Networks and Economic Integration
A Case of Refugees in Rural Sweden

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Abstract

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The thesis examines the economic integration process of refugees in rural Sweden, and its relation to geographical mobility. The mechanisms behind the integration process are explored through the concepts of networks, social bridge, and scalar.

It is concluded that having a function that plays the role of a *social bridge* within networks positively affect the economic integration process for refugees. Factors that provide fundamental conditions for the function of a social bridge is identified to be *cultural understanding* and *trustworthiness*.

The thesis highlights the spatial aspects of the case study area by considering networks between different scalar of global, national, and local. Through analyzing the positioning of the locality, relations are found with characteristics of refugees coming to the place. Those refugees mismatch with the local labor demand, yet they have positive impacts on the location in terms of a demographic aspect and internationalization opportunities. Under this condition, a social bridge is understood to be vital for overcoming the gap between the labor demands and a welcoming attitude toward refugees.

As social bridge fosters interactions between refugees and society, it also has a positive effect on refugees’ mobility and attitude toward a place. Interaction opportunities provide a base for a new identity formation for refugees, which is essential to generate a sense of home. Feeling the place to be one’s home contributes to refugees staying.

A critical realistic approach has been chosen as the way of studying integration process. By means of statistical data, employment patterns are explored in this area. A semi-structured interview study was used to analyze the networks in depth.

Keywords: refugee, integration, economic integration, social network, social bridge, scalar, rural, Sweden
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Chapter 1. Introduction

It is about three and a half hours train ride to the north from Swedish capital Stockholm to Ljusdal station where a stack of round timbers welcome you. Ljusdal is a small region with a total population of approximately 19,000 and no exception from the declining and aging population in a similar way with most of other rural regions in Sweden. If you walk down the shopping street in front of the station, you will notice that foreign-looking persons are going by twos and threes. Here in rural Sweden, foreign-born population has been increasing. More than one third of those are refugees.

Since 2003, Ljusdal has been receiving refugees through the United Nation’s refugee resettlement program, where Swedish government makes a yearly refugee quota available to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Every year approximately 40 to 80 refugees resettle in Ljusdal from far away places such as refugee camps in Thailand and Kenya. Almost all of the refugees in Ljusdal are comprised of quota refugees. Apart from a familiar place, scenery, food, weather, lifestyle, language, and people, the refugees start a new life in Sweden for the first time.

This brings about the contact between the Swedish society and the one which the refugees used to live in. This is called an “acculturation process” (Berry 2001). In this process the refugees choose an attitude and strategy. Two extreme examples of this attitude would be that a refugee abandon studying Swedish language and interact socially only with those who understands his/her language, and thus maintain ones former habits while living in Sweden. The Opposite example would be that a refugee tries to act like native Swedes, speak the language, eat Swedish food and adapt in the new culture.

A host society also needs to have a strategy towards the acculturation process. At Swedish national level, a major focus of immigration policy has been set on integration since 1997, which is also obvious from the change in a nominal to “integration policy” from “immigration policy”. Integration sets a goal to achieve equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality 2009). In contrast to Denmark and the Netherlands where assimilation of immigrants is stated in the policy, Sweden attaches a high value on diversity and its main objective of integration measures is to promote the socio-economic inclusion and independence of immigrants within the context of a society (Wiesbrock 2010).

It is stated that general measures for the whole population serve as a base for approaching the goals of the integration policy, on the other hand measures that are targeting immigrants have been taken in labor market related areas (Ministry of...
Integration and Gender Equality 2002, 2009). These measures related to employment of newly arrivals have a pronounced tendency to increase. In December 2010, a new reform for faster introduction of new arrivals has came into force all over the country. Specific changes were made for the responsible actor for the introduction program, which is offered to newly arrived immigrants in order to support Swedish language learning and job training. Formerly the municipality was in charge of almost all work related to the integration of immigrants, however in the new system the responsibility has shifted to national level, the Swedish Public Employment Service, with reduced burden for the municipality. In brief, achievement of successful integration is understood in Sweden as fulfillment of equality and the same opportunities for all regardless of ethnic or cultural background. At the same time to achieve immigrants’ smooth entering to the labor market has attached more political weight recently.

In the meantime the actual situation in Sweden has been identified to be far from equal where disparities between Swedish-born citizens and immigrants are large. For instance, immigrants –especially those from non-Europe– have considerably higher unemployment rates and lower wage incomes than native Swedes (Rydgren 2004, Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications 2002).

Such disparities between natives and immigrants have been vigorously discussed in academic world for long time. From economist point of view, it is mainly explained by the “human capital” which is “the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes that allow people to contribute to their personal and social well-being, as well as that of their countries” (Keeley 2007). For them, disparities are viewed as a result of what an individual laborer brings to the labor market. Based on criticisms against this approach, which puts much value on individual laborers, segmentation theory has developed where individual supply side of labor market is taken into consideration. From a standpoint of this theory, disparities observed in labor market between natives and immigrants are mainly explained by structural factors, which produces different cells in the labor market presume different conditions for each (Samers 2010). Moreover, mostly among sociologists, the notion, which acknowledges the importance of social interaction and networking among members, has developed. Discussions on the role and effects of social networks, such as “family/household, friendship and community ties and relationships” (Boyd 1989: 639), have become popular especially in migration studies.

**The aim and research questions**

This thesis aims to deeper the understandings about the economic integration process of refugees, and its relation to geographical mobility. It studies the mechanisms (Sayer 2000) behind the integration process through the concepts such as networks, social bridge, and scalar. By focusing on the specific rural area in Sweden, which is Ljusdal, three motivations are explored. First is the scarcity of researches on small/rural areas, as majority of migration studies focuses on metropolitan areas. A new significance in contemporary Europe to study nonmetropolitan areas is pointed out because growing number of immigrants have settled in rural areas since the 1990s (Moren-Alegret 2008). Secondly, this study sets a target to address refugees as the basic unit of analysis rather than focusing on a specific ethnic group as has often be a case in the migration studies
(Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009). Focusing on the group of refugees has an advantage in keeping internal divisions small as similar motives for migration to Sweden is expected, which is not a economical reason. Lastly, as migration studies have claimed to neglect the impacts of migration on the restructuring of locality and states (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009), spatial thinking is taken into consideration in this thesis. For this purpose, networks are approached from different scalar, such as local, national, and global point of view.

This study sets out to deal with the following questions:

1. How are the employment patterns of refugees in Ljusdal?
2. How do networks between refugees and institutions impact the economic integration process of refugees?
3. How do networks between the different scales of local, national, and global relate to the economic integration process of refugees?
4. How do institutional networks affect refugees’ mobility and attitude toward place?

**Design of dissertation**

This thesis consists of six parts. The introduction is followed by Chapter 2 presenting the theoretical framework which the thesis is situated. The theoretical orientation is divided into four parts: firstly a theoretical framework of integration processes is introduced, which includes presenting key concepts and models of integration, and discussions about integration in rural area; second part reflects arguments in a topic of economic integration and networks between refugees and institutions; third part is to introduce a scalar approach to the integration process of refugees; and last part is regarding mobility of refugees in relations to institutional networks. Thereafter, Chapter 3 proceeds with methodology and research design. As a methodology, a critical realistic approach is presented. In Chapter 4, findings and materials from statistical data and interview study in Ljusdal are presented. Chapter 5 comprises the discussions aimed to understand mechanisms behind the economic integration of refugees, and its relations to geographical mobility. In Chapter 6, a summary of the thesis is presented.
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter begins with clarifying theoretical standpoints when the integration processes is analyzed in this study. As integration processes takes place at every level and in every sector of society (Castles et al. 2002: 114), it is important to understand and develop a framework, which identify how this diverse processes is approached. First, concept of integration and model of integration processes are presented. Thereafter, previous studies on integration in rural areas are introduced. In the second section, economic aspects of integration processes are focused with discussions regarding social capital and networks. In the third section, a scalar approach to immigrants’ integration processes are discussed. Lastly, earlier researches on the mobility decision-making are presented.

2.1 The processes of Integration

2.1.1 Concept of Integration

The term “integration” is frequently used, however as Castles et al. (2002: 114) argue about its definition there is “no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration”. According to Robinson (1998:118), “integration’ is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most”. The vagueness of this concept stems from the fact that “integration of newcomers to a society takes place at every level and in every sector of society” (Castles et al. 2002: 114). Despite its ambiguity, the term integration remains significant as a policy goal and also as a targeted outcome for projects working with immigrants and refugees (Ager and Strang 2008).

The integration process involves two different perspectives, which is that of the receiving society and that of immigrants or refugees. This implies the fact that integration is a complex two-way process. It is clear in the definition by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which is “a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and on-going process. From a refugee perspective, integration requires a preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose one’s own cultural identity. From the point of view of the host society, it requires a willingness for communities to be welcoming and responsive to refugees and for public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population” (UNHCR, 2002: 12). However this definition places disproportionate weight on the idea of where the process should lead. Rather, as this thesis focuses on Sweden, it is important to consider Swedish context. In Sweden, integration is stated as its national immigration policy. Integration sets a goal of equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all regardless of ethnic or cultural background, which is declared to approach by general measures based on society’s ethnic and cultural diversity (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality 2002, 2009).
It is of value to consider Berry’s definition of integration, which contributed to clarify the concept of integration in contrast with related terms, which is often confused in its use. When a refugee moves to Sweden, in most situations they move from far away countries with different socio-cultural surroundings, it causes the acculturation process, which is “a process that entails contact between two cultural groups” (Berry 2001: 619). According to Berry, there are four possible outcomes for the acculturation process, which is decided by two factors: maintenance of heritage culture and identity; and relationships sought among groups. As one of four outcomes for ethno-cultural groups, integration is defined as “the option where some degree of cultural integrity is maintained, while at the same time immigrants seek, as a member of an ethno cultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger society” (Berry 2001: 619). Three other outcomes are assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Compared to the strategy of integration, the degree of heritage culture decreases in assimilation, less relations among groups in separation, and decreases in both heritage culture and relations in marginalization (Berry 2001).

Viewing the contents of Swedish immigration policy again and considering what Berry has clarified, fundamental understandings are shared in both ways of using the term “integration”. However, in Berry’s definition, the integration process is viewed as a cultural event. On the other hand, Shadid (1991: 362) identifies the social dimension of integration together with the cultural dimension in his definition, which is “the participation of ethnic and religious minorities, individually and as a group, in the social structure of the host society while having enough possibilities to retain the distinctive aspects of their culture and identity.” In this thesis, the definition produced by Shadid is employed for the concept “integration”.

2.1.2 Model of integration processes

Another discussion is regarding those factors that influence integration. Kuhlman (1991) introduces a comprehensive model of refugee integration with a wide range of factors described. In his model, the factors that impact the integration process are categorized into five groups; characteristics of refugees such as demographic aspects and socio-economic background; flight-related factors; host-related factors, for example macro-economic situation and social stratification; national, regional, and local policies; and residence in host country which means length of residence and movements within country of asylum (Kuhlman, 1991). Moreover, he considers impact of integration on refugees and host society as well. He views the integration not as a fixed process, rather a process with constant changes, which even impacted by its own changes. As it is mentioned that integration process is complicated and taking place at every level and in every sector of society, the designed model also becomes detailed if attempts are made to capture all factors.

Ager and Strang (2008) specify ten core domains for the framework of integration, Based on literature review and fieldwork in two refugee affected settings in UK (Fig. 1). Domains are commonly considered as influential to the integration process by policy makers and service providers in studied areas. The domains belongs to four different stages; (1) achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing,
education, and health; (2) assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; (3) processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and (4) barriers to such connection, particularly stemming from lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability. In this model, social connection is understood as three contents; social links, social bonds and social bridges. Social links are connections between individuals and structures of the state, such as governmental services. Social bonds are connections that link members of group in immigrants or refugees, such as ethnic groups. Social bridges are connections between immigrant groups and host society groups. They state that a notion of social bridges disagree with those who stress that the maintenance of ethnic identity disturb achieving integration. According to them, social capital is presented in the context of an overall framework of interrelated domains. As they points out, interdependence among domains in framework is important, especially in practices and policymaking. There are clear needs to deepen understanding about pathways through which progress with respect to one domain supports progress with respect to another (Ager and Strang 2008).

In this study, a conceptual framework of integration produced by Ager and Strang is employed in the analysis of the economic integration process. Ten core domains specified by them are illustrated in the figure below, which is modified from the original with an aim to clarify each sector. As this thesis focuses mainly on the employment sector.

Figure 1. Model of Integration

Source: Modified from Ager and Strang (2008).

2.1.3 Integration in rural area

Since the 1980s, the net migration gain in the OECD region has been increasing, as more and more countries are becoming significant recipients of immigrants. When we look at rural/countryside areas, those flows of immigration is much smaller compared to larger cities, however there is a potential of bigger impact, as local populations are
smaller. Moreover, the impact of ageing and fertility decline is more serious in those nonmetropolitan areas because of the labor and skill shortage, which has been aggravated by out migration of youth to larger cities. According to Hugo and Moren-Alegret (2008: 473), “the countryside in high income countries is undergoing a transformation and international migration will play an increasingly important role in this over the next two decades”.

Hedberg and Haandrikman study about the patterns of international migrants in rural areas in Sweden. They found that rural areas in Sweden have become global and diversified with immigrants from many parts of the world. Their motives to migrate and their age are tending to be various. Moreover, their employment rates are equal to or higher than urban migrants. They argue that findings are inconsistent with their view of rural areas as “stable and fixed”, rather suggesting that rural areas are influenced by plurality and global networks (Hedberg and Haandrikman, forthcoming: 30).

There is another study regarding integration in rural Sweden on the demographic effects and interregional mobility of international migrants from a labor market perspective (Hedberg 2010). Findings show that child dependency ratio and elderly dependency ratio to be higher for native-born than foreign-born population in those areas. Furthermore, a higher employment propensity was seen in those areas compared to larger localities. The interregional mobility was slightly higher for foreign-born population than native-born. Within the foreign-born population, authority-resettled refugees had a higher mobility than other groups. Additionally, mobility was higher among migrants outside the labor market than those migrants with jobs. According to Hedberg, international migrants are being a resource to the countryside from the demographic perspective, and international migration has a potential function as a “demographic refill” of rural populations.

De Jong and Steinmets (2004: 98) argue that in rural U.S. regions, residents are less likely to believe immigrants have a positive impact on their society. Prins and Toso (2012) studies about the community receptivity toward immigrants in rural U.S. and the factors that foster or hinder receptivity and immigrants’ integration. According to them, rural immigrant incorporation is not solely a matter of individual will. It is rather shaped by a constellation of various factors, including national and local politics, the labor market and migrant occupations, immigrants’ ability to look or act like native-born residents, and community institutions. In the discussion of “community institutions”, they argue about the role of “trusted leaders” in those areas. Such as rural institution and their representatives to be potentially facilitate or hinder immigrants’ incorporation. In other words, educators and other institutional leaders can enhance local perceptions of immigrants by highlighting their contributions. In addition, they also can help immigrants to understand local society and culture (Prins and Toso, 2012).

Moren-Alegret (2008) examined the international migrants’ preference for the size of settling locality by using the concepts of ruralphilia, and ruralphobia². Ruralphilia is a diffuse sentimental feeling about the countryside that requires their anti-image toward

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²-philia means ‘a love of something’. -phobia means ‘a dislike or hatred of something’ (Longman English Dictionary Online).
the city, on the other hand ruralphobia is a dislike feeling toward rural. From his case study in rural areas and small towns in Spain, he found that the family-like relations, sense of belonging, and known as an individual are mentioned as the content of social ruralphilia. On the other hand, for systematic ruralphilia, better public services was stated, and less job opportunities and less modern educational facilities are pointed out for the content of ruralphobia (Moren-Algret 2008).

Forssell studies whether the locality size affects the integration of quota refugees. From the qualitative interviews in two different Swedish regions, which is Ljusdal and Gävle, more social and cultural contacts in the smaller locality compared to the larger one is found (2009). He argues that the tolerant and inclusive structure in the smaller town with some daily meeting places, especially the church, contributes to develop networks for refugees (Forssell 2009).

2.2 Economic Integration and Networks

Four domains, which are employment, housing, education, and health, are pointed out to be a marker of the achievement of integration, and means to support the achievement of integration (see 2.1.2). In this thesis, it is aimed to focus on “employment” aspects of the integration process. As disparities between native-born citizens and immigrants has been observed in various places and countries, active discussions concerning its factors have been held. It is often the case that there are higher unemployment rates and lower wage incomes for immigrants compared to natives. Three major theories, which have been developed, are introduced in the following.

2.2.1 Neo-classical economic theory

A prominent theory in the study of relationship between migrants and work is “human capital theory” by neo-classical economists. In this theory, the price of labor such as salary or wage is understood as something decided by the combination of what a laborer brings to the labor market, for example individual skills, educational qualifications, abilities, rational choices concerning a mix of status, job conditions, and earnings. Here, the price of labor is considered as the result of investment on human capital.

However, this theory is criticized related to migration studies in the following points. First, it is criticized of its over-simplistic view on immigrants’ experiences and characteristics, which stems from viewing immigrant groups as homogenous. Secondly, some pointes out there is a limitation which is caused by the lack of consideration about the different valuation on qualifications and skill in different countries, which is called “immigrant wage penalty” (Kogan 2004) or “socio-professional downgrading” (Reyneri 2001) and so on. For example, a person formerly working as a doctor in home country turns out to be a low-paid service industry worker because of the difficulty with recognition of medical qualification in immigration country. Regarding this point, Scott (1999) insists the concept of “country-specific human capital”, which plays an important role in the integration of migrants into destination economies. With this recognition, classification based on immigrants’ country of origin, which is called
“cultural distance”, is introduced. In this regard, it is expected that the greater the cultural distance between the origin and the destination labor markets, the worse the predicted economic performance (Scott, 1999). Moreover, there are many studies that state the importance of investments in educational and language proficiency of the immigrant after their arrival (Chiswick and Miller, 1994, 1995; Dustman 1994; Leslie and Lindley 2001).

2.2.2 Segmentation Theory

Other theories developed in the discussion on these issues that have not got much attention by human capital theory, which mainly focuses on individual supply side of labor market.

Dual labor market hypothesis views two sectors in the labor markets of modern industrial societies. One of these is a primary sector with favorable working conditions, higher wages, positions are more stable, and more possibilities for promotion. On the other hand, a secondary sector is where jobs are with poorer working conditions, lower pay, less stable positions, and limited possibilities of promotion (Samers 2010). Migrants are assumed to be mainly involved in the secondary sector. The movement between sectors is not common as social and institutional barrier disturb the flow, especially to the upward (Jarvie 1985).

Based on a criticism on over-simplification assumption of only two sectors, Labor market segmentation theory has developed. In this theory, how different rules govern different cells in the labor market is explained by the concept of segmentation. In each segments, different conditions are presumed regarding wages, working conditions, possibility for promotion and so on.

In attempts to understand the complexity of segmentation, mainly two theories have been developed. On the one hand, discrimination is focused, on the other hand, migration network is viewed as a factor which creates or limit employment practices. Network theory is discussed more in detail late in the next section of this chapter.

In the former case of discrimination theory, segmentation is studied based on the assumption that employment gap among and within groups stem from ethnic and gender issues. In the study of unskilled electronic workforce of California, Scott (1992) found that Asian workers were occupying more technical and responsible positions than Hispanics. Rooth (2001) studied the employment integration of the adopted children of Swedish parents, with children who looked non-Swedish had lower probabilities of obtaining employment that those who looked Swedish.

In a number of studies the difference in the employment gap between groups has been explained by institutional factors. For instance, migrant workers tend to have lower payment compared to natives in the U.S. While there are not big differences in payment of migrant workers and natives in Sweden, immigrants are overrepresented as non-employed. This is explained by the rules and regulations on the Swedish labor market
which induce an insider/outsider situation for immigrants (Bengtsson, Lundh and Scott 2005).

2.2.3 Social capital and networks

The concept of social capital has caught great attention since the 1990’s, not only from social science academics but also it has become popular among policy makers. The application of this concept has spread to wider range of events and contexts, where "social capital has evolved into something of a cure-all for the maladies affecting society at home and abroad" (Portes 1998: 2).

Pierre Bourdieu produced the first systematic analyses of the concept of social capital in the French article in 1980. According to his definition social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1986: 248). He put emphasis on the benefits accruing to individuals, as it is more obvious in his original definition where he argued, “the profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible” (Bourdieu 1986: 249). In his understanding, individual possession of social capital defines education and employment opportunities, thus it was understood as a mechanism that promote social division and power reproduction (Bourdieu 1986, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Another major contributor for developing the concept of social capital, Coleman (1988), defined it by its function. It is like the concept of a “chair” identifies physical objects by its function even if there’s a difference in appearances and forms. According to him, social capital is “not a single entity but a variety of different entities with, two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors –whether persons or cooperate actors– within the structure” (Coleman 1988: 98). Coleman sees social capital as entities “inheres in the social structure of relations between actors and among actors” unlike other forms of capital (1988: 98). What is in common with physical capital and human capital is that social capital also facilitates productive activity, but how it approaches is not the same as social capital, which facilitate actions by changing relations among people (ibid). In contrast to Bourdieu’s discussion, Coleman emphasized on an aspect which social capital reinforces ties and links within the society or community. Moreover, the ability to obtain the resources by virtue of membership in different social structures is obscured in Coleman’s discussion while it was apparent in Bourdieu’s (Portes 1998).

Based on Coleman’s definition, Putnam defined social capital as “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1995: 67). On the one hand Coleman viewed social capital as entities, which belongs to individuals, on the other Putnam claimed that it belongs to a society and it reflects a degree of civic society (Putnam 1995).

In short, although a standardized definition of social capital has not been developed and the concept applied in a broad context, the importance of interaction and networking
among members is shared in discussions related to this concept. Additionally, the
development of the concept of social capital shed light on the fact that the networks is
not a natural given and needs to be constructed through investment strategies oriented to
the institutionalization of group relations (Portes 1988).

The idea of social networks has caught attention and has become popular among
migration scholars, as it has been in focus as “a way of overcoming “dualisms” such as
global/local, and macro/micro, to connect structures, institutions, and agents” (Samers
2010: 35). Social networks are understood as “family/household, friendship and
community ties and relationships” (Boyd 1989: 639) and generally defined as “webs of
interpersonal interactions, commonly comprised of relatives, friends, or other
associations forged through social and economic activities that act as conduits through
which information, influence, and resources flow” (Goss and Lindquist 1995: 329). In
this paper, Goss and Lindquist's definition is applied to analyze the processes of
refugees' integration in a Swedish small region. Not only refugees' individual networks
but also those networks stem from the region where refugees reside are studied. In this
sense, networks are understood as entities which take varied forms, "from relationships
of kin to relations between institutions and other institutions, between institutions and
individuals; between individuals who are distant from each other and whose knowledge
of each is restricted to the function or functioning of the network" (Samers 2010: 35).

In Ager and Strang’s integration model, social connection was introduced as one of core
domains for successful integration (2008). Three forms of social connection have been
identified, which is social links, social bonds, and social bridges (see 2.1.2).

Coleman argued about social networks related to the discussion of the common ground
for useful social capital resources for individuals. According to him, the following three
relations are important: a) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures;
b) potential for information that inheres in social relations; c) norms and effective
sanctions (Coleman 1988). Moreover, Coleman claims about the “closure of networks”
as an essential issue that contributes to create trustworthiness in social structure. He
insisted that closure of the social structures is important not only for the existence of
effective norms but also for another form of social capital: the trustworthiness of social
structure that allows the proliferation of obligation and expectation (ibid).

Granovetter (1973) argues that interpersonal ties play an important role when finding
work and usually weak ties, which are acquaintances rather than family or close friends,
are essential. These weak ties serve as bridges between networks and facilitate the flow
of information, which eventually increases job opportunities.

Sanders, Nee, and Sernau (2002) study on Asian immigrants in Los Angles and found
that the greater the reliance on interpersonal ties in finding jobs, the greater the rate of
transitions into jobs of low prestige. They argue that family and ethnic based social
networks are properties of social closure processes however they extend the
opportunities of minority groups in the larger social system.

In this thesis, employment patterns in Ljusdal are discussed with different point of
views of human capital, segmentation, and social network theory. The concept of social
networks is applied based on the understanding that it provides the common ground for useful social capital resources (Coleman 1988), and discussed to explore the entity of social networks which contributes to successful integration.

2.3 A Scalar approach to Migration

In this paper, a scalar approach is applied to refugee integration processes where these processes are seen as a part of the changing in urban politics and new geographies of urban governance and representation.

A scalar approach focuses on cities’ positioning in global hierarchies since all cities are regarded as global in a different and variety of ways. Each city’s relationship to global, national, and regional circuits of capital is analyzed in order to understand their positioning in economic and political hierarchies (Glick-Schiller and Caglar, 2009). However, there are some critics about studying scale or scalar as fixed different levels of governance. For those, scalar is viewed as more fluid and relational (e.g. Brenner 2001, Mansfield 2005). In addition, Mansfield (2005) proposes to focus on the social process first and subsequently explore its scalar dimensions. This is because he understands the social process as something associates with plural scales rather than fits in a sole fixed scale.

In the migration literature a scalar approach has rarely been employed. Glick-Schiller and Caglar (2009) critically argue that both migration scholars and urban geographers neglected the impacts of migration on the restructuring of locality and states that there is a need to theorize locality and spatiality in migration studies. Samers (2010) also claim for the need of the spatial thinking in migration studies. These critics are originated in the perception that there is a propensity of taking the national-state as the starting point in migration researches, in other words they point out the limitation of “methodological nationalism” (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009; Samers 2010). In the methodological nationalism perspective, both the social and cultural division within each nation-state and the experiences, norms, and values migrants and natives share are disregarded as they are embedded in social, economic, and political processes, networks, movement and institutions that extend across state borders (Gordon 1964). A scalar approach enables to bring into the study of refugee incorporation the missing spatial aspects of a city within hierarchical fields of power, which is exercised differently in different localities. The positioning of cities lay the ground for the life-chances and incorporation opportunities of migrants. As more refugees and migrants are settling in cities of different scalar dimensions, including non-metropolitan cities and smaller localities, it has becoming more necessary to pay attention to the scalar dimension of different cities.

When bring the spatial thinking into migration studies, Samers (2010) claims the need of a five spatial concept, including “scalar”. One of the other four concepts is “place” which is viewed as something more localized or on a smaller scale than space. Second concept is “nodes” that it a part of networks or the trajectories of certain migrant groups that can span the globe. Third is “friction of distance” which means the time and cost of
overcoming distance. Forth concept is “territory and territoriality” which is explained as a portion of geographic space that is claimed or occupied by an institution or person or group of persons.

According to Glick-Schiller (2012), focusing on migrants as a “scale-makers” contributes to understand a city’s repositioning within parameters of power. It is to study variations of a particular city, such as power hierarchy, production and destruction of capital, specific history and policies, and city leaders’ favorable view for the city, with a consideration of the ways in which these variations make it possible for migrants to situationally function. For example, city leaderships engaged in competitive neoliberal restructuring developed varying narratives about immigration and local immigrants. Those many ways in which immigrants may be embraced by municipal leadership reflected their efforts to regenerate the city and the relative scalar positioning of the city.

In this thesis, the integration process is focused at first, and afterwards the scalar dimensions are explored (Mansfield 2005). Based on the understanding that Ljusdal is a global city positioning in global hierarchies (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009), impacts from global and national scale on the integration process are discussed. As the positioning of cities lay the ground for the integration opportunities of refugees, the local characteristics are explored together with the effects stem from hosting refugees.

2.4 Integration and mobility of migrants

Fischer and Malmberg (2001) studied the data set covering all movers between the 108 local labor market regions in Sweden in 1994 in order to analyze the impacts of social ties, life-course events and local insider advantages on mobility. They found that age-specific migration propensities are influenced by a variety of conditions. Ties to work and family are also found to be a major determinates of mobility and that the distribution of various life projects influences the age-specific migration pattern. They viewed a location-specific insider advantages, which is an effect of the previous duration of stay in a place of residence and workplace on the probability of staying.

Lundholm (2006) found that more migrants move at a period in their life when they are independent of the labor market and before they form a family compared to 30 years before based on data consists of all interregional migrants in Sweden from 1970 to 2001. It was also observed that increase in interregional migration was to a large extent an effect of large increase in student migration.

From the study on a database contains detailed demographic and socio-economic information about every individual in Sweden during the period 1985 and 1995, Rephann and Vencatasawmy (2000) found that demographic and socio-economic variables (e.g., age, earnings, marital status, family size) have effects on both Swedish and foreign-born people’s mobility. Immigrants differ from the natives in migration behavior as the size of immigrant community in the originating region has impacts on
the their migration decision and this influence is more evident in immigrant groups which are more culturally distant from the natives. They argued that insider advantages would be increased with larger immigrant communities. According to them, immigrant clusters with communities of ethnically similar individuals may be associated with subsequent immigration for several reasons: they are indicative of networks for employment and housing information that assist new arrivals; they mark areas where immigrants are less likely to face discrimination and harassment (Rephann and Vencatasawmy 2000).

There is a discussion which claim that newly arrived immigrants are more likely to move than natives (Simon 1999; Fischer et al. 1998). Fischer et al. (1998) argue the reasons why new immigrants are more mobile as to say immigrants have already lost their location-specific insider advantages and have not yet accumulated many new ones. According to Simon (1999), new immigrants do not already have a stock of knowledge of persons and institutions which make it cheaper to remain in a given place than to begin anew elsewhere. Fischer and Malmberg (2001) claim that the difference between natives and immigrants is minimized as length of stay becomes longer.

In this thesis, the impacts of social networks on mobility of refugees are primarily investigated, together with considering other factors such as life-course events, demographic factors, local insider advantages, and the size of immigrant communities.
Chapter 3. Methodology and Research Design

This chapter includes a general discussion of a critical realistic approach, which is employed in this study and served as a base for the practical and philosophical standpoints throughout the study on process of refugees’ economic integration. Thereafter, methods used within this research project are introduced with details about the selection of case study areas and interview studies. Limitations inherent in the methodology are also discussed.

3.1 A Critical Realistic Approach

A critical realistic approach has developed from reactions to positivism and it states that an observed phenomenon itself has an ability to explain the world. In this approach, our knowledge consists by concepts and practices, while mechanisms and necessary relations, which enable activities that we observe and experience to happen, construct the world.

Bhaskar (1998) and Sayer (2000) argue that this world is stratified and consists of different dimensions: an empirical dimension which can be observed and experienced; an actual dimension, where activities occur; and a real dimension where mechanisms and necessary relations operate which enables these activities happen (Bhaskar 1998: 41, Sayer 2000: 11). For example, we can observe an apple falling down from a tree, on the other hand the natural law of gravity works independently of our perception. It is claimed that the purpose of science is to produce knowledge in a real dimension where we cannot directly observe and perceive. In addition, as we cannot prove a mechanism in a real dimension to be a truth, what we can tell about our knowledge is limited only to be reasonable (Bhaskar 1998). In the case of refugee integration processes, refugees’ performance in labor market, for example whether they are employed or not are observable as those events are happening in an empirical dimension. Meanwhile the mechanisms in a real dimension which influences their economic integration is invisible. In short, the aim of this study is to produce the reasonable knowledge regarding these necessary relations and mechanisms in a real dimension.

In social science, the object, which is concept-dependent, is studied (Sayer 1992). When a researcher collects data, it is already pre-conceptualized, as it is never possible to be neutral. What is important here is that concepts refer to an object that is real, constituted of necessary relations, and they involve important dimensions of material practice. The reason why it is called “critical” realism is that researchers have to go beyond the object’s self-conceptualization with the aim of analyzing the rules and meanings on the real level (Sayer 1992). In the process of understanding objects, a double movement is involved, which is “concrete > abstract, and abstract > concrete”. Firstly, it begins with understanding the diverse determinations by abstract systematically. By abstraction, a single aspect of the studied object is isolated from combination of diverse elements or forces that reveals the object’s internal and necessary relations (Sayer 1992). In this way of abstraction, objects are understood in their types of relations, structures and mechanisms, and/or causal powers. Thereafter, when each abstracted aspects is
explored, it is possible to grasp the concreteness of objects by combining those as concepts.

In this thesis, mechanisms behind the integration process are explored through the concepts of networks, social bridge, and scalar.

### 3.2 Research Design of the Case Study in Ljusdal

#### 3.2.1 Selection of case study areas

In this study, it is aimed to understand the refugees’ integration process in a small region. In order to explore an underlying mechanism of this process, it is required to collect detailed qualitative data. A case study enables to study one aspect of a problem in some depth within a limited time scale (Bell 1999:10). The great strength of this method is that it enables researchers to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work (ibid). In this way, it is intended to explore the integration processes in a specific region through the case study approach.

The reason why Ljusdal municipality is in focus is because the city has been active with refugee reception for ten years and has been receiving relatively high reputations for the outcomes of their integration. Preliminary visit to Ljusdal was done in September 2011 with opportunities to meet refugees and key persons of integration. Therefore, before the actual data collection was conducted, some basic information about refugee integration in Ljusdal was gained, while at the same time, more interest was raised about the underlying networks and mechanisms in this region. Furthermore, when Ljusdal’s population decline and aging, which is a common trend in the countryside in Sweden, is taken into consideration, it is expected to be meaningful to study Ljusdal which will contribute to shed light on the possibilities of similar small regions.

#### 3.2.2 The statistical data

By the quantitative study it is aimed to analyze the distribution of the variables, but not to analyze deeper causes and structures (Sayer 1992: 242). As there is a limit on the number of interviews that can be conducted within a restricted time frame, using quantitative statistical data that is already accumulated makes it possible to understand and describe the general trend in the field of concern. In particular, the statistical data is utilized to understand the demographic aspects, situation surrounding employment in Ljusdal, which includes employment rate, place of employment, and local labor demand.

The statistical data employed was mainly based on data sets from Ljusdal municipality and Statistics Sweden.

1. Statistical data from Ljusdal municipality
   
   a) Census on people participated in the introduction program
This data was collected during April 1st 2005 to April 24th 2013. Respondents are 233 adults in total including 126 male and 107 female and 156 children who have participated in the introduction program for newly arrivals in Ljusdal. Information such as age distribution, nationality, reception form, educational background, and job experience are included. The limitation for this data set is that the number of studied respondents does not cover all participants during this period, however think of the number of quota refugees that came to Ljusdal during the same period, which is approximately 420, differences does not seem to be significant. Another thing is about duplications of items within the same section. According to the municipality officer, different description for the same content was occasionally found. Therefore, apparent duplications were modified.

b) Data sets on employment status in 2008 and 2010

These data material covers employment status of refugees who completed the integration program in Ljusdal in 2008 and 2010. The data collection of 2008 includes job categories and employment forms of 30 refugees, while the other data sets of 2010 involves information about place of employment and employment forms of 37 refugees.

2. Statistical data from Statistics Sweden

Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån) is the Swedish governmental agency in charge of producing official statistics. The data sets cover a wide range of variables of local and national level. The data material in their publication in 2010 regarding regional integration, which is entitled “Integration - ett regionalt perspektiv” is predominantly reviewed.

3.2.3 The interview study

Interviewees

Interviews were conducted for mainly two different groups, which are authorities and refugees. For authorities, three officials from different organizations were interviewed: (1) an official who has been working for the integration unit in Ljusdal municipality for 10 years; (2) an official who works for the Swedish Public Employment Services (Arbetsförmedlingen) of Ljusdal office; and (3) an official who is in charge of resettlement issue at the Swedish Migration Board.

Interviewees of refugee group are selected based on their residential area, which is Ljusdal municipality, and their admission status. Admission status varied, as 5 are quota refugees, 1 is a former asylum-seeker who granted a residence permit, and 2 are family unification with a refugee. Immigrants who came to Sweden for work are excluded as it is assumed that there are different conditions for refugees who were forced to leave their hometown. 2 persons who came to Sweden because of family unification are considered as a part of refugee group in this paper as their family member who came to Sweden first was a quota or asylum refugee. Concentration on a specific nationality is avoided, as 4 Afghan, 3 Somali, and 1 Eritrean are included. 5 out of eight were male and 3 were female informants. The age of the informants ranged from 18 to over 45. The average age for men was 29 and 22 for women. Their length of stay in Sweden
ranges between 6 months to more than 5 years, with 3 people who stay more than 5 years.

**Other interview details**

All interviews were conducted in Ljusdal with a face-to-face meeting except two interviews with authority officers that were carried out by email communication. 4 interviews were done in a meeting room in the municipality building where others would not disturb and it was kindly offered by a municipality staff. The other 5 interviews took place at waiting area in the same building but during the interview there was almost no one around and therefore easy to concentrate. The interviews were conducted over a period of six weeks, starting from the end of April until June 2013. Most of interviews were conducted in English, which is a second language for all informants, except 3 interviews with a Swedish interpreter. All interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the interviewees. The length of the interviews varied from about an hour to approximately three hours.

**Interview instrumentation and questions**

As there are two different informants groups, different set of interview questions and interview methods were selected for each groups. First, for the authority group, main concerns are related to three research questions (1, 2, and 3), which is to understand their substantial relations and networks related to refugees’ economic integration. The interview was a semi-structured, which explores predetermined framework of themes with follow-up questions depending on the answers the interviewee gave. The data tend to be unstructured and the aim is to provide substantial detail about a small number of cases, rather than a smaller amount of information about a large body of respondents (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994). This method has an advantage in allowing new ideas to be brought up that the researcher did not think about, as the interviewee can speak freely in their own words.

Secondly, for the refugee group, all research questions (i.e. 1, 2, 3 and 4) were explored. Same as the authority group, semi-structured interviews with interview guide approach was used. In this approach, topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance in outline form. Interviewer decides sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interview. This has an advantage in increasing the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. Moreover, interviews remain fairly conversational and situational. However this flexibility in interviews can result in reducing the comparability of responses as it allows interviewees to have different responses from different perspectives (Patton 2002). Compared to the interview with authority group, it was more structured with more rigorous set of questions in order to maintain the comparability. However, as there was certain obstacles caused by using second language, wording of questions were revised and clarification of questions were made in the course of the interview. While conducting interviews, “a biographical approach” was deployed for refugees. This approach stresses, “the structural and societal context of a respondent’s migrant history and it emphasizes how this is rooted in their everyday existence” (Bolye and Robinson 1998: 53). A biographical approach has advantages in focusing on the integration processes, which are embedded within the biographies and therefore needed to be
understood by varied causes. Those causes impacted refugees’ integration not necessarily perceived by themselves and in this sense asking refugees those questions like “what facilitate your integration into this place?” would not resulted in gathering appropriate information. In order to understand the underlying structure with emphasizing on networks and taking the characteristics of specific place into consideration, approaching to respondents’ biography is more effective rather than directly asking respondents what a researcher is looking for. This approach uses qualitative techniques in a philosophically different way from the relatively narrow focus of much of this work (Boyle and Robinson 1998).

**Ethical concerns**
At the interview, informants received oral information about the research project and about how the results would be confidentially treated. All interviewees were offered the opportunity to remain anonymous. The interviewees were also informed that the participation in the interview was voluntary and their rights to discontinuing the interview whenever they wished. However, as this study focuses on a specific rural area with a limited number of refugees, there is a difficulty with maintaining anonymity of the refugee informants. On the other hand, disclosing the name of the case study area would have had a great impact on the analysis, especially on the discussion based on a scalar approach, which considers characteristics of the area. Therefore, an individual refugee’s information, such as nationality and age, are treated separately and disconnected to one person in order to make it as difficult as possible to guess who it is.
Chapter 4. Empirical findings and analyses

4.1 Background of Ljusdal

Sweden, where Ljusdal resides, is located in northern Europe and forms the eastern part of Scandinavian Peninsula. Currently, Sweden is divided into twenty-one counties (län) and each county further divides into a number of municipalities (kommun), with a total of 290 municipalities.

The municipality of Ljusdal situated in central Sweden, which is 340 kilometer from the capital Stockholm. The municipality has an area of 5,642.9 square kilometers. It belongs to Gävleborg County with other 9 municipalities; Bollnäs, Gävle, Hofors, Hudiksvall, Noranstig, Ockelbo, Ovanåker, Sandviken, and Söderhamn.

In the beginning, Ljusdal was the parish center in the agricultural district. The shape of Ljusdal today has developed from the late 1800s since the railway and station was built in the area. The railroad town emerged, as it became an essential junction for transportation of forestry products and for a small-scale sawmill industry (Nuur and Laestadius 2010). Around 1900, the population doubled to nearly 10,000 in 1905 from 5,000 in 1876. Ljusdal received an increasing importance of trade and as an industrial society. The increase in business and craftsmen contributed to the emergence of a variety of shops in the areas. Subsequently, new houses, water and sewage, as well as improved roads were constructed. During 1930-1950, population in the market town further increased from 1,900 to 3,800, while the population in the parish decreased. In early times in Ljusdal, society mainly produced services, which means that the community was very important. Continued population increase led to an extensive...
construction during the years 1955 and 1963, which also created the conditions for an extended service. Even during 1960 and 1970, lots of houses were built.

**Demographic background**

When the demographic aspect of recent years is viewed, a different trend is found from national level (Fig. 3). Ljusdal municipality’s total population has been shrinking since 1990 where the number has dropped from 21,163 in 1990 to 18,880 in 2012. On the other hand, the total population in Sweden has been increasing constantly for more than 40 years, where the number was 7,931,193 in 1968 and 9,555,893 in 2012. In 1969 the number reached 8 million and in 2004 the number reached 9 million.

Figure 3. The total population of Sweden and Ljusdal, between 1968 and 2012.

According to the classification by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, Ljusdal municipality is categorized as one of 20 “sparsely populated municipalities (glesbygds kommuner)” where less than 70 percent of the population lives in urban areas and less than 8 inhabitants per km² (Statistics Sweden 2011: 76). In its classification, Swedish municipalities are divided into 10 groups based on structural parameters such as population, commuting patterns, tourism and travel industry and economic structure. Another classification used by Statistics Sweden (Statistiska centrallbyrå), which is based on a classification made by Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, Ljusdal municipality was categorized as a small region (småregion), while other 3 groups are metropolitan regions (storstadsregioner), large city regions (större regioncentra), and small city regions (mindre regioncentra).

When the distributions of population by age groups were compared with overall Sweden, it is probable to say that Ljusdal has an older population where people older than 65 is 24.5 percent of its total population, while the number is 18.8 in a nationwide.
At the same time, young population of 0 to 5 years old is 5.9 percent, which is less than across the country, 7.2 percent (Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of population by age, Ljusdal and Sweden.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ljusdal (%)</th>
<th>Sweden (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-64</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The percentage of foreign-born population in the whole of Sweden and Ljusdal municipality found to be similar, as the number in both places has been increasing since 2001. In Sweden, it was 11.5 per cent in 2001 while the number has gradually increased to 15.4 per cent in 2012. On the other hand in Ljusdal, a percentage of foreign-born population was only 3.2 per cent in 2001, however it grew to 7.4 per cent in 2012, which means 1,389 persons in Ljusdal was of foreign descent. Compared to the number of a whole Sweden, proportion of foreign-born population in Ljusdal is still small, however 4.2 points increase was found in both areas (Fig. 4).

Figure 4. A percentage of foreign-born population in Sweden and Ljusdal between 2001 and 2012.

Source: Statistics Sweden.

According to Statistics Sweden (2010), the proportion of foreign-born people varies between different parts of Sweden. Regions close to the border to Finland and Norway found to have a high proportion of foreign-born, such as Haparanda that lies at the border to Finland, there almost 40 percent are born in Finland. Aside from the border regions, urban areas show comparatively high percentage of foreign-born population. For instance, in 200819 percent was born abroad in Stockholm and in Malmö 18 percent. Compared to other regions of Sweden, a greater proportion of foreign born is
from outside of Europe in the metropolitan areas. The most common countries of birth among those foreign born were Iraq and Iran in 2008 (Statistics Sweden 2010: 14). Before 1970, immigration to Sweden was characterized by labor migrants, often settled in industrial areas. In recent years, refugees and asylum seekers are becoming a big portion of the foreign-born population, widely settled in metropolitan areas (Statistics Sweden 2010: 19).

Table 2. Foreign born in different regions, by country of birth, year 2008.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nordic countries</th>
<th>Europe exclude Nordic countries</th>
<th>Outside Europe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1,281,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ljusdal</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small regions</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan regions</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>788,948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Sweden (2010)

Refugees in Ljusdal

Characteristics of Refugees in Ljusdal

The majority of refugees in Ljusdal was found to be quota refugees, while the number of other refugees, who entered Sweden on one’s own and applied for asylum and subsequently obtained a residence permit, were very small. During 2005 and 2013, approximately 75 percent of the refugees who completed the introduction program were quota refugees, on the other hand former asylum-seekers were less than 10 percent (Ljusdal municipality). Another statistical data from Ljusdal municipality showed that during 2003 and 2010, Ljusdal has received 370 refugees in total, and 300 of them were quota refugees, including 105 Burmese, 100 Afghans, 20 Somalians, 20 Eritreans, 15 Iranians, 15 Sudanese, and 15 Iraqi. In Ljusdal, the number of refugees has been growing between approximately 50 to 80 every year since 2003 (Table 3). This represents about one third of the total of foreign-born population coming to Ljusdal each year.

Table 3. The number of refugees came to Ljusdal, during 2003 and 2012.

Source: Ljusdal municipality.
Educational background of refugees in Ljusdal is as follows: 48 percent with lower than secondary education; 16 percent with secondary education; 8 percent with post secondary education; 12 percent with other or no education; and 16 percent with no answer. When it comes to job experience before coming to Sweden, 16 percent lack working experience.

**International and national needs for receiving refugees**

The phenomenon that quota refugees coming to Ljusdal relates to events taking place at an international and national level. In a global point of view, there are over 10 million refugees under the UNHCR’s protection. For those who can neither return to their country of origin nor settle down permanently and safely in the place where they currently reside, resettlement in a new country is one of the few remaining solution. In 2012 UNHCR estimates that there are approximately 780,000 refugees who need a new home country over the coming years (Swedish Migration Board 2012). Regardless of growing needs for more quota slots, numerically few places are offered by a limited number of countries.

Sweden has been receiving quota refugees since 1950 and being a one of 25 countries that offers UNHCR a yearly refugee quota. Every year, approximately 1,900 refugees living in insecurity and with no chance of returning home are given the opportunity to resettle in Sweden. In view of the total number of refugees who are granted residence permit in Sweden, the number of quota refugees is appeared to be relatively small (Fig. 5). For instance in 2012, residence permits were granted to 17,405 refugees where quota refugees were approximately 1,900.

Figure 5. The number of Refugees in Sweden, during 2000 to 2012, numbers of total and quota refugees (thousand).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Quota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10.55</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>18.41</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>11.24</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>17.41</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Swedish Migration Board

---

3 Data of 233 refugees registered for introduction programme in Ljusdal during 2005 and 2013.
According to a Swedish Migration Board officer, advantages of hosting refugees in non-metropolitan areas are understood as the following: easier to make personal connections and to be seen in the contacts with various institutions; quicker enrollment in language training; safe and suitable surroundings for families with children; closeness, short distances within the area; easier to get to know neighbors; work opportunities within commuting distance; and cheaper rents. On the other hand, difficulties are indicated such as lack of work opportunities in the same area; lack of specialized healthcare and stores; social problems of feelings of isolation; small variety of culture or leisure activities; limited commuting services or long distances; and potential need of driver license and to own a car.

Local economy and labor market

According to the Public Employment Services officer, most of the job opportunities in Ljusdal are in the retail, call centers, health care and services.

In Ljusdal the municipality has been the biggest employer by far with 1,583 workers in 2012. Many people living in Ljusdal are found to be working in the public sector as Gävleborg ranked in third with 181 workers as well. In recent years, the forestry sector has only a less than 8 percent share of employment in the municipality, as the number significantly declined from nearly 25 percent of the working population in 1970 (Nuur and Laestadius 2010).

In the meantime, the service sector rose to have approximately 43 percent of the working population whereas call centers and related activities are dominant (Nuur and Laestadius 2010). Byggfakta, which ranked fourth in the number of employees at larger workplaces, was the origin of the Ljusdal call center cluster as it contributed to the marketing of Ljusdal as a favorable place for outsourcing and call center activities. The firm was established in Ljusdal in the early 1970s and later developed to an international firm. Together with the development of information and communications technology in the late 1980s, it triggered several spin-offs in Ljusdal, which resulted in Ljusdal to have several foreign international companies (Nuur and Laestadius 2010).

Table 4. Number of employees at larger workplaces in Ljusdal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ljusdals kommun</td>
<td>1,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teleperformance Technical Help</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävleborgs läns landsting</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byggfakta/DOCUgroup</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mekanotjänst Christer Fransson AB</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHL</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samhall AB</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExTe Fabriks AB</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Employment patterns in Ljusdal

4.2.1 Employment rates in Ljusdal

Both local officials from the municipality and the Swedish Public Employment Services explained about the successful employment situation of refugees before an introduction of the new system in December 2010. In contrast, according to the Public Employment Services officer, “the relatively high level of unemployment we have in place” within the new framework. However, she added that unfavorable outcomes under the new system is not seen all over Sweden, contrary at a national basis positive results are reported.

According to the Ljusdal municipality’s statistical data, 55.2 percent of the resettled refugees in Ljusdal after completing the introduction course found out to be completely self-sustained in 2009 and 38.2 percent in 2008. To include partly self-sustained, the number rise to 70 percent in 2009 and 67.7 percent in 2008 (Table 5). In comparison with the figures for nationwide produced by the government and a researcher, those numbers in Ljusdal revealed to be relatively high: the employment rates of authority-resettled refugees with 1 to 5 years’ stay in Sweden were 25 percent for men and 10 percent for women (Bevelander et al. 2009: 73-75)\(^4\); and the employment rate of newly arrivals with 3 years’ residence was less than 30 percent in 2004 (Landell).

Table 5. Situation after completed the introduction program, 2008 and 2009.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008 (number of people)</th>
<th>2009 (number of people)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely self-sustained</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partly self-sustained</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completely without own income /Parental leave /Sick allowance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ljusdal municipality.

Another data set of foreign-born people, which not only includes refugees but also other immigrants, similarly indicate a successful situation of Ljusdal compared to other regions in Sweden. Especially for those with shorter length of stay in Sweden (Table 6). For those who are staying 0 to 4 years in Sweden, 40 percent was employed in Ljusdal while it was32 percent for the average of whole Sweden and 35 percent for the average of small city regions. After 20 years of stay in Sweden, the difference between Ljusdal and other regions becomes smaller. Hence, Ljusdal is good at employing newly arrivals.

\(^4\) This study uses the data of individual registers held by Statistics Sweden for the year 2007.
When gender is taken into consideration, foreign-born men in Ljusdal was employed to a greater extent than foreign-born women, where the number was approximately 60 percent for men and almost 50 percent for women. This trend with difference between men and women with approximately 10 percentage points was not commonly seen among other small regions where more often women had a higher points. On the other hand, Ljusdal showed similar trend with the number for Sweden as a whole, (Statistics Sweden 2010).

In the light of educational attainment, Ljusdal showed a similar trend with other regions as the higher the educational background the greater the percentage of employed, however a gap between Swedish and foreign-born was found in all educational attainment (Table 7). Employed foreign-born people with lower education were slightly higher in Ljusdal compared to metropolitan regions or national average, however the differences remain small.

4.2.2 Place of employment/ Employment status/ Income

According to the statistical data provided by Ljusdal municipality, which is of 37 refugees who have finished the introduction program in Ljusdal in 2010, places of employment found to be relatively diverse, such as a food-processing company, auto
repair company, caring center, janitorial service, restaurant, road and rail maintenance company, and municipality. As an employment form, “step-in-job (instegsjobb)”\textsuperscript{5} accounted for roughly half of all, while the rest was probationary or internship forms with less than 5 exceptions that was a steady employment. Through the framework of step-in-job, the employer of a newly arrived immigrant can receive compensation from the national government up to 80 percent of the wage cost which is limited to no more than 800 SEK per working day. This compensation applies to permanent, temporary, and part-time employment ( Arbetsförmedlingen 2013).

Another statistical data from Ljusdal municipality for 2008 showed a variety of job categories, such as a health care assistant, interpreter assistant, nurse, gardener, hostess, chef, waiter, and educational-related job. Regarding the employment forms, Ljusdal municipality accounts for approximately half of all and almost all the rest were step-in-job form. In other words, majority of employment was found to rely on compensation from the national government.

There was a huge gap in net income per month for Swedish born and foreign-born persons where Swedish-born’s income was higher than foreign-born in all regions. This trend was also found in Ljusdal as 16,000 SEK was average for Swedish born while 11,000 SEK for foreign-born. These figures were lower than any other regional average (Statistics Sweden 2010).

4.2.3 Refugees’ educational background

Refugees in Ljusdal found to be less educated compared to other immigrants and native-born in Ljusdal. In contrast to the national level, disparity in educational background is widened (Table 8).

Table 8. Educational background of refugees in Ljusdal, 2005 to 2013, percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ljusdal</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>all</td>
<td>foreign-born</td>
<td>refugees</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>foreign-born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary and lower secondary education (1-9 years)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper secondary education (10-12 years)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary education (More than 13 years)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Sweden and Ljusdal municipality.

\textsuperscript{5} It is officially known as “special recruitment incentive in the shape of entry recruitment incentive (särskilt anställningsstöd i form av instegsjobb)”.

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4.2.4 Factors for employment

This section is mainly based on the interview studies with 8 refugees living in Ljusdal about what they think is important for finding jobs in Sweden. The following 6 factors were found to be understood as of great account.

Language
Swedish language skill is considered as essential for finding a job in Ljusdal as all informants insisted in the interview. IP 2 said, “It is important how good you are at Swedish, you will be judged after how well you speak the language”. Also IP 1 mentioned, “To get a job, you need to have a certificate to show your Swedish skill”. Not only refugees but also officials from the municipality and the Public Employment Services agreed on this point as a municipality officer pointed out, “Sweden is focusing very heavily upon perfect language skills. If you speak perfect Swedish everyone think you are good worker. But if you speak broken Swedish, they automatically think you have no skills. That is a barrier we have to go through”.

Higher education/professional education
Three informants who are wishing to obtain a job, which requires a professional knowledge, referred to the importance of education. For instance, IP 4, who wants to work in a health care industry mentioned about the need for a professional education. Another example is IP 3 who already has a university diploma. According to him, he needs further education as the flow of information and knowledge in his major field is fast and he needs a catch up in order to work in this area.

Work experience

Three informants shared the experience that they started to work as an intern or a temporary staff, thereafter was promoted to the full-time worker with a steady employment contract. For example, IP 1 noted that how he obtained a job in Ljusdal was because he had a similar job experience in another city in Sweden. He said, “This is not a easy job to get, one needs experience, you must have one or two years”. He explained about his current improved working conditions compared to the former, which was a night work and a temporary contract. Two of three informants first started their job as an intern, and subsequently have stepped up to be a full-time worker within the same place of employment. IP 8 explained how she views the reason for her promotion, “Because I was already working as a part-timer, colleges know me and they understood that I can do the work”.

Another reason why a work experience is important for finding job was because it was pointed out from others, such as the Public Employment Services. IP 5 repeated, “They (the Public Employment Services) asked me “Do you have experience? Do you have experience?”. They ask me a lot”.

In short, a pattern where people obtain job experiences with less stable job contract and gradually step up toward obtaining a stable and favorable employment arrangement was observed through the interviews. No one found to attain a steady job contract from the beginning. In addition, there were none of the informants who had benefitted from earlier work experience abroad when searching for work in Sweden.
**Networks/ Contacts**
Two informants referred to their own contacts and networks as an essential factor when they got a job. IP 6 said, “I got this job by my contacts with Swedish people. I had a good relationship (with them)”. As he told, he already knew the people who later became his colleges. As mentioned above, IP 8 also knew the people as she succeed to develop her network during her internship period. However, no informants told about strong ties such as family members and close friends, even ethnic community members as important for finding jobs.

**Personality/ Attitude**
There were opinions, which emphasized an individual personality and attitude as important in the interviews. IP 7 said, “To be social, to be friendly, and trust each other. To be a punctual person, work properly. If a person can be like this, it is not difficult to find a job”. IP 8 added, “To be honest, and to communicate with others and tell people what you can do is important”. A municipality officer added, “It is not just skills or no skills, its also that your attitude. […] It is not skills but it’s your will to continue to try. […] And they need someone to who believes in them, who says "it's not impossible". And if you have the faith and keep on trying, eventually you will find a job”.

Another thing is the difference between quota refugees and asylum seekers, even though both fits in the same group “refugee”. IP 1 pointed out that asylum seekers need to wait for their decision of a refugee status application for a few years, which means they have some time to know the Swedish language and society before they officially start an introduction program, while a quota refugee mostly just have arrived to Sweden when they start the same program. Moreover, he continued that quota refugees who used to live in a refugee camp abroad get used to receive assistance or help. In contrast, asylum seekers need to find a way to Sweden by themselves. IP 6 and IP 7, who came to Sweden as a quota refugee but have almost ten years of experience being an asylum seeker in another country, didn't directly mentioned the difference between quota and asylum, however they also talked about the severe survival life time during seeking asylum which ironically contributed to develop skills to find a job and earn money. A municipality officer also pointed out, “(If a person spend a long time in a refugee camp) you get passive. You are not used to taking initiatives. Water and foods been sent to the camp, get distributed regularly, so not everyone but many get used to sitting and waiting”.

**Car and a driver license**
Another factor perceived as important for obtaining a job was a car and a driver's license, as two male informants referred to it. IP 1 noted, “You need a car license and a car. Very important. Sometimes, there is no bus like on a holiday, you cannot walk. In winter, for six months, you cannot use your bicycle”. When a peculiarity of Swedish northern countryside is taken into consideration, which is a snow-covered long winter and a car-dependent transfer system, it is understandable that to secure one’s ways of transfer in every day life has a great impact on their employment opportunities. IP 5 added another point in this issue that in order to obtain a driver license one need to know Swedish language, as he said, “A car license is very important. For that, I need to know Swedish”.

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4.3 Networks among people and institutions

Based on interviews with local authorities and refugees, this section responds to the research question 2. Before and after the introduction of a new system in 2010, changes in networks were observed and therefore each of them is described separately in the following.

The old system: Comprehensive approach

Before the introduction of a new system, Ljusdal municipality was the main actor who was involved in and responsible for the whole processes of the refugee integration. A “local team” has been organized with caseworkers within the integration unit of Ljusdal municipality. Former refugees are involved in this team with an expectation of playing a role to promote communications with newly arrived refugees and also to bridge them with the local communities of a receiving society and with language and cultural interpretation ability. Members of the local team are skilled at education and coaching and they are expected to be an escort runner for refugees during the integration process.

As Ljusdal municipality has been involved in “Project Landa”, which has developed in the county of Gävleborg, refugee resettlement assistances are provided in mainly three different stages. In the first stage of leaving, representatives from the county visit the first asylum country of a refugee and takes part in the cultural orientation program in cooperation with the Swedish Migration Board. In the second landing stage after arrival in Sweden, municipality integration unit carries out continued cultural orientation. In the last stage of living, education and job training through the introduction program and other assistances are provided with an aim to make refugees have a good life in Sweden. Ljusdal integration unit’s tasks include assisting accommodation and housing for refugees; carrying out large parts of the refugees introduction program; coordination with other authorities; providing advices to refugees and also to other stakeholders; providing social counseling to refugees as a mentor; promoting community development; cooperation and network building. In short, from the very beginning of Swedish life, or even in a refugee camp outside Sweden, refugees meet municipality staffs and afterword they are supported and assisted in a variety of ways.

In the old system before 2010, the relationship between refugees and the integration unit staffs is found to be very close. Abundant opportunities to meet and communicate each other contributed to develop mutual understanding. For municipality staff, understanding of refugees’ way of thinking is pointed out to be of great importance in order to provide an explanation, which is understandable for refugees. A municipality officer noted, “We have a greater understanding about refugee’s point of view. […] For example, you got a jigsaw puzzle from Burma, and its not jigsaw puzzle in Sweden. And to explain the Swedish puzzle, we also need to know the Burmese puzzle. […] To explain the Swedish system, we also need to know the other system.” In addition, mutual understanding also enabled to have family-like relationships, as IP 6 noted, “When I came to the refugee unit I felt like I’m going to talk with my older bro or with
my family member”. This also give rise to a sense of trustworthiness, which was expressed in a municipality officer’s comment, “We meet a refugee at the airport, follow them home, we show them how to use their apartment, so they get to trust us. So when people trust you, they tell you more”.

When refugees start to look for a job, close relationships among refugees and the integration unit is found to have benefits by enabling refugees to receive a counseling type of assistance based on deepened understandings gained through former communication opportunities. As a municipality officer said, “If you have some imagination and get to know the refugees very well, it is possible to find jobs. […] Everyone has skills but skills are not visible because language isn’t perfect. […] You need to prove the skills others haven’t yet discovered. […] There are a lot of skills we are missing, because we don’t see it.”. For instance, when IP 6 told about his experience of job searching, he mentioned about conversational interactions with the integration unit, which helped him to think about his future job possibilities in a practical manner. With limited job related knowledge of Sweden, it was not easy for him to come up with ideas as proposed by the integration unit staff. Another example, which was shared by a municipality officer, was a story from a former elephant driver. He said, “When he came to Sweden, people said “No you cannot ride a elephant in Sweden because we have no elephant”. But when we continue to talk to him, […] Then we found out that he was skilled in working in the forest. So we gave him an education for a chainsaw and other types of tools. After that he was employed. […] We continued to talk to him and found out he is now a skilled worker in the forests. So, you have to have some imagination”.

The New System: Compartmentalized approach

Since the Public Employment Services is in charge of refugees’ job findings, the number of accessible job offers has increased, as the Public Employment Services is a national institution with nationwide job information. When municipalities were assisting refugees finding a job, accessible job opportunities were limited to a municipality where a refugee resides in, since job information was not shared among municipalities. In Ljusdal, the Public Employment Services has expanded its reach to neighboring areas, as an officer said, “We are also looking for jobs in other places than Ljusdal”.

Despite this positive step, refugees’ outcome in labor market has pointed out by both municipality and the Public Employment Services officers to be worsened in Ljusdal after the introduction of a new system in 2010. Regarding this unfavorable recent situation, the Public Employment Services officer explained, “the relatively high level of unemployment we have in place and that most jobs are in the retail, call centers, health care and services, which means you need to know some Swedish”. According to the Public Employment Services officer, what is important in Sweden to find a job is “networks” as employers frequently hire workers from their networks. Based on this understanding, the Public Employment Services has been working on finding internships that are willing to accept immigrants, as she said, “to use internships is the
way that will bring you closer to a job”. It is said that to take opportunities of internships contributes to get a reference from an employer as well as to learn Swedish language. Moreover, she noted that it takes time to develop networks with various employers who are willing to cooperate in providing opportunities for refugees to enter the labor market.

Among interviews with refugees, what was a usual description about the new system was related to its confusion with increased actors, as an informant said, “it is confusing and don’t know where to go”. For refugees, it seemed to be difficult to understand the different role of each institution, such as of municipality and the Public Employment Services. As IP 4 noted, “When I came to Ljusdal (before 2010), if I have a family or private problem, I can talk with integration unit. Today, refugees go to the Public Employment Services and tell them I have a economical problem with my father, they will say it is not our job go to Lots, and then Lots says you have only three hours per month with us so you can go to municipality, and municipality says okay its not our job but we must help. So it can be a lot of confusion and problem”. IP 6 added, “It is like some people are going to go mad”.

Compared to the stories, which tells about the active conversational interactive with integration unit in the old system, there was no comment referred to close relations with the Public Employment Services or Lots. IP 2 explained about the Public Employment Services, “It is more like the place you go if you want a job, you give them your resume and they fix you up”. IP 4, who got a summer job through the Public Employment Services said she only went to their office three or four times in this three years and she didn't have so much opportunity to talk with them. On the other hand, IP 8 said she went to the Public Employment Services office many times but it was to search a job vacancy by herself on a computer, which brought her nothing in the end. In addition, according to the Public Employment Services officer, the national priority to assign tutors is on larger municipalities rather than small municipalities, therefore the Public Employment Services in Ljusdal is in short of staff.

Another aspect, which was pointed out at the interviews, was about language problem with the Public Employment Services and Lots. As IP 5 said, “It is very difficult, the language. I can’t get a translator everyday at the Public Employment Services. Now I can contact the Public Employment Services because I can speak little bit Swedish”. When he couldn't speak any Swedish, he said he contacted where he can communicate, that was refugee unit with many people working as translator.

Lots is short for etableringslots, which means “establishing guide”. A company signing up to become a “Lots” will support the newly arrived to get established in work and society, eventually becoming self-sustainable.
4.4 Stay or move?: Attitude toward place

This section is based on interviews with refugees. Regarding a question “Do you want to stay in Ljusdal?”, four men answered “yes”, while two women and one man answered “I want to move”, and 1 answered “I don't know”.

The three persons that mentioned about their will to move out of Ljusdal were all in an age group of 20 to 25 and the reason was because of higher education. As there is no University in Ljusdal, if a person wishes to continue one’s education, it is necessary to move to another city. Moreover, all of them continued similarly that they want to have higher education because they think it will be useful when they search for a job.

On the other hand, those who answered they want to stay in Ljusdal were all male and a father of their family with kids. The reason why they want to stay in Ljusdal was not same for all but still some common grounds were found. First of all, it was important to consider the relationship between an attitude toward place and work. Two of four informants clearly mentioned about work as a reason to stay. For instance, IP 7 said, “I want to stay in Ljusdal. I have a job here”. Continuously, he talked about a story of how he stepped up to get the current job, which is stable and with more possibilities for promotion. However, it doesn't necessarily mean someone who has no job in Ljusdal will consider about moving out, as one unemployed man also answered that he wants to stay in Ljusdal.

Secondly, network and interaction with others is found to have an impact on their attitude toward a place through generating a sense of home. IP 6, who has been staying in Ljusdal for more than five years and who used to dislike Ljusdal, told about his experience of transformation of feeling, as he said, “First time when I came to Ljusdal, I felt I was in jail. I hated Ljusdal because it is small. I wanted to go to Stockholm because it is bigger and lots of people there. [...] I changed my mind after 2 years. Because I saw that I have all services in Ljusdal. [...] I feel like at home in Ljusdal. Ljusdal is small, and you get contacts easier because we meet everyday and I know that he/she lives there and he/she knows where I live and who I’m having contact with”. IP 7 also mentioned, “I like Ljusdal and here is my home. I know all people in Ljusdal”. Another informant shared his thought, which connects a small place with a sense of safety. According to him, people know each other in Ljusdal and this led him to view Ljusdal as a safe place that is good for his children. IP 2 pointed out, “the Smaller the community, the closer they get each other, the better they know each other. If it is a big community, nobody sees anybody”. Every informant, including those who were planning to move out from Ljusdal, agreed about the advantages of starting a Swedish life in a small place like Ljusdal, where it is preferable for making friends, learning the Swedish language and about a new society. In contrast, poor contacts with people living in other places of Sweden also found to be a reason to stay in Ljusdal. As an informant told that it is hard to move to other places since he don’t have friends or acquaintances outside Ljusdal.
Chapter 5. Discussions

In this chapter, in order to respond to the research questions, findings from statistical data and the case study in Ljusdal are analyzed based on the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2. It begins with analyzing the employment patterns in Ljusdal from the different theoretical point of views of human capital, segmentation, and networks. Thereafter networks between refugees and institutions are further explored by making a comparison between before and after the systematic reform. Afterwards, networks between different scale of global, national, and local are considered with an aim to investigate its effect on refugees’ economic integration. Lastly, mobility and attitude toward place is discussed together with relations to networks between refugees and institutions.

5.1 Employment patterns in Ljusdal

In Ljusdal, a series of statistical data showed successful outcomes regarding refugees’ employment rates in 2008 and 2009. The employment ratio of foreign-born population in Ljusdal was also found to be positive, especially for those with shorter length of stay in Sweden, compared to other regions. By contrast, recent trend has reflected a high level of unemployment among refugees. These findings in employment patterns in Ljusdal are discussed with different theoretical perspectives in the following.

Firstly, the change found in employment rates in Ljusdal could be explained with the introduction of a new system in the end of 2010. This reform has altered the responsible actor for refugees’ employment related issues away from municipality to the Public Employment Services with an aim to accelerate the introduction of new arrivals into the labor market. As a major change in actors was made, it is assumed that the networks among those actors, refugees and other related actors have been affected as well. Different networks observed before and after the introduction of a new system are discussed more in detail in the next section (see 5.2).

Secondly, from a viewpoint of “human capital” it is difficult to explain the former positive employment patterns in Ljusdal. Refugees in Ljusdal have low investments in their human capital. Their educational background is limited where more than a half have got less than primary and lower secondary education (Table 8). Furthermore, there is an additional obstacle of “country-specific human capital” which is explained as the different valuation on qualifications and skills in different countries (Scott 1999). On the other hand, most of the job opportunities in Ljusdal are in the retail, call centers, health care and services, which require good Swedish skills. Thus, refugees in Ljusdal are in a weakened position in terms of human capital, which doesn’t meet the job demands in the local labor market. However, the importance of human capital for obtaining a job is not denied in factors such as language skills, education, and job experience. As they are pointed out to be vital for finding jobs.

Thirdly, there was an indication, which explains the correlations between the employment patterns in Ljusdal and the subsidy system. It was a fact that lots of
refugees’ employment in Ljusdal takes advantage of subsidy, as they have a contract within the framework of “step-in-job” where up to 80 percent of the wage is paid by national government. It is assumed that this subsidy has a positive impact on their employment, which contributed to raise their employment rate. However, as the subsidy system is not a unique framework in Ljusdal area but implemented in nationwide, therefore it is not enough reason to explain why Ljusdal could have successful outcomes compared to other Swedish regions.

Lastly, seen from a segmentation theorist perspective, good outcomes in Ljusdal assume relations with segmentation in the local labor market. A large portion of refugees was found to have an unfavorable and unstable employment condition with limited employment duration or job contract as a probation employee in the early stage of their job history. It is indicated that refugees in Ljusdal are mainly involved in this segment with lower pay and less stable positions. The disparities seen in wage incomes between native-born and foreign-born also support the potential of segmentation. However in Ljusdal, this segmentation was found to be fluid rather than fixed, as promotion opportunities were often mentioned. Even though this was not always the case in the interview studies with the refugees.

5.2 Networks between refugees and institutions and economic integration

Due to the changes of actors in charge of the refugees’ economic integration, different networks surrounding refugees were found before and after the introduction of new system.

*Networks in old system*

In the old system before the policy change, close relationships were observed among refugees and a municipality’s integration unit who was responsible for not only an employment aspect but also the whole integration process. As the integration process takes place “at every level and in every sector of society” (Castles et al. 2002: 114), there were rich opportunities to communicate with each other. An active conversational interaction contributed to personal understandings and to store cultural knowledge of refugees in the integration unit. Thus, members of the integration unit shared deep understanding in both societies, which is of Ljusdal and of the ones where refugees came from. These circumstances contributed to generate “a sense of trustworthiness” for refugees towards the integration unit members. Sometimes it was expressed to be a family-like relation.

In the presence of assisting refugees to find a job, these relations based on understandings and trustworthiness enabled the integration unit to fill the role of “social bridge” in the community and society (Fig. 6). An original idea of “social bridge” (Ager and Strang 2008) assumed a bridge between an ethnic or immigrant group and a host
society, while the situation here in Ljusdal was more on individual refugees and a host society, however both maintain the same function as a bridge which generate and encourage ties and contributes to reinforce “social connection” within the society.

Figure 6. The structure of “social bridge”

The following two conditions observed in Ljusdal provided a base for the integration unit to play a role of “social bridge”. Firstly, most of the refugees in Ljusdal are in a weakened position in terms of human capital, which mismatches with job demands in the local labor market. Country-specific human capital (Scott 1999) causes an obstacle where skills, which are gained in such countries like Afghanistan or Somalia, is not automatically valued the same in Sweden or even regarded as a skill at all. In this situation there is a need to find invisible skills and let them show their skills in Swedish context. A social bridge is effective when trying to overcome this gap, as it is based on cultural understandings in both societies, where refugees came from and settled in, and trustworthiness.

Secondly, it is related to the employers’ way of finding a new employee. In Ljusdal, it was pointed out that employers often use their networks when they look for new people. For new arrivals with poor networks, especially networks with employers, it is difficult to find a job. While, the integration unit has put a lot of efforts on horizontal networking with groups and institutions in the Ljusdal community in order to promote refugee integration. They have facilitated the local perception with focusing on the positive sides of refugees, as what Prins and Toso (2012) called “trusted leader”. Developed networks and their place in the Ljusdal community is assumed to contribute when bridging refugees with employers. Additionally, the fact that municipality itself is the biggest employer in Ljusdal also had an advantage when they assist refugees to find a job.

Networks in new system

After the introduction of the new system, a responsible actor for economic integration has made a transition to the Public Employment Services from the integration unit. Through interview studies, fewer opportunities to communicate among refugees and the Public Employment Services were found, compared to the former framework. The Public Employment Services’ responsibility is limited to being based on assignments and they are focusing on refugees’ employment issues, not the whole integration process. Moreover, the Public Employment Services is not specialized in refugees but
just works on job issues for immigrants and Swedish people. The way the Public Employment Services support refugees in finding a job is fundamentally done with job matching based on conditions and resume information. As the Public Employment Services is a part of a national institution, it is enabled to conduct job searching nationwide without the limitation based on municipality divisions. In practice, the Public Employment Services in Ljusdal is expanding their searching area to neighboring regions. Under existing conditions, accessible job information has increased, and there are regions with successful outcomes and with a smoothed entering of refugees to the labor market. However it is not the case for Ljusdal, rather it has been facing higher numbers of unemployment.

Firstly, why the new system is not effective in Ljusdal seems to be related to the refugees’ general human capital. As most of the refugees in Ljusdal are in a weakened position in terms of human capital, they are not competitive with other Swedish-born and foreign-born with longer length of stay in Sweden, even though the number of accessible job has increased.

Secondly, as how the refugees’ economic integration is approached has primarily been changed, it seems the utilization of the social bridge also has changed. As described in Figure 4, cultural understandings and trustworthiness were a key foundation for a social bridge. However, as the Public Employment Services is approaching refugees only from the economical aspect instead of specializing in their whole integration process, cultural understanding of refugees have decreased compared to the integration unit. In addition, it has also resulted in less opportunity to communicate with each other. It is assumed to be difficult to maintain the same level of trustworthiness in this new situation. In short, decline in both cultural understanding and trustworthiness has resulted in fewer opportunities to benefit from social bridge.

Lastly, it was found to have a negative effect as the number of actors dealing with refugee integration has increased. It was claimed to be confusing since it is difficult for refugees to understand where to go and who are responsible for what. In the old system, it was clear for everyone that the integration unit in the municipality was responsible for all the matters related to refugee integration. However, the current situation with several actors is causing a loss of “closure of networks”, which has been pointed out to be important for the social structure to acquire trustworthiness (Coleman 1988).

### 5.3 Networks of place and economic integration

Place and space exercise power and network differently in a reflection of its peculiar positioning in global power hierarchy, which relates to global, national, and regional circuits of capital (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009). Due to the positioning of the city, immigrants’ life-chances and incorporation opportunities are assumed to differ in metropolitan areas and rural region like Ljusdal. Furthermore, immigrants also have impact on a city’s repositioning within parameters of power (Glick-Schiller 2012). In other words, different integration processes are expected at different places. A scalar
approach enables one to understand both the impacts of places on immigrants and immigrants on places. From a standpoint which views a city’s hierarchical fields of power as a fluid and relational social process, rather than fixed. This is called the integration process in this paper, and should be focused on first (Mansfield 2005, see 5.1, 5.2). In this section a scalar approach is applied to the integration process and mainly based on the three issues found in this integration process in Ljusdal, as follows: 1) reasons why quota refugees are received in Ljusdal; 2) why social bridge is important in this place; and 3) reasons for introducing a new system in Ljusdal.

**Why quota refugees in Ljusdal?**

First, the reason why quota refugees have been received in Ljusdal is analyzed with different scalar perspectives. In a global dimension, Sweden has been constantly requested to receive refugees, in the reflection of the fact that there are more than 10 million refugees under the UNHCR’s protection worldwide. Some of them make a request by themselves as an asylum-seeker, while others are requested by UNHCR under resettlement program. Sweden has been cooperative to make a yearly refugee quota available to UNHCR since 1950.

From a national perspective, Sweden has been receiving refugees based on obligation under the 1951 Refugee Convention and also on a yearly agreement with UNHCR’s resettlement program. The Swedish Parliament (Riksdagen) decides annually how much money Sweden will set aside to resettle quota refugees, which means whether Sweden receive quota refugee or not, and also the number of refugees to resettle is decided at a national level. At the same time, it is the national government that funds the first two years of a refugees’ living cost. As the majority of refugees coming to Sweden as an asylum-seeker and most of them concentrate in metropolitan areas, this group of refugees decides by themselves where they live and it is rarely seen that asylum-seekers voluntary choose to settle in rural regions. In contrast, for the case of authority-resettled refugees, there is more space for authorities to decide where they will reside. In this context, authorities have no motivation to settle them in metropolitan areas where unbalanced burdens already are seen.

From a local point of view, municipalities have discretion to take a decision whether they receive refugees or not, therefore it is Ljusdal’s choice to host quota refugees. Obviously it is the parliament who initially decides about participation in resettlement program, the municipality has no way to host quota refugees if it is decided for them not to receive at a national level. Ljusdal is not an exception of Swedish small regions with population decline and ageing. The ratio of foreign-born population has been increasing, and refugee population account for a third of the foreign-born group. Among refugees, quota refugees were a large portion as it was rarely seen for asylum refugees to voluntary chooses Ljusdal for a place to stay. It is also apparent from events from the past that Ljusdal planned to host 60 refugees in 2004 and 2005 but the number of applicant fell below the target. In short, Ljusdal can host quota refugees but there is a difficulty with attracting other groups of refugees, such as asylum-seekers.
The fact that the majority of refugees in Ljusdal are comprised by quota refugees implies an unfavorable condition for the economic integration process. According to Bevelander (2011), asylum claimants have a faster employment integration than quota refugees in the Swedish labor market. Additionally, during the interview study, differences in their personality/attitude between asylum-seekers and quota refugees were mentioned by some IPs (see 4.2.4).

Why “social bridge” is important in Ljusdal?

The networks in different scales are explored in order to understand the reason why “social bridge” is effective for refugees’ economic integration in Ljusdal. Viewed from a global scale, a small region in the countryside of Sweden rarely has an international presence. Receiving refugees implies a rise of transnational networks in Ljusdal, as refugees have living experience in other countries. However it was found to remain in personal use, and not utilized for business purpose. On the other hand, participating in resettlement program, which is promoted by UN, has brought new opportunities for Ljusdal municipality to increase international contacts. Through this UN framework, quota-hosting municipalities in developed countries get communication and cooperation opportunities with each other. As they are dealing with the same issue of refugee integration and have a common agenda to discuss. In short, resettlement program has brought an opportunity to develop an international network to Ljusdal, however quota refugees themselves haven’t discover a connection to this network, also their own transnational network remain personal and has not been developed to be used for business opportunities.

At a national point of view, similar to a global level, participating in a resettlement program has given opportunities to Ljusdal municipality to develop connections, these are horizontal connections with other municipalities and also vertical connections with county or national institutions. For instance, the municipality of Gävle County cooperated to develop “Project Landa” together with Ljusdal. Moreover, as a big population of immigrants cluster in larger regions in Sweden, ethnic communities are organized in these metropolitan areas. It is known that ethnic communities have some benefits for immigrants when they search for a job, and the size of ethnic community relates to immigrants’ selection of place to live. However, as quota refugees are directly brought to Ljusdal from abroad and start their life in Sweden, they lack friends and contacts in other regions in Sweden, and almost no link with those ethnic communities in metropolitan areas. For these reasons, if they don't find Ljusdal to be attractive, they have no idea or contact that can help them to move to another place.

At a local level, there are two important fundamentals, which contribute to the “social bridge” in Ljusdal: the welcoming atmosphere toward refugees; and a favorable local condition for generating “closure of networks”. As contrasted to the mismatch between local labor demands and refugees, as to why a welcoming attitude was produced in Ljusdal seems to be related to the following three factors. Firstly, hosting refugees potentially brings up-scaling opportunities for Ljusdal in its repositioning process. As

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7 About this project, see 4.2.
internationalization and increasing international cooperation is stated as one of the goals of Ljusdal, global and interregional network developments through hosting refugees are valued opportunities (Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2009). Secondly, to consider demographic aspects of decreasing and ageing population in Ljusdal, new arrivals with relatively younger age groups have great importance, as a “demographic refill” (Hedberg 2010). Thirdly, Ljusdal has a historical background in which people attach a high value on humanitarianism. The reason to take initiative and start receiving refugees in Ljusdal was based on humanitarian thoughts instead of economical or demographical reasons. Regarding “closure of networks”, Ljusdal is a small region with a small population where people easily know each other in their daily life. Compared to larger locality, refugees have an advantage in developing social and cultural contacts (Forssell 2009). What Coleman (1988) claimed was that the closure of networks contributes to create trustworthiness in social structure, and it eventually gives rise to a social bridge as trustworthiness is one of the factors of social bridge (see 5.2).

Why was a new system introduced?

From a national point of view, it has been recognized as an agenda to smooth refugees’ entering into labor market. When refugees’ are discussed in a national context, it is understood that the majority came as an asylum-seeker or family unification, not as a quota refugee. As Bevelander et al. argues that resettled refugees receive less attention because immigrant integration in Sweden is seen primarily as an issue of large urban centers where there are almost no resettled refugees’ (Bevelander et al. 2009). The new system introduced in 2010 was also mainly targeting agendas in metropolitan areas. The national priority on metropolitan areas has been obvious in practice as well, the lack of staff in small regions was pointed out to be a problem. Through this reform, it has been brought out that metropolitan areas are prioritized while small regions have been less of a concern at a national level.

In brief, by considering Ljusdal’s positioning in different scalar of global, national and local, the refugee integration process is revealed more in detail as follows: firstly, authority-resettled refugees who tend to have low investment in their human capital are coming to Ljusdal in context of the fact that asylum-seekers rarely choose to reside in rural region; secondly, a mismatch between the local labor demands and those refugees in Ljusdal were seen. In this context, “social bridge” was shown to be of benefit for the refugees’ integration as it contributes to make a connection between refugees and the local society. Lastly, the integration process has been heavily influenced by national decision-making which reflects Ljusdal’s weak positioning.

5.4 Networks and attitude toward place

How people make a decision to move or to stay has received scholarly and political attention for a long time. Through research, it was found that one of the factors affecting
that decision-making is demographic aspects and family formation issues (Lundholm 2006; Fischer and Malmberg 2001). These findings were also seen in both interregional migration and international migration. In the interview studies in Ljusdal, the same propensity was viewed. First, a demographic aspect, all informants who showed their will to move out from Ljusdal were in an age group of 20 and 25, and the reason was because of education. This corresponds with a general trend in Sweden where an increase in interregional migration has been explained mainly by an increase in student migration (Lundholm 2006). Secondly, about family formation, all respondents with no will to move out from Ljusdal were married and had more than one kid. In short, refugees in Ljusdal are affected by life events the same as people in other regions in Sweden.

Socio-economic factors have been argued to have a big effect on migration decision making as well, and those people with a job are less likely to move than those with no jobs (Fischer and Malmberg 2001; Lundholm 2006). Throughout the interview studies in Ljusdal, the same situation was found. What was emphasized in those interviews was a stable job contract, such as full-time and unlimited duration to be important. Those refugees who were obtaining a stable job have gone through a several years’ long way which started from unstable contract, for instance an internship or a part-time job. There was no refugee who got a stable job from his or her first job in Sweden. As the Public Employment Services and the refugee unit have pointed out, refugees in Ljusdal tend to have poor educational background and job experience, and their language skills are very low in the beginning. For those, it is very important to somehow enter the labor market and develop their networks and experience. Thus, for refugees to obtain a stable job contract, they need to invest some years. This time consuming process forces the development of a location-specific insider advantage and enforce their attitude toward not to move.

The impact of the size of an ethnic community on immigrants’ attitude toward a place has been realized to be important, however Ljusdal showed different aspect. According to Rephann and Vencatasawmy (2000), the bigger the size of the ethnic community in the residential area, the greater the probability is to stay, and vice versa for immigrants. In addition, it is assumed that for those with greater cultural distance, the impact would be greater. Still in Ljusdal, any of refugee ethnic groups does not compose more than 100 persons; around 70 Afghans, 60 Burmese, 40 Eritrean, 30 Somali, 10 Iranian, and less than 5 person for other 11 nationalities. Seen in this light, moving out from Ljusdal to another place with bigger ethnic community has been likely to happen. In fact, when Ljusdal received refugees for the first time within 10 years, 30 Afghans soon left the place to another city with bigger ethnic population. However, since this, it has not been common for quota refugees to move out from Ljusdal. Additionally, no informants in Ljusdal referred to the size of ethnic community as a reason for wanting to move. None of those wanting to stay said that it was a problem neither. Therefore, it is indicated that the role, which is usually played by the ethnic community, is complemented in a different way in Ljusdal.

From the interview study in Ljusdal, most of the refugees was found to have negative thoughts toward Ljusdal in the beginning. It was because Ljusdal seemed to
be a quiet and boring place for them, by contrast they had a brilliant impression of Europe and Sweden to mainly consist of big cities. Thus, people experienced a similar to depressed feeling when they started their life in Ljusdal, especially it was serious for those who came from a bigger region than Ljusdal. It is also evident from the fact that Ljusdal failed to fulfill the targeted number to receive refugees in the past, as there were few refugees who wished to move to Ljusdal voluntarily. On the other hand, at the time of the interview study, no one expressed negative feeling toward Ljusdal. Rather they thought of Ljusdal as their home. In the interview studies, it was explained that knowing people and having connections with others relate to a sense of home. According to Sarup (1994), the concept of home seems to be tied in some way with the concept of identity, which is a construction, a consequence of a process of interaction between people, institution and practices. It is also pointed out that identity is changed by migration as it triggered an interaction with new people and institutions. However, without interactions, it is difficult to develop a new identity in a new place. For those who develop an identity in a new place through interactions will generally gain a sense of home toward the place.
Chapter 6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the economic integration processes of refugees in rural Sweden, and its relation to geographical mobility. It analyzes the mechanisms (Sayer 2000) behind the integration process through the concepts of networks, social bridge, and scalar. In order to explore this complex process, four questions were set out and analyzed. First question aims to capture the general patterns of employment in the case study area. Regarding the second question changes in networks between refugees and institutions are explored in relation with the systematic reform in the end of 2010. This reform altered the responsible actor for the economic integration from municipality to national institution. For the third question, a scalar approach is employed to investigate the networks between different scale of global, national, and local. In response to the fourth question, refugees’ mobility and attitude toward location is studied together with findings from discussions on institutional networks.

The study was based on statistical data analysis and interview studies in Ljusdal municipality, a rural region located in central Sweden. A semi-structured interview was conducted with refugees living in Ljusdal and related authority officials. A biographical approach was employed for interviews with refugees as integration processes are embedded in their everyday existence (Bolye et al. 1998).

Through the case study, differences are found in employment patterns before and after the introduction of a new system. Findings show limitations from a human capital theoretical standpoint, on the other hand a network approach provides a reasonable explanation. In the old system with relatively positive outcomes regarding employment pattern, the municipality who was responsible for integration developed a deep understanding in both the hosting society and the one where refugees came from. A sense of trustworthiness was developed in refugees based on rich opportunities to communicate with each other as the municipality was in charge of the whole integration process. These conditions based on understanding and trust contributed the municipality to play a role of “social bridge”, which connects and smoothen communications between the host society and refugees, especially when refugees were trying to obtain a job. In the new system, accessible job opportunities increased for refugees because of the removal of the division based on municipalities, as the responsible actor was shifted from a municipality level to a national level. However, findings show little advantages for refugees in Ljusdal. As the new actor for economic integration of refugees only deals with the employment aspect of integration processes, it has resulted in less opportunity for communications with refugees. Moreover they are not specialized in refugees so there is less understanding of the refugees’ cultural background. Additionally, less “closure of networks” with an increased number of actors in the integration assistance has impacted negatively. Consequently, less function of the social bridge was observed in networks between refugees and the institution. In brief, the economic integration processes of refugees in Ljusdal had more positive outcomes in the old system compared to the current one, due to the social networks with a function of social bridge. For a social bridge to function properly, the principal foundation is cultural understanding and trustworthiness. This contributed to add an insight to the employment domain of the model of integration (see Fig. 1).
The reason why the social bridge is effective in Ljusdal is related to the fact that there are mainly quota refugees who are coming to Ljusdal, since other refugees rarely move to this rural place voluntarily. Quota refugees, who are selected abroad and brought to Sweden by authorities, tend to have a low investment in their human capital, which resulted in finding a mismatch with the local labor demand. Transnational and interregional networks related to Ljusdal are limited and have almost no common ground when it comes to the refugees’ employment. On the other hand, Ljusdal has a welcoming atmosphere toward refugees due to the effects that refugees bring to Ljusdal, such as opportunities for internationalization, and demographic refill (Hedberg 2010). Seen in this light, a social bridge is applicable to filling the gap in terms of human capital and connects refugees with the welcoming local society. The Small locality size of Ljusdal also provides a favorable condition for the social bridge as its closure of networks contributes to generate trustworthiness.

Another interesting finding is that the social bridge has impact on refugees’ mobility and attitude toward a place as well, since it plays a similar role to as what the ethnic community does. For this reason, even though the ethnic community size is relatively small in Ljusdal, refugees gain interaction opportunities with the society. This has the benefit of developing a “sense of home” for refugees toward Ljusdal, which contributes to affect refugees to stay in Ljusdal through the process of shaping a new identity.

In summary, the mechanism behind the integration process of refugees, which provides a common ground for positive employment outcomes and the attitude toward a place, was the networks with a function as a social bridge. Two essential conditions was identified to play the role of a social bridge, this being the relation based on a sense of trustworthiness and the cultural understanding of both the hosting society and the ones refugees came from. Furthermore, the reason why a social bridge is useful is related to the positioning of Ljusdal in the power hierarchy. The Integration process differs depending on a place’s networks between different scales of global, national, and local, regardless of individual will and characteristics of refugees and immigrants. Thus, for an integration process to be successful it is important to have an approach that is considering the positioning of the place. The integration process is a complex social process, which is affected by various factors. For this reason, there is a limitation to having a comprehensive yet detailed argument about integration considering every related factor. What this study explored is only a part of the mechanism through focusing on networks. Considering that other potential factors are needed to understand this process more thoroughly. For instance, considering the impact of changes in the ratio of refugees/immigrants to the total population, more longitudinal research on networks, and listening to the voices of refugees’ employers. Nonetheless, it is expected to cast light on the importance of the functions that bridges refugees with a host society.
References


Appendix 1. List of informants

The Authority Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1   Kenneth Forssell</td>
<td>Head of the integration unit, Ljusdal Municipality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2   Inger Hemlin</td>
<td>Swedish Public Employment Services, Ljusdal office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3   Oskar Ekblad</td>
<td>Head of resettlement, Swedish Migration Board.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Refugee Group

In order to maintain their anonymity, the list of individual refugee informants is not provided but only the length of stay in Ljusdal. For the group information, such as gender balance, nationality, age groups, and admission status, see Chapter 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay in Ljusdal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IP 1 Less than 1 year</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 2 Less than 1 year</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 3 Less than 1 year</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 4 More than 2 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 5 More than 2 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 6 More than 5 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP 7 More than 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP 8 More than 5 years</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 2. List of abbreviations

Lots                     Establishing Guide (etableringslots)
SMB                      Swedish Migration Board (Migrationsverket)
SPES                     Swedish Public Employment Services (Arbetsförmedlingen)
UN                       United Nations
UNHCR                    United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees