, the accommodation is meant to be short-term, even though we know of minors who have waited for more than two years.

The SMB is responsible for the state compensation to municipalities and county councils for the reception measures they take, primarily concerning education, pre-school activities and school-age childcare for all asylum-seeking children, costs related to the reception of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum, the placement of asylum-seeking children in homes other than their own and preventive support to asylum-seeking children under the *Social Services Act*.

Unaccompanied minors living in group homes are allocated funds for leisure activities and the personnel of the homes arrange access to sports, hikes and other events. Gothenburg will start a project to offer these possibilities to children in families as well.

Observations

The development towards shorter waiting periods in the first instance is seen as very positive by the interviewees. It is nevertheless important to remember that for those who are rejected in the first instance and choose to use their right to appeal, the waiting period is not short.

The organisation of the reception system, as described above, is meant to give the asylum seekers a clear view of what is going to happen during the time of waiting.⁴⁸ Officials at the SMB perceive that more applicants than before understand the process, can follow the events in a knowledgeable way and ask relevant questions. Still, some question that the asylum applicants do not have personal case handlers anymore and that they meet new officers at all 'stations' (SMB officer, 2012). The majority of the interviewed municipal officers and NGOs do not experience that asylum seekers normally understand the system well. They stress that personal contact over time helps to build trust and to support feelings of being recognised, which is empowering.

⁴⁷ Socialtjänstlag 2001:453.

⁴⁸ Cf. Article 5 in the Directive 2003/9/ EC.

According to the interviewed refugees and NGOs, lack of activities, (training, vocational or other, and employment) during the waiting is a strain. It marginalises many individuals who disappear into anonymity and fall out of the integration support systems. The current system with no organised activities for the asylum seekers is criticised by several of the interviewed sectors. SMB staffs do not have daily contact and as there is no formal reporting to the SMB from the schools, many problems are left un-remedied. This does not mean that the door is closed at the SMB should problems arise, “Some of the applicants are noticed by the NGOs and others by teachers, but in case of an emergency, the applicant can always go to the Reception of the SMB where there are officers on duty” (SMB officer, 2012). For many asylum seekers it is, however, easier to go to a local NGO, where they are known, than to make the journey to the SMB to meet an official that they do not know.

The possibility for asylum seekers to work complies with the EU Directive 2003/9/ EC Article 11. The requirements, however, are high when it comes to proving one’s identity. Many asylum seekers have no proper documents and even if there are other ways to comply with the demands of the SMB in this regard, the possibility to AT-UND is in reality limited. Working during the waiting period is an important factor in order to keep ones skills as well as to find relief from the anxiety of possible rejection, or to worry about family members in the country of origin or in refugee camps. Loss of skills during the waiting period is a big worry for many asylum seekers. “I was not allowed to work for many years and I lost my competence. I had to start all over again” (Refugee, 2012).⁴⁹ Working also opens possibilities for the future; the applicant gains experience of Swedish working life, and an offer of a steady job means that the applicant may have a possibility to change his/her application and apply for a work permit. The advantageous opportunity to work is there for those who are lucky enough to have enough documents and who are strong enough to find work. Most asylum seekers do not work. It is important to take into consideration that those who cannot find work, or are not allowed to work often lose hope and self-esteem and end up in a negative spiral. This also goes for those who find work in the black labour market, inasmuch as this does not mean proper recognition.

⁴⁹ In the research project *Behind closed doors* we found that unaccompanied young people with good school background were preoccupied by the loss of knowledge in mathematics, physics, chemistry as well as geography and history. Our participatory observations showed that they were met with lack of understanding for their worries both from the personnel at the group homes and the schools (Norström, Gustafsson, Fioretos, 2011).

Crowded accommodation is common amongst asylum seekers. This is a general situation and therefore shorter waiting periods is a plus. With EBO, however, cramped housing, often under tough economic conditions, has negative effects on the host family members, themselves often themselves in the process of establishing in Sweden.

NGOs and teachers testify that many children live under difficult circumstances during their waiting. If parents cannot handle the situation, children often bear their concerns and also protect the parents. “The long waiting for a decision on their residence permit is a big problem, even if they finally get the permit. While waiting, they need something meaningful to occupy them, structure, routines and to find their place. The uncertainty of the waiting makes them ‘unavailable’!” (NGO, 2012)

As mentioned, the SMB offers two half days of introduction to the Swedish society. This is an important activity, which is proved by high attendance. Much valuable information is given about vital sectors of the Swedish society and culture as well as about the asylum process. It is, however, unclear how much is received and remembered and almost all persons interviewed spontaneously talk about the difficulty of understanding, or absorbing, information when in a completely new situation, and most definitely if in distress. For those who are quickly given leave to remain it is reasonable to believe that the SMB introduction is of higher value as they move on to the municipal and PES introductory activities while still remembering some of the information. For those who wait for longer periods, informal information from hosts and neighbours together with personal experiences in their everyday lives become more important as ground for the understanding of Sweden.

The need for medical and psychological treatment for asylum seekers with mental and physical traumas by far exceeds what may be provided under the terms of basic entitlement to care. This wears people down, especially when the waiting becomes long.

All interviewees mention that the applicants need some kind of social network for support, to be seen and identified as an individual. The key words are *trust, security and faith*. This is important when it comes to enabling them to keep healthy and to be prepared for the future; they must not lose hope. “It is very important that young asylum seekers and newly arrived learn Swedish as soon as possible. Even after a refusal they should get lessons. This is the only way to make further education possible.” (NGO, 2012) This is obviously true also for adults and would be in line with the EU Directive 2003/9/EC. One of the interviewed refugees, who participated in the Equal programme, said that without the personal support and

the information being given in such a way that she could take it to heart she would not have managed after having been granted permission to stay. Another refugee who benefitted from the same kind of support in another NGO says that when someone trusts you and listens to you, hope starts to grow together with a sense of value. “When you become a person in the eye of another, you become a person also to yourself.” (Refugee, June 8).

4. The introduction of refugees and others granted leave to remain

Until 2010, when the new act on establishment activities for certain new arrivals came into force, the municipalities had the main responsibility for coordinating support for new arrivals to integrate/be integrated into the Swedish society.

A new authority, the *Swedish Integration Board*, SIB, was created in 1998. In 2007 the SIB issued a report (2007:05) about the outcomes of the introductory activities for the newly arrived and the question was whether the introductory activities, as they functioned, were a tool for reaching the political goals concerning integration of immigrants. The studied areas were: the judiciary, state employer policy, employment, housing, education, health, social insurance, democracy, culture and discrimination.

The report showed that, within all areas evaluated, immigrants had an inferior situation than those born Swedish. Although the focus of the introductory activities was on the needs of the individual, few activities actually had an influence on the possibilities of the individual to reach an equal socio-economic situation in Sweden.⁵⁰ It was estimated that it took an average of seven years before just over 50 per cent of the new arrivals had work, and after around ten years 60 per cent were self-reliant.⁵¹ Evaluations of work-related projects within the ESF support this conclusion. Although many participants left projects aimed at giving access to the labour market with a job, it was not uncommon that participants had been in project after project with no job as a result of their efforts.

I am a civil engineer and this is the 11th project I have participated in, and I have been to courses to learn how to write a CV seven times. I have applied for more than 200 jobs and been promised work, but employers are not always serious. If it was not for the money I need, however little it is, I would not humiliate myself this way. (Refugee, 2007)⁵²

⁵⁰ See Sarstrand Marekovic (2011) for a historical account of municipal reception of immigrants and refugees.

⁵¹ Cf Statskontoret (2012:22, p. 30)

⁵² This man was very bitter. Moonlighting would have been an easy way out, but he mind set on getting a legal job as a civil engineer. He had worked for many years in his country of origin and it was really a matter of fighting feelings of humiliation and degradation that made him go on.

Furthermore, the SIB report argued that there was insufficient expertise in the municipalities and that the methods used were not effective. An additional problem was that the municipalities only invited the new arrivals for whom they would receive financial compensation.⁵³

In 2006, Sweden changed government and in 2007 the SIB was closed. Since then, there has been no coherent evaluation of the results from the different actors' work with introduction programmes. The government nonetheless shared the critique of an inefficient system and a commission was appointed to consider a new and more resourceful system. With the *Act on establishment activities for certain new arrivals* the responsibility of settlement issues concerning certain new arrivals shifted from the municipalities to the PES.⁵⁴ The overall goal is to enable all new arrivals to find their way into the Swedish labour market as quickly as possible. Quota refugees and newly arrived aged between 20 and 64 are subject to the law. New arrivals that have a full-time job are studying at a high school or cannot participate in activities more than 10 hours a week (rehabilitation activities included) are excluded.

Areas of responsibility

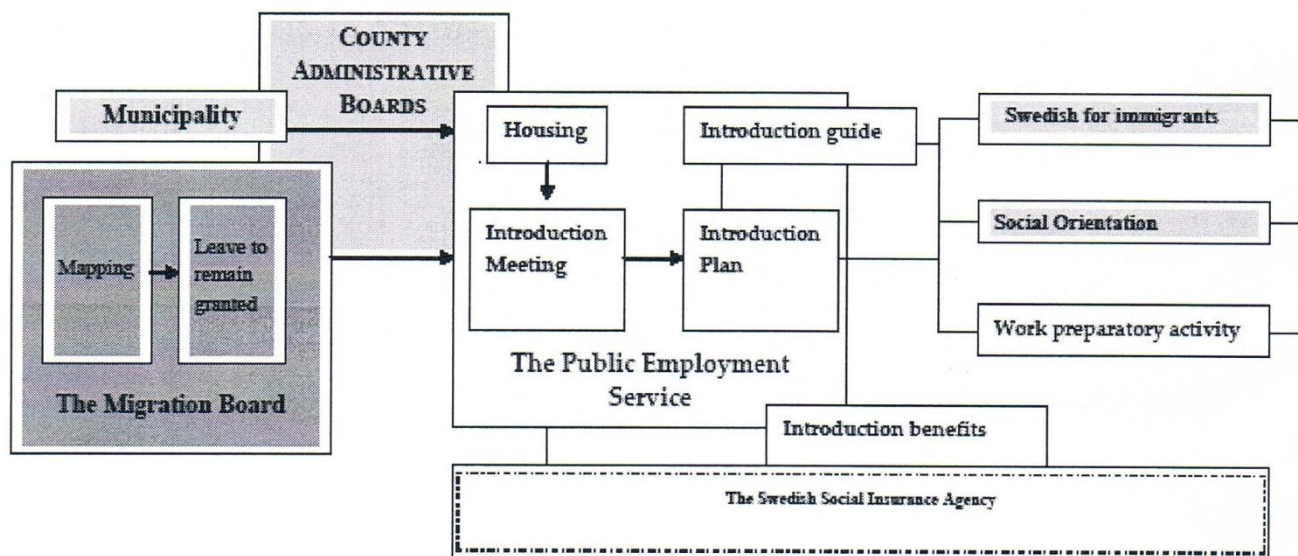
The reform brought new responsibilities for the *County Administrative Boards* (Länsstyrelse), the *County Councils* (Landsting/Region), the SMB, the Municipalities, the PESs and the *Social Insurance Agency* (Försäkringskassa). A new actor was introduced, namely the *Introduction Guide*.⁵⁵ Below is a chart of the introduction flow, followed by a discussion on each actor separately.

⁵³ The regulation (2010:1122) on state payments to local governments receiving refugees:

2012 Municipalities with agreement receive approximately SEK 440,000, the standard payment for 2011 was SEK 80,000 for a person under 20 years, 80,000 for a person over 20 but not 65, and 50,000 for a person over 65 years. Initial costs for financial assistance, known as the gap, should be covered by special standards. In the memorandum, the Government watches over municipal costs for the gap in case there is an urgent need to come back on the issue. Municipalities are able to retrieve some of the costs of financial assistance, such as for people who do not receive full compensation from the introduction benefits of the Employment Service. Reimbursement of certain specific costs for health care and more will be paid essentially in the same way as before. In addition to compensation for the care of unaccompanied children and young people living in a home other than the child's own, the municipality will receive a standard payment of SEK 30,000 for the cost of a guardian ad litem and special costs in social services.

⁵⁴ Prop. (2009/10:60). Nyanlända invandrades arbetsmarknadsetablering - egenansvar med professionellt stöd Lag (2010:197) om etableringsinsatser för vissa nyanlända invandrare

⁵⁵ An introduction guide works at a Pilot Company contracted by the PES. The introduction guides support new arrivals to carry out the activities in the introduction plan.



From a model made by the PES

The County Administrative Boards

The 21 County Administrative Boards serve as regional representatives of the government. They are the coordinating body of state activities in the county. Their responsibilities include facilitating cooperation between all operators engaged in the introduction of new arrivals: municipalities, authorities, companies and NGOs. Since 2007, the County Administrative Boards negotiate with the municipalities on the number of new arrivals that each municipality is committed to receive. This was a supporting factor in reducing the time of waiting in the first instance, according to officials at the SMB.

There are in all 290 municipalities in Sweden, whereof 269 have made agreements about receiving refugees. 44 of the 49 municipalities in Västra Götaland have agreements to receive refugees and 37 to receive unaccompanied minors (SMB, 2012).

Agreements for settlement in a municipality						
		Settlement of refugees		Agreements 2012		
County and municipality	Total number of residents 31/12 2011	Received 2011	Received Jan-June 2012	Number of municipalities with an agreement and number of refugees agreed to receive		Number of municipalities – unaccompanied minors
Västra Götaland	1 590 604	1 916	1066 ⁵⁶	44	26133	37
Gothenburg	520 374	637	363 ⁵⁷	1	850	1

Source: SMB August 15, 2012 and the County Administrative Board, Västra Götaland

Other responsibilities related to asylum seekers and refugees are to ensure that each county has contingency plans and the capacity to receive and introduce new arrivals and others in need of protection, to promote cooperation between municipalities, authorities, companies and other organisations involved in activities for new arrivals, to further develop cooperation at a regional level (e.g. coordinate municipal activities, such as Swedish For Immigrants, SFI, and Social Orientation, SO), and to follow up, organise and implement measures for new arrivals in the county.

The County Council

The County Council is responsible for all health, medical and dental care under the *Health and Medical Care for Asylum Seekers and Others Act*. A new arrival has the same rights as any other inhabitant in Sweden. In short, the county councils are responsible for:

- People with special needs (elderly, with disabilities, pregnant women, separated minors, victims of torture or rape, etc.)
- Asylum-seeking children – same right to medical care as resident children
- Adult asylum seekers – care that cannot be deferred (maternity, abortion care & contraception advice)

Many new arrivals have various health problems, some of them accumulated from the waiting period when they could not get medical treatment. This is observed by the PES. However, methods to deal with health issues are not yet fully developed and neither the experiences of the municipalities nor internal competences have been fully explored.

⁵⁶ 435 from accommodation in ABO, 427 from EBO, 54 quota refugees, 143 family reunion and 7 others

⁵⁷ 74 from accommodation in ABO, 232 from EBO, 1 quota refugee, 53 family reunion and 3 others

What should be done? Instead of the reform they should have taken advantage of and enhanced the knowledge of the municipalities. For instance, the fact that new arrivals have been through crises and trauma is very often forgotten. The Somali refugees are the latest, most evident example of this. They have been suffering from restrictions concerning reunification with their families and are therefore often in a very bad state (Municipal officer, 2012).⁵⁸

Until the establishment reform there was a healthcare network, in which the Transcultural Centre and municipal agencies were active.⁵⁹ This network is restarting, with the PES as an important partner.

An evident problem, communicated by municipal officers and interpreters (who, through their work, are present in many meetings), is that many new arrivals do not dare tell if they are not feeling well. They feel compelled to be “well” in order not to lose their compensation (Municipality officer, 2012).

The Swedish Migration Board

When an applicant is granted leave to remain in Sweden the Examination teams meet with the now *new arrival* for a *settlement meeting*, normally within 7 – 10 days of the decision from the Asylum Examination Unit. The system presupposes that the PES is present at this meeting. This is not how it works in Gothenburg, however. The distance from the PES office to the SMB office is quite far, and the PES finds it more efficient to have records of the settlement meeting sent by post.

The new arrival will be informed that the permanent residence permit means that he/she has the same rights to live and work in the country as every other inhabitant, and will be given a residence permit card, valid for five years, showing that he/she has a residence permit. This card is not an ID card. Information will also be given about the importance of registering with the tax office before being discharged from the SMB. The rules for settlement depend on whether the new arrival has lived in ABO or EBO. If the new arrival lives in ABO, he/she has to move out as soon as possible. As mentioned, the SMB is responsible for 30 days. On the

⁵⁸ In a precedent-setting decision (January 18, 2012) the Migration Court of Appeal decided that relationships proved through DNA enter an evidence relief rule allowing that families seeking reunification no longer have to prove their identity in case there are children involved. This decision primarily concerns separated Somali families. The SMB expects that about 20,000 people are affected and most of them are expected to come to Sweden in 2013. For many of these family members the two-year limit for the possibility of introduction benefits has passed. In financial terms, they will therefore be treated as a "normal" family reunion, which does not involve any state compensation to either the municipality or the newly arrived person. The government has proposed a temporary extension of the target group for introduction activities (Ds 2012:27). This will come into force on January 1st, 2013; 3,800 people are expected to be affected.

⁵⁹ A centre for health and dental care dealing with culture, migration, asylum and refugee issues

day that the new arrival actually moves he/she will be discharged from the SMB. If the new arrival has been living in EBO he/she is free to stay there.

The new arrival will be informed about the difficult housing situation in Gothenburg and how much better the possibilities are within one hour's reach of the city. Many new arrivals find themselves in urgent need of a place to live and if they are still registered with the SMB, they may be provided with a temporary place in an accommodation centre. In reality the difficulty of finding a place to live is so severe that between 2,500 and 3,000 new arrivals are staying in the accommodations of the SMB longer than 30 days (more than 3,000 on Dec. 31st 2011). Some of these new arrivals live in caravan parks. The PES pays for the costs and when the introduction plan is completed, the new arrival will receive introduction benefits.

As long as there is housing, the new arrival can move to any municipality in Sweden; in reality a difficulty, especially in the larger cities. The new arrival often finds that, where there is housing, there are no jobs and vice versa. At the settlement meeting, information is given about the possibility to ask the PES for support in finding a municipality where housing is available, as well as prospects of future work. Such a request must be made within six months from the time permission to stay is granted, and the new arrival must accept the first offer given. If this is turned down, there will be no more support in finding a place to live from the PES office in Norrköping. Nationwide, 2,037 applications were made during the first four months of 2012. In Gothenburg 97 new arrivals have applied for housing, 13 have been offered housing. Seven accepted the appointed flat. 15 found housing themselves and 63 are waiting (April 30, 2012).⁶⁰

The Municipality

Although the municipalities are no longer in charge of coordinating the introduction of new arrivals between 18 – 64 years of age, they still have a whole range of responsibilities. After having agreed with the regional County Administrative Board upon settlement of a certain number of new arrivals, the municipality prepares for the introduction. The number agreed on is a commitment. There is, however, no guarantee that this number will actually arrive and the municipality is, of course, allowed to increase the number. The main areas of responsibility are:

⁶⁰ Information via mail from the PES head office in Stockholm, August 7, 2012.

- Practical support on arrival
- Social service and assistance in connection with the settlement
- Offer Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) and other educational programmes for adults
- Offer Social Orientation, SO⁶¹
- Financial support for certain situations and for people with special needs
- Childcare
- Schooling at all levels for newly arrived minors
- Care of children in socially bad situations or bad family situations
- Guarantee that all services within the municipality are available for the new arrival
- In relevant matters, the municipalities should cooperate with the PESs

Until 1997 a new arrival to Gothenburg went to an *Immigrant Bureau* and registered. The Immigrant Bureau functioned in the same way as a social welfare office. The new arrival received financial support, verbal information and maps, a small booklet with essential information, a bicycle and city maps of Gothenburg, etc. A revisit was booked for some months later. The new arrival thus got regular financial support and, as a general rule, started to study Swedish.

In 1997, the Municipality of Gothenburg decided that the responsibility should be transferred from the Immigration Bureaus to three *Refugee Units*. These units were situated in the northeast part of Gothenburg - Hisingen and Västra Frölunda. The financial assistance was placed under the social welfare services, where personnel were more accustomed to working with persons with long-term dependence on support than with the newly arrived refugees, who have other needs. At the Refugee Unit, the refugee met with an officer and together they made a work plan for the adult or school for children. If treatment of some kind was necessary, contact was taken with the County Council. The officer and the new arrival met at least every six months, often more frequently.

The officer was a personal case manager and became like a spider in a net, supporting the new arrival with all the different contacts that are necessary in a new country – housing, schools, educational programmes, the Tax Agency, the Social Insurance Agency, the PES, etc. “In the previous system, each person had a case officer who received those who needed help or guidance. /.../ Social workers used to work with individuals and *all* their different needs – now, the whole introduction is restricted to being labour-oriented.” (Municipal officer, 2012)

⁶¹ Sverige för nyanlända - Värden, välfärdsstat, vardagsliv (SOU 2010:16).

The economic support was determined by the social welfare services' calculations. The support was based on expenditures, and of handing in of receipts. After a while it was decided that the financial support should be more like a salary, a fixed sum that the individual must manage on his/her own. A stereotypical calculation was made. Sometimes there were additional benefits based on the Consumer Agency's calculations of costs, e.g. electricity. The lump-sum policy was introduced throughout the country, although some municipalities found their own ways to organise the administration.

In 2008, the name Refugee Unit was changed to *Introductory Unit* and the standard compensation was named *Introductory Benefits*. Accommodation costs were compensated with a minimum of SEK 1,500. If the rent was higher, the person had to show their rental agreement.

This is how it worked until December 2010. Then, Gothenburg City Council decided to close the three Introductory Units and open a new unit for the establishment of new arrivals under the Social resource committee (December 9, 2010). The three units continued to work until the end of March 2011 and on April 1st, the new *Establishment Unit* opened, serving all new arrivals in the whole of Gothenburg. The Establishment Unit works with individual and family matters. This means investigating and deciding on financial assistance under the Social Services Act, together with the PES, primary care, and others to ensure that new arrivals with reduced performance receive appropriate interventions; to identify the needs of newly arrived children and young people and to ensure that they are met by the proper authorities, and in collaboration with other actors in society, manage and prevent acute housing shortage of new arrivals. The Establishment Unit should also be a consultative support for the City's operations in matters of reception of new arrivals, both those with the right to an introduction plan and others. Furthermore; the Establishment unit have a collaborative responsibility within the municipality as well as with other organisations.

When it comes to the new arrivals registered in the old system, the Introductory Units work in parallel to the new Establishment Unit, at the latest until December 31, 2012. One category — those who found work soon after arrival and years later were made redundant — is still under the responsibility of the municipality. If they have been in Sweden for more than 36 months they cannot benefit from the establishment reform, even though they might not speak Swedish

properly or have any real possibilities to find work again without help. The municipality will still be responsible for supporting those who are not able to support themselves.

The PES estimates that few people are able to work less than 25 per cent of full time and the activities in the introduction plan are adjusted to make it possible for a person to be active full-time. It is clear, however, that in these cases the municipality does take responsibility as well.⁶²

Swedish for Immigrants and Vocational Training

According to the Education Act (Skollag), the municipality is obligated to ensure that Swedish for Immigrants, SFI, is offered to those who reside in the municipality and lack basic knowledge of the Swedish language.⁶³ Unless there are special reasons for delay, the training should begin within three months of signing up for a course. For persons enrolled in introductory activities, the municipality must actively work to ensure that SFI can begin within one month from the time they signed up. Each municipality must actively seek out those entitled to SFI and motivate them to participate in such training.⁶⁴ From December 2010 to April 2012, 70 per cent (i.e. more than 7,000 individuals) of those who have made an introduction plan participated in SFI training. 9,000 – 10,000 individuals regularly participate in SFI in Gothenburg. Around 10 - 15 per cent of them are new arrivals with an introduction plan (June 2012). The rest are other immigrants.

SFI in Gothenburg is outsourced to 10 different companies and also offered by three Folk High Schools.⁶⁵ The companies are to some extent specialised. Folkuniversitetet, for example, offers Swedish for academics, the disabled and those with impaired hearing. Iris Hadar teaches SFI to blind and deaf immigrants. All companies have a wider range of educational activities than just SFI. The Folk High Schools are independent and supervised by the Swedish National Agency for Education. The municipality pays for those who are referred to their SFI programmes.

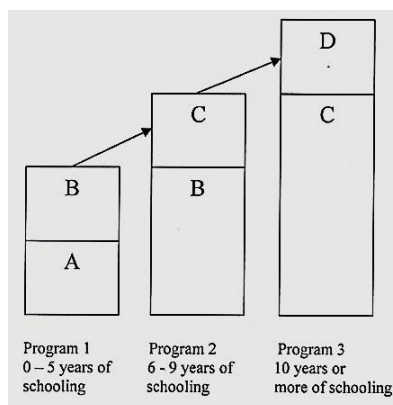
⁶² For a more complete explanation see page 42

⁶³ Skollag (2010:800). See chapter 14 § 6

⁶⁴ The National Agency for Education (Skolverket) is the central administrative authority for the public school system, publicly organised pre schooling, school-age childcare and for adult education.

⁶⁵ ABF, Cuben Utbildning, Eductus, Folkuniversitetet, Göteborgs Tekniska College, Hermods, Iris Hadar, Lernia, Sveas, Studium, Folkhögskolan Angered, Finska (mångkulturella) folkhögskolan and Göteborgs folkhögskola. Web addresses can be found in the reference list.

SFI is divided into four levels A – D and three study programmes. A – B for students with 0-5 years of schooling, B – C for students with 7-9 years and C – D for students with 10 years or more of schooling:



Level D is needed for higher education and level C for many of the vocational training programmes, although, for some programmes level B is enough.

The PES refers the new arrival to the municipality. The municipality decides which study programmes would be suitable in relation to the background, as well as to wishes for the future of the new arrival. Even if the study organisations are specialised, they work in a similar way and they also cooperate. New arrivals study SFI for at least 15 hours/week, and sometimes as much as 30 hours.⁶⁶ In the beginning, the new arrival receives much support in his/her mother tongue. Besides the teachers the new arrival will meet with a social worker, a counsellor and a coach. Follow-up of the personal merits and goals is continuous and the results of the individual determine the development of the study programme including practice at a workplace. The aim is to quickly make contact with working life in Sweden. In order to qualify for higher education, many new arrivals study Mathematics, English and/or Swedish in parallel with the SFI. When qualified it is possible to go on to vocational education or to continue to study in order to gain access to university studies.

More than 70 vocational training programmes are offered at high school level by 16 different adult educational organisers in Gothenburg (including the study organisations offering SFI, several High Schools and the School for Higher Vocational Training).⁶⁷ 15,000 students

⁶⁶ The municipality receives compensation from the state for 15 hours/week for each new arrival but no compensation for other immigrants or for SFI exceeding 15 hours/week.

⁶⁷ Business and Administration, Child care and recreation, Construction, Crafts, Electricity and energy, Food, Health and social care, Hotels and restaurants, Introduction to academic studies, Industrial work, Media, Natural Resources, Service & Consulting, Technology, Transport, Vehicle etc.

participate in these programmes. Around 65 – 70 per cent of the students have a mother tongue other than Swedish. Only few of them are new arrivals.

Vocational SFI was launched in Gothenburg in 2002/2003. It is mostly offered in combination with vocational training at high-school level. Examples of vocational SFI are courses for entrepreneurs, industrial workers, warehouse workers, healthcare and occupations involving food.

In Gothenburg, SFI for immigrants with higher education is offered by Folkuniversitetet and Lernia. Individuals with higher education are referred to a selection group where they stay for four weeks to map their previous experiences as well as their academic, vocational and language knowledge. Relevant documents may be directed for validation, etc. If there are no certificates, other measures will be taken in order to validate the knowledge of the participant. The mapping consists of all experiences of the individual; formal, non-formal and informal. During this period the participant finishes SFI A and B. Should the participant manage to finish this part rapidly, he/she will continue in a “career group”.⁶⁸ Job practice and coaching is part of the programme, in all 56 weeks long. At the end of the programme, the students will have finished SFI D as well as SAS 1-3 (a programme following SFI). They will then be qualified for admission to university and other higher-educational programmes, as well as be well on their way to achieving their professional goals. The number of new arrivals participating in this programme is very low (9-10 individuals out of 300). Many new arrivals have to deal with more immediate needs, such as housing and family matters. Another reason is that many have lost competences and motivation. They have the possibility to return to higher studies later on in life.

Prior to the Establishment reform, the municipality was responsible for SFI, vocational SFI, and finding job practice for new arrivals. This work has continued much as before for those granted permission before December 2010. The City Committee for Adult Education in Gothenburg has, however, decided that the vocational SFI for new arrivals provided by the municipality will stop in the autumn of 2012 (§ 60 Projekt 101). The Employment Service will then resume responsibility for the vocational SFI as well.

⁶⁸ There are different groups for different professions: 1. physicians and nurses, 2. other medical staff such as veterinarians, psychologists, chemists, bio-medicine etc. 3. lawyers, social workers, etc. 4. artists, designers and cultural workers, 5. economists, 6 pedagogy and 7 natural sciences, IT and technology

In 2010, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate reviewed SFI in Gothenburg and 24 other municipalities. It showed that SFI is often uniformly shaped, in spite of being intended for people with very different backgrounds and circumstances. It was also found that organisers needed to develop their methods, to identify the participants' prior knowledge and to individualise the training.⁶⁹ Recommendations observed in Gothenburg: to let individual surveys and study planning form the basis of the participants' training; to update the individual plan during the studies; to ensure that teaching is based on the experiences, interests and goals of the individual; to give participants the opportunity to influence their education, and to follow up and secure collaboration between SFI, other municipal agencies and the PES. Several actors, nevertheless, express that the cooperation with the Pilot Companies is not satisfactory. It is not even self-evident that the SFI organiser knows if the new arrival has signed up with a Pilot Company. Several of the study organisations have employed introduction guides, e.g. Eductus and Lernia. They already give that kind of service to their students and strongly recommend a holistic approach.

Several teachers express feelings in line with "everything must go so fast nowadays". By this they mean that some new arrivals that come to classes are confused and not receptive. They have not "landed" and are not oriented in the community. They have indeed lived in EBO in Gothenburg, but in reality they have had limited contact with Swedish society and their knowledge is built on (dis)information from relatives and neighbours. They need to be acknowledged on a personal level, to understand where they are and what is happening in their lives (Municipal officer, 2012). On the other hand many new arrivals are motivated and move quickly through the system.

Individually tailored teaching requires good organisation and resources as well as equipped staff with access to further training and support, but "it is difficult to get politicians to see that even if this costs more, it will be profitable in the long run" (Municipal officer, 2012). This is valid for primary schools as much as for adult education.

The new arrivals are, as previously mentioned, occupied 40 hours/week with SFI, SO and work preparatory activities. On the whole "they are running around Gothenburg" to different activities (Municipal officer, 2012). Several study organisations create possibilities for new arrivals to stay in one place and still participate in the different parts of the Introduction plan.

⁶⁹ www.skolinspektionen.se/sv/Om-oss/Press/Pressmeddelanden/Sfi-utbildningen-maste-anpassas-battare-efter-deltagarnas-behov/

One motivating project, *Ergon*, has been developed by the study organisation Cuben together with the municipality and the City Mission in Gothenburg. Around 40 participants, all with short schooling, participate in the project. All activities take place at the Cuben premises, which means that staff from SFI, SO and work preparatory activities work in the same building and cooperate, on a daily basis, around the individual. This facilitates keeping track of the goal of the individual as well as limiting the risk that various activity providers develop different goals around the same individual.

Another interesting project, “The World Seller”, has been launched collaboratively by Gothenburg (SFI), the Pilot Company Eductus, and the PES, financed with the support of ESF. The target group is persons who have not managed to establish themselves on the labour market. It is focused on the individual. Achieving trust and confirmation is part of the method. It has been successful in helping people to find their own paths.

Social Orientation

As of December 2010 the municipalities have been obliged to offer Social Orientation, SO at a minimum of 60 hours to all new arrivals. An established curriculum is given in the mother tongue of the new arrivals. SO classes are carried out in dialogue form, drawing on the personal experiences of the participants both from the country of origin and from their time spent in Sweden. Gothenburg started to use this model as early as 2008. Study material for nationwide use has been developed together with the County Administrative Board in Västra Götaland. The material undergoes yearly revisions. The municipalities are free to adjust the content according to local conditions. Since 2010, extensive networking is ongoing between the municipalities in Sweden, and the County Administrative Boards continue to play an important role. The material is written in easy Swedish and is translated into different languages by a professional agency. It consists of background material, to be studied before the orientation begins, and a textbook. The material can be downloaded from the website of the County Administrative Board. 64 per cent of those with an introduction plan have participated in SO (December 2010 - April 2012).

In Gothenburg new arrivals participate for three hours per week, to a total amount of 70-72 hours. Most new arrivals have not had much contact with Swedish society. As asylum seekers they have lived in areas where they hardly ever meet an average Swede. “Swedes are an abstraction, not human beings of flesh and blood.” (Municipal officer, 2012) They have

mainly been referred to compatriots for information and are thus often prone to misunderstandings and rumours. Internal and external evaluations show that the participants of the SO programme are happy with the outcome and that their understanding of the function of authorities and the role of officials within the public functions has increased extensively.⁷⁰

The Refugee Guide Project

“The Refugee Guide — your route to the Swedes and the Swedish language” is a voluntary meeting place, run by the municipality, where Swedes and immigrants can meet and get to know each other. The target groups are: New arrivals between 20 and 65, with a leave to remain granted after December 2010 and their relatives; young people 18 years but not yet 20 with no parents in Sweden; children together with their families. Those who are interested in the project can register and be matched with each other (man-man, woman-woman, and family-family) on the basis of shared experiences and wishes.

The participants meet in their own spare time on a voluntary and unconditional basis. They do things together in a way that is beneficial for both. Permission to stay in Sweden and some knowledge of the Swedish language are required, and it is important that they do not live too far from one another. The project aims at supporting meetings between people, and the underlying understanding is that it is hard to establish social contacts with Swedes, especially as most immigrants live in areas with few native Swedes. It also builds on the fact that it is difficult to find work and that social contacts and knowledge of Swedish social codes is a help. “I remember my first meeting with a Swede. There are so many things when you are starting anew; contacts, language, social codes, place...” (Municipal officer, 2012). A third starting point within the introduction programmes is the fact that social needs are often neglected. Officials are caught up in their bureaucratic tasks and forget the other bits, or give social needs lower priority in their work.

The Refugee Guide Project in Gothenburg started in 2003 and was made permanent by the municipality in 2007. It is seen as an important social aspect of integration and a question for the future: “the Gothenburg we have today has not landed overnight but is based on decisions made 20-30 years ago. Similarly, what we do today affects what it will be like in 20-30 years /.../ when I was a child migrants were in the minority,” says the interviewed official, and adds

⁷⁰ Sennemark & Moberg (2009 and 2010)

that in those days it was not strange to see a Swede in the areas that are now dominated by immigrants.

The Refugee Guide Project puts time and effort into finding “ordinary” people in Gothenburg, provide information and offer the opportunity to get involved. There is generally much good will among people and it is perceived as very good for immigrants to meet people who are not professionals. “Voluntary meetings open up new possibilities and the opportunity for personal friendship.” (Municipal officer, 2012) New arrivals are easy to reach, as it is known when and where they go to study SFI and SO. The Refugee Guide Project goes there to provide information. Now, there is also cooperation with the unit responsible for unaccompanied minors. Most of these children are in their upper teens and will soon prepare for a working life. Networking with Swedish young people and families is an important part of the preparations for adult life:

The segregation in Gothenburg is a problem. It is wrong /.../ they (the newly arrived) are everywhere and yet nowhere. Instead, it is necessary to create natural opportunities to meet one another. For example, all newly arrived students go to the same school in Lindholmen, where there are no other students. For one year they are isolated up on the hill (the school is actually situated on the top of a hill). They feel put aside. The adolescents coming to our activities always ask how to meet Swedish adolescents. “They are everywhere and yet nowhere!” (NGO, 2012)

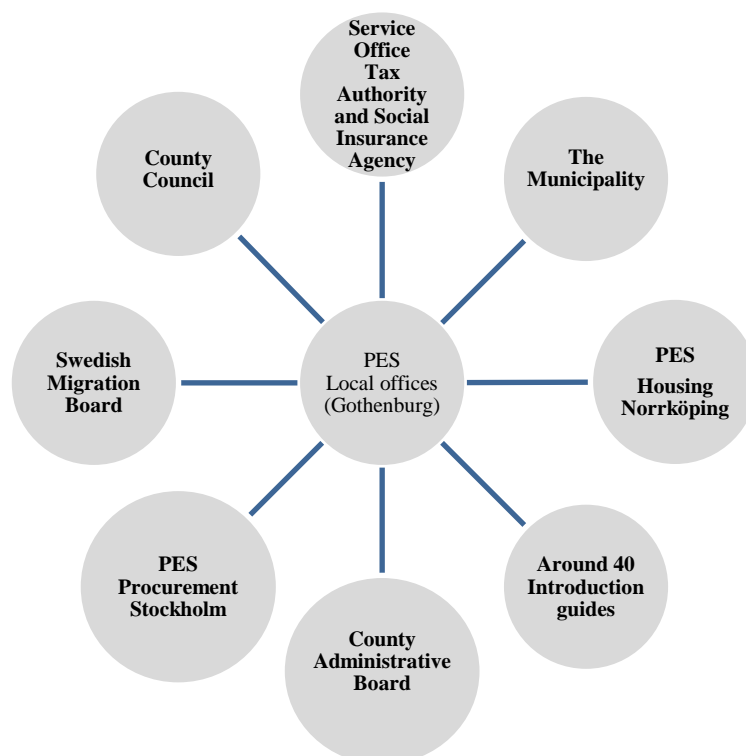
The Refugee Guide Project also arranges common activities such as learning to swim and/or cycle, going to the theatre, hiking, and etc. 1,500 immigrant households are participating. In May 2012 there were around 250 immigrant households waiting for a Swedish contact, while there were 100 Swedish families/individuals available to be matched.

The Public Employment Service

Among the new responsibilities of the PES, is the task to coordinate the work of all involved in the introduction of new arrivals and to assist in finding a place to live - if the new arrival so wishes – in cooperation with the PES’s office in Norrköping. The assignment to a municipality will be based on an interview with the new arrival. The object of this interview is to investigate the individual’s professional background and/or wishes for education and look at the possibilities in different municipalities in Sweden.

The Employment Service has registered 10,694 individuals (December 2010 - April 2012) throughout Sweden since the introduction of the establishment reform.⁷¹ 434 of these have left the Service with employment. Most new arrivals choose to live in the regions of Västra Götaland, Skåne and Stockholm. They are young and with a limited educational background (PES report to the Government, June 2012).

In order to fulfil its mandate, a Local PES (PES) has to cooperate with many actors, as illustrated below.



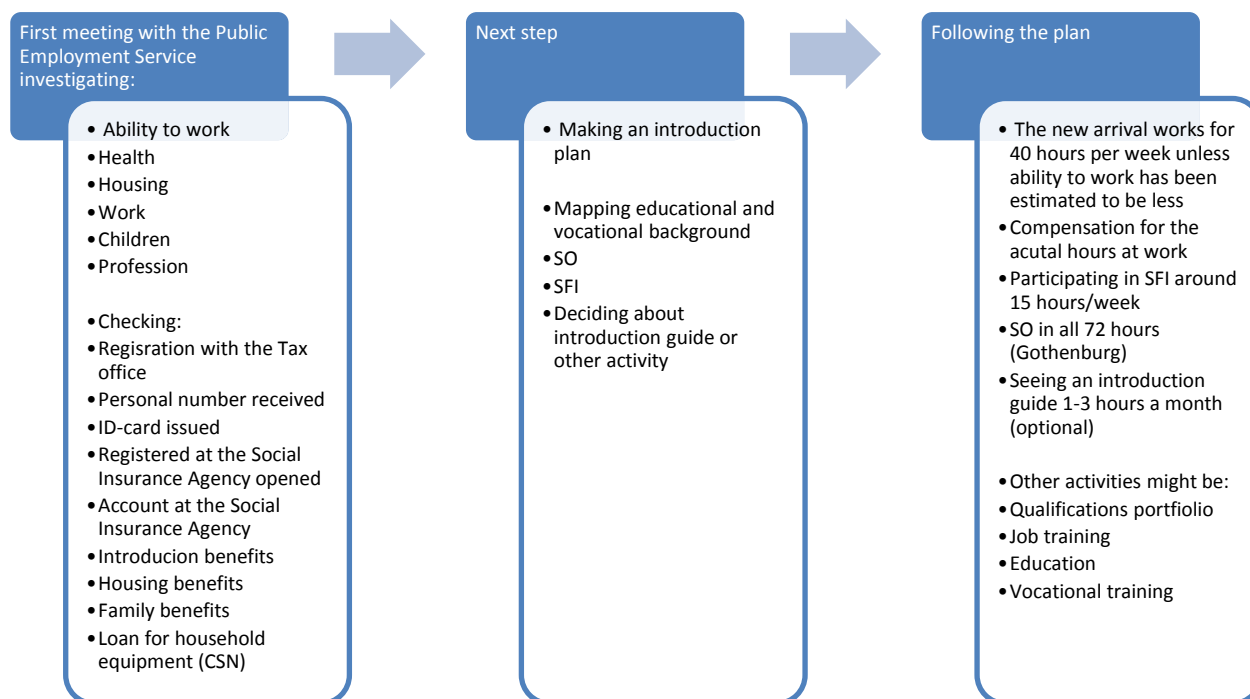
Each PES office organises the introduction from local perspectives. In small municipalities the introduction officers might work with just a few new arrivals and many other cases, while in the bigger cities the local PES may have a special unit for establishment activities. Money is allocated per one officer working with 30 new arrivals at a time.

The PES supports the new arrival in making his/her own introduction plan. The mapping consists of professional and academic background, ambitions, interests and talents, and assessment of qualifications from previous employment. Furthermore, the PES will furthermore give study and/or vocational guidance and, in relevant cases, help with starting up

⁷¹ 9,651 new arrivals in Sweden had a plan in April 2012. 609 persons were in the process of establishing a plan and 400 were waiting for personal id number. 51 % were men, 49 % women. PES report to the government, June 15, 2012, and www.arbetsformedlingen.se/Globalmeny/Other-languages/New-in-Sweden.html

a business and support *step-in-job*.⁷² The new arrival will be offered the support of a Pilot Company procured by the PES. 89 per cent of the new arrivals have received a work preparatory or labour market policy activity (December 2010 – April 2012). The PES decides on introduction benefits.

From the individual point of view the process can be summarised as follows:



Introduction plan

An introduction plan contains activities that will help the new arrival to learn Swedish as quickly as possible and to find work. The professional and academic background, ambitions, interests and talents, and assessment of qualifications from previous employment will be mapped. All certificates of education, skills and work experience are compiled in a Merit Portfolio. The new arrival meets with a mentor/tutor on several occasions to go through the professional and educational background, and together they decide what/if anything more is required to meet Swedish standards.

⁷² A person is entitled to a step-in-job, or recruitment incentive, if he/she has obtained a residence permit within 36 months of requiring such a job. Citizens of an EU/EEA country are not entitled to this support. Recruitment incentive means that the employer will get a grant for the salary equating 80 per cent or maximum 800 SEK/day. A requirement is that the new arrival is participating in SFI.

In order to achieve this, an assessment of practical and theoretical knowledge and skills has to be made. An investigation of the new arrival's capacity to participate in activities in an introduction plan begins during the first establishment meeting. An introduction plan should be individualised and designed based on the individual circumstances and needs.⁷³ The activities will as far as possible be adapted so that the individual can attend full time. Where this is not possible, or when the individual despite adaptations still cannot attend full-time activities, the extent of the introduction plan will be reduced. This is substantiated by a medical certificate. A part-time introduction plan can include 75, 50 or 25 per cent of full time. If the capacity is judged to be lower than 25 per cent, the individual is rejected the right to an introduction plan. When planning the introduction activities, the PES considers the individual's resources and takes into account current health status and family situation. The individual's family relationships, age, previous education and work experience may, however, not be a barrier to participation in full time introduction activities.⁷⁴

With everything taken into consideration, a unique and personal introduction plan is established. Sometimes this activity also includes visits to work places, group activities and lectures. Professional or vocational merits may be assessed or validated, which is described below. In Gothenburg 690 individuals were registered for an Introduction Plan on April 30, 2012 (i.e. 7 per cent of the total number in Sweden).⁷⁵

Pilot Companies and Introduction Guides

The goal of introducing introduction guides is for the new arrival to obtain gainful employment or starts higher education as soon as possible. In June 2012, 77 per cent of the new arrivals in Sweden had accepted the services of an introduction guide.⁷⁶ Compensation to Pilot Companies consists of a starter allowance and a monthly allowance. In addition, the Pilot Company receives a performance payment when the new arrival gets a job or starts higher education. For job seekers with an educational background of six years or less the benefit levels are higher.

The service shall be designed according to individual needs and offered in the new arrival's language. If the Pilot Company does not have introduction guides speaking this language,

⁷³ Nyanländas etablering – reformens första år (2012-02-22).

⁷⁴ Prop. (2009/10:60) Nyanlända invandrades arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd.

⁷⁵ In Västra Götaland 729 women and 795 men have been registered between December 2010 and April 2012. This is 15 per cent of the total number. PES report to the government, June 15, 2012

⁷⁶ 81 % men and 73 % women

there is an obligation to arrange for an interpreter. The introduction guide's duties include supporting the new arrival in gathering and presenting experiences such as language skills, education, working life, knowledge of the Swedish society and building personal contacts. The new arrival may expect support to carry out and develop the introduction plan, as well as support with making choices of studies or vocations, looking for jobs and contacting employers. In addition to individual meetings, many introduction guides provide different types of group activities, such as field trips, seminars, language training, coffee shops, and courses and "open-house activities".

At the introduction interview with the PES, the new arrival is informed about the possibility to choose a Pilot Company.⁷⁷ There are 47 options on the website of the Employment Service in Gothenburg, with the following sectors and languages:

Sector	Number of Pilot Companies
Administration, Economy, Law	23
Agriculture	36
Body and Beauty care	40
Building and Construction	43
Computer/IT	45
Culture, Media, Design	44
Educational work,	45
Healthcare	45
Hotel, Restaurant, Catering	44
Industrial Manufacturing	44
Installation, Service and Management, Maintenance	43
Management	41
Remediation and Waste Management	41
Safety work	40
Scientific work	38
Selling, Purchasing, Marketing	44
Skilled trades	45
Social work	45
Technical work	42
Transport	44

Language	Number of Pilot Companies
Albanian	20
Arabic	40
Dari	26
English	47
French	30
Mongolian	15
Persian	36
Russian	25
Somali	33
Sorani	25
Spanish	30
Tigrinya	23

The new arrival will be contacted for an initial meeting with an introduction guide within ten days after having decided on a Pilot Company. After the first meeting they should meet for at

⁷⁷ The law on free choice systems (SFS 2008:962)

least three hours per month, individually or in groups. The contact with the PES continues. The right to a guide lasts a maximum of 24 months within a timeframe of 36 months. Confirmed illness and parental leave are grounds for exemption. It is possible to switch Pilot Companies.⁷⁸

Activities for persons registered for Introduction

Overview for Gothenburg (April 30, 2012):

Measures	Participants
Employments	5
New start jobs	13
Entry recruitment incentives	12
Work experience placements	8
Trial opportunities	8
Practical skills enhancements	10
Projects with labour market policy orientation	29
Labour market trainings	11
Preparatory training courses	132
Sundry	462
Total	690

Validation

One of the tools available for new arrivals is validation of education and practical skills. The government defines validation as “a process that involves a structured assessment, evaluation, documentation and recognition of knowledge and skills that a person possesses, regardless of how the knowledge and skills were acquired” (Ds 2003:23). Some of the goals for validation are to contribute to the supply of skilled workers and professionals, a broader recruitment base, a better functioning labour market (increasing the employment rate), to avoid unnecessary training, and for international development.

Apart from cooperating with the municipality concerning validations, the PES cooperates with three other authorities: the *Swedish National Agency for Higher Education* (Högskoleverket), HV, The *Swedish Agency for Higher Education Services* (Verket för

⁷⁸ 462 changes occurred during January-April 2012 (PES report June 2012). PES does not leave information about which Pilot Companies that has been chosen or how many new arrivals each guide is supporting.

högskoleservice), VHS, and The *Swedish National Agency for Higher Vocational Education* (Yrkeshögskolan), YH.⁷⁹ Direct cooperation with industry organisations is also available.

One evident problem is that many new arrivals lack documents proving educational qualification and professional experiences. They need to be able to demonstrate their skills in other ways. In the municipal adult educational programmes there are alternative possibilities; one is that some upper-secondary schools have validation programmes where personal skills are appraised during several weeks, followed by the making of individual study plans.⁸⁰ Another option is, e.g. that a new arrival with experience of healthcare work starts vocational training to become an assistant nurse. During the course it will be evident what skills the person already has, and thus training in these skills can be excluded from the person's study agenda.

Validation of skills can also be made through around 25 different models used by industry organisations to validate about 140 different professional capacities. These validations are sorted under the supervision of YH. Should the validation lead to a professional certificate, this will be issued by the organisation.

In validation, the method Merit Portfolio, mentioned earlier, is used in order to map the qualifications of individuals. In Gothenburg, new arrivals work up to 13 weeks to create the Portfolio, listing all their personal formal and informal competences. The new arrival reflects

⁷⁹ HV oversees higher education institutions in Sweden through a diversity of mechanisms, e.g. recognising qualifications from abroad. VHS is a fee-financed government authority under the Ministry of Education and Research. It provides services to universities and other government agencies, assisting with the admissions process and provides evaluation of foreign upper secondary school credentials. In a report (2012:20 R), HV presents its assessments of foreign higher qualifications during 2011. The purpose was to examine how the assessments are perceived and used by academics with foreign qualifications. 4,000 questionnaires were sent out and 2,000 answers. There were qualifications from 137 countries. The applicants were mostly young and women dominated. The report shows that as assessment not only helps in planning future careers, and looking for work but is also used in other situations, e.g. when applying for an id-card or for a student loan. Recognition of qualifications appears to have a significant impact on self-esteem. People feel stronger and appreciated when their training is recognised and measures a value in Sweden. 90 per cent of those surveyed say they are working or studying. 37 per cent are looking for work. A problem is that only 32 per cent of those who already have a job indicate that their work corresponds to their education. From January 2013 a new authority, Universitets- och Högskolerådet, will be established. One responsibility will be the assessment of foreign higher education. YH is responsible for all matters concerning higher vocational education in Sweden. This includes evaluating the demands for qualified workers, deciding on programmes for higher vocational education, and taking responsibility for the assessment of foreign higher vocational education. YH is the national coordinator for the European Qualifications Framework.

⁸⁰ For adult education, the new Education Act applies to training which started 1 July 2012. For the first time validation is defined in legislation (§ 32): "... a process that involves a structured assessment, evaluation, documentation and recognition of knowledge and skills that a person possesses regardless of how they acquired". The Education Act (§ 30), provides that anyone who is resident in the country and want to have certificates from municipal adult education should have the opportunity to undergo tests in all courses that are graded.

thoroughly on his/her experiences, individually and in groups, and compares them with what is needed for a certain profession. The individual becomes clear about the connection between what merits he/she has and what is needed. The Merit Portfolio then becomes a tool for the individual to make decisions about what to do to reach his/her personal goals.

Validation could be the next step. Some feel that the introduction plan would benefit from early validation, say within weeks of the permission to stay. “An early validation would help the new arrival to settle. Where in Sweden is there work within the trade in question? Are there educational, vocational and housing possibilities in that area?” (Company making validations, 2012)

Other voices are hesitant to early validations, e.g. a report from a validation project called VINN.⁸¹ The aim was to help create a sustainable platform for the assessment and documentation of newly arrived immigrants’ skills and competences based on models for validation developed within different sectors of industry. The report shows that there are many difficulties involved in the validation process. First of all, it is difficult to say exactly what is evaluated. The new arrival has learned a trade within other frameworks than those of a Swedish working place. Studies show that validating is closely connected to social, cultural and linguistic situations that a new arrival cannot possibly have any knowledge of. One risk here is that experiences and competences are validated in relation to the Swedish context, not in relation to the actual skills of the individual. Another risk is that differences are constructed as deviations or proof of incompetence. In both cases, the person is placed at a disadvantage. The VINN report also confirms that, in many cases, new arrivals are attributed template-like and negative characteristics, and that presumptions often influence validations. Adding to this difficulty, before making a decision about continuing the validation or not, only a few practical elements were evaluated during its first step.

Early validations demand interpreters who are knowledgeable within the validated trade. It is hard enough to find skilled interpreters in Sweden and even harder to find interpreters with knowledge in trade language and practice.⁸² The VINN report discusses this problem and also the problem of the role of the interpreter, which in some parts of the valuation process tends to move to the role of a translator. This is problematic because the interpreter loses his/her

⁸¹ The project was run by The National Agency for Higher Vocational Education, the PES and 16 branch organisations. Report (Diedrich 2011).

⁸² See www.tolkprojektet.se for more information about community interpreting in Sweden.

‘impartiality. In order to find solutions for the problems connected with the use of interpreters in validation, a pilot project was created, “ Validation interpreting”, with the aim of developing training for interpreters in professional vocabulary, theory and practice in woodworking, metalworking and in other professional fields, for example, healthcare.⁸³

The development of validation methods is closely connected with needs within a specific sector or when there has been money allocated, e.g. from the government. The health sector is one example. Since 1998, around 5,000 persons in Gothenburg have been validated in relation to secondary education in healthcare. It is estimated that when individuals can continue their studies to become qualified, based on previous skills, the need for education has halved.

One more example of the development of professional/vocational validation comes from the Tibro Training Centre. TTC provides validation of knowledge and professional assessment of employability in the wood and furniture industry. The methods developed have been shared with others in the same field and today there is an industry-related basis for validation. The wood and furniture industry offers very good examples of what validation is all about. Among the new arrivals with experience from that field, there are many with no formal education at all. A properly conducted validation would measure their competences, thus providing a platform for planning the future. Is it possible to get a job at once? Are supplementary studies necessary? Are language studies of the professional language in Swedish necessary?

Interviews with experts of validation show that there is a strong wish to develop national norms for validation and standardisations in different industries.⁸⁴ “There is enough knowledge today to develop a unified form for those parts of validation that are common to all industries.” (Company making validations, 2012) National norms would strengthen validation legitimacy and employers would know the exact value of a validation certificate. “Today, some companies put money and effort into developing methods, while others shoot from the hip. It does not seem to make any difference for the procurers. The big risk today is stagnation; methods exist, and there are no guarantees that investments will be profitable, so why bother?” (Company developing methods for validation, 2012)

⁸³ In cooperation with the SMB, the County Administrative Board in Västra Götaland, the PES, SAM Skaraborg, Lernia, TTC, Folkuniversitetet, Lärcentret i Falköping and the interpreter agency in Mariestad (www.tolk.mariestad.se and www.valideringstolk.se).

⁸⁴ A delegation from *Nordic Network for Adult Education* launched a report in 2008 focusing on contributing to validation receiving national legitimacy, and with validation opportunities based on quality and equivalence.

In order for the new arrival to benefit from the system, it is important that the PES has full control over the Pilot Companies, the Merit Portfolio and of applicable validation possibilities. The new arrival has two years at his/her disposal and there is no margin for things going wrong in the introduction, although validation is open for everyone looking for work and thus can be conducted after the introduction period. Standardised validation methods would also strengthen the procurements that are made by the PES. Procuring this service is difficult. The procurers need to know the industries and how to gauge the quality of the validation. A low bid might in fact mean that the validation provider lacks sufficient resources. One suggestion from the field is that the PES hires experts, first to ensure that the quality requirements are realistic and measurable, and then to do much needed follow-ups. In the long run, the fact that no monitoring is performed inhibits the development of validation methods.⁸⁵

The combination of knowledge about validation and industry may lead to the development of vocational training adapted to the labour market. One example: due to a lack of skilled workers for treatment of wood surfaces, TTC started a 30-week vocational training project, taking on twelve Somali new arrivals between 20-40 years of age, eleven men and one woman. They work full-time and, apart from the vocational trainers, a Swedish language teacher is always present.

New arrivals need to be guided to professions in which (and where) it is possible to find work. For these jobs, manpower may be recruited from new arrivals that already have experience of the trade and from those who have an interest in learning the trade. One problem here might be the feeling among some interviewees that only few officials within the public sector seem to be well informed about the different possibilities and the work of the Agency for Higher Vocational Education (Company making validations, 2012).

Introduction benefits

While the introduction plan is prepared, the new arrival will continue to receive LMA benefits. When the introduction plan has been made together with the employment officer and while the plan is being carried out, the new arrival has a right to an introduction benefit, even if he/she is still in ABO. The PES will decide on the benefit after having received the

⁸⁵ The interviews give at hand that the difficulties facing the procurers at the PES are similar to the difficulties procuring interpreter agency services (www.tolkprojektet.se).

application.⁸⁶ The applicant must inform the Social Insurance Agency which bank account the benefit should be paid to. While preparing the introduction plan, the new arrival receives SEK 231 per day for five days per calendar week. The benefits are paid twice a month. When taking part in the introduction activities, the maximum sum is SEK 308 per day, also five days per calendar week, depending on the extent of the introduction plan and if the new arrival is working within the plan. The benefits are paid once a month. Supplementary introduction benefits may be granted if the new arrival has children or rental charges for a flat with a lease or sublet lease accepted by the landlord. Those who are still in ABO and lodgers do not receive such benefits.

The introduction benefit may be decreased if the new arrival is remunerated for work within the 40 hours of the introduction plan. If the new arrival is working outside the plan, the introduction benefits will be decreased by half of a salary exceeding SEK 8,000.

The new arrival must give the PES a monthly report of his/her activities. This report has to be signed individually by the organiser of each activity.

The new arrival can only keep the introduction benefit if the absence is due to illness or care of a sick child (under the age of twelve), or if the PES has otherwise approved an absence. Absence may not be longer than 30 consecutive days. If longer, the introduction benefits will be lost. There will be no benefits paid for the first sick day. Ten such qualifying periods are allowed in a year. A medical certificate is needed for illness longer than seven days.

All absence from the introduction activities must be approved; otherwise, deductions are made from the introduction benefit. Other reasons than mentioned above for approved absence could be a visit to the doctor, the death or illness of a close relative, a funeral, moving, visiting an administrator in the municipality, or doing a driving test when a driving licence is required for the intended occupation.

If the new arrival is 18 years old or older, he/she can apply for a loan to buy household furnishings. The PES supports new arrivals when they apply for such a loan.

⁸⁶ Benefits will not be granted if the new arrival receives money from the SMB, sickness or activity compensation, sickness benefit, rehabilitation benefit, maternity allowance, parental benefit, temporary parental benefit, occupational injury annuity, allowance for the care of close relatives, disease carrier's allowance, sick pay. Neither does the new arrival have a right to student aid from The Swedish National Board of Student Aid (CSN) during the period that he/she is receiving introduction benefits.

The Service Office

The Service Office in Gothenburg is an established cooperation between the Tax Agency and the Swedish Social Insurance Agency, which pay the monthly allowance decided by the PES.

A new arrival must register with the Tax Agency without delay. The agency makes a record of where he/she lives, marital status, nationality and place of birth and provides the new arrival with a personal identification number consisting of the person's birth date and four numbers of identification, for example, 850520-6910. This number is essential for anyone living in Sweden; it is a key for almost everything: opening a bank account, acquiring a lease, entitlement to full healthcare, membership in a sports club, a driving licence, a steady job and many other things. With the social registration number, a new arrival can register with the Swedish Social Insurance Agency and thus benefit from the social security system.

The integration Police in Gothenburg

The Police in the greater Gothenburg area have a special integration group, with four police officers working to inform and teach about the role of the police in Swedish society. The goal is to provide knowledge of how laws and regulations are made and what applies. Another goal is to meet with asylum seekers and newcomers to build trust and instil confidence in the police. The police officers of the integration group do not do ordinary police work, such as arrests or other controlling duties of the police. Information and discussions take place at the introduction meetings of the SMB, the municipal SFI and SO, in churches and associations. In some contexts, such as in recurrent visits to women's organisations, the police officers become more closely acquainted with people and confidence builds, so that women are more willing to bring up sensitive issues and issues of child-rearing. Associations that receive visitors from all nationalities and religions often have very interesting discussions and many prejudices that different groups have of each other are analysed. The police see overcrowding and inactivity as problems for the individuals and for integration. Another problem is that so few Swedes live in certain areas. People feel marginalised and seek connections, sometimes in quite destructive environments. "Everyone wants to be part of a context", one police officer said (Police officer, 2012), and continued to tell about a boy who communicated a situation that many people recognise: "I did not come to Sweden, I came to Hammarkullen, and I do not know what Sweden looks like." People come to the integration police with many different questions and reflections.

Observations

In November 2012, the government commissioned the *Swedish Agency for Public Management* (Statskontoret) to monitor the implementation of the establishment reform by assessing how well the authorities collaborate and coordinate their activities.⁸⁷ In December 2011, the government extended the mission to include assessment of how well the Pilot Companies and the municipalities contribute to the implementation of the reform. In June 2012, a report was issued - *The introduction of new arrivals - a follow-up of the authorities' enforcement of the Establishment Act*.⁸⁸ The Report is not an evaluation but rather an account of how the establishment reform is perceived by introduction officers. The overall assessment in the Report (2012:22) is that the authorities and municipalities need to improve the coordination of their activities.

The County Administrative Board has a responsibility for cooperation at an overall level. Among its activities is to negotiate with the municipalities, arrange seminars and conferences and support development of methods. It cannot force municipalities to participate, which means that the situation for new arrivals may vary within the region. Within Gothenburg there are meetings and seminars with all actors involved in the reception and introduction of new arrivals, but this is not developed to the same extent on grassroots' level. Several informants say that contacts are not fully developed and that this affects both the planning of activities and how the new arrivals must move around the city to their different engagements. One example: when making plans for two individual parents there is a need for cooperation between introduction officers and the municipality concerning not only SO and SFI but also childcare. Lack of childcare jeopardises the possibilities for both parents to benefit fully from the introduction activities. A coordination problem on another level is the gap between the payment from the SMB and the introduction benefits. During this period the new arrivals have no other option than to turn to the Municipality for economic support.

Municipal officers say that experiences from the time when the introduction was run by the municipalities are not fully utilised. A municipal officer communicates what seems to be a common experience, not only in Gothenburg: "The Employment Service only uses their

⁸⁷ The Swedish Agency for Public Management provides the Government and Ministries with relevant, specific and useful documentation for reassessment and rationalisation decisions. Matters relating to the organisation, governance and development of public administration are covered by the Agency's remit in the area of administrative policy.

⁸⁸ Statskontoret, 2012:22.

personnel. Although we, and the health centre, had hoped that our knowledge would be of interest, we have not seen a single advertisement for a position at the PES; we have not heard one word from them.” (Municipal officer, 2012)

Municipal officers and NGOs in Gothenburg say that although many new arrivals are perfectly fit, there are also many who are in a bad state because of psychological problems from trauma and worries for family still in the country of origin or in refugee camps. There are also down-to-earth problems such as the difficulties of finding housing in Gothenburg and long queues to child care. New arrivals mostly continue to live in sublet apartments. And when they get an apartment of their own they might well feel obliged to house asylum seeking relatives. Several years of cramped living with worried people is not good for anyone’s health and integration, especially not for children who tend to carry the worries of the grownups.

New arrivals go to the NGOs for help. These organisations are not paid to take care of the personal problems of refugees and they already work with scarce resources. Several interviewees mention that some new arrivals pressure themselves to participate in the full introduction programme in spite of illnesses because they cannot afford otherwise. SFI teachers feel that new arrivals that force themselves are not doing well and also, that it seems as if a number of new arrivals are not mentally present. Once a refugee summarised this predicament in one sentence: “My body came by air and my soul walked” Many refugees are simply not ready for the demands put on them. One refugee who has managed to find a way to the labour market in spite of distress: “I had waited for several years with nothing to do but worry and when I got the permission to stay, I suddenly had ten meetings within a week. I never had time to rest or to really appreciate that I was safe. I am still tired and worried about my family.” (Refugee, 2012) According to the Report (2012:22), so far, only four per cent of those participating in the introduction activities have got a job (March 2012). This is perhaps due to the fact that the system is new, but it is also relevant to think about the target group itself, its situation and its needs, from a holistic point of view.

As mentioned earlier, the PES in Gothenburg does not participate in the settlement meeting at the SMB. From an administrative point of view this may seem rational, “it saves time and the new arrival may not yet be ready for PES”. On the other hand, from the point of view of the individual it might not to be rational at all. Many of the interviewed officials and NGOs point out that the system is dealing with persons who, for some reason or other, have applied for asylum. This means that there are traumatised and run-down people among the new arrivals.

A whole new life with many demands is waiting for them and it would be better to establish a personal contact with PES already when the asylum seeker is granted leave to remain. The reason for an introduction officer to be present at the settlement meeting is not so much to make full mapping of the educational, vocational and work experiences as to create an opportunity to transfer and build trust.

A point mentioned in the report (2012:22) is that many new arrivals have not made an introduction plan within two months of having received a residence permit, which is the requirement. The report's message is that the processes leading to the new arrival's finding work and participating in social life must be carried out "without delay", while the quality of these processes must still be maintained. This may be true, but it needs to be discussed how to interpret without delay. It depends on what is included in a proper introduction plan. At the PES the new arrival is interviewed and informed about various options. Much effort is put into making this part of the process fruitful. The Merit Portfolio can take up to 13 weeks according to the PES. It is part of actually understanding what options may be available to the new arrival and making a definite plan before that might not be constructive. It seems as if a good way to work is to be very meticulous with the Merit Portfolio and to make sure that formal, non-formal, and informal working experiences are considered.⁸⁹ Non-formal and informal experiences most often belong to the category "silent knowledge" and might need time and courage to be truly mapped. It might also be good to practice at a work place to gain knowledge of Swedish working culture and professional language, before making a deeper validation, as shown in the evaluation of the VINN project. Accepting that the first steps take time is a necessary part of investing for the future. "To force people into a job as quickly as possible is not always right. A paid job that is wrong for the person does not bring freedom. There are already many people competing for unskilled work; why force educated people to enter that race when they could do so much better given the proper support?" (Municipal officer, 2012)

The new arrival is offered the support of an introduction guide. From May 2010 the *Act on freedom of choice* is mandatory vis-à-vis the new arrivals.⁹⁰ There are 47 options on the website of the Employment Service. True freedom of choice demands knowledge of the alternatives available. In fact, it is almost impossible to make an informed choice in this case. It is possible to change Pilot Companies. However, a wrong choice does not extend the 24-

⁸⁹ www.meritea.se/ and www.botkyrka.se

⁹⁰ Lag (2010:536) om valfrihet hos Arbetsförmedlingen.

month period available for the new arrival. Initial mapping includes questions about housing, economy, the family situation and health, but whether these areas are to be integrated in the preparation for the possibilities at the labour market or not depends on how the introduction guide works. The PES holds regular meetings with the Pilot Companies and their guides, but there is no supervision or structured quality control of Pilot Companies.

The PES needs to develop its monitoring of work-related activities and the services they procure regarding introduction activities. This is generally agreed on within the whole field and is one of the recommendations in the Report (2012:22). The PES, the SMB, the Swedish Social Insurance Agency and county administrative boards have been instructed by the government to develop and improve cooperation and coordination in the establishment process of new arrivals in consultation with SKL. Furthermore, to define and develop responsibilities and roles of social support and benefits, the county councils' involvement in the introduction process as well as collaboration and coordination on the local level. The PES gives an account of the ongoing work in the Report of June 15, 2012.

With the Establishment reform it was expected in Gothenburg that the municipal administration of new arrivals would require fewer employees, but this has proved not to be the case. Within two years the administration is as big as before. From the Municipality's point of view there is cause for concern. Very few new arrivals have got a steady job and a first-hand contract for an apartment. After two years, the new arrival is no longer in the introduction system. He/she will be able to get the same support as everyone else from the PES, but if he/she does not get an employment, it will be the Municipality's responsibility to care for him/her. "We are just waiting for December 2012!" (Municipal Officer, 2012).

Coordination and cooperation on an everyday level with *all* actors involved would not only strengthen the individual, as shown in a report *Without health no establishment* from the County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen, 2011), but it would also strengthen the introduction system if the knowledge and engagement that is to be found amongst the different actors could be of assistance on a collective level.

5. Undocumented migrants and asylum seekers in hiding

Within the introduction programme new arrivals are introduced to the regular labour market. In Sweden, as in other Western countries, there is an informal labour market where people such as asylum seekers, refugees in hiding from expulsion and migrants without permit to stay and work in Sweden look for work.

The term undocumented is used to describe people who find themselves in Sweden without a permit. Undocumented migrants' children are included in the definition. Migrants with no documents may have entered the country legally, but overstayed the allowed duration.⁹¹ They may also have entered irregularly, e.g. as victims of trafficking. New categories of undocumented migrants emerge from time to time. One example from Gothenburg is that established immigrants who have old, perhaps senile, parents who are denied family reunion in Sweden, see no other option than to bring these parents to Sweden nonetheless. Obviously, this creates very difficult situations when it comes to combining work and care of the parents. Another big problem is that these parents do not have access to the healthcare and social systems (Conference at the Rosengrenska Foundation April 21, 2012).

It is unclear how many undocumented people there are in Sweden, but different sources suggest 10,000 - 50,000 individuals, of which 2,000 - 3,000 children (Socialstyrelsen, 2010, chapter 8).⁹² NGOs in Gothenburg seem to agree that there are at least 2,500 to 3,000 undocumented individuals, although some of the migrant organisations say that this estimation is much too low. The churches in Gothenburg have noticed an increase in the number of refugees from Iraq and Syria who do not seek asylum but stay with relatives already established in Sweden. The explanation is fear of being rejected.

The National Board of Health and Welfare points out that in the absence of registry data and with very limited research, assessments are made on lesser studies, case histories and interviews available. Most studies are based on data from those who have sought medical

⁹¹ According to the Swedish Aliens Act, the main principle is that foreigners must have a residence permit to stay for more than three months, as long as they are not EU citizens, who are covered by the EEA agreement.

⁹² Journalist Kaisa Viitanen and photographer Katja Tähjä document the everyday life of people without legal documentation in Europe in *Undocumented Lives*, which will be available in English on electronic book readers in September 2012 (www.undocumentedlives.com).

help, while the information about those whose condition may be less problematic is very limited.

As a rule, undocumented migrants live in a vulnerable position with extremely limited access to healthcare, education, insurance against work injuries and other social functions. In her doctoral thesis, human geographer Erika Sigvardsdotter explores what it means to be an undocumented migrant in Sweden in a legal, social, and existential sense, and proves that individuals without a social security number end up outside the welfare system (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). A person with no identity document will be excluded from all such things as train travelling, bank or postal matters, renting movies or obtaining a lease for an apartment. Sigvardsdotter discusses how every-day-exclusion sometimes is more extensive in Sweden than in other countries as a consequence of the computerised administration.

Gender researcher Maja Sager discusses in her doctoral thesis (Sager, 2011) how waiting in limbo without social rights, combined with the risk of expulsion, has an impact on asylum seekers' lives on many levels; employment, family life and social life. She shows how the asylum seekers themselves, their friends and family, as well as civil society, constantly push the boundaries to make it possible for the undocumented to become involved politically and to obtain basic human rights such as education, healthcare and labour. Sager argues that their potential for collective political action is constantly undermined, both practically and symbolically. Either they are dismissed as criminals because they have entered Europe in an unofficial way or they may stay on humanitarian grounds, not political. The result is a de-politicisation of the voices of the undocumented. Holgersson (2011), in her thesis about undocumented migrants in Gothenburg, make the same reflection as Sigvardsdotter (2012) about undocumented migrants. Beyond the political and economic problems that arise when one is completely outside of society; there are more fundamental political and existential consequences. The undocumented migrants lack the possibility to become visible in the public room and to demand social and economic rights. Being cut off from society and rights raises feelings of total isolation. It is difficult and dangerous to be an undocumented migrant in Sweden, completely dependent on other people's kindness and compassion. You can be exploited, or be a victim of a crime, without any recourse to justice. Three areas concerning the undocumented seem to be of special concern; namely, health, work and the situation for children. These areas are interlinked.

Health

The undocumented do not exist officially, and legally they constitute a residual category. Yet, they are present among us; this discrepancy is particularly evident in the healthcare sector where their official and administrative absences are set against their physical presence (Sigvardsdotter 2012).

By law, undocumented migrants in Sweden are only able to get emergency care by paying the actual costs. A visit to an emergency room costs more than SEK 2,000. An uncomplicated delivery costs between SEK 20,000 and 25,000. Some county councils have taken their own decisions as to the eligibility of the undocumented with respect to healthcare benefits. One example is the Sahlgrenska University Hospital in Gothenburg. On June 19, 2006 its Board of Directors decided that “the hidden refugees and other patients without a contract or insurance shall receive emergency or other immediately necessary care at the hospital regardless of ability to pay”. In a PM about acute and other immediately necessary care for asylum seekers and refugees in hiding it is stated that the hospital treats all in need of emergency or immediately necessary treatment. This applies even if a patient cannot pay the patient fee, e.g. “hidden” refugees regardless of age, tourists or other temporary visitors without permission to live in Sweden. When there are reasonable grounds to believe that the patient has refugee status, the receiving staff must make it clear to the patient how important it is that the hospital receives accurate information regarding status, i.e. “asylum seeker” or “hidden” As for “asylum”, the rule is that the cost of healthcare that cannot be deferred shall be referred to the SMB according to an agreement between the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the SKL. In the PM it is also stated that the staff shall “not contact the SMB if the patient is in hiding!”⁹³

The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to highest attainable standard of health, Paul Hunt, wrote in his UN report (2007) that the prevailing bias against undocumented migrants in Sweden amounts to discrimination under international human rights laws. Paul Hunt writes: “Asylum seekers and undocumented persons are among the most vulnerable groups in Sweden. They are precisely the group of victims that international human rights law is there to protect.”⁹⁴

⁹³ www.sahlgrenska.se/upload/SU/omrade_barn/BUP/Flyktingbarnteamet/PM_asyl_flyktingar.pdf

⁹⁴ www.vardforalla.se/files/vardforalla/paul_hunt_mission_to_sweden.pdf

UNICEF has pointed out that it is common that undocumented children live with constant worry and are afraid to become ill. The result is that many children and young people avoid doing anything they believe might increase the risk for accidents or illness. Some children, for example, do not go outside during the winter if there is snow or ice that might cause accidents. According to UNICEF, it is of importance to incorporate the Child Convention into the Swedish law in order to ensure equal rights for all children.⁹⁵

For many years, access to healthcare for undocumented persons has been a subject of concern in Sweden. NGOs, public authorities and unions have been very active in promoting better rights to healthcare for the undocumented as well as better training of staff, since knowledge of the existing rights has proved to be low.⁹⁶ In several places in Sweden there are clinics where medical staff work voluntarily to give as much care as possible to those in need, but with no rights within the regular system. One such clinic is the *Rosengrenska Foundation* in Gothenburg, an independent network of different types of voluntary medical staff who help refugees in hiding. Refugees in hiding have contact with healthcare providers within or outside the usual care through a hotline. A few times a year Rosengrenska arranges lectures. In 2008, collaboration with the Red Cross in the Västra Götaland Region started to provide better assistance to undocumented migrants in Gothenburg. The three main goals of Rosengrenska are: 1) to make the foundation redundant - all persons, including hidden and undocumented, should have equal access to healthcare based on need, 2) to spread knowledge about the situation of refugees - to contribute to education in the refugee medical sciences, cultural encounters in healthcare and related issues and 3) to provide medical aid to undocumented persons - when they do not have access to or dare seek regular treatment” (www.rosengrenska.org). “The number of old people visiting Rosengrenska is growing. In 1998 most of the refugees were young families. Now, there is a mixture of three generations” (Nurse, 2012). The clinic is open once a week.

There were many people of multiple nationalities waiting outside the building. When we arrived at the door it seemed almost impossible to enter, even the entrance. There were people everywhere; old, young, parents with children, of all nationalities you could think of; in the hallway, in the room to the left, in the hallway to the right, up the stairs, down the stairs. We tried to enter and were stopped by a man belonging to the church. He immediately called for a woman to come. She presented herself as the assistant to the coordinator of the organisation and invited us to come into the room to the left. There were several people working; the administrator of that evening clinic, nurses sorting the patients, as well as a couple of patients. The room was

⁹⁵ unicef.se/project/sjukvard-till-papperslosa

⁹⁶ “Right to health care initiative” (www.vardforpapperslosa.se/english.asp) - 35 organisations have signed in since 2008, some of them can be found on www.vardforpapperslosa.se/organisations.asp.

extremely busy, the noise was loud and the assistant was incessantly interrupted, so in the end we had to move upstairs.

While we went through the crowd of people towards the stairs, we got a glimpse of the medication room and the parish hall assembly room. They were both crowded as well. There were people sitting around all tables in the assembly room, drinking coffee or tea. In the entrance, patients, mostly women with children, stood in line for the medication room. The stairs were full of people walking (some running) up and down. Some were standing talking. Personnel were trying to find a place to work or conferring with each other. Eventually we reached the top of the stairs and entered the premises of the first floor. /.../ the hallway was surrounded by smaller rooms, some with doors, and some with glass sliding doors (behind which there were curtains that could be drawn). There were people talking in all available spaces; a dentist, a therapist, a physiotherapist, medical staff and so on, seeing their patients, often together with an interpreter (there are several hundred on the voluntary list) /.../ The assistant told us about the foundation and the clinic, about the commitment of hundreds of volunteers and of the trust they have and enjoy. All kinds of patients come; pre-booked patients, revisits and spontaneous visits. Every single space is used, on all floors. The core of the operation is without doubt the counselling. There is also a hotline available in case of an emergency. /.../ when we left at 2030 hours, there were still many people waiting (Field notes from a visit to a medical clinic for undocumented refugees, May 2012).

As mentioned, critique of the system has been severe from many different parties in Swedish society. The report *Healthcare according to needs and on equal terms - a human right* (SOU 2011:48) proposes that asylum seekers and undocumented persons regardless of age must be offered subsidised healthcare by the county council in the area where they are staying.⁹⁷ Care should be offered to the same extent and under the same conditions as to residents. The report also proposes that asylum seekers and undocumented persons should be offered subsidised complete dental care until they are 19 years old. Dental care should be offered to the same extent and under the same conditions as offered to residents of the same age. In June 2012 the government made a deal with the Green party. From July 1st, 2012, undocumented migrants and refugees in hiding will have the same rights to healthcare as asylum seekers. Individuals under 18 years of age will have complete rights to health and dental care as well as to medication. Adults will receive subsidised healthcare and dental care that cannot be deferred, plus drugs prescribed in connection with this, maternity care and health assessments. The county councils will still have a right to provide care at a higher level.⁹⁸ This is considered a step forward by the organisations.⁹⁹ However, the lobbying for better conditions will most likely continue, seeing that asylum seekers have limited rights to medical treatment and that many undocumented persons suffer from diseases that need treatment.

Early treatment is vital; both when it comes to reducing suffering, reducing costs and reducing the spread of infectious diseases. We are chasing after resistant bacteria, but give treatment to those who need it. Another

⁹⁷ Vård efter behov och på lika villkor - en mänsklig rättighet (SOU 2011:48).

⁹⁸ Betänkande av Utredningen om vård för papperslösa m.fl. (SOU 2011:48).

PM om överenskommelsen om vård, 2012 (www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/19/59/63/b61531f0.pdf)

⁹⁹ www.vardforalla.se

human and social cost is the impact of a sick person on his/her surroundings. They are troubled by seeing a sick person being denied care (Nurse, 2012).

When necessary, hidden refugees and people without documents who are 18 years old should be offered immediate dental care; the patient pays the full cost.

The *Dental Care Act* does not alleviate the patient's liability – but care should come first and payment second, according to the guidelines of the Västra Götaland County Council.¹⁰⁰

Labour market

Sweden has not ratified the ILO and UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990). It is still a crime to work in Sweden without permission. The trade unions LO and TCO require decriminalisation of the undocumented, while increasing the punishment for employers who hire such persons.¹⁰¹ They suggest that employers who exploit undocumented persons and pay unfair wages or no wages at all shall be liable to damages. The European Trade Union Confederation ETUC is committed to the undocumented and believes that they should have the same rights at work as everyone else. The undocumented mostly work in construction, in agriculture and in the cleaning industry (Working Life 2008). In an article in which four undocumented cleaners are interviewed, the Swedish Building Maintenance Workers' Union writes about what they call the non-existent cleaners: They are "invisible" but still clean in public places, public services and schools. They earn less and have the worst working conditions in the cleaning industry. They are exploited by unscrupulous employers (Fastighetsfolket 3/2008). The situation for undocumented workers has also been highlighted in other media, e.g. in an in-depth radio broadcast, *Slaves in the salad factory*, the journalist Randi Mossige-Norheim presents evidence of how highly reputable national companies hire subcontractors who use irregular workers without any rights.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Tandvårdslagen (1985:125)

¹⁰¹ LO is the central organisation for 14 affiliates which organise workers within both the private and the public sectors, together about 1.5 million members. LO is primarily an organisation for co-ordination, research, signing labour market insurance schemes and creating public opinion at central and regional levels.

www.lo.se/home/lo/home.nsf/unidView/943717B4077AAF1AC1256E4B0033629C

TCO (The Swedish Confederation for Professional Employees) comprises 15 affiliated trade unions. The 1.2 million members of these unions are professional and qualified employees who share a major responsibility for important functions in society. Approximately half of the members work in the private sector and half in the public sector. www.tco.se/Templates/Page2____2319.aspx

¹⁰² Slavar i salladsfabriken: www.sverigesradio.se/sida/sok.aspx?q=Konflikt&refereringpageid=83&channel=132 (January 14, 2012)

Trade union centres for the undocumented are open in several places, e.g. in Stockholm and Gothenburg. The centres are collaborations between LO, TCO, other unions and the networks for undocumented.¹⁰³ There are many other networks giving support to the undocumented persons, e.g. *No one is illegal - for a world without borders*.¹⁰⁴

Shahram Khosravi studied “illegal” immigrants and the informal economy in Sweden for three years (2007-2009).¹⁰⁵ He shows that there is a constant exploitation of undocumented persons on the Swedish labour market. Violations of human rights and of the rights of the undocumented as workers are common. Often, they end up in occupations where they do not meet other workers (e.g. cleaning offices at night). They do not learn Swedish, their working experiences are not documented and they will not get any work references. This all means that it is difficult to get access to the formal labour market, even after permission to stay in Sweden is granted. Khosravi also finds that the health condition of undocumented is of concern. Due to lack of medical treatment, illness becomes severe and prolonged.¹⁰⁶

The European Parliament and the Council decided on minimum standards on sanctions against employers who hired undocumented third-country nationals in June 2009.¹⁰⁷ The directive has led to changes in the Swedish legislation, for example that employers who hire undocumented third nationals will have to pay a fee if detected (SOU 2010:63). For the undocumented workers it did not change much; they still have no rights to organise themselves. From NGOs in Gothenburg we hear about ways to get around the rules. This also affects asylum seekers with permission to work. For example, the employer may hire a person for one day a week in a legal manner and will therefore be able to manage any controls from the authorities, while the individual actually works full time or more for the same low wages as before and with no legal rights whatsoever. The undocumented are in an even worse situation as they do not know whether they will have a job from one day to the other, and if they complain they know they will have nothing. At Rosengrenska we are told that most of the undocumented refugees they meet are working as black labour. The lowest wage they

¹⁰³ E.g. www.fcfp.se/

¹⁰⁴ www.ingenillegal.org/no-one-illegal-world-without-borders

¹⁰⁵ The project was part of a European research project “Trafficking for forced labour in industries other than the sex industry across Europe”, University of the West of England.

¹⁰⁶ Also see “*Illegal” traveller* (Khosravi 2010).

¹⁰⁷ Directive 2009/52/EC of the European parliament and of the Council of 18 June 2009 providing for minimum standards on sanctions and measures against employers of illegally staying third-country nationals

have heard of was SEK7.50 an hour. “They are worn out and have occupational injuries. There is seldom any protective equipment for this category” (Nurse, 2012).

Some of the NGOs give free meals once a week and others give food packages. To them it is clear that undocumented refugees at work in Gothenburg are extremely vulnerable, socially and health-wise.

6. Non-Governmental Organisations

NGOs play an important role in the reception/introduction of asylum seekers and refugees, especially those who do not find jobs directly or for other reasons need support. Here, we have collected main experiences from the 14 NGOs that were the most frequently mentioned in our interviews with other actors of the field. There are many more NGOs in Gothenburg. The quotations are chosen from among similar quotes and thus reflect a broader view than merely that of the person speaking.

NGOs do not receive any money for general activities directed to asylum seekers. Funding for this purpose was once available from the SMB, but was frozen when all other activities were stopped. The cutbacks have been noticeable after the Shorter Wait reform: “They have simply been deprived of the right to take courses and other activities.” (NGO, 2012)

Asylum seekers are increasingly looking to the NGOs for support. They lack activities, and although one might say that the waiting time in the first instance is short, “the total waiting time becomes very long when you are on the outside.” (NGO, 2012) Without a social registration number, it is not possible for the asylum seeker to participate in activities commonly offered in Gothenburg. Or, as is commonly described by refugees, “I was not allowed to join the club because I lack the last four digits.” The asylum seekers therefore go to NGOs for language training, social orientation, assistance with documents they do not understand, support getting medical help, food, finding family members, and someone to talk to. The participants in different activities “feel isolated, have poor psychological health, live with stress and are often helpless because of the lack of orientation and no social network.” (NGO, 2012) Although NGOs try to meet these needs, they are critical of the lack of financial support and of the SMB for freezing its own activities.

All NGOs work with small means, yet they often organise some kind of project or other activity for new arrivals. Several feel somewhat perplexed, since the PES and the municipal

social services send people to them, not just to take part in their activities but for apprenticeship and with hopes of future employment. Of course they gain from this as long as such employment is financially supported in one way or another. Still, several of the NGOs feel as if they have taken over responsibilities that should be borne by public administrations.

Most important for newly arrived young people is a stable daily life. This means having a residence permit, permanent habitation, going to school or having a job. This security is not present in the life of many young asylum seekers or new arrivals. "I think that residential segregation is a major problem that affects us all, but children and young people more so. As things are, I think it is unclear who is responsible for the establishment of newly arrived children." (NGO, 2012)

Most NGOs do not distinguish between projects for asylum seekers and new arrivals. They work with open doors and people are only asked to sign up for outings or other activities that need more thorough planning. "People are living with an inner stress. Mixed group means that you have the opportunity to meet people with the same experience as you yourself have - even among those with UT." (NGO, 2012) "The situation of asylum seekers is based on exclusion; this is not necessarily bad, but all need the ability to understand the society they live in." (NGO, 2012)

Lack of knowledge of the Swedish language and society is a big problem, not only for recent arrivals but maybe more so for many who arrived decades ago. There are many so-called cultural clashes and they lead to a situation where asylum seekers and new arrivals feel ashamed. This influences situations like job interviews. It is a restriction of the personality and identity if a person cannot express himself or herself concerning personal merits, preferences, experiences (all of which can be extensive). "Many do not have peace of mind! No self-confidence."

Another important point is cooperation. Several NGOs as well as other actors mention that cooperation between different authorities and organisations must be developed and it must be for real. "Now it is simply on paper. We should not just send people back and forth. People are forced to go to and fro from one end of Gothenburg to the other instead of the officials going to where people are. They must come and watch and create security." (Introduction guide, 2012) And there is another key word: security.

Platform Göteborg is a joint project between a number of NGOs in Gothenburg working with integration and refugee reception. Since 2006, the platform is running various projects that are meant to be complementary to the municipality, the reception centres and SFI schools. The project aims for increased cooperation between organisations in the Platform, as well as with other organisations and actors in society. Participating organisations are: Caritas Angered, the Gothenburg Christian Cooperation (GKS), Individual Relief (IM), YWCA - YMCA of Gothenburg, the Red Cross, Rescue Greater Gothenburg and the Swedish Church.¹⁰⁸

The majority of the asylum seekers are poor. During the first instance a single person receives just over EUR 200/month and during the appeal the sum is around EUR 150/month. “They become very poor and are forced to take illegal jobs. Black jobs are the new modern slavery, people working for 10-30 SEK/hour, never knowing if they have a job the next day.” (NGO, 2012) The awareness of this situation is high among NGOs; it is considered a consequence of the reception system that people with no documents, asylum seekers and even new arrivals have few alternatives. “This is an incomprehensible paradox, given that Sweden needs immigration.” In the case of illegal work, it is not only immigrants, but also native Swedes who fall out of the unemployment insurance scheme, who do not get jobs, lose their compensation and competences. Many of the workers on the black labour market are young men with secondary education and some with academic education. “You do not make use of their experiences!” Obviously, there are thousands of employers who do not have any problem hiring black labour.

Another key phrase is “Invest in the children!” *All* actors of the field say that this is what will pay off for the future. When it comes to working with children, it is necessary to distinguish between working with unaccompanied minors and children with families. When working with the latter group, it is vital to have the consent and trust of the parents/legal guardian if you want achievements. Another common and important reflection in relation to the children is that children have a sense of responsibility for their parents; they interpret, help and even give advice.

Creativity is a key word in all NGO activities. Handicraft for example, seems to be a door opener for many participants, especially the women, who grow in self-esteem and ability to

¹⁰⁸ Gothenburg municipality gives support to NGOs for their integration related work. For a list of beneficiaries 2012, see § 14 B under: www.goteborg.se

further develop their abilities. “You can almost see how their pride grows!” (NGO, 2012) Meeting other people and doing things together are positive aspects of these activities.

Finally, where are the Swedes? This question is one of the most common in all our interviews. “Why do I even have to ask this question? It should not be an issue; sometimes I feel humiliated by all these projects bringing people *together*” (NGO, 2012). Especially the newly arrived adolescents wonder how to make friends with Swedish young people.

Activities offered in Gothenburg by the interviewed NGOs:

Organisation	Target Group/rate	Program - excerpts
Agora + 46 31 712 12 40 agora@raddningsmissionen.se	1/week activities for 20-40 asylum seekers and new arrivals	Open house for women and families, Café and Swedish language training, Activities for young people (16-20), Holiday camp, Counselling
The Arabic Letter Centre + 46 31 46 15 10 arabiska-bc@comhem.se	Every day activities for 60 asylum seekers and new arrivals	Swedish language training Young people: homework, Arabic language training and other activities
Caritas	Five days/ week activities for 100 asylum seekers and new arrivals	Counselling. Courses: Swedish language training, community information. Activities: cooking, dancing, etc.
Educational Centre Iran +46 31 46 26 84 uciran@hotmail.com	4h/week for 6 groups x 12-20 participants	Swedish language training, counselling, meeting point, outings and get-together
Integration Network +46 31 54 58 27 integrationsnatverk@yahoo.se	Five days/ week activities for 19 nationalities. Up to 30 participants in each group.	Courses: Swedish, English, Public Health , Social studies, Computing, Carpet weaving, Artistic painting Handicraft, Cooking, Physical training. Counselling, Activities for all ages, Camps, Cultural events, Interpreting assistance
KFUM/KFUK (YMCA) +46 730 63 27 38 emma@kfumgoteborg.se	1/week activities for 5-20 asylum seekers and new arrivals	Different activities with young people – to get to know Gothenburg
Kurdish Women For Integration +46 762 71 76 47 mizgin1963@hotmail.com	3/ week. Participation for members	Painting, equality and integration, environment, computing, cooking, folklore, Kurdish history, Home visits, counselling and legal advice
IM +46 701 42 45 90 goteborg@biv.nu	Weekly activities Move it and Bring are for new arrivals. Visits to detention centres for asylum seekers 2 h x 3 times/month, and Homework help is for both target groups in three libraries 1.5 h x 3 times/month.	<i>Children in waiting/Children in Start</i> (Limited period): Children/young people 7-20 years old meet others in the same situation. Interpreters present. Voluntary activities with parents and siblings when groups 7-11 years old meet. <i>Move it</i> : External activities for newly arrived young people, mainly secondary school age. <i>Bring</i> (also YWCA/YMCA, the Red Cross and Save the Children): Volunteers visit secondary high school for newly arrived young people. Both children and adults meet with volunteers to study Swedish, English and Mathematics Volunteers visit the detention centre to talk and have a coffee together + activities for children
continued on next page		

cont. NGO activities offered in Gothenburg		
Organisation	Target Group/rate	Program - excerpts
Red Cross Gothenburg +46 31 24 11 80 goteborg@redcross.se	All activities for both asylum seekers and new arrivals	Refugee guide. Counselling to asylum seekers. Practice Swedish. Research for relatives and reunion of families. Homework: 5h/week open activity at five libraries, open activities for all ages. Cosmos Pal: 2-4 times/month separated children, mainly 16-17 years old, meet Swedish friends (must be 18)
Rosengrenska Stiftelsen Health centre for refugees without legal documents	For asylum seekers. Weekly for 70-80 patients.	Health counselling to asylum seekers and to refugees and others without legal documents, lobbying. More than 200 volunteers; doctors, nurses, dentists, physiotherapists, counsellors, interpreters...
Save the Children (RB) +46 86 989 188 joana.ivarsson.vitorio@rb.se massi.rahim@rb.se	Weekly activities for asylum seekers and new arrivals	Work group for unaccompanied minors. Lobbying, a trustee network. Visits to the detention centre. Adults meet to discuss the status of the children in Hjällbo. Help with school homework. F.O.S. Freedom of Speech: Run by young members of RB in Hjällbo, to improve young peoples' knowledge about how the society works
Support Network +46 31 331 21 79 stodnatet_tahira@yahoo.se	Activities for asylum seekers and new arrivals. 5 days/week	Volunteers participate in all activities Café and counselling – women, men separated Legal assistance, crisis support, conflict handling, information meetings. Courses: Swedish, Social orientation, Democracy, Public Health, Computing. Other activities are: - Towards work - Cooking and baking - “Textiles corner” - Mother/child - Driving lessons - women. Activities for all ages. Excursions etc.
Swedish Church – New in Sweden +46 31 731 82 12 may.musa@svenkskayrkan.se <i>New in Sweden</i>	Activities for asylum seekers and new arrivals.	Participation in reference groups, lobbying, lectures, workshops. Joint integration work in four parishes. Complement to municipality integration work, based on identified needs. Economic, legal counselling Household economy and social orientation Young refugees/asylum seekers meet to talk
Women's Centre in Bergsjön	3/week for members Weekly for members	Swedish language training, English language training, sewing and cooking

7. Five refugees tell their stories

Three former participants in Equal

Maysa

Maysa's father was killed in the war in Iraq. Her older sister disappeared, probably kidnapped. Her mother wanted to save her, so she was sent to Sweden with the help of a smuggler. She arrived in 2002 together with one brother. At the airport the smuggler told them he was going to buy food and left them. After several days a guard took notice of them. They were accommodated in a private foster home.

Maysa's mother is still alive, but she does not know what happened to her only sister. She has three married brothers with refugee status in Sweden. Today, Maysa has no contact with her family. Her brothers and her foster mother tried to force her to marry and she refused. Around the same time she met a Swedish man, much her senior. She became pregnant and the man left her. She ran away from the foster home to a shelter where she stayed for many months. She now lives as a single mother and with protected identity.

Educational and employment biography

Maysa was 14 years old on her arrival. She had been to school in Iraq but when she arrived in Sweden the foster mother, also from Iraq, did not allow her to go to school. After a few years she met a girl, also originating from Iraq, on the bus. This girl told her about the Equal project "Arrival Gothenburg" and Maysa managed to join the project. There, she learned more Swedish and, thanks to the extensive civic information she began to understand her rights. Once she had started her new life with a new identity she enrolled in adult education at KomVux. For three years she studied at double speed and managed to finish six years of missed schooling. Maysa is now in her last year at Gothenburg University.

Wishes related to VET and employment

Maysa would like to work within the area of social work, especially with women. One of her dreams is to write a book about her experiences as an ill-treated child and a young woman who has gone through many hardships to create an independent life in Sweden. She is verbal and speaks Swedish with no other accent than that of Gothenburg. For the foreseeable future she wishes to manage her studies, manage economically and take care of her child. She loves Gothenburg and wishes to work there in the future.

Amira

Amira is a woman in her mid-fifties. She works as an assistant nurse in a home for disabled people. She came to Sweden together with her eight-year-old son and applied for asylum in 2002. She participated in the Equal project "Arrival Gothenburg" until she was granted asylum in 2006.

Amira's father died young and her mother looked after five daughters and one son. There were no financial problems, the family was well situated. She studied at a university in

Teheran, but after her marriage she did not work because her husband was against it. They wanted children but she did not conceive and she almost gave up hope. Amira's mother and sister had to leave Iran because of their Christian faith. One night she dreamed that in order to be able to conceive, she had to go to a Christian church and burn two candles, which she did; subsequently, she gave birth to a son. She started to study Christendom and soon converted. Her husband did not know at the time.

Her mother and sister were granted permission to stay in Sweden and Amira visited them a couple of times. In 2002 her situation in Iran was difficult and she decided to apply for asylum. Her application was refused in the first instance and also when she appealed, but in 2006 she was allowed to stay. Today, in 2012, the family is spread over several countries. One sister lives in Gothenburg, another sister and brother live in London and two sisters in the US. Her mother stays with them all in turns. Her son is in his second year at high school and is doing well there. Her husband wants to join the family, but he is still a Muslim and she feels that too much time has passed.

Educational and employment biography

Amira studied at a university in Teheran and at the end of the 1970s she took a degree in Sociology, Business Administration and Psychology. When she was permitted to stay in Sweden she wanted to become a deacon but, unfortunately, she was too old for the seminary. This is a very big disappointment in her life, she wants to serve God. Then, she realised that there are other ways to serve and studied to become an assistant nurse. She qualified in March 2012.

Wishes related to VET and employment

Amira is a religious woman, active both in the Swedish Lutheran Church and in the Iranian congregation in Gothenburg, with 20,000 Iranians. Perhaps 1,000 of these are Christians. She explains that it is very difficult to convert. Everyone has a lot of "luggage" to deal with. The price is very high in relation to family, friends and longing for what once was; a deacon is much needed. She likes her job at a home for disabled persons. She feels that she is doing well and that she has much to give. She knows what it feels like to be an outsider and she knows how important it is to give care and warmth.

When she was unemployed she went to an activity centre offering support to people without documents. She talked to people and tried to support them. Many of the people who came there were hungry and needed clothes, and many worked on the black market and under bad conditions. Now that she works, she has no time to go there but will continue to do voluntary church work.

Zahra

Zahra's parents and five of her sisters and brothers left Iran ten years before she did. She married and had a daughter. The husband is an alcoholic and was violent towards her. She divorced him and then she got into trouble because her father was a political refugee in Sweden. She left for Teheran, where a remaining sister helped her to hide. She had to leave the daughter behind, which was truly difficult for her. She contacted a smuggler. Eventually, she arrived in Sweden where she applied for asylum. Her daughter was living with her former husband, who had remarried.

Zahra's parents live not far from her, but they do not have much contact. The relationship with her sisters and brother is not warm. Her daughter arrived in Sweden in May 2012 after ten years of separation. She is 15, but looks younger. She acts as if she has been beaten and ill-fed.

Educational and employment biography

Zahra is a hair dresser by profession. She used to work in Iran. As an asylum seeker in Sweden she could not work and she very quickly got into trouble. She met a man she used to know before she was married. She moved in with him only to find that he is a drug addict and violent. Eventually, she reported him and he was sentenced to three years in prison. During this period Zahra was referred to the Equal project "Arrival Gothenburg" by the SMB. Due to her personal problems she did not benefit much from the programme and although she got help from one staff member, who knew what it is to be at war and to be an asylum seeker, she feels that she was let down. Although she came to the project beaten blue all over, nobody wanted to witness on her behalf, except for the one person mentioned above. She had nowhere to sleep, so she slept in a friend's car, and she went out after dark to collect cigarette butts.

Once Zahra had started her new life in Sweden, she used the compensation money the court had awarded to buy a shop. She worked long hours, and after a couple of years she sold the shop and started to work as a care assistant.

Wishes related to VET and employment

Zahra would like to study, but the beating that she was subject to has caused severe neck problems, problems concentrating as well as headache and memory loss. She was so tired when she was granted leave to remain that she could not be happy and she says that she is still tired. She would like to talk to someone but she does not know to whom. She tried the Swedish church “I spilled my guts, and the woman lit a candle and prayed, nothing more and no other response.” She thinks her job is fine, but she would much prefer to study and improve herself, which would require support. She would also like a diagnosis regarding the pain in her neck.

Two more**Fuad**

Fuad, who is a Christian, was born in Bagdad, Iraq, in 1982. He left Iraq in 2007. Up until then he had been working for a Canadian company (Waterloo University, UN Environmental programme) in the south of Iraq. Corruption was very common. Due to his refusal to participate in cheating the company, he was threatened and, eventually, his family begged him to leave Iraq before he was killed. He came directly from Bagdad to Gothenburg and applied for asylum. It was not possible for him to use his own passport leaving Iraq. In 2008 he was granted indefinite leave to remain in Sweden.

When he left Iraq, Fuad thought that it would be for a short time. He realises now that it will be many years before he can return, even to visit. His parents are retired university professors. His father was an engineer and his mother was a biochemist. He has one married brother in the Netherlands and two sisters (twins, both dentists living in Bagdad). One is married and has a son. Fuad is in contact with his family, mostly through Skype. He has not seen them for three and a half years and he is planning to try to meet them in Syria. He feels that a long time has passed and that he really needs to see them.

Educational and employment biography

Fuad started to learn Swedish as soon as he arrived in the country and once he got the permission to stay, he very quickly passed the different tests. He felt, however, that it is difficult to learn to communicate in Swedish only through school. During his free time he only met other Arabic speakers. He looked for opportunities on Google and found GöteborgsInitiativet, contacted them and was accepted as a trainee. He stayed for one year and, there, he really learned to speak Swedish properly. Fuad worked hard to find a position as a microbiologist. He was in contact with the Swedish PES, where he had been assigned a coach. He asked (begged) for any apprentice position just to be able to prove his skills/ability. However, he did not have any response to any of this. His BA from Iraq was validated and judged equivalent to a Swedish university degree in microbiology. But this did not seem to help either; therefore, Fuad decided to study for a Master's degree in microbiology at Gothenburg University. He was accepted and started in the autumn of 2011. He learned English, which is necessary for the Master's programme. He believes that a Swedish degree will help him getting a job.

Wishes related to VET and employment

Fuad would like to work as a microbiologist, preferably with water and water treatment. He would like, someday, to go back to Iraq and help rebuild the country. He fears that it will be a long time before he can return safely and that when he does return, he will once again have to go through the ordeals he endured when starting all over in Sweden. For the foreseeable future Fuad wishes to manage his studies. He comes back to the fact that he already has a degree, validated in Sweden, and also work experience with a Canadian company but that none of this seems to be of any value in Sweden. Evidently, he wishes to be recognized and able to work and be part of society. He feels at home in Sweden.

Simon

Simon is a stateless Kurd, born in Syria in 1981. He left Syria in 1994 to go to Russia where he studied to become a chemist. He finished his studies and started to work. But in 2003 he was expelled from Russia and went to Sweden to seek asylum. He could not go back to Syria as a stateless person, especially since he had been politically active against the regime during his exile. His asylum application was rejected, as was his appeal, but he was stateless and

therefore could not be expelled from Sweden. After a few years he applied for asylum again. In 2009 he was granted leave to remain in Sweden. During this time he was depressed for long periods of time. “It was an extremely difficult situation, to stay at home with nothing to do but to think all day long. What is going to happen to me? What am I to do? Everything around me was darkness. I had lost all hope and I was contemplating suicide.” A friend told him about Caritas in Gothenburg. There he got all the support he needed. “They were the first people in Sweden who believed in me. This was what I had been missing.”

“Caritas gives counselling, information about laws, finds ways to deal with your health problems, and finds lawyers. It is extremely important for the individual to feel that someone cares and gives support. If a Swedish person believes in you it makes a huge difference; most refugees feel that a rejection is the same as not being believed. It makes a big difference when you are allowed to tell your story.”

Simon is not sure that he would have survived without Caritas. He says that “Every day tens of ‘hopeless’ people go there. They can talk to someone, participate in Swedish classes or other activities and they start to think about the future /.../ I felt new hope, like a man in the middle of the ocean would feel if someone suddenly came to the rescue.”

Simon has no family, except for a brother who lives in Syria under severe pressure.

Educational and employment biography

Simon started to learn Swedish early but as an asylum seeker it was not possible for him to gain enough language training to pursue academic studies. As soon as he was granted leave to remain, he dived into language studies and managed to do all tests within a year. He then went through the necessary studies to qualify as a chemist in Sweden. “In six years you forget much and, anyhow, all countries have different rules. When I read the books I recognise and remember. Apart from new developments within the field, the differences lie with the pedagogical aspects.”

Wishes related to VET and employment

Simon is not a happy man although his studies have been successful. First of all, he is extremely worried about his brother. And he is tired. He says that he waited for so long and was so worn out when he got permission to stay. Then, he had to attend many meetings, make

decisions about a whole range of things and start studying, and he never really relaxed or had time to be happy about the fact that he was granted permission to stay. He talks warmly about Caritas, where he continues to find support and encouragement.

Simon plans to get a job in Gothenburg, but is no stranger to moving, if necessary, in order to find work.

Observations

Maysa talks about the need to really see and listen to asylum-seeking children. She was appointed a legal guardian who never contacted her but turned up at all meetings with the SMB, pretending to be there for her. Nobody noticed that she did not attend school. She did not know her rights and felt totally abandoned. She tried several times to commit suicide and it was not until she became a participant of the Equal project *Arrival Gothenburg* that she felt recognised and listened to; “they always made time to hear us out.” She says that “without that project I would not be alive today /.../ I looked forward to every day, there were staff to talk to and other people with the same problems as I had. I walked into Sweden through the back door.”

A significant moment was when, through Equal, Maysa was invited to sit in a panel at a conference in Stockholm (2004). She realised that she could make something out of her life and that she had value as the person she is. “While waiting for asylum I always cried. When I was granted leave to remain, my journey began”.

When Amira waited for a decision on her application for asylum she was participating in Swedish courses. One day her case handler told her to join “Arrival Gothenburg”. She says it was a thousand times better than the Swedish lessons she was attending: “it was the best thing that could have happened to me. I was lucky and it was a good period of my life.” In this Equal project she had not only lessons in Swedish but was also given very good information about Swedish society and culture. There were many experts from various fields of society, public authorities, companies and organisations. These experts came to the project and there were many good discussions, which made it possible to reflect and understand. They also made many interesting study visits.

What was most important, however, was that the personnel very consciously built trust; they created a feeling of security and hope. She points out that most refugees have lost trust and

that it is essential to regain trust in others in order to be able to move on. There was always time for the participants and no questions were considered unimportant. One employee was especially supportive when Amira wanted to study to become a deacon. She had not worked since completing her studies in her country of origin and her self-confidence was low. Getting the support she needed helped her to handle the disappointment of not being able to fulfil this dream because of age. She kept her spirit and she made another choice.

Zahra was accommodated as EBO and was quite on her own with a man who beat her. She went through a court trial and was compensated, but there was no long-term medical examination of her injuries and no adequate counselling. The SMB responsibility ended when she was given leave to remain. She says that the municipal officer, then in charge of introduction activities, did not know enough about her. It was difficult for her to talk about what she had been through and her reflection is that it is important to bridge the gaps that might occur when the responsibility of one authority ends and another begins. Cooperation between different authorities makes it easier for the new arrival.

The Equal project was not designed for her kind of problem. She got support from individual employees, but she did not feel support within the frame of the project. Her opinion is that projects must be ready to give support when dealing with vulnerable people, even if the occurring problem is not within the direct mandate of the project.

Fuad talks about friends of his who also have academic qualification, from Iraq but who have submitted to the notion that they will never be accepted, and that it is fruitless to even try. He has consciously chosen not to buy a parabolic antenna but watch Swedish TV and not to visit the café too often. Fuad does what he can to become part of society. This decision comes with a price: “Many hate you, but a few good friends are enough.” As for working in the informal economy, he says that it is a trap. “You only meet with fellow countrymen and you work long hours for very low wages with little security”. Then he goes on to say that people need to work and need to feel accepted. The low wage is compensated by the fact that those who are working in the informal economy also receive social security assistance. “But most people would prefer a regular job.”

Fuad thinks that integration is a two-way process – you have to work hard, learn and try, and at the same time you have to be accepted and given chances. His first contact person, responsible for the introduction plan, still contacts him after more than 5 years if she sees a

job advertisement or something else that he might benefit from. This interest for his wellbeing has helped him to cope with adversities.

Simon did not participate in the Equal programme, but what he says about how he was met at Caritas goes well in hand with the philosophy of Equal. To see the individual, to create trust, to give time, to listen, to support on an individual basis, to support the development of hope and to empower the individual in order to create a situation where it is possible to take charge of his/her own life. He is a well-educated man who had lost hope, and what made hope return was the human aspect together with concrete actions he met at Caritas. Without that support he is not certain that he would have had the strength to benefit from the integration programmes offered to him.

8. To see the other – a road to social participation

Once, many years ago at an introduction meeting for asylum seekers, an overhead was shown with the following text: “In Sweden, work is the foundation”. This is true enough just about everywhere. Access to the labour market is another matter. Understandings of what it means to have a job and how responsibilities within a family concerning earnings differ. Understandings of why work is important from a solidarity point of view also differ.

The Act on Establishment Activities for Certain New Arrivals is meant to deal with such things. SFI offers support in learning Swedish; SO offers orientation about the social system, rights and obligations in Sweden; the PES offers activities supporting access to the labour market. For many new arrivals the system proposes real opportunities to establish oneself as an equal member of society and there are many who take advantage of these possibilities. Several interviewees testify that it is amazing to see for example a young woman who has previously been deprived of schooling, grabbing every opportunity to learn, and learn quickly. Yet, as the reports from the PES to the government (June 2012) and the *Swedish Agency for Public Management* (2012:22) shows, the result of the establishment reform after almost one and a half years is that only just above four per cent of the new arrivals entering the introduction activities have been employed. Why is that so?

In this article we have described and analysed the reception and introduction of asylum seekers and new arrivals in Gothenburg, the second-largest city in Sweden. In this final part we discuss some of the findings in relation to the three overall questions: Under what circumstances can the vocational preparation and integration of asylum seekers and refugees

be successful? What role can be ascribed to their biographies? How can quality be assured in the vocational education?

Under what circumstances can the vocational preparation and integration of asylum seekers and refugees be successful?

As previously mentioned, measures to facilitate integration into the Swedish society have been criticised over the years. The Report (2007) from the SIB passed judgement on the work of the authorities, but there has been much more radical criticism asserting that the failure of the integration policy depended on distinctions made between Swedes and immigrants, cementing the perceptions of diversity (cf. Kamali, 1997, 2002, 2008). In *The (in)visible boundaries of labour* (SOU 2006:59) eleven researchers and one expert analyse various barriers to enter the labour market. They find that discrimination is never isolated from other power relations or from constructions of “the other”. This was briefly discussed in the section about validation in chapter 4, but is obviously a matter of concern throughout the whole introduction system. All structures favour some and disadvantage others. It should not be a task for the future to prove this self-evident aspect once again, but to continuously evaluate the chosen system and to develop models and methods that minimise the effects of downsides. The norm for effectiveness and ethical attitudes must be included conceptually as well as operationally within both the legal system and within all agencies, whether governmental or non-governmental. It is the task of parliament and the government to ensure equal rights through a legal system in which justice is assured. It is for the agencies to apply logos with impeccable practical skills, and with a realisation that it is the decision maker who apply the meat and blood to the desiccated skeleton which comprises the legal infrastructure, thereby giving it meaning and social relevance (Justice P.N. Bhagwati 1995:6). The process of realising rights is contained in the context demanding discourses of self-comprehension (Habermas (1999:118). Self-reflection (organisational, structural and individual) would therefore, be an important tool for making the new arrival the true point of departure, cooperating over organisational borders, and searching for the mechanisms of obstruction.¹⁰⁹

One way to start is to look at the recommendations of previous reports and investigations in order to see what would also benefit the current programmes of reception and introduction. In 2007 NTG Asylum & Integration published a paper with National policy proposals for the

¹⁰⁹ There are many studies made about this and much literature to be inspired from, e.g. Gibney (2004), Habermas (1999), Hertzfeld (1993), Moxnes (1987), Norström (2004), Persson (2012), Povrzanovic (2001), Seukwa (2007), Söndergaard (1991).

future.¹¹⁰ These following proposals were based on conclusions drawn from the Development Partnerships, mainly the Equal Initiative, and they are set in NTG Asylum's reference group and steering committee:

- Organisational separation between asylum application testing and asylum reception
- Socio-economic cost benefit analyses of reception and introduction policies and measures
- Quality control and external supervision of asylum reception, development of procurement capacity and target group involvement
- Labour market placement support for asylum seekers
- Offering asylum seekers vocational skills auditing, validation and complementary training and education
- Healthcare for asylum seekers
- Civic education
- Gender perspective/equality
- Repatriation/return, dual perspective and foreign aid
- The future role for the NTG Asylum & Integration thematic group

As we see, these proposals deal with the reception of asylum seekers. As so many have pointed out, there is however a clear relation between the reception of asylum seekers and the introduction and integration of new arrivals. Currently, there is not much offered to asylum seekers, which in reality means moving problems from one period of the life of the individual to another period. As introduction activities are not offered until a person becomes a new arrival, we will continue the discussion from that point.

The PES, with overall responsibility for coordinating the introduction activities, is almost compartmentalised. Each local office is an entity of its own. Each unit and each officer is specialised. Calling to ask about validation, for example, meant talking to one officer for each sector. None of these officers can answer overall questions or questions about new arrivals, as they “belong” to the Establishment Unit. Criticism about making refugees a category of “others” should be taken seriously. Why should an electrician who happens to be a refugee not be part of the common validation programme for all unemployed electricians? Separating new arrivals from others looking for jobs becomes a paradox in relation to the aims of integration. It is true that many new arrivals need time and social support, but that is also true for many other job seekers and is not reason enough to create parallel structures. The new

¹¹⁰ www.temaasyl.se/Templates/Page.aspx?id=63 (right hand column, word document).

arrivals would benefit from coordination and use of the wider range of existing professional and economical resources within the PES.

The asylum seeker becomes a “new arrival” if granted leave to remain. This term is deceiving; for the simple reason that a new arrival is not new in Sweden. He or she has been through the whole process of waiting and most likely formed opinions of Sweden and Swedish society. In order to meet him/her as an individual it is thus important to be clear over what this means when it comes to making use of their former experience and education. “The period of waiting for permission to stay, sometimes for many years, could very well have been filled with informal work and non-formal VET. Then, once you are a *new arrival*, it is as if you were without experience and knowledge” (NGO, 2012).

The official goals of equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities regardless of ethnic or cultural background have to be understood from the individual point of view. People integrate into the surroundings where they spend their time and where they make friends. For most new arrivals this means the multicultural immigrant-dominated neighbourhoods, sometimes very far from the Sweden that is outlined in official documents. The cultural understandings developed there could be better reflected in the official understandings of a pluralistic Sweden. It may be hard to be loyal to “the abstract Swede”, abstract people and an abstract society that is not perceived as loyal to you. And yet this dual loyalty is what is needed for the contraction of welfare.

Another basis for success is to look for competences rather than deficits. When looking for competences it is constructive to use the lifelong learning and life-wide learning concepts as well as the formal, non-formal and informal learning/training. In a project in Huddinge, south of Stockholm, named Mira, a useful three-step model was developed.¹¹¹ The first step is working with the question: Where do I come from? Here, the full range of life experiences from the country of origin, the transit to Sweden (sometimes several years long) and the waiting period may be mapped. The second question is: Where am I? - talking about now, understanding the situation and its options. The third question is: Where am I going? The latter involves formulating wishes for the future and planning the steps necessary to take.

Early integration, as suggested in the EU Council Directive 2003/9/EC, would eliminate many problems later on. Although some asylum seekers have the opportunity to work while waiting

¹¹¹ www.mynewsdesk.com/se/pressroom/huddinge/pressrelease/view/mira-skapar-dialog-mellan-unga-flyktingar-och-samhaellet-361879

for asylum, too many are in fact unoccupied; living in cramped conditions, poor, worrying about the outcome of the application, often with deteriorating health and suffering from experiences prior to arriving in Sweden. Such trauma may be related to experiences of war, persecution, many years in limbo, sexual or other forms of abuse, loss of family, friends, home, dignity, skills and status. Certainly not all new arrivals are in a bad condition after the waiting period, but it is important that the PES introduction officer and the introduction guide are able to see the wide diversity among the new arrivals and to realise what it means to be a refugee, what the waiting period may represent, and that they are prepared to meet each individual exactly where he/she stands and not typecast as a “new arrival”. Each individual has a personal history and personal prerequisites for dealing with the demands of the future.

A road to broader understanding of the society may be the methods used in the SO programme in Gothenburg. These methods build on a pedagogy that has a starting point in the factual experiences of the participants. The understanding reached through SO may well function in two ways - to learn from the new arrivals and to serve as a door opener for them. For lasting effects, however, it has to lead further in practice, e.g. to work, housing, education and participation. A reoccurring issue in our interviews is why asylum seekers and new arrivals are not naturally integrated and recognised. “They (immigrants) are everywhere and yet nowhere!” (NGO, 2012) NGOs and others also refer to a regular question from asylum seekers and new arrivals, namely “where are the Swedes?” The work of Gothenburg municipality refugee guides is one tool to introduce new arrivals into wider spheres of society and to make meetings with private native Swedes possible. A paramount part of true integration is making friends and building social relations; new arrivals may very well have friends and family where they live. The dilemma is not that most new arrivals are isolated, as often believed, but that the full range of options for reaching ones full potential is not available without wider social contacts than family and friends, knowledge about the systems available and being addressed in a manner free of bias.¹¹²

A precondition for success on the labour market is health. The restrictions concerning healthcare are criticised by medical staff in many parts of Sweden. According to healthcare organisations, Sweden is one of the weakest countries in Europe when it comes to medical healthcare for asylum seekers. Early treatment is vital for reducing both suffering and cost, as well as the spreading of infectious diseases. Health problems manifest themselves as sleep deficiencies, inability to concentrate, and as lethargy, depression, and physical ailments of all

¹¹² Cf. Arbetslivets (o)synliga murar (SOU 2006:59).

kinds. Brekke (2004) examined pending asylum and showed that asylum seekers have difficulty coping with their situation because of the uncertainty that comes with the asylum procedure. When the future is uncertain, it becomes difficult to manage both the present and the past. Among other things, it becomes impossible to plan for both an acceptance and a rejection of the asylum application. Another effect on the health of asylum seekers is the uncertainty of how long the pending will be.

It is also valuable to have knowledge about post-traumatic stress disorder, PTSD, which can influence the way people act, e.g. in an interview situation (Firnhaber, 2000:49). The PES introduction officer and the introduction guide have a duty to understand that people with traumatic experiences might dole out what they relate in order to guard against a re-experiencing of the trauma in question. In cases where the interviewees protect themselves, it may seem as if the person has no feelings at all. In addition, people who are beaten with blows to the head can suffer from lack of concentration and poor memory. Neither doling out information nor putting up a shield indicates lack of credibility. It is not until the person has processed the trauma that it is possible to describe the experience with words, instead of reliving the trauma or putting up a shield.

Regarding health it is important to take into account the human and social cost of a sick person on his/her environment. In an EBO home both the host family and the family of the asylum seeker are affected when one person is ill. Children are most certainly affected, which is confirmed by both teachers and NGOs.

Moreover, health is a matter of staff welfare. In order to really see the other and to be able to maintain a holistic way to work, including not rejecting or diminishing traumatising experiences, officers and introduction guides need to know themselves and to handle their own bias. This implies a responsibility for their managers to give support and provide methods for handling reactions and feelings (cf. Hawkins & Shoheit, 1989; Ayalon, 1999; Norström, 2004).

Meeting each individual on a personal level is part of the duty of the PES introduction officer and the introduction guide. This, however, involves some natural difficulties. Bureaucracies are formed to handle large case loads. The sociologist Roine Johansson studied local PES offices and Social Insurance Agencies already in 1992 and found that although the ideology is to work with the individual as a whole, the complete person is reduced to "a case" (Johansson,

1992). In order to actually “see the other” the introduction officer somehow has to go against the core of bureaucracy. To enable this, the officer has to be allowed a certain space and flexibility as well as support from superiors. PES staff does not find that such support is given in a satisfactory way (Statskontoret, 2012).

An important point in the EU Directive 2003/9/EC is actually the necessity to develop training programmes for staff (Article 24). Tools to be included in such training are methods for self-reflection and handling feelings and reactions in order to stay vital and professional. These areas are mostly neglected in training, although essential for ethical reasons and for being able to fully meet the other, whatever that entails. This is in turn a prerequisite for success (the 4 per cent that so far found work within the introduction system would probably have found work anyway). It is important not to forget the introduction guides and SFI teachers in such training. They are the professional individuals in everyday contact with new arrivals and apart from being invited to training they have much specific knowledge to share.

What role can be ascribed to biographies?

From the definition of validation we know that the merit portfolio should include all formal, non-formal and informal knowledge and experience from the country of origin and the transnational period, as well as from the waiting period in Sweden. According to the evaluation of the VINN project, this is difficult (Diedrich 2011). To fulfil this aim, the PES introduction officer and the introduction guide need to go outside predominant cultural preconceptions of what knowledge and experience relevant for the labour market is, as well as of how this should be achieved. Attention must be paid to the solid experience of the informal labour market that many new arrivals may have. There are many employers offering informal work for very low pay and, according to NGOs, several thousand asylum seekers and people with no documents work under inadequate and even dangerous conditions. These experiences are not really recognised in the official system, but they constitute experience of working life in Sweden and ought to be a self-evident part of the merit portfolio within the introduction plan. In the same way, the experiences from the transnational period between leaving the country of origin and arriving in Sweden need to be recognised. This period is sometimes several years long. Many have worked in several countries, and many have been subject to slavery and trafficking. These experiences are most relevant in the planning for the future, although it takes competent staff to give support in such cases. One example is the 15 year old boy who came to Sweden after a four-year-long transnational journey. He was caught at the

age of nine and kept like a slave, working for a blacksmith in Turkey. At the age of 14, he managed to escape (NGO, 2012). How do you deal with this young man? It is not only a challenge because of the difficulties associated with continuing to work as a blacksmith in Sweden, but also because it might be difficult to see beyond the slavery and trafficking experience with relevant professionalism.¹¹³ Another Example: “People say that the Somali women do not know anything, but they certainly know how to survive – and to cook and to raise children!” (PES officer, 2012)

Developing the methods for taking stock of the total competence of a new arrival will have many positive effects. First of all, it means recognising the individual as a whole person and opening the wide range of possibilities actually at hand for him/her. For the Swedish society it opens possibilities such as development of methods for the merit portfolio, validation and training of staff, etc. It is part of widening of the common understanding of competence and skill, e.g. taking advantage of experiences of new arrivals in developments within various trades.

How can quality be assured in the vocational education?

Quality is not just a matter of the system functioning at a grassroots level. It is also about political will to listen to those with daily experience of how the system works, to learn, to put party politics aside and to allocate enough recourse for the demands to be fulfilled.

The daily activities for the new arrival are subcontracted. With the strong sectioning within the PES, it is difficult to follow up all the different services that are procured from external providers. Each officer has to monitor not only the process of the individual but also how the external provider carries out its services. There is little time for individual monitoring. Monitoring the providers’ services is almost impossible, for two reasons: the first is lack of time and the other is that the local officer seldom knows the content of the many contracts signed at the PES head office. Monitoring of external contractors is defined as a strong need in several of the interviews. Close monitoring would reveal aspects of the service provision that could be improved and it would aid refinement of the quality requirements in coming procurements.

The idea to introduce Pilot Companies falls into a situation where private operators have been given increasingly larger space in the production of welfare services in Sweden in areas such

¹¹³ Cf. Tornborg (1984)

as schools, healthcare, pharmacy, and interpreter services. From the beginning it was mainly in a context where the public purchaser wrote a contract with the commercial services to perform certain services. A gradual shift has occurred towards the model with Pilot Companies, i.e. the consumer is free to choose between approved Companies. In a research anthology published by the *Centre for Business and Policy Studies*, SNS, the researchers (Hartman and others 2011) draw the conclusion that there is a remarkable lack of knowledge about the effects of the privatisation of the Swedish welfare sector. Based on existing research, it is not possible to find evidence that the reform of the public sector led to greater quality and efficiencies. The privatisations of the public welfare sector have not been evaluated in a comprehensive and systematic manner although it is known that there are severe problems that must be addressed.¹¹⁴ Experience shows that there is a need for a regulatory framework that ensures that an equivalent quality can be maintained.¹¹⁵

“The introduction guide should have the skills to quickly assess...” (Prop. 2009/10:60). This concept of ‘quickly’ is not discussed and the time allocated for an introduction plan is maximised to 24 months. What quickly means has to be related to the individual. What is the educational background? What is the wish of the individual and what are the possibilities? The new arrival might be young or old, educated or not, have a profession or not, be ready to study or not. What is quick for one person might be extremely long for another. 24 months might be plenty of time or far too short a time. Analysing the concept of quickly together with PES introduction officers and introduction guides would probably be valuable in making the system more flexible. Flexibility would also help to avoid situations where “academics are forced into competing with unskilled job applicants for the scarce opportunities available for them” (Municipal officer, 2012).

Understanding the life situation of a refugee is a strong tool. Part of that tool is recognising the importance of building trust. Trust is one of the most frequent topics in our interviews. Building trust between individuals is essential as a method of widening perspectives, building new loyalties and self-esteem, and daring to leave the smaller “safe” situation of the close neighbourhood. Those who have been through war, persecution, slavery, trafficking, waiting in camps etc., have most probably developed mistrust to any system, however benevolent (cf.

¹¹⁴ Results from the earlier mentioned research project *Behind closed doors* support these findings. There is a clear parallel to the situation on the interpreter market.

¹¹⁵ See article by former undersecretary of state Sören Häggroth (11 March, 2012) at www.framtidensvalfard.wordpress.com/2012/03/11/vinstyftande-aktorer-inom-var-d-skola-och-omsorg/

Daniel & Knudsen, 1995). Waiting for a long time with inactivity and anxiety does not help. In the Equal project “Arrival Gothenburg” a method of creating trust was developed, called 5T¹¹⁶. It consisted of five points for building trust, hope and self-esteem all of which was mentioned as key factors by the interviewed refugees:

- *Trust* is created between persons. This is particularly important because it is precisely the ability to build trust that is seriously impaired by persecution, war, life in camps, etc. Listening to and confirming a person normally helps to *rebuild* his/her trust.
- *Time* is essential; time to listen until he/she is ready, the time he/she needs to learn and to have the strength to think about the future, time to get a letter from the lawyer explained, or to talk about personal problems.
- *Clarity* is vital when working with traumatised people. Language difficulties, concentration problems, anxiety, fatigue and many other things are in the way. It can be difficult to absorb information and to keep agreements. Lack of interpreters is a weakness in more serious situations.
- *Accessibility* is another necessity. For those asylum seekers who have problems with time perception and emotions such as anxiety and fear it is of crucial value if he/she has someone to talk to as soon as possible when problems arise.
- *Faith in the future* is perhaps the most difficult aspect of 5T. Faith and trust go hand in hand.

Coordination is a key word. Coordination internally within the PES and with all other actors is of importance, not forgetting the NGOs who carry much responsibility for the welfare of asylum seekers and new arrivals, counselling, offering language training and social orientation, activities for children and elderly, etc., thus supporting people socially, health-wise as well as preparing for work. NGOs also provide support for the many refugees who have lived in Sweden for years, maybe working or without knowing how to find their way to learning the language. Also, if you have waited for years for a decision and have attended these classes, you are already prepared when finally admitted to the “official” SFI and SO.

¹¹⁶ Tillit, Tid, Tydlighet, Tillgänglighet och Tro på framtiden

Asylum seekers bring with them a wide range of skills and experiences from their countries of origin and from their transnational movements; an enormous gift of knowledge flows into the country every day. To take full advantage of this at an early stage seems like a particularly good idea.

The Ministry of Labour in Finland, responsible for the reception of asylum seekers, launched a study, LATU, of the reception conditions for asylum seekers in Finland. The aim was to analyse the services provided to asylum seekers and the costs incurred in this process, and to:

- Develop quality and productivity in refugee work by using the EFQM model
- Create a cohesive and economically sustainable operating model for the services offered at the reception centres
- Productise services and develop work processes
- Create clear gauges and indicators in order to compare refugee camps' functional productivity
- Prevent marginalisation - promote empowerment

The study was a continuation of the project *Operative profitability of the reception of asylum seekers* that the Ministry of Labour began in 2002 to create uniform conditions at the 15 reception centres for asylum seekers run by the state, municipalities or the Finnish Red Cross. It included the development of performance indicators in the reception centres in Finland where most asylum seekers live. EBO is permitted, but because of the cost, few choose this option. The report *Change is a permanent state – Services provided at the reception of asylum seekers and the costs incurred* (LATU report 2008) shows that the statutory services, which according to the EU Directive 2003/9/EC are to be provided at the reception of asylum seekers, are available in all reception centres. It was noted that asylum seekers have a remarkable number of psychosocial symptoms. To develop preventive psychosocial support, in order to minimise mental-healthcare costs was therefore seen as important. Other important areas to develop were counselling services and opportunities to work and study. In addition to the availability of activities and not effectiveness, quality development was seen as something that has to be ongoing. LATU divided the refugee process into five categories: Accommodation, Acute care, Social services and income security, Services for children, young people and families with children and Social participation and empowerment. Interpretation and Legal Aid was established by support Services. The LATU report points out that “the asylum seekers have decided to seek a new future in a new country; regardless of where the future is, you cannot return to the past” and develops two more services separately

from the asylum reception services: Successful start for inclusion for granted residence permits and Decent return or Dignified repatriation. It was furthermore seen as important that reception centres should develop their reporting and documentation systems since many problems were due to the different ways of recording costs by the different agencies maintaining reception centres.

Taking into consideration the large number of asylum seekers choosing EBO in Sweden, in Gothenburg far from the office of the SMB, and because of the lack of activities, training, work and practice for most of the asylum seekers, it would be advisable to look at the Finnish study and develop some form of quality assurance systems also in Sweden. As understood by the UNHCR (2003), the spirit of the EU directive 2003/9/EC is clearly built on an understanding of the human and economic benefits of including asylum seekers in normal activities from their arrival. The model for quality assurance and monitoring of asylum reception developed within the project LATU meets the requirements of such a system well.¹¹⁷ It could well be developed to include control and development of EBO in areas such as health and child care, occupational and vocational activities. “Seeking asylum is an intermediate stage in the life of the individual. The client should be supported through this difficult stage of life with well-adapted measures” (LATU report 2008).

Finally, we think that it would be worthwhile to go back to the above mentioned proposals from NTG Asylum & Integration, to evaluate and take stock of those suggestions that would support the development of the current system, especially proposals supporting early integration of asylum seekers.

¹¹⁷ The project builds on the EFQM (*European Foundation for Quality Management*).

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www.skolverket.se - *The Swedish National Agency for Education.*

www.sveas.se - *Sveas.*

www.tco.se - *TCO.*

www.temaasyl.se - *The National Thematic Network on Asylum & Integration in Sweden.*

www.tolk.mariestad.se - *The Interpreter Agency in Mariestad.*

www.tolkprojektet.se - *Interpreter Research.*

www.vardforalla.se - *Member of the International Federation of Medical Students' Associations.*

www.vardforpapperslosa.se - *Right to Health Care-Initiative.*

www.vhs.se/sv/In-English - *The Swedish Agency for Higher Education Services.*

www.yhmyndigheten.se/english - *The Swedish National Agency for Higher Vocational Education*

Appendix 1

Vocabulary

Declaration of acceptance

When a foreign national accept a negative decision and decline to appeal this.

Establishment/Introduction Activities

Anyone between the ages of 20 and 64 (or 18 and 19 with no parents in Sweden) who has received a residence permit as a refugee or reasons similar to being a refugee has the right to special support in order to get to work as quickly as possible. This also applies to those who are in the same age group and came to Sweden because they have a relative who got a residence permit as a refugee or for reasons similar to being a refugee, provided that an application for a residence permit has been made no later than two years after the relative was admitted into a municipality (www.arbetsformedlingen.se/Globalmeny/Other-languages/New-in-Sweden/We-help-you-find-a-job-in-Sweden.html).

Introduction

- the term is used by the Migration Board for the two half days of information given to new asylum seekers.

- the term is also used by the Swedish Employment Service for their introduction plans and activities concerning new arrivals on their way into the Swedish labour market.

Introduction Pilot/Guide

The pilot is a company or organisation that works on assignment from the Swedish Employment Service with support when you carry out the activities in your introduction plan. In this document *introduction guide* is used for the actual person giving support to the new arrival.

New arrival

- a person (previous asylum seeker or his/her immediate family) who has been granted leave to remain in Sweden

Reception

- the term refers to all functions concerning asylum seekers, except the asylum process, i.e. housing, benefits, work, health care, schooling etc.

- the term is also used by the municipalities in their planning for receiving new arrivals for settlement.

Reestablishment support

A financial assistance aimed at those who have been rejected his asylum application, and want to return to a country where it is difficult to establish.

Settlement meeting

A meeting was held with the Examination team (Migration Board) in connection with permission to remain in Sweden. Among other things, information is given about the possibility of registering with the authorities, establishment support, housing, education, social support and home equipment loan.

Main abbreviations

ABI – transit accommodation

ABO – accommodation provided by SMB

AT-UND - exemption from the obligation to have a work permit

EBO – the asylum seeker arranges his/her own accommodation

LMA-card - shows that you are an asylum seeker and that you have the right to stay in the country whilst you are waiting for the reply

Main authorities

The County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen)

- is a coordinating national authority with supervisory responsibilities and it can hear appeals. It works with the municipalities and is a link between the government, the Parliament and national authorities (www.lansstyrelsen.se/vastragotaland/En/Pages/default.aspx).

The Social Insurance Agency (Försäkringskassan)

- is a national authority responsible for much of the public security systems. It administrates nearly fifty different types of benefits within the social insurance which covers everyone that lives or works in Sweden (www.forsakringskassan.se/sprak/eng).

The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Region, SKL (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting)
Municipalities, county councils and regions

Sweden is divided into 290 municipalities and 20 county councils. Municipalities, county councils and regions, have their own self-governing local authorities with responsibility for different activities (http://english.skl.se/municipalities_county_councils_and_regions).

The Swedish Employment Service, PES (Arbetsförmedlingen)

- is a national administrative authority under the Ministry of Labour. It is responsible for public employment services and for the implementation of labour market policies (www.arbetsformedlingen.se/Globalmeny/Other-languages.html).

The Swedish Migration Board, SMB (Migrationsverket)

- is a national administrative authority under the Ministry of Justice. Among its main responsibilities are handling asylum, visa and family reunification applications, selecting quota refugees, settlement, citizenship and supporting voluntary repatriation. The Migration Board is responsible for the European Refugee Fund, for cooperation within the EU and with UNHCR and other international bodies (www.migrationsverket.se/info/start_en.html).

Courts of Appeal

The Migration Court (Migrationsdomstol)

– first instance appeal (www.domstol.se/Funktioner/English/)

The Administrative Migration Court of Appeal (Migrationsöverdomstol)

– second instance appeal (www.kammarrattenistockholm.domstol.se/Funktioner/English/The-Swedish-courts/County-administrative-courts/Migration-Courts/)

Appendix 2

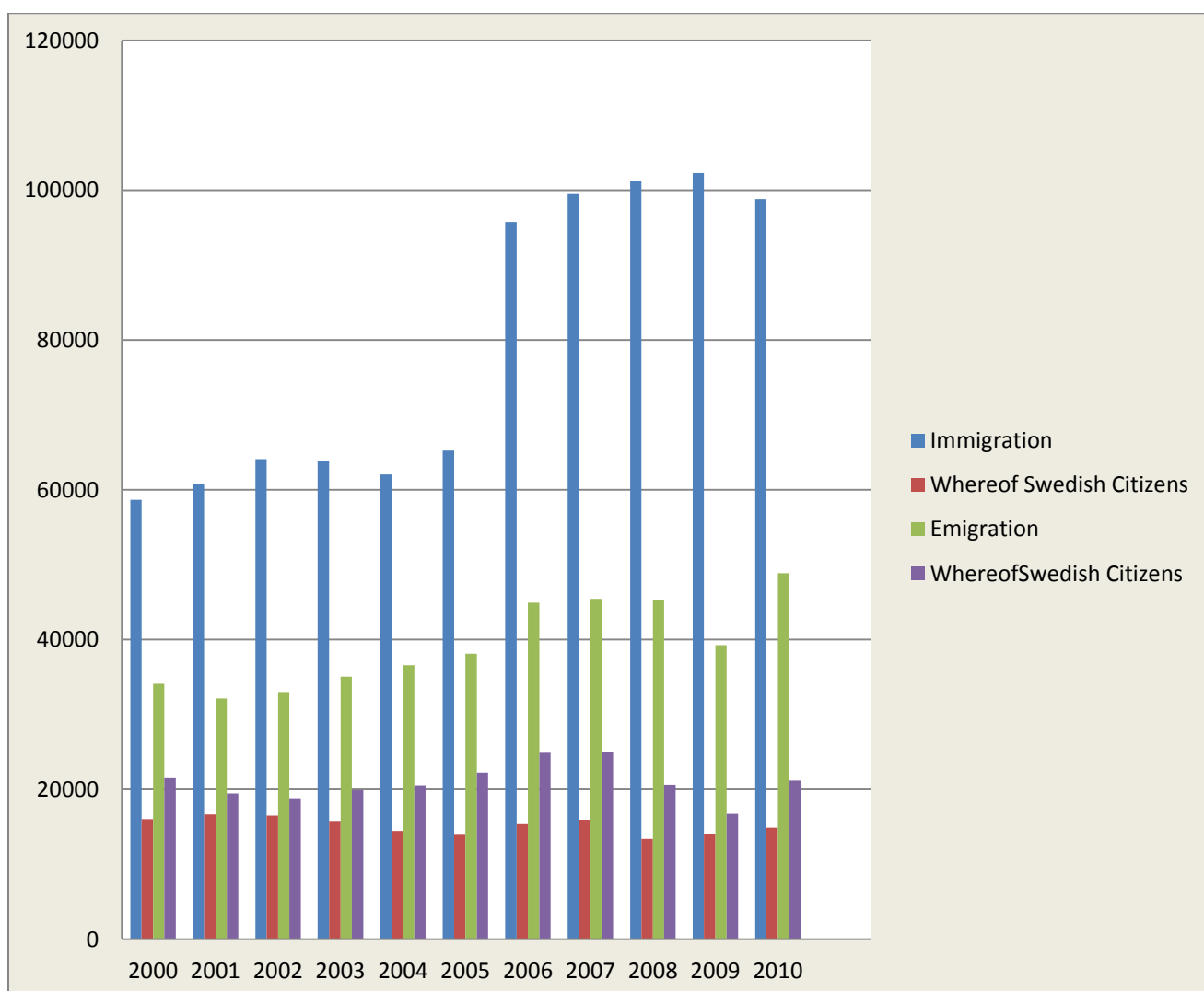
Statistics - national level

unless otherwise stated

Immigration/Emigration to/from Sweden 2000 – 2010 – including Swedes returning/leaving

Total number immigration: 872,000, whereof Swedish citizens 167,000.

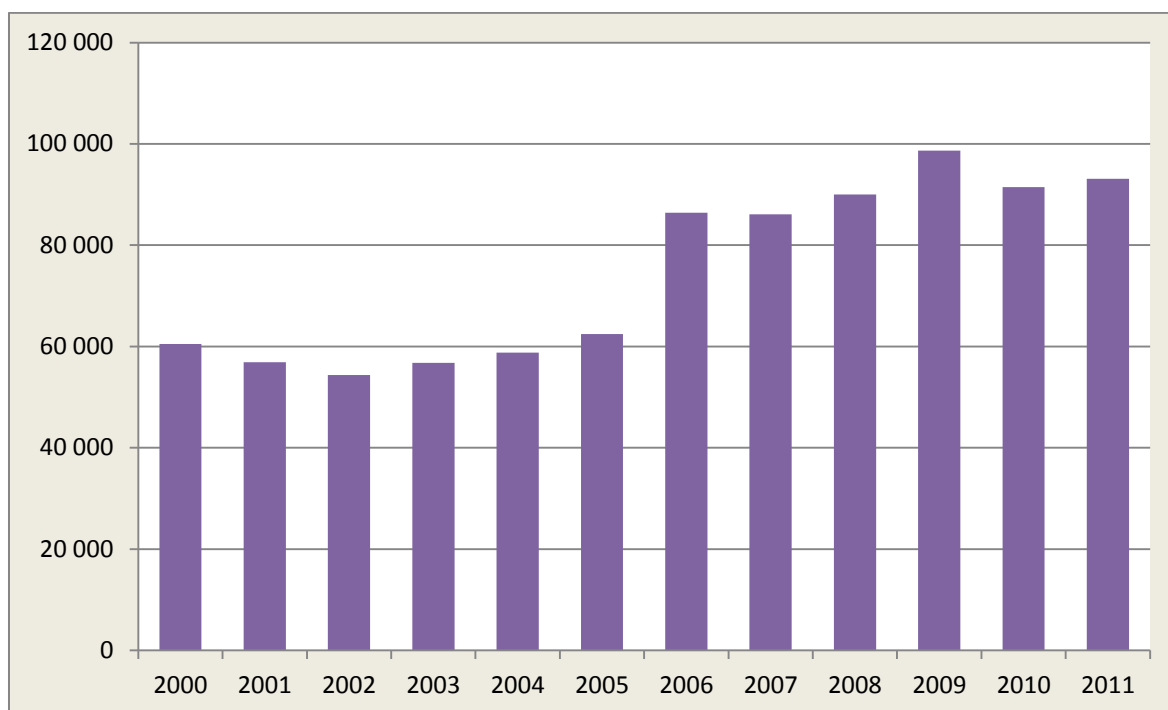
Total number emigration: 433,000, whereof Swedish citizens 231,000.



Source: Immigrantinstitutet/SCB (www.immi.se)

Immigration to Sweden 2000 – 2011 - number per year

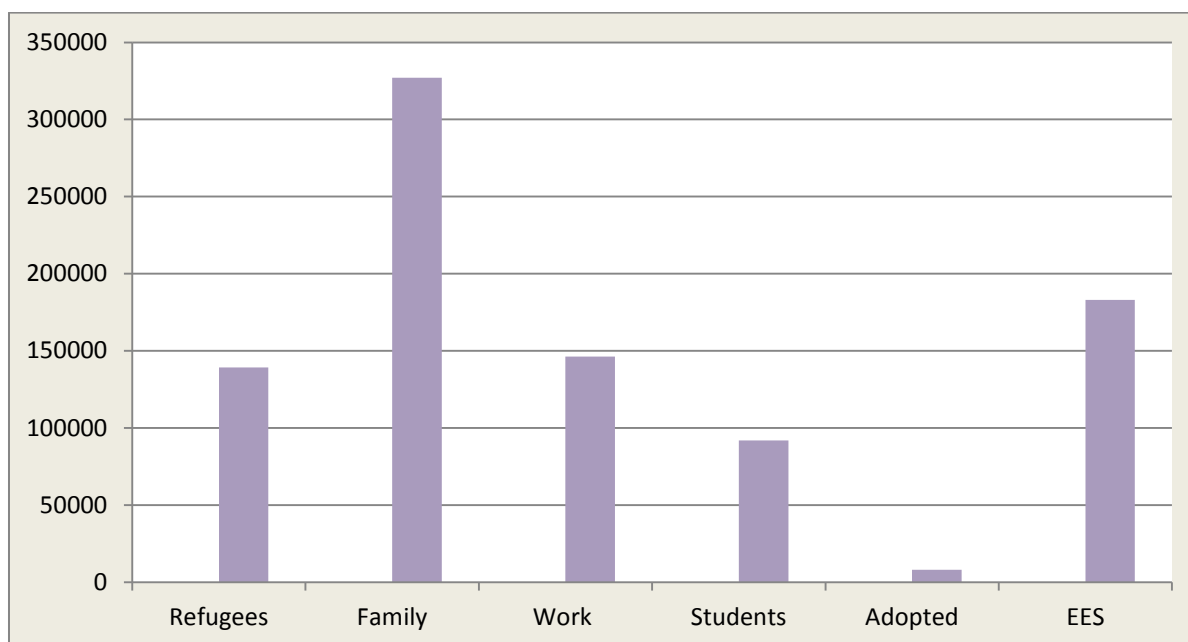
Total number: 897,000 individuals.



Source: SMB

Immigration to Sweden 2000 – 2011 - categories

Categories: Refugee related immigration, family reunion, work permits, students, adopted children, and EES-agreements.



Source: SMB

Asylum seekers by citizenship 2000 - 2011

Bulgaria	3991
Yugoslavia (former) :	62387
<i>Kosovo</i> ¹⁾	5047
Poland	145
Rumania	2005
Russia	12082
Eritrea	8438
Ethiopia	1602
Somalia	29472
Uganda	461
Togo	125
Cuba	290
Chile	634
Peru	601
Afghanistan	13839
Bangladesh	1407
India	953
Iraq	61137
Iran	9534
China	1209
Lebanon	3654
Pakistan	1208
Sri Lanka	499
Syria	5858
Turkey	4484
Stateless/Unknown ²⁾	13857
Other countries	71413
Total	316332

Source: SMB

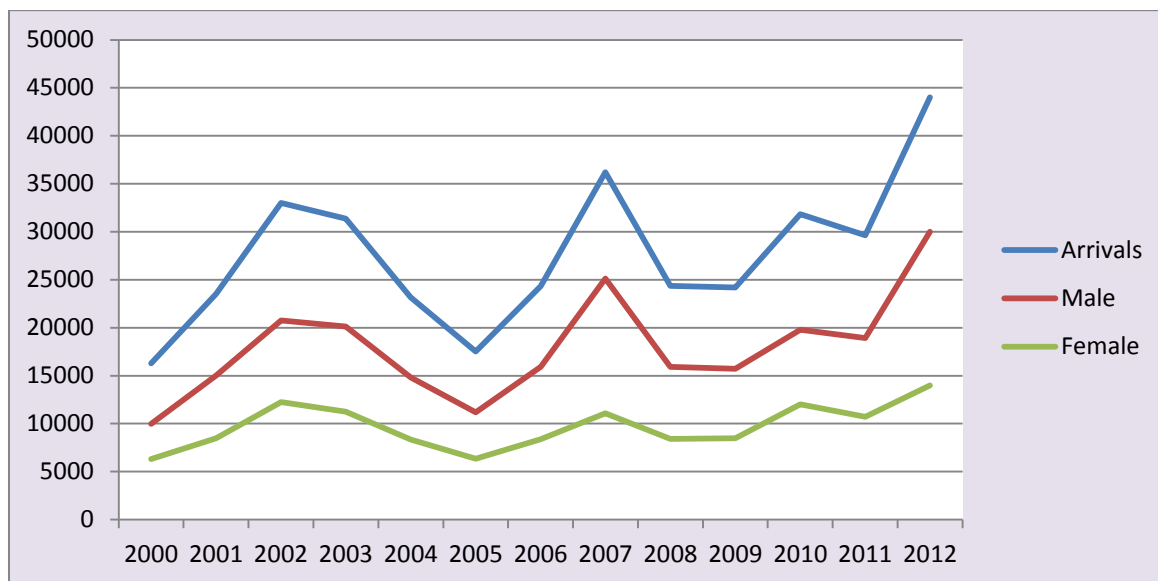
¹⁾ From 2008 Kosovo included

²⁾ From 2007 Serbia

³⁾ Majority Palestinians

Asylum seekers arriving in Sweden 2000 – 2011

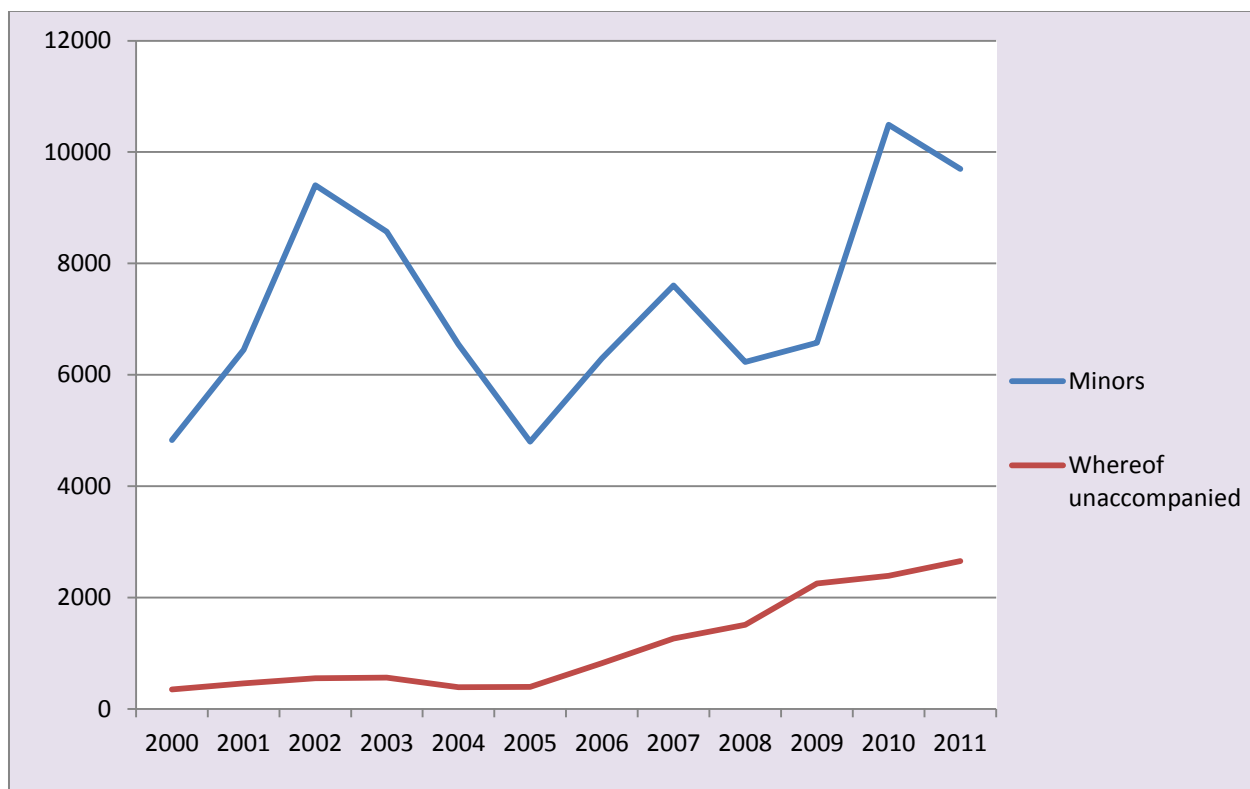
Total number: 316, 300 (203,900 male and 112,400 female. 228,000 adults and 87,500 minors whereof 13,500 unaccompanied). *Estimated* number of asylum seekers for 2012 is 44,000.



Source: SMB

Asylum seeking minors arriving in Sweden 2000 – 2011

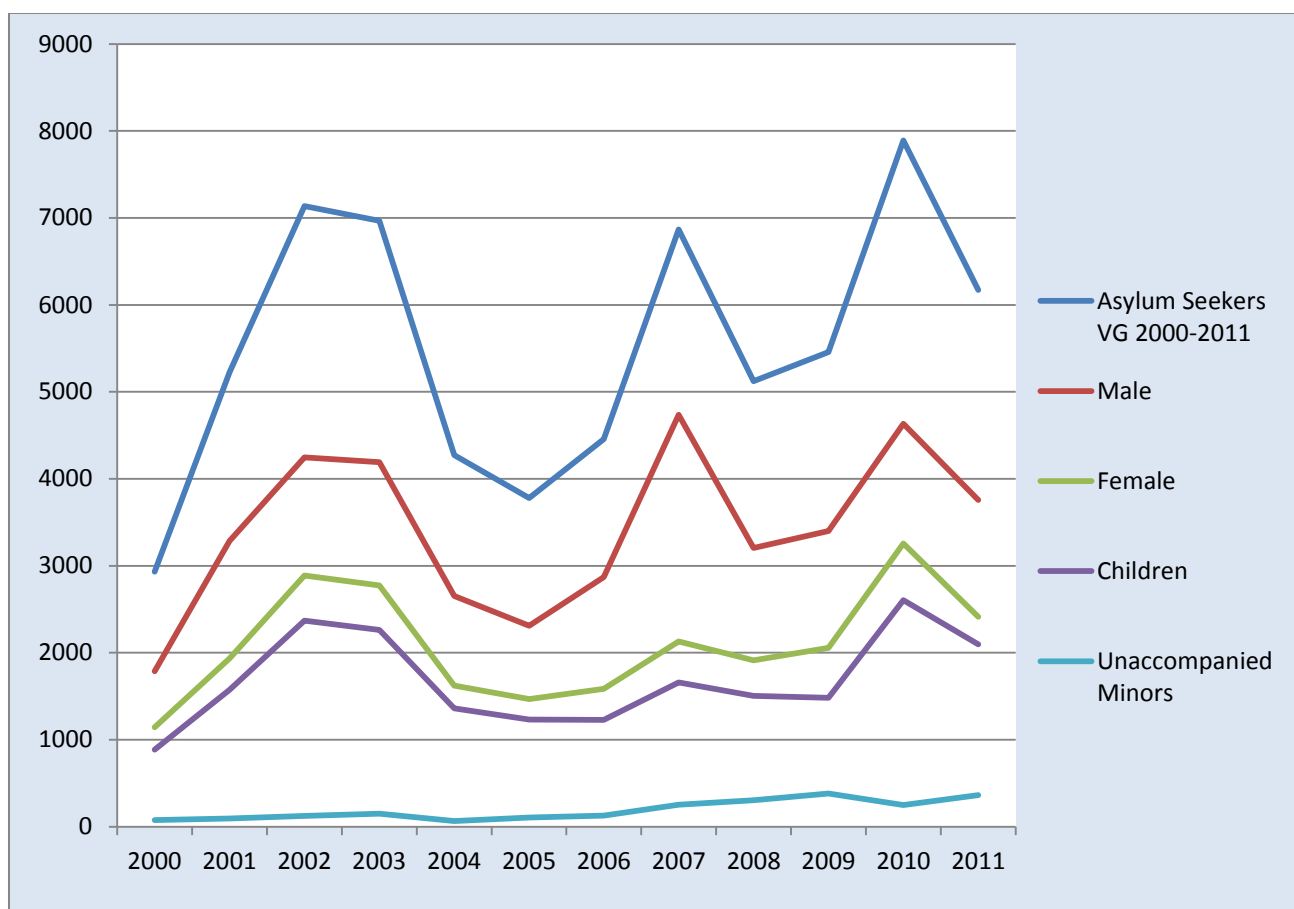
Total number: 87,500 minors whereof 13,500 unaccompanied minors.



Source: SMB

Asylum seekers to Västra Götaland 2000-2011

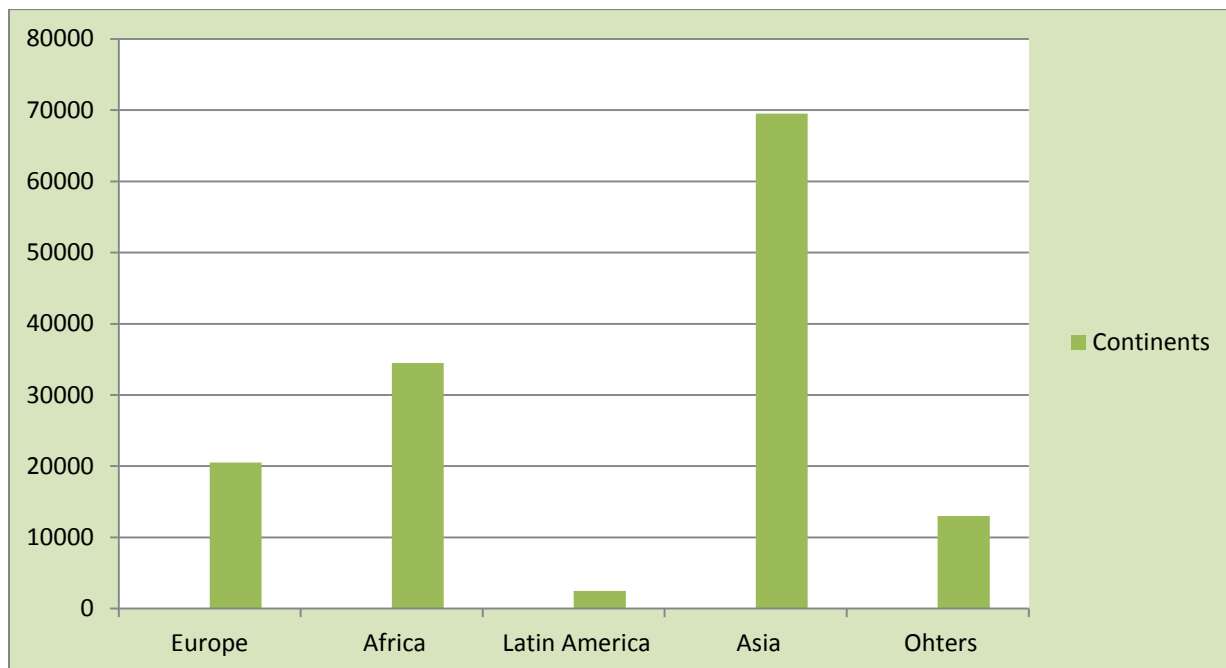
Total number 66,000 (41,000 male, 25,000 female. 46,000 adults, 20,000 children, whereof 2,000 unaccompanied minors).



Source: SMB

Asylum seekers from all continents - granted leave to remain in Sweden 2000-2011

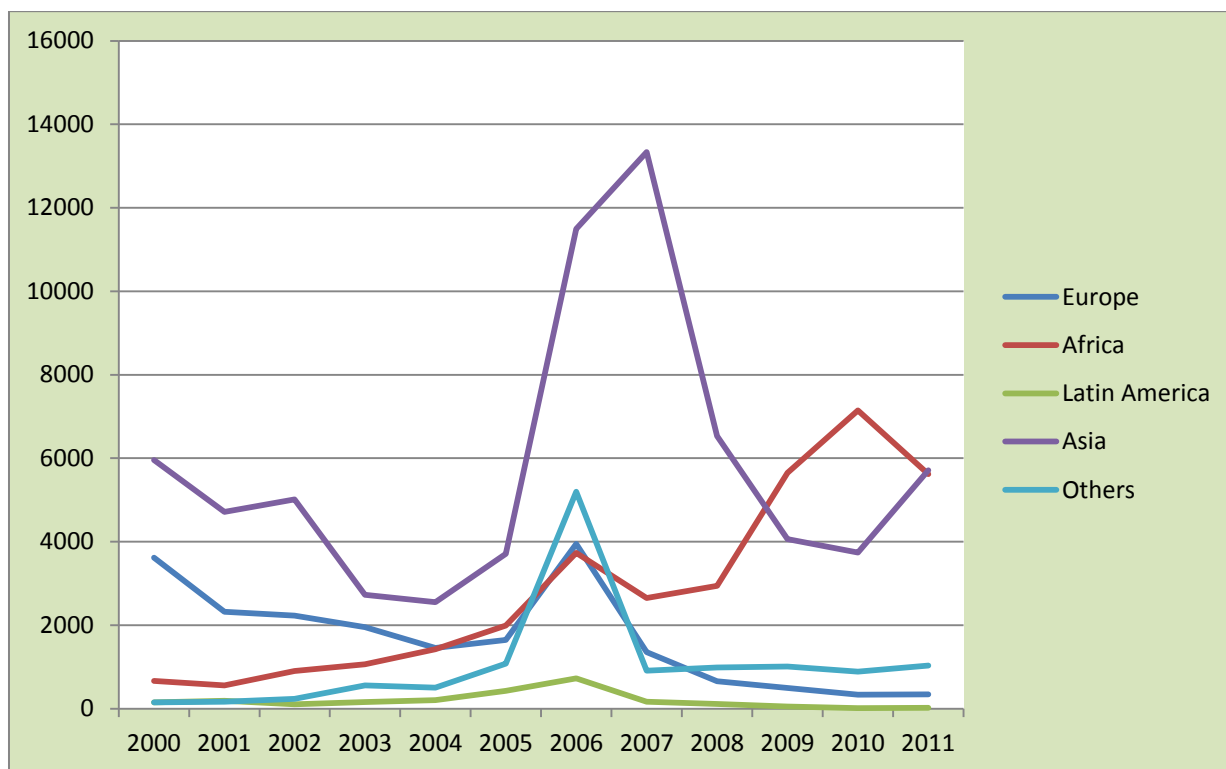
Total number: 139,500



Source: SMB

Asylum seekers granted leave to remain in Sweden 2000-2011

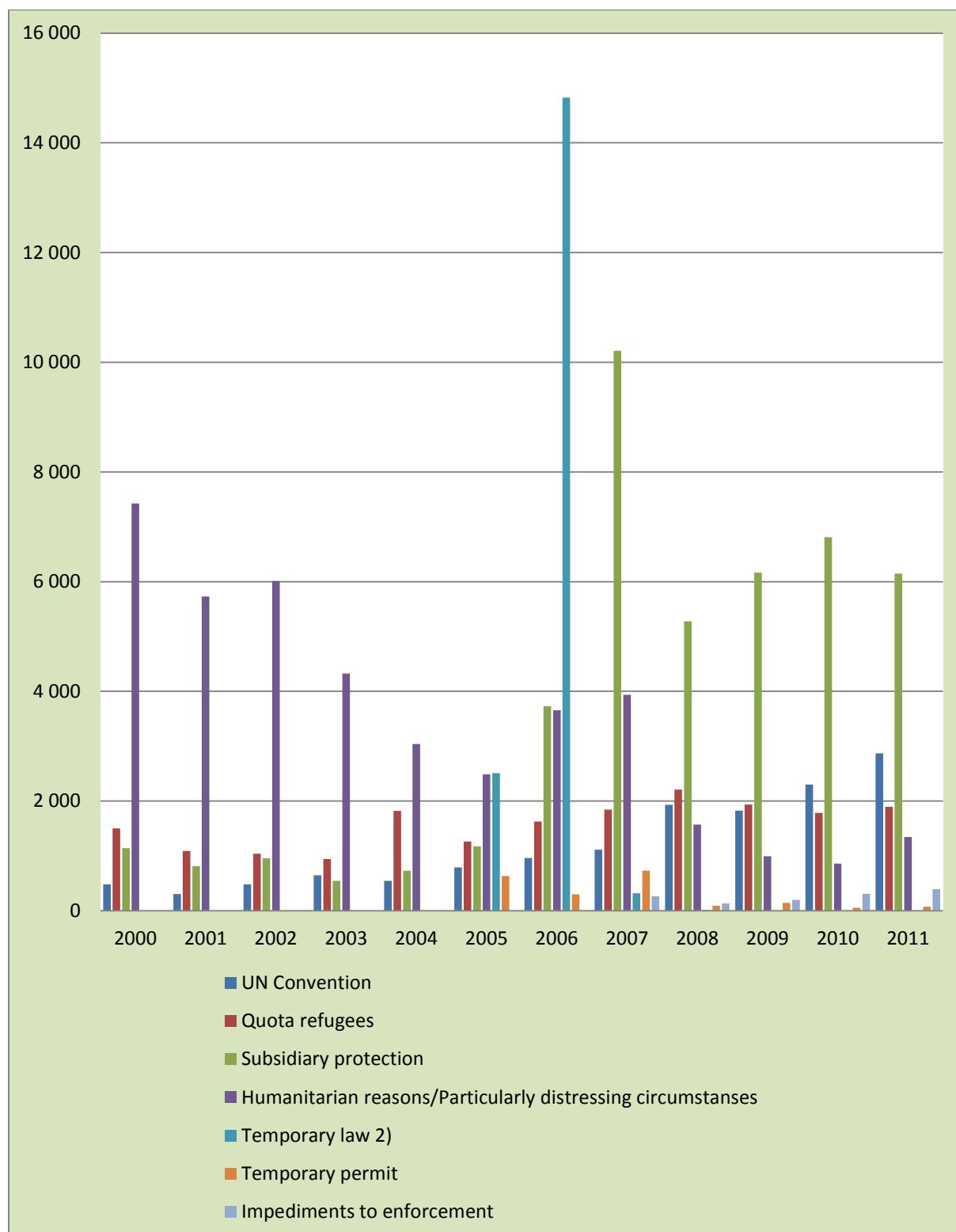
By year



Source: SMB

Asylum seekers granted leave to remain in Sweden 2000-2011

By category



Source: SMB

1 Humanitarian reasons until March 1, 2006. Thereafter Particularly distressing circumstances
 2 From October 1, 2005 to March 31, 2006

Summary of Migration Board statistics 2010-2012	2010	2011	2012 Jan - June
Cases received at the Migration board	31 819	29 648	16 335
Decided cases, Migration Board	31 256	30 404	17 010
Pending cases, Migration Board	11 417	10 648	9 976
Approvals – <i>percentage</i> of the total number of cases decided by the Migration Board*	28	30	27
Cases received at the Migration Courts	13 291	14 111	6 863
Decided cases at the Migration Courts	14 415	14 018	8 667
Pending cases at the Migration Courts	7 216	7 491	5 845
Approvals – <i>percentage</i> of the total number of cases decided by the Migration Courts*	8	7	7
Decided by the Migration Court of Appeal	59	64	34

*The approvals cannot be summarised.

Source: SMB

Return

Period Jan-June 2012	Voluntary return	Handed to the Police	Whereof absconded	Written off	Other*	Total	Pending
Total	5,603	5,514	3,057	364	69	11,450	8,742
Whereof Unaccompanied Minors	85	145	74	20	3	253	264

*E.g. annulled or left through the Police.

Source: SMB

Appendix 3

Interviews

Refugees with indefinite leave to remain in Sweden	5	
Asylum Seeker	1	
Group of asylum seekers	1	
The County Administrative Board Västra Götaland	2	(three persons)
The County Administrative Board in Malmö	1	
The SMB	2	(three persons)
The Swedish National Agency for Higher Vocational Education	2	
The Swedish national Audit office	1	
The Swedish PES (Offices in Gothenburg,	7	
The Integration Police, Gothenburg	1	
Solna and Headquarters in Stockholm)		
The Municipality of Gothenburg	6	
Botkyrka (South of Stockholm)	2	
Integrationskolan, Bergsjön	1	
Introduction guides	2	(four persons)
SFI providers	2	
Companies working with validation	2	
NGOs	13	
Health organisations	3	(five persons)
Summary of interviews and consultations	54	
Whereof:		
Interviews face-to-face	20	
Interviews via telephone	28	
Consultations	6	

There are a couple of quotations from interviews made by Eva Norström in earlier research.

Appendix 4

The municipality of Gothenburg consists of 10 districts. Each district is divided into a number of areas. The majority of new arrivals live in Angered (areas: Hjällbo, Lövgärdet, Gårdstensberget, Hammarkullen) and Gothenburg East (areas: Bergsjön West and East).

Place	Inhabitants	Born in other country than Sweden %	Middle income (2010) SEK	Ill health - Reimbursed sick days per person	Paid employment %	Openly unemployed or in programs %	Families with income support %	Qualified for high school %	Higher education %
Gothenburg municipality	520 374	22,8	242 550	25,1	73,9	6,7	6,9	83,6	
Districts (nr of areas)									
Angered (11)	48 780	49,0	179 800	36,4	56,2	12,8	20,4	69,0	26,8
Gothenburg East (6)	45 170	41,2	171 200	36,3	57,8	11,4	16,0	68,4	35,4
Örgryte – Härlanda (12)	56 880	13,7	264 200	18,9	80,8	4,8	3,2	87,9	60,8
City center (9)	58 270	17,4	259 800	16,1	76,2	4,2	2,4	89,5	67,0
Majorna-Linné (9)	62 480	13,3	258 100	23,5	78,7	5,3	3,8	92,3	64,5
Askim – Frölunda – Högsbo (12)	54 800	16,7	271 700	25,2	76,7	5,5	4,8	90,1	53,0
Gothenburg West (13)	51 600	14,8	304 700	21,8	80,7	4,9	4,8	90,8	52,7
Hisingen West (9)	51 230	24,8	250 200	25,8	74,0	8,0	9,3	80,9	38,6
Lundby (7)	42 430	21,0	240 100	23,5	76,1	6,0	6,2	82,4	48,6
Hisingen North (8)	47 550	23,0	243 700	28,2	76,9	6,5	5,2	88,3	35,2

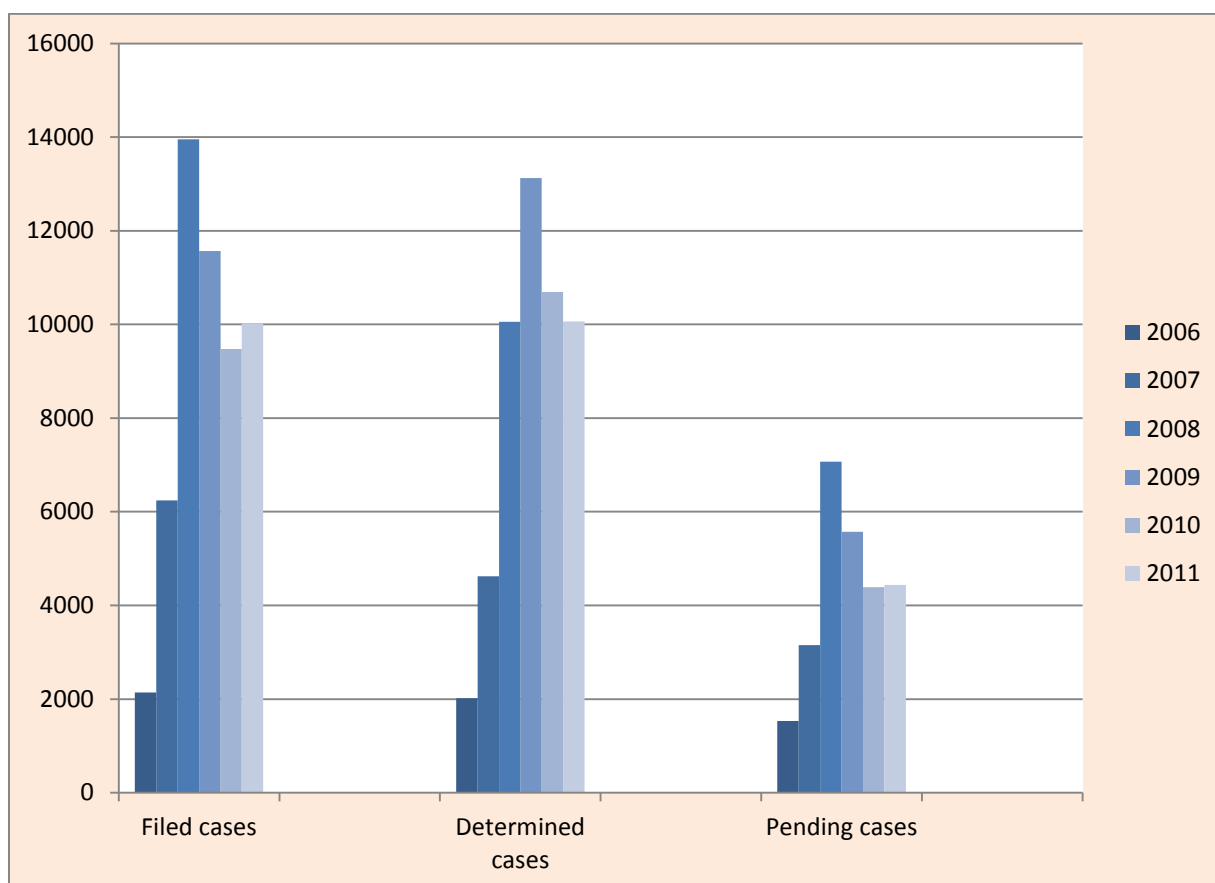
Appendix 5

Filed, determined, and pending cases at the Migration Courts 2006-2011.¹¹⁸

Total number of filed cases is 53,400

Total number of determined cases is 50,600

7-8 per cent of the cases are approved



Source: The Courts of Sweden

¹¹⁸ The Migration courts were set up from Mars 31, 2006. They took over 3,088 cases from the Aliens Appeals Board which closed down.