



Post-2014 migrants' access to housing,
employment and other crucial resources
in small- and medium-sized towns and rural
areas
in Sweden
Country Reports on integration



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REPORT
<https://whole-comm.eu>





Executive summary

This report looks at post-2014 migrants' access to housing, employment, and other relevant resources in different small and medium-sized towns and rural areas in Sweden. Primarily based on interviews conducted in six selected municipalities, it provides an overview of 1) the concrete barriers that post-2014 migrants are facing in relation to housing and employment; 2) the local actors who are involved in, and/or seen as responsible for, facilitating their access; 3) any concrete local measures or practices that help or hinder this access; and 4) the specific target groups of these measures, initiatives or practices. The report finds that in Sweden, migrants face many of the same barriers to housing and employment as the rest of the Swedish population, meaning high thresholds for labour market entry and a general shortage of rental housing. In the context of a universal welfare system, where the municipal sector in particular is both a large employer and a large residential property owner, migrants with residence permits can access the same general services as the population at large. While recently arrived migrants (i.e. those who have received their status within the last two years) are offered extra resources in the form of state-level labour market activation programmes and – in some cases – municipal housing quotas, the current reorganization of the public employment service (which has led to a shortage of state-level labour market resources) and the shortage of available housing, makes local policymakers and professionals question these services' viability. Local actors also note secondary obstacles tied to labour and housing market segregation, and long-term unemployment. To address these and other problems, the municipalities have developed a variety of policy responses, including complementary labour market activation programmes, neighbourhood improvement projects, and active use of city planning and construction. Notably, these policies and projects primarily involve the public sector, and almost exclusively target status holders (i.e. recognized refugees). Aside from these issues, representatives of the municipalities and of local businesses and civil society also identify obstacles in migrants' language attainment, which they attempt to overcome through local adjustments to the adult education curriculum and through collaboration with civil society actors for informal language training activities.



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1. Introduction

Whole-COMM focuses on small and medium sized municipalities and rural areas (SMsTRA) in eight European and two non-European countries that have experienced and dealt with the increased arrival and settlement of migrants after 2014. More particularly, the research project explores how these communities have responded to the presence of “post-2014 migrants”¹, that is, which policies have been developed and implemented and how these policies shape and enable migrant integration. Taking an innovative Whole-of-Community research approach, which conceives of migrant integration as a process of community-making, Whole-COMM pays particular attention to the interactions between multiple actors involved in local integration governance (for example, individuals, public and non-public organizations, institutions and/or corporate entities). Moreover, the project looks at how local actors are embedded in multilevel frameworks in which regional, national and EU policies and stakeholders may play a decisive role in shaping local integration policymaking, considering both potential collaborations as well as tensions between actors at different government levels.

Work Package Four (WP4) focuses on local policies, initiatives, and practices addressing post-2014 immigrants’ access to housing, employment and other crucial resources or services.

Following the Whole-COMM approach, we assume that the multiple actors involved in integration and community-making processes may have different interests, strategies, resources, and power positions, and that mutual adjustment (between newcomers and long-term residents) and social cohesion do not necessarily represent the only/overall rationale guiding their various efforts. Instead, the interplay between different actors (and their various interests and rationales) may also lead to exclusion and inequality. This interplay and the resulting measures can thus be analysed in terms of what Collyer, Hinger and Schweitzer call the ‘politics of’, or ‘negotiation around’, ‘(dis)integration’². As these authors point out,

¹ The group of migrants that arrived in (Western) Europe after 2014 is very heterogeneous, “but mostly comprises migrants that left from areas of political and humanitarian crises” (Working Paper 1 2021, 1-2). The majority of ‘post-2014 migrants’ entered thus as asylum-seekers but may have obtained different legal statuses by now (see for more detail Working Paper 1 for the Whole-COMM project).

² Collyer M., Hinger S., Schweitzer R. (2020) Politics of (Dis)Integration – An Introduction. In: Hinger S., Schweitzer R. (eds) Politics of (Dis)Integration. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25089-8_1



integration/disintegration or cohesion/fragmentation should not be understood as simple binary categorisations but as processes that are intertwined and often coexist within and across policies and everyday practices. By looking at how a wide range of actors (private actors, civil society actors and street level bureaucrats) foster but sometimes also hinder migrants' access to adequate housing, work and other crucial resources or services, we hope to better understand (and be able to compare) these local politics of (dis)integration across different local and national contexts.

The choice to focus on housing and employment follows two main rationales. First, these are key resources for granting fundamental rights and sustainable integration. Second, neither is exclusively dependent on local administrations but involve a diverse range of actors, thus allowing us to fully apply the whole-of-community approach. Housing is (partly or, in some cases, almost completely) in the hands of private actors, from big owners (including banks and international investment funds) to small ones. Work depends on employers, which again are very diverse ranging from big to small (including family) employers, from private to public employers and across different economic sectors. In both cases, between migrants and these private actors, we find a broad range of intermediaries (CSOs, trade unions, real estate agencies, civil society organisations, social networks, etc.) and a diverse (and sometimes even contradictory) set of policies and programmes (at the national, regional, and local levels). Apart from housing and employment, WP4 is also interested in local policies, initiatives or practices that affect post-2014 migrants' access to other relevant resources and services, which might be specific to each national context.

To assess the role (and understand the interplay) of the different actors in relation to migrants' access to housing, work, and other services and resources, WP4 identifies and analyses:

- Major **obstacles/challenges** that are reported to exist in each locality for post-2014 migrants, particularly focussing on those that are perceived as being particular to each locality;
- The **actors** (public, private, and civil society) involved, and their concrete role (e.g., as initiator, promoter, implementer, critic, etc. of a concrete policy, initiative, or practice).
- Concrete **local policies, initiatives, and practices** that intend/help to overcome these obstacles. There might also be certain policies, initiatives and practices that have exclusionary effects (whether intended or unintended) and thus aggravate existing obstacles and inequalities in terms of access to adequate housing and employment.
- The **target groups of local policies, initiatives, or practices**: who is entitled to particular services and how is this entitlement justified³. This question will allow us to

³ When explaining who is the target of a specific policy or practice, also those who are excluded (e.g., because they are covered by other policies or because they are simply left out or perceived as less vulnerable) are automatically identified (whether implicit or explicitly).

delve into the main deservingness frames regarding migrants' access to housing, employment and other key resources and services.

1.1 Methodology

The cases for the research project were selected based on a set of variables, namely:

Population size	Medium town: 100,000 – 250.000 Small town: 50,000 – 100,000 Rural area: 5,000 - 50,000 and low population density
Presence of a reception centre AND/OR Reception facilities	Time period: 2014-2017
Number of currently residing migrants	Time period: arrived after 2014
Share of Foreign Residents	Time period: in 2005 (SF2005)
Variation of Unemployment level	Time period: 2005-2014 (VARUN)
AND/OR Unemployment Levels	Time period: 2005 and 2014
Variation of number of inhabitants	Time period: 2005-2014 (VARNI)
Regional variation	For example: East / West or North / South, choosing localities from different regions
Local politics	Parties in government and local political tradition, choosing localities with different political traditions (conservative / progressive)

The variables 'SF2005', 'VARUN' and 'VARNI' were used to identify **four** types of localities:

Type A	Characterized by a recovering local economy and an improving demographic profile and migrants' settlement before 2014
Type B	Characterized by an improving economic and demographic situation and no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014



Type C	Characterized by demographic and economic decline and migrants' settlement before 2014
Type D	Characterized by economic and demographic decline and no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014

The Swedish part of the project consists of six case studies (Locality 1–6, see section 2.2). Across the six locations, the research team has conducted a total of 91 interviews with policymakers, professionals, civil society associations, and others. Where necessary, we have also added data from government agencies and local and regional authorities (see table A.1 in the appendix). Unless otherwise noted, all statistical data come from Statistics Sweden (SCB.se).



2. Context & cases

2.1. General information on the relevant national and regional context/s

This section presents the national socioeconomic, legal and policy context that structures migrants' access to housing and labour market resources. Owing to the central role of the state in developing local practices (see country report 3), these structures have a strong impact on how the municipalities are able to address migrants' resource access. Further, the distinctions that state policies create between different migrant groups greatly impacts on different individuals' ability to access resources.

2.1.1. Status holders and non-status holders

The Swedish framework establishes multiple distinctions between different groups of humanitarian migrants, each of which is subject to different rights and obligations. At a general level, these differences run between status holders and non-status holders. Within the former group is a secondary distinction between recently arrived refugees (the term used in the Swedish bureaucracy) and those who have held their residence status for more than 24 months (henceforth labeled "long-term status holders" for the sake of distinction). Within the latter is the distinction between asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Unaccompanied migrant youths, while allowed to stay within the country, occupy a slightly different position, and need to be discussed separately.

The distinction between recently arrived and long-term status holders depends foremost on the migrants' length of stay. Recently arrived refugees are status holders that have received their residence permit within the last two years. Through the settlement act and the introduction program (see below), this group is afforded targeted services and resources from municipal and state-level government agencies. Long-term status holders, on the other hand, are granted the same rights as other residents of Sweden, and as those of others living in the same municipality.

Unlike status holders, non-status holders' resource access is restricted in various ways. Asylum seekers are subject to special regulation concerning the right to work and to housing. Undocumented migrants, while never mentioned in the interview material, are only granted a baseline of welfare and healthcare services. Once unaccompanied migrants turn eighteen, they can enter the asylum process in order to gain residence status as adults. Following the so-called "upper secondary education act" (*gymnasielagen*), unaccompanied minors who are still in upper secondary education when they turn eighteen can gain a residence permit if they manage to finish school and secure employment within six months after graduation.

2.1.2. Housing



There are currently two national-level frameworks distinguishing migrants' housing and employment market access: the settlement act and the own housing act (*Lagen om eget boende*, EBO). Both regulations locate most of the relevant capacities and obligations within public sector institutions. At the same time, they greatly limit the municipalities' discretion in developing locally specific policy responses for specific migrant groups, for the migrant population, and for the local population as a whole. As a consequence, locally specific solutions, and solutions that involve actors outside of the public sector, tend to be ad hoc and limited in scope.

EBO allows asylum seekers to freely choose between guaranteed housing in the Migration agency's accommodation centres, or self-settlement in privately organized housing anywhere in Sweden. While the Migration agency does not have any responsibility to help migrants find their own housing, those who choose to self-settle are eligible for a small daily allowance (approx. €6 per diem). In recent years, the national government has allowed some municipalities to exclude some neighbourhoods from the act. In practice, this means that asylum seekers who choose to self-settle in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of foreign-born residents, crowded housing, and high socioeconomic vulnerability cannot receive their daily allowances. In 2021, the social democratic government launched a public inquiry to abolish the EBO act completely. The final decision is expected in the spring of 2023.⁴

The settlement act applies only to recently arrived refugees, i.e. status holders who have received their residence permit within the last 24 months. Within this period, an allocated host municipality is obliged to provide the migrant with housing. The individual migrant can, however, choose not to stay in the host municipality. As a result, refugees who have organized their own housing during the asylum process often stay in their former place of residence. There are also limited regulations on the type and quality of housing, and municipalities are allowed to procure housing from other municipalities. As a consequence, richer municipalities with strained housing markets often organize housing in poorer and less densely populated municipalities. When done unilaterally, as is sometimes the case, this practice is referred to as "social dumping" (for examples, see the sections on the small town in Dalarna).

The settlement and EBO acts only apply to asylum seekers and recently arrived refugees. For long-term status holders and undocumented migrants, access to housing is facilitated in the same way as for other residents. In most Swedish municipalities, the municipal housing company is one of the largest landlords. Through the negotiated rent system, the municipal housing companies also determine the benchmark for yearly rent increases, making for a moderately high but relatively equal pricing of rental housing. There are no social housing policies, and the municipalities are supposed to distribute apartments according to the

⁴ Dir 2022:16. *Tilläggsdirektiv till Ett ordnat initialt mottagande*. Justitiedepartementet.

seekers' time in the municipal housing queue. However, the municipalities sometimes set aside quotas in the public housing queue for particularly vulnerable groups, such as recently arrived refugees, and the social services often rent out apartments second hand to those in immediate need.⁵ Importantly, however, the housing market is extremely strained, with shortages of available rental units across virtually the entire country.

2.1.3. Labour market access

Access to the labour market differs widely between different categories of migrants. For non-status holders, the national framework puts up very high barriers of entry. For status holders, on the other hand, the design of income support and other social protections aims broadly at labour market activation.

Non-status holders (asylum seekers, undocumented and rejected migrants) are not allowed to apply for work permits. Asylum seekers can be granted exceptions from the work permit requirement, on the basis of the asylum seeker's collaboration within the asylum process, i.e. if they can provide "acceptable documentation of their identity, or otherwise collaborate in verifying their own identity."⁶ In practice, the grounds for granting an exception are vaguely defined and leave much room for individual interpretation. As noted elsewhere, "there are basically no measures to support labour market integration of asylum seekers"⁷.

As status holders, recently arrived refugees are provided access to the introduction program. The introduction program, which is coordinated and implemented through the state-level Public Employment Service, affords recently arrived refugees extra resources for labour market activation, including subsidized employment, vocational training and internships, language training, and civic orientation. Whereas the employment service is responsible for funding and most immediate services within the introduction program, the municipalities are responsible for coordinating and carrying out (in-house or through public procurement) adult language education (through Swedish for immigrants – SFI).

Of the 3130 persons that found work as part of their introduction program in 2019, 85 % had some kind of employment subsidy.⁸ In total there were over 150 000 persons in subsidized

⁵ Boverket (2022). Boendeenkäten 2022. Stockholm: Boverket.

⁶ Migrationsverket (2022). *Arbeta under tiden som asylsökande*. <https://www.migrationsverket.se/Privatpersoner/Skydd-och-asyl-i-Sverige/Medan-du-vantar/Arbeta.html> [retrieved 2022-06-15]

⁷ P. 1 in Righard, E, Emilsson, H. & Jensen, T. G. (2020). Integration into the labour market and skills training in Sweden. Malmö: Malmö university.

⁸ Employment Service (2020). Arbetsförmedlingens återsrapportering: Årsrapport aktiviteter i etableringsuppdraget 2019, Arbetsförmedlingen.

employment during 2020, a large majority of whom were born outside Sweden.⁹ While it is the state-level Public Employment Service that is responsible for most of the coordination and implementation of the introduction program, many municipalities now organize complementary labour market activation programs to supplement the introduction program. These programs are often available to long-term status holders as well. For the most part, however, long-term status holders access the same rights and obligations as other Swedish residents.

Structurally, the Swedish labour market puts up relatively high barriers of entry to newcomers and vulnerable groups. This is due in part to the extensive system of collective bargaining, which ensures strong protections and relatively high wages for insiders. However, it is also due to the presence of discrimination in hiring processes, especially in low-skilled work, and to a skills-intensive labour market overall.¹⁰ These factors have contributed to the creation of an ethnically segmented labour market, in which recent and long-term status holders are concentrated among the unemployed and in low-skilled service, care and transport sectors.

2.2. Presentation of the local cases

2.2.1 Locality 1 (Scania, type A, small)

L1 is a small type A municipality in the region of Scania. In 2021, the proportion of residents born outside of the EU was approximately 11 %, as compared to 7 % in 2005. The number of newly arrived refugees (i.e. refugees that qualify the municipality for state subsidies) peaked at just over 300 in 2017. In 2020 and 2021, the figure had decreased to between 50 and 60. Whereas the level of unemployment is relatively low overall, employment among migrants in 2020 was sixteen percentage points lower than for the population as a whole (at 62 % vis-à-vis 78.2 %). Notably, however, the proportion of migrants in employment has increased significantly and consistently since 2005 (from a low point of 53 %). The rental market is not as competitive as it is in most of the other municipalities in the sample. There are signs of residential segregation, as parts of the (mostly rental) urban centre have come to host larger concentrations of foreign-born and socioeconomically vulnerable residents.

2.2.2 Locality 2 (Blekinge, type C, rural)

L2 is a rural, type C municipality in the region of Blekinge. The share of foreign-born residents has increased from 17 to 24 %. Despite this increase, the number of asylum seekers living in the municipality, and the number of recently arrived refugees allocated to

⁹ Employment Service (2021a). *Arbetsmarknadspolitiska program 2020*. Arbetsförmedlingens återsrapportering 2021. Arbetsförmedlingen.

¹⁰ Dahlstedt, I. (2017). *Swedish Match? Education, Migration and Labor Market Integration in Sweden*. Malmö: Malmö University.



the municipality, has decreased sharply in recent years. Between 2017 and 2019, the number of asylum seekers living in the municipality declined from roughly 500 to less than 20. The number of newly arrived refugees in the municipality peaked at 250 in 2015, and has since declined to only a handful in 2020 and 2021. In proportional terms, the share of newly arrived refugees in the population thereby declined from nearly 2 % in 2015, to less than 2 ‰ in 2021. L2 has a relatively high – and growing – unemployment rate for long-term residents and migrants alike. In general terms, one private sector industrial manufacturer dominates the labour market. The housing market consists mainly of publically owned rental housing, and is highly competitive.

2.2.3 Locality 3 (Jönköping, type B, Medium-sized)

L3 is a medium-sized type B locality in the region of Jönköping. In 2005, 11.5 % of the population was born outside of Sweden. In 2021, as part of a general population increase, the share of foreign-born residents had increased to 19 %. The share of foreign-born residents has thereby increased more rapidly than the population as a whole. At the same time, the proportion of newly arrived refugees, relative to the population, has varied between 0.5 % (in 2016) and 0.1 % in 2021. As the following sections will show, L3 has high levels of employment in a diverse labour market. While the proportion of foreign-born residents in employment is the highest in the sample, it remains significantly lower than for the total population. The housing market is very competitive, and the public housing company owns a relatively small share of the rental stock.

2.2.4. Locality 4 (Gävleborg, type D, small)

L4 is a small municipality in the region of Gävleborg. Between 2005 and 2021, the population has decreased slightly, whereas the share of foreign-born residents has doubled from 5 to 10 %. While the municipality used to host large numbers of asylum seekers in accommodation centres and in special care homes for unaccompanied minors, these have all closed down. The municipality's accommodation of newly arrived refugees has been relatively low across the period, peaking at 0.4 % of the total population in 2016 and 2017. From 2018 to 2021, the proportion has declined gradually to 0.14 % of the total population. As the following sections will show in more detail, L4 has had large fluctuations in the employment rate for native and foreign-born residents. Rental units make up a large share of the total housing stock, and the public housing company is the largest owner on a highly competitive rental market.

2.2.5 Locality 5 (Dalarna, type A, Small)

L5 is a small type A municipality in the region of Dalarna. Since 2005, its economy has expanded and its population size has increased by approximately 4 %. In the same period, the share of foreign-born residents has increased from 8 to 18 %. Between 2010 and 2016, L5 had among the highest per capita numbers of accepted refugees and asylum seekers in all of Sweden. Since the number of asylum seekers entering the country has declined, and after the implementation of compulsory allocations of accepted refugees in 2016, both figures

have declined rapidly. In recent years, many accepted refugees have also relocated to other municipalities. The unemployment rate is close to the national average, and has declined since 2005. Unlike the other municipalities in the sample, L5 does not have a shortage of rental housing. Instead, the availability of publically and privately owned rental housing has led the social services in other municipalities to allocate clients to L5.

2.2.6 Locality 6 (Gävleborg, type C, medium-sized)

L6 is a medium-sized type C municipality in the region of Gävleborg. Between 2005 and 2021, the proportion of foreign-born residents increased from 9 to 16 %. At the same time, the total population increased by 10 percentage points. Throughout the period, L6 has hosted asylum seekers at the Migration agency's accommodation centres and in private housing through the EBO act. The rate of accepted refugees allocated to L6 peaked in 2014, and continued to drop throughout the period. The early peak in the settlement of accepted refugees is a recurring element in the interviewees' narratives. The labour market is diverse, but the municipality has a high level of unemployment. The housing market consists largely of publically owned rental housing, and it is highly competitive.

3. Access to housing

3.1. Main challenges / obstacles

Interviewees in the six municipalities report, with different emphases, three primary types of obstacles in providing migrants with access to housing. First, all municipalities except L1 and L5 experience housing shortages, which make it difficult to meet the requirements of the settlement act (for recently arrived refugees), and for migrants to access housing altogether. This is to be expected, as a shortage of rental housing has been the reality in nearly every Swedish municipality since at least the early 2010s¹¹. Second, the interviewees perceive obstacles for achieving a good quality of housing, particularly owing to overcrowding. However, some also report negative experiences of low quality accommodation for asylum seekers. The third obstacle relates to wider issues of residential segregation, which, while rooted in issues of housing, has consequences for labour market participation, social integration, and so on. Notably, while there are indications of ethnic segregation in the housing market in all municipalities except L4 (the small municipality in Gävleborg), the issue is mainly discussed in interviews from L3 (the medium-sized municipality in Jönköping), and L5 (the rural municipality in Dalarna).

L1

The housing market in L1 is spatially segregated and widely privatized. The proportion of rental housing in L1 is low compared to the other cases, and to the nation as a whole (see

¹¹ see e.g. Boverket (2015). *Boendesituationen för nyanlända*. Stockholm: Boverket.



data in figure A.1). Following a series of privatizations during the studied period, the proportion of publically owned housing – vis-à-vis the rental and total housing stocks – is the lowest in the entire sample. Still, 5.3 % of public housing was unoccupied at the time of our fieldwork – a relatively high score for the sample and for Sweden as a whole.

Housing and settlement in L1 is “markedly segregated on socioeconomic and ethnic grounds” (university research report, see figure A.1 in the appendix). Overall, the urban centre has the lowest living standards and the highest proportion of foreign-born residents. Inversely, the most affluent areas are found in smaller, non-urban dwellings and in the municipality’s rural areas. Many residents in the latter areas do not work in L1, but commute to larger municipalities in its vicinity. As the aforementioned report shows, socioeconomic and ethnic segregation is growing.

Despite some problems with residential housing, the interviewees do not perceive access to housing as a problem for integration. Neither is there any formal or informal responses aimed at increasing migrants’ access to housing. Between 2016 and 2019, the public housing company offered separate housing quotas for migrants. There are currently no publically known plans to reinstate the quota.

L2

The housing market in L2 is highly competitive, and about one third of the market consists of rental units. The public housing company dominates the market, owning above 70 % of rental units, and just below one-third of the housing stock in total. In April 2022, only a small fraction of publically owned rental units were vacant. While the proportion of crowded households (7.6 in 2018, according to the national board of health and welfare) does not compare to the levels in the larger municipalities in the sample (e.g. L1, L3 and L6), the figure has grown continuously since 2012.

The interviewees identify challenges in the shortage of rental housing, and the related problem of overcrowding, as migrants and other vulnerable groups concentrate in the few rental apartments that are available and accessible. These issues relate primarily to recently arrived refugees and long-term status holders, but also extend to self-settled asylum seekers and to the wider local population. On the other hand, the interviewees do not perceive any problems with residential segregation.

In explaining the housing shortage, the interviewees focus on the uneven pace of migration into the municipality, and how this has made it difficult for local policymakers and professionals to plan construction and long-term housing provision. As an official working with integration in the municipal administration notes, “For a smaller municipality, the challenge connected to reception is to maintain the sort of operation and support that is needed for a good reception even when little migrants arrive. Usually, the organisation is



upscaled or downscaled depending on the number of migrants arriving.”¹² As a small municipality, with relatively small allocations of recently arrived refugees from the Migration Agency, the interviewees find it particularly difficult to maintain sufficient state funding to make larger investments in housing and other resources.

Aside from the obstacles mentioned above, the interviewees also highlight issues related to the migration agency’s procurement policies for asylum accommodation. While this was not an issue at the time of fieldwork, owing to the small number of asylum seekers overall, several interviewees mention it as the most pertinent problem in the 2015–2016 period. Because the Migration agency was instructed to prioritize large units, which could host large numbers of asylum seekers at the same time, the system made it possible for entrepreneurs to maximize profits by offering mass, understaffed housing in abandoned schools, care homes, and so on. These types of buildings were often available only in small municipalities and in peripheral areas. According to the leader of the opposition, the placement of asylum seekers in sub-par housing, far away from the city centre, was an obstacle to integration, and unfair to the individual residents.¹³

L3

L3, the medium-sized town in Jönköping, has a higher proportion of rental units than the nation as a whole, and the highest proportion in the sample. Approximately 44 % of the housing stock in 2021 consisted of rental apartments. However, less than 28 % of the rental stock is publically owned (figure A.1). Overall, the housing market is very strained and competitive, with only 0.1% of publically owned rental units vacant in April 2022. Between 2012 and 2018, the number of crowded households increased from 7.8 to 8.6 %.

According to a representative of the public housing company, “the greatest obstacle for migrants to find decent accommodation is the shortage of housing.” The problem is exacerbated by private actors’ lack of interest in addressing the issue.¹⁴ However, other interviewees also note that a housing shortage is inherent to the municipality’s growing status, regardless of any policies.¹⁵ While the housing shortage is a problem for all residents, it is described as particularly crucial for migrants, who lack the linguistic, economic and practical resources to access the housing market on the same grounds as long-term residents.

¹² Interview with a local professional working with integration

¹³ Interview with leader of the opposition

¹⁴ Interview with a representative of the public housing company

¹⁵ Interview with a representative of the opposition in local government

The interviewees note that the shortage of housing exacerbates the municipality's problem with residential segregation. This issue is present in nearly all of the interviews from L3. As such, it is described as an obstacle to integration, as a cause of social problems, and as a contributing factor to overcrowding and reduced quality of housing. While residential segregation, in principle, affects all current and future residents of the municipality, the interviewees link the issue specifically to migration. For migrants, it is seen both as a problem in its own right and as an obstacle for migrants' access to social networks, employment, and language attainment.

The interviewees' focus on residential segregation is rooted in actual residential patterns. The medium sized town in Jönköping is among the most segregated in all of Sweden. Partitioning the municipality into 76 areas, a municipal inquiry found that Swedish-born residents were overrepresented in all but 15 areas. The remaining 15 areas are those where short- and long-term unemployment are at the highest, where income levels are at the lowest, and where there is the highest proportion of rental housing (Municipal inquiry, see figure A.1). These areas are located on the peripheries of the urban centre, and in smaller dwellings across the municipality.

L4

The small town in Gävleborg has a relatively large rental housing stock, and most of it is publically owned. However, the municipality has a general shortage of housing, particularly in the urban centre.¹⁶ Residential segregation in L4 is limited, and there are no particular neighbourhoods that feature in the interviewees' narratives.

The interviewees in L4 focus primarily on the problem of competitiveness of the local housing market. To a member of the local opposition, the housing shortage, along with the high unemployment rate, are the largest obstacles for integrating migrants in the municipality.¹⁷ This problem is most pressing for long-term status holders, as this group cannot access the same resources and supports (and municipal obligations), as recently arrived refugees that have been allocated through the settlement act. As in L2, the rural municipality in Blekinge, the interviewees' note the difficulties of maintaining functioning services for recently arrived refugees when the number of new allocations decrease.

L5

The small town in Dalarna is the only case that has an excess of available housing. While the municipality's unusually high rate of asylum and settlement migration in 2014–2016 impacted on this trend, the decline of new migration in recent years has led to a return to

¹⁶ Orozco, N. (2020). *Analys av bostadsmarknaden i Gävleborg*. Gävle: County administrative board of Gävleborg.

¹⁷ Interview with member of the local opposition



growing vacancies. In April 2022, the public housing company, which holds 62 % of the total rental market in the municipality, listed 5 % of its apartments as vacant. Thus, while the relative proportion of vacant public housing is the same as in L1, the considerably larger proportion of public housing in the housing stock as a whole makes vacant housing in L5 considerably more salient in local discussions.

The inverted relationship between population size and available housing means that many interviewees see migration as a potential solution to a variety of *other* policy problems. According to a representative of the public housing company, “In the 2015-2016 period, the high rate of migration ‘saved’ the company, after more than a decade of clearances and demolition projects. Now, we are back to where we were” (L5, int. 8). As migration has diminished, the interviewees note that other municipalities use the town’s excess housing stock to “dump” recipients of social aid.

Interviewees in L5 also discuss the municipality’s relatively high level of residential segregation. This problem is closely related to the availability of rental housing, as a large part of the public rental units are located in the same two neighbourhoods. As a report from the region of Dalarna notes, however, these patterns are primarily visible at the level of single houses or streets, rather than the patterns of segregated neighbourhoods that are visible in larger cities.¹⁸

Finally, as in the rural town in Blekinge, the interviewees note problems with the migration agency’s allocation of asylum seekers to privately owned accommodation facilities. Reflecting on the experience of 2015–2016, when the municipality hosted multiple such sites, the interviewees find that large-scale entrepreneurs exploit areas with large vacancies in order to host as many asylum seekers as possible, often without care for quality of housing. This problem, the interviewees find, is continued in the current practice of social dumping.

L6

The medium-sized town in Gävleborg has a large rental market, in which the public housing company controls a large percentage of the housing stock. However, the municipality has long had a considerable housing shortage. The municipality has moderate levels of residential segregation, with two areas that have large concentrations of socioeconomically vulnerable groups, many of whom have a migrant background. However, residential segregation is not salient in the interviewees’ discussions of integration and obstacles to integration. In this regard, L6 stands out from L3 and L5. While difficult to explain from the available data, the absence of residential segregation in discussions in L6 points to the

¹⁸ Macúchová, Zuzana (2020). *Boendesegregation – hur kan den mätas och hur ser den ut i Dalarna?* Falun: Regionala utvecklingsförvaltningen.



important distinction between material conditions and public perceptions of these conditions.

The interviewees in L6 are mostly concerned with the competitiveness of the local housing market, and how it impacts on people who have not been able to collect points in the queue for public housing.

3.2. Actors involved

The description of responsible actors is largely the same across the six localities. At the local level, the public housing company (and sometimes the planning board) is assigned the role of supplying housing, in collaboration with the social services. At a broader level, the interviewees describe the Migration agency as responsible for problems emanating from uneven settlement patterns (and, as a consequence, uneven levels of state funding). Civil society and other non-public actors are primarily involved on an ad hoc basis, e.g. for offering second-hand housing to individual migrants. The degree to which the interviewees reflect on these topics is notably dependent on the degree to which they perceive housing access to be a problem in their respective local settings. The interviewees in the small town in Scania do not address the topic at all. For this reason, this section only details responses for those localities – the medium-sized town in Jönköping, and the small town in Dalarna – where the interviewees discussed housing as a locally specific problem.

The interviewees in L3, the medium-sized town in Jönköping, identified multiple challenges with regard to housing, most importantly the severe housing shortage and its effects on the municipality's pattern of residential segregation. In addressing these issues, the interviewees perceive of housing as a shared responsibility between the public housing company, private business, the municipal planning department, and the social services. Whereas the former are expected to provide new housing through planning and construction, the latter are expected to help migrants access existing resources. The public housing company straddles the line between the two roles, planning for new construction and providing immediate services for migrants seeking to rent an apartment. Indirectly, the interviewees see the Migration agency as impacting on the availability of housing for asylum seekers, through the calculation of allocation numbers and through the rules and policies that govern the procurement of housing. Despite a strong local civil society, with an unusually central place in the planning of integration activities overall, the interviewees do not perceive churches, humanitarian, or other pro-refugee organizations as responsible for housing. Some interviewees mention temporary attempts to solve critical situations through civil society contacts. Still, the interviewees perceive housing issues as something that both emanates from, and is best solved by, public sector and industry actors.

In L5, the small town in Dalarna, the interviewees do not perceive any housing shortage. However, they did perceive problems with residential segregation and “social dumping” in the wake of the last decade's precipitous rise and decline in migration into the municipality. For the former problem, the interviewees locate the primary responsibility to the public

housing company and the social services, which have not been able to produce a more even distribution of occupants according to background and income levels. For the latter problem, i.e. social dumping, they allocate responsibility to the migration agency (for the uneven pace of migration), to the private property owners that allow other municipalities to rent properties, and the agencies in other municipalities that actively allocate recipients of social aid into L5. Hence, the experience in the small town in Dalarna reveals the complex interconnections that exist in governing migrants' access to, and patterns of, housing.

3.3. Policies, initiatives, and practices that foster/hinder access

Whereas the municipalities perceive many different obstacles in fostering migrants' access to housing, to avoid overcrowding and segregation, and so on and so forth, they typically have very limited capacities for generating specific policy reactions. Municipalities cannot refuse to offer housing to recently arrived refugees, and they must organize family homes or residential care for unaccompanied minors. Inversely, the municipalities have no responsibility or capacity to provide housing for asylum seekers, and long-term status holders are supposed to be included in the general welfare system. While it is possible for municipalities to provide additional access to housing for long-term status holders *or* asylum seekers, this is not common practice.

Extensive policies that address migrants' housing only exist in two out of six case study localities. The two towns in Gävleborg have housing quotas for recently arrived refugees, but do not use any other policy instruments to address housing access directly. The small town in Scania and the rural town in Blekinge, have no policies to address housing whatsoever. In the latter, migrants' access to housing is solved on a case-by-case basis through the social services. Connected to the issue of housing, the medium-sized towns in Gävleborg and Jönköping, and the small town in Dalarna each provide some type of support for civil society associations working with neighbourhood improvement in areas with many migrant residents.

The medium-sized town in Jönköping has the most extensive policies for addressing migrants' housing. As developed above, the majority of these measures – while sometimes including other actors – primarily involve municipal departments. The public housing company uses a housing quota for recently arrived refugees, and there are several projects in which municipal agencies cooperate with civil society actors to create meeting places and enhance quality of life in segregated areas. These projects also involve area-specific labour market activation programs. While some of these activities are funded through the municipal budget, others receive their budgets through project-based state and EU funding.

Beyond the above examples, the medium-sized town in Jönköping also make innovative use of city planning and national legislation as a means to improve housing access (for some migrant groups) and reduce segregation patterns.



In 2016, the municipality and the public housing company constructed seven rental units in areas with an under-representation of foreign-born residents. While formally available to anyone, these units were initially used to host the large number of newly arrived migrants that were allocated to the municipality in 2016. Organized as “transitional housing units,” they are kept off the regular rental market. Connected to the transitional housing units are professionals that help migrants become ‘ready’ to find accommodation of their own and adapt to the Swedish bureaucracy and housing markets.”¹⁹ However, local civil society associations and residents have noted that the apartments are excessively expensive, and that their location on the periphery of the municipality creates obstacles for accessing work and other resources.²⁰

Beyond the criticism that the project has received from residents and civil society organizations, it met initial opposition from the surrounding neighbourhood. As an elected official who was part of the municipal board during the period noted, “in a context where there is a severe housing shortage, some natives perceived the opening of housing for recently arrived refugees as unfair treatment. They also wanted to stay in their home areas, but couldn’t find any housing. At the same time, the municipality provides brand new homes for migrants.” In order to prevent conflict, the municipality used its public housing company to maintain presence in the area, and organize integration activities between long-term residents and recently arrived refugees.²¹

The second way that the municipality has attempted to alleviate residential segregation and improve access to housing is through the use of national legislation. Since 2020, the municipality has implemented an exception for four of its residential areas from the EBO act. In practice, this means that asylum seekers who choose to settle in these areas during their processing period no longer receive their daily allowances. The four areas were chosen due to the historically large concentration of asylum seekers, recently arrived refugees, and long-term status holders. Like the use of transitional housing above, the exception from the EBO act thus aimed to reduce ethnic segregation across the municipality.

In interviews made in conjunction with the decision, the head of the municipal council defended the decision both with reference to the asylum seekers’ personal integration trajectory, and to the quality and overall access to housing in the specific neighbourhoods. On one hand, the exceptions were supposed to help the individual migrant attain linguistic and civic competence: “when you apply for asylum, you are supposed to become established and learn the language. This is difficult if you move into an area where all your relatives

¹⁹ Interview with a street-level bureaucrat, working with transitional housing

²⁰ Interview with pro-migrant organization

²¹ Interview with a member of the local opposition

live.”²² On the other hand, there was a perception on the municipal council that the EBO act had, “consequences in the form of overcrowding, and it has a negative effect on local schools”²³ Hence, local policymakers used exceptions on housing market access for *some* migrants as a means to improve the quality and availability of housing for other migrants

While the decision was unanimous in the municipal council, the left-wing opposition noted some concerns that the restrictions might have adverse socioeconomic consequences, since some asylum seekers could be expected to settle in the areas anyway. Regardless, the decision represents an instance where the municipal council actively puts up obstacles for some migrants’ access to the housing market, in order to improve access and neighbourhood quality for a wider group of residents (most of whom are migrants or of a migrant background).

Aside from the medium-sized town in Jönköping, the small town in Dalarna (L5) is the only one to introduce innovative policy solutions with regard to housing. This policy was designed specifically for those unaccompanied minors, who, once they turned 18, were being transferred to the migration agency’s accommodation facilities in other municipalities and regions. To make sure that the minors would be able to stay in the municipality – where many of them had jobs, went to school, and where they had their main social networks – a coalition of civil society associations pressured the municipal government to finance transitional housing. A member of one of the groups describes the process:

“We have a bunch of unaccompanied minors. When they turn eighteen, they are supposed to be thrown out. These guys were living at a residential care home, so [when they turned eighteen], us and the Church of Sweden tried to find them a new place to stay, because otherwise they would be relocated somewhere up north. [...] So I got a meeting with the politicians and the administration. I don’t think I’ve ever been as angry as I was when I left that meeting. All the money that we had received from the state... it was all gone. No one had had the good sense to state what they were supposed to be used for, and the municipal budget had so many holes to fill. Anyway, in the end we got the municipality to rent us an old house on a demolition contract. It was a temporary solution, but anyhow. All through this process, I had the impression that the municipality was resisting us.”²⁴

While multiple interviewees describe the process in conflictual terms, they disagree on the sources of funding. Another civil society organization that was involved in the housing project claims that the municipal government did in fact use state integration funds for this purpose, going against “the prevailing norm” of using such funds to “fill holes in the

²² Interview, Swedish public radio (September 2020).

²³ Interview with the head of the municipal council, local newspaper (September 2020).

²⁴ Interview, civil society organization

municipal budget in general.”²⁵ Whatever the source of funding, the findings show that the government of L5 prioritized support for unaccompanied minors, but that this prioritization came only through the intervention of civil society organizations.

Aside from the temporary project to fund transitional housing for unaccompanied minors, the municipality also organized activities to improve neighbourhood quality and neighbourhood relations in its “segregated” areas. While seldom targeted to migrants’ as such, the large presence of migrants in these areas served as a pretext for most projects. Further, many projects – e.g. language cafés, tutoring – were designed specifically to meet the needs of people born outside of Sweden.

Most of these activities were aimed toward improving local quality of life. Along with the Somali cultural association, the tenants’ union organized football tournaments and barbecues. The tenants’ union, the public housing company, and the municipality’s labour market department also organized a recurring “household school,” which intends to show migrants and other new residents how to navigate living in a Swedish home. How to use a laundry room, how to carry oneself with regard to neighbours, and what rights and obligations the resident has vis-à-vis the landlord or property owner.”²⁶ Along with other civil society organizations, the tenants’ union helped organize after-school tutoring for school children and adults.

The labour market department, the police, and various civil society organizations hold recurring meetings where they report on potential sources of conflict in the area. The group came about “as a response to reports about vandalism in the neighbourhood, vandalism that many associated with the children of migrants.”²⁷ On the basis of meetings within the group, some residents gained funding to organize a “bicycle club,” where local youths (and others) could learn how to ride and repair their bikes. While narrow in scope, the bicycle club has since participated in many different activities to improve neighbourhood relations and deflate potential conflict (e.g. through parties, barbecues, etc.).

3.4. Specific target groups

The settlement act and the introduction program make sharp distinctions between asylum seekers, recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders, and unaccompanied minors. Among these groups, the municipalities only have special responsibilities for recently arrived refugees and unaccompanied minors. For asylum seekers, housing is the primary responsibility of the Migration Agency, whereas for long-term status holders, the same policies and responsibilities apply as for the population as a whole. As a consequence, the

²⁵ Interview, civil society organization

²⁶ Interview, tenants’ union

²⁷ Interview, public housing company



target groups for the suggested policies are, with very few exceptions, limited to recently arrived refugees and unaccompanied minors. However, the steep decrease in the number of recently arrived refugees since 2016 – and, thus, the decrease in state funding – has meant that many municipal actors have felt unable to maintain separate services. In fact, it is only in the cases with special housing quotas for recently arrived refugees – i.e. the small town in Gävleborg and the medium-sized towns in Jönköping and Gävleborg – that have any housing policies that address particular migrants groups. In all other cases, any policies that exist either target migrants in general, or target them indirectly as part of neighbourhoods with high concentrations of foreign-born residents.

The general reliance on universal housing policies means that the municipalities typically do not formally exclude migrant groups from services. The only exception is the medium-sized town in Jönköping’s decision to exempt particular neighbourhoods from the EBO act. In this case, the municipality actively limits the rights of asylum seekers as a means to improve access to housing for other status holders (as well as other residents of the municipality). Otherwise, exclusionary practices primarily emanate from the *absence* of policy. This is most obvious in the case of housing quotas, which serve to even out inequalities between recent migrants – who have not had the chance to wait in the municipal housing queue – and other residents.

Notably, rejected asylum seekers are completely absent from the interview narratives. However, provisional findings from informal discussions with the participants suggest that many rejected asylum seekers leave for larger municipalities, or for other countries in the EU (particularly Germany and France). For some interviewed migrants, the possibility to appeal rejections meant that they frequently shifted positions between being asylum seekers and being undocumented migrants.

CASE	WholeCOMM typology	Major obstacle(s)	Actor(s) involved	Measure(s)	Target group(s)
Locality 1	A	-	-	-	General
Locality 2	C	Lack of access, overcrowding, low quality for asylum seekers, no critical mass of migrants	The migration agency, the public housing company, the social services	-	Recently arrived refugees,
Locality 3	B	Lack of access, overcrowding, segregation	The migration agency, the public housing company, various municipal departments, local protesters	Housing quota, planning of housing in segregated areas, transition housing, exemption from the EBO act.	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders, asylum seekers



Locality 4	D	Shortage of housing, no critical mass of migrants	Civil society actors, social services, public housing company	Housing quota	Recently arrived refugees, general
Locality 5	A	No critical mass of migrants, residential segregation, social dumping	Migration agency, other municipalities, social services, civil society actors, public housing company	Collaboration between municipality and civil society	Long-term status holders (as part of the general population), unaccompanied minors
Locality 6	C	Shortage of housing, crowded housing	Municipal departments, public housing company, civil society actors	Housing quota, collaboration with civil society for emergency housing	Newly arrived migrants, long-term status holders (as part of the general population)

Table 1: Case-by-case summary of results/findings regarding the area of Housing

4. Access to employment

In Swedish labour market policy, the most central actor is the state-level Public Employment Service. The employment service monitors unemployment, coordinates the provision of income support for the unemployed, and designs and organizes labour market activation programs. Through its local offices, the Public Employment Service is also primarily responsible for service provision vis-à-vis the unemployed. Through the introduction program, this pattern is repeated for newly arrived migrants. After the initial 24-month period, newly arrived migrants move into the employment service's general programs. The municipalities thereby have very limited obligations to provide access to employment. As this section shows, the interviewees mainly perceive problems in two areas: the reorganization of the Public Employment Service and its inability to fulfill its mission in the introduction program, and the insufficiency of established language training programs. Starting from these problems (and some others), however, the municipalities have taken a variety of different approaches, ranging from complementary labour market activation programs to more inclusive hiring practices.

4.1. Main challenges / obstacles

The six municipalities display large similarities in migrants' general labour market integration, and in the interviewees' perceptions of related problems. In all municipalities, the employment rate for migrants who are born outside of the EU is between fifteen and twenty percentage points below the corresponding figure for the total population. Practically all interviewees cite two main obstacles: insufficient language acquisition and the reorganization of the public employment service. The interviewees generally place the blame for insufficient language acquisition on the rigidity of the Swedish system for adult education. The reorganization of the public employment service is more complex, entailing both a decrease in the agency's resources and staffing, and cutbacks to the number of local offices. In practice, this has meant that migrants have greatly reduced access to personal contacts, and that the time that migrants are forced to wait between interventions has increased. As a street-level bureaucrat working at the social services in L5 (the rural municipality in Dalarna) notes, ““What is the employment agency today?”²⁸ Beyond these issues are more locally specific topics such as the lack of low-skilled jobs, the lack of labour market differentiation, and, to some extent, discriminatory hiring practices.

L1

²⁸ Interview with a street-level bureaucrat (social services), L5



The unemployment rate in the small town in Scania is below the national average, and has declined since 2005. The largest labour market areas in 2020 were healthcare and education, followed by manufacture, construction, and commerce (see figure A.3). Approximately 55 % of the working population is employed in the private sector (figure A.2). 62 % of residents born outside of the EU were employed in 2020. While this group maintains a lower employment rate than native- or EU-born residents (78 % in 2020), it has risen steadily since its 2005 score of 53.10 %. The Interviewees in L1 describe the reorganization of the Public Employment Service, and its consequences in the form of longer processing periods, fewer personal contacts between migrants and authorities, and less contact with the local labour market as the primary obstacle to securing migrants access to the labour market.

L2

The rural town in Blekinge has a labour market that revolves around one large industrial manufacturer. Accordingly, 53 % of the working population is employed in manufacture. Aside from manufacture, healthcare and social work is the largest labour market section, employing 11 % of the population. Close to 70 % of the population is employed in the private sector, and 25 % in the municipal sector. 62.9 % of residents born outside of the EU had employment in 2020. This figure has stayed largely the same since 2005. Throughout the period, the employment rate for residents born outside of the EU has been about 10 percentage points below the score for the total population. Explaining migrants' problems in accessing employment, the interviewees in L2 cite insufficient language acquisition and the reorganization of the Public Employment Service. However, they also note the skills-gap that keeps many migrants out of the municipality's largest employer. According to the head of the local chapter of the Swedish employers' organization, "the industry in [municipality] is very specialized and high-tech. It has been difficult to employ many migrants, since demands on language-skills and technical skills have been too steep."²⁹

L3

The medium sized town in Jönköping has a labour market that is growing and varied, with a shrinking unemployment rate. The biggest labour market section is healthcare (at 18 %), which includes e.g. hospital workers, and doctors and nurses in primary care. Significant proportions of the population are also employed in commerce (13 %), manufacture (11 %), business consultation (11 %) and education (10 %). 40 % of the working population is employed in the public sector, with an unusually high proportion in the state and regional sectors (approximately 9 % each). The municipality is host of multiple regional and state authorities, including a university. The employment rate for residents born outside of the EU was 65.2 % in 2020. This is the highest score out of all six municipalities, mirroring the high level of employment overall (80.4 % in 2020). To explain the difference between non-EU

²⁹ President, employers' organization



migrants and the wider population, the interviewees mention the reorganization of the Public Employment Service, insufficient language acquisition, and a lack of contacts between migrants and local businesses.

A non-profit service provider, with long experience from the municipality's integration services, adds that structural barriers may combine with prejudice on the side of employers, as "Many small businesses have little incentive to go beyond hiring their friends and family, even though it might be more financially sound. They are afraid of bringing in people who might have a different culture background, who may not speak the language, and so on. Some may have taken influences from the national discussion of integration and crime."³⁰ This quote stands out as one of very few examples where the interviewees single out racism and prejudice as a barrier to employment.

The quote above stands in stark contrast to the reasoning of a street-level bureaucrat, working with employment in one of the municipality's "vulnerable" neighbourhoods. Rather than blame employers, this representative of the municipality argues that barriers to labour market entry emanate from too lax requirements on the migrants: Now, you can just sit at home, get welfare, and do nothing. We don't even care. Those who want to work they do so. Those who don't want to work just don't give a shit. The national government hasn't done anything there. How long are we supposed to feel bad for them? Forever, according to the government."³¹

L4

L4's unemployment rate is higher than the national average, although it has decreased since 2005. Nearly 25 % of the working population in L4 is employed in healthcare. The municipality is the biggest employer, at 27 % of the working population. 55 % work in the private sector. Aside from healthcare, significant labour market sections are manufacture (14 %), commerce (11 %), and education (11 %). L4 has the second highest employment rate for non-EU migrants (64.9 %), and the proportion has increased steadily since 2005. Further, the gap between non-EU migrants and the general population has closed throughout the period. While the distance to the total population's employment rate was 21 percentage points in 2005, that distance has now decreased to just above 16 percentage points. To explain the difference, interviewees cite the reorganization of the Public Employment Service and insufficient programs for language acquisition.

L5

The two largest employers are the municipality and an international industrial manufacturer. Reflecting this structure, close to 63 % of the working population is employed in the private

³⁰ Interview with non-profit service provider (adult education)

³¹ Interview with street-level bureaucrat (labour market)

sector and 32 % of the population works in manufacture. Aside from manufacture, the only sections of the labour market that employ more than a tenth of the population are healthcare (17 %) and education (10.8 %). Although the industry employs an international workforce, most post-2014 migrants work in the public sector, primarily in healthcare. The 2020 employment rate for non-EU migrants in L5 was only 55.7, by far the lowest in the sample. In part, this reflects a slightly lower rate of employment overall (78 % in 2020). To explain the low level of employment, the interviewees cite the effects of social dumping, insufficient language acquisition, and the reorganization of the Public Employment Service. As in L2, the rural locality in Blekinge, representatives of L5 also note the obstacles that come with a high-tech, and “undifferentiated labour market,” in which it is difficult for low-skilled migrants to find employment.³²

L6

L6 is the seat of multiple regional and national authorities, including a university. The regional and state sectors thereby employ higher proportions of the working population than in the other cases. Still, 54 % of the population works in the private sector, and the largest single employer is the municipality. The largest sections of the local labour market are healthcare (19 %), public administration, education, and business consultation (11 % each), and commerce (10 %). The employment rate for non-EU migrants has increased throughout the period, from a low point of less than 50 % in 2010 and 2014 to just above 62 % in 2020. Explaining the remaining gap between non-EU migrants and the total population (78.4 % in 2020), interviewees mention a highly competitive local labour market, problems validating international diplomas, and insufficient language acquisition. L6 is the only locality where the interviewees do not discuss problems regarding the Public Employment Service.

4.2. Actors involved

The interviewees present the Public Employment Service as the most important actor for providing migrants’ with access to employment. The Public Employment Service is expected to provide coaching and personal counselling, and broker contacts between migrants and potential employers in the private and public sectors. To the extent that the interviewees discuss the municipality as an actor on labour market issues, it is only as a complement to the employment service (e.g. through vocational tracks at SFI, or complementary labour market activation programs. Representatives of L1’s labour market board believe that the municipality should get a “larger responsibility in the organization of the introduction program”.³³ This theme was already mentioned in subchapter 3.1. In the other

³² interview with member of local government

³³ Interview with a street-level bureaucrat.



municipalities, representatives of the municipal agencies see their own participation in labour market activation for newly arrived migrants as a necessary evil. The interviewees typically do not describe specific employers or industries (private or public) as actors that can facilitate labour market access, although, as seen in the section above, individual interviews do sometimes mention discriminatory hiring practices.

While most interviewees place the main responsibility for labour market access on public agencies, some concede that employment is ultimately dependent on informal market contacts. As a street-level bureaucrat in the rural locality in Dalarna puts it, “Honestly, I think the only ones who have been able to find a place to work are those that get it through personal contacts. That contact might be me, or it might be someone working for some other voluntary association. If not, then they have been extraordinarily lucky or ambitious.”³⁴ Sharing this view, a street-level bureaucrat working with employment in the medium-sized locality in Jönköping concedes,

“There are no formal systems in place. I only work with my private contacts, and I have to refresh them every two months to make sure I don’t lose them. If I know that someone is about to hire new people, I will have to get in touch with them a few months in advance, suggest that I have this person or that, and so on. The municipality has told me to do more, and I just tell them “if I could clone myself...” If they employ more people, we might be able to set up a formal register, but you would still have to care for that register, care for your contacts. If I send a bad person to a company, then they won’t work with me again.”³⁵

4.3. Policies, initiatives, and practices that foster/hinder access

Despite wide similarities in the municipalities’ perceptions of problems and responsible actors, there are some differences in the actual practices that they have developed in response to migrants’ lack of labour market access. While some municipalities have developed comprehensive programs to support the Public Employment Service’s introduction program (L1 and L5), others rely primarily on general labour market policies. As the quote from a street-level bureaucrat in the medium-sized town in Jönköping showed (see the section above), the actual extent to which the municipalities work with formal policies can sometimes be put into question. Owing to the design of the introduction program, however, all municipalities do provide some type of additional service to migrants in the form of SFI (with or without vocational tracks) and, possibly, additional support for language training.

L1

³⁴ Street-level bureaucrat (integration), L5

³⁵ Street-level bureaucrat (employment), L3



The small town in Scania has a comprehensive labour market activation program targeting recently arrived refugees. The program, which works partly in parallel with the Public Employment Service's introduction program, gives recently arrived refugees access to counselling, labour market matching, and vocational tracks in SFI. Following the attainment of their residence permits, migrants' access to income support is tied to a locally specific "integration duty" which includes active labour market participation, civic orientation courses, and progress in language attainment. The integration duty is not part of the national introduction program, but represents a local policy innovation. As such, it is part of the municipality's already very strong focus on employment in the integration of recently arrived refugees. However, the integration duty is only briefly touched upon in the interviews.

Overall, L1 takes a large responsibility for the introduction and reception of recently arrived refugees. This stems from the municipal government's frustrations with the way that the public employment service has carried out its introduction mission. According to a high-ranking official on the labour market board, "The state subsidies do not cover costs for reception and establishment at all. When the unemployment agency does not live up to its part of providing employment within 24 months for migrants, the municipality is left with having to economically support them." Rather than improve the way that the Public employment service works, the municipality wants "more responsibility than the government currently gives them."³⁶

The labour market program, as L1's integration policy in general, only includes public-sector actors. As such, there are no regular forums where the municipality, the private sector, and civil society actors can get together to discuss solutions or broker contacts.

Migrants can also access labour market activation services and programs that target all other residents of L1. These services include recurring recruitment meetings with the private and public sector, local listings, as well as more comprehensive counselling for residents under 20 years old.

L2

The municipality in the rural town in Blekinge currently does not have any labour market programs that target migrants directly. However, the municipality does offer extra resources for language training in schools and preschools, and migrants can use the municipal service centres for counselling, for labour market contacts, and for project-based resources. These projects, which currently include subsidized employment for young adults and coaching and vocational training for the long-term unemployed, are organized in collaboration between the municipality, the region, and the Public Employment Service. One project is funded in

³⁶ Interview with head of management on the labour market board



collaboration with the European social fund (labour market department website, see table A.2).

There are no forums where migrants, public sector actors, and the private sector can meet to develop labour market initiatives and broker employment contacts. Despite its considerable impact on the local labour market, the municipality's main industry does not have any targeted measures or hiring programs vis-à-vis any category of migrant. However, the interviewees note that the small size of the municipality enables professionals and others to create labour market access through informal contacts with local business.

L3

The medium-sized town in Jönköping does not offer any labour market resources specifically to migrants. However, migrants can access vocational training, coaching, language training, and other resources that facilitate labour market access through a variety of projects and services. These are often provided in collaboration with civil society associations, and between the municipality and public institutions at the regional, national, and EU level. Reflecting the municipality's concerns with residential segregation, many projects target particular neighbourhoods, e.g. through the opening of service centres and through targeted staffing campaigns.

The municipality organizes recurring meetings with civil society associations in order to find paths to employment and internships, and to coordinate resources and projects. While it has no immediate impact on labour market access, interviewees from L3 state that they have been in repeated contact with the national government to solve problems related to the reorganization of the Public Employment Service.

L4

The small town in Gävleborg does not have any specific services that aim to increase migrants' labour market access. It does not organize labour market activation programs that run in parallel with the introduction program, and it has not yet adopted any labour market orientation within SFI (but this is currently in the works). However, the municipality's social sustainability policy underscores that integration goals should be considered in all municipal hiring processes. Migrants can access the municipality's vocational training programs for long-term unemployed, and subsidized unemployment for young adults (social sustainability policy, see table A.2).

L5

Like L1, the small town in Dalarna organizes a labour market activation structure that supports and overlaps with the Public Employment Service's introduction program for recently arrived refugees. The program then continues – if necessary – for those migrants who have not managed to secure employment within the first 24 months. The municipality also offers vocational tracks in SFI as a means to improve subsequent labour market access.



Aside from these initiatives, the municipality collaborates extensively with civil society associations in the provision of language training, cultural and recreational activities, and so on. The forms of collaboration vary between recurring, formal forums, and informal contacts between the project manager at the integration and labour market unit and various private and civil society sector actors. These interventions closely match the municipality's general policies and services aimed toward the unemployed, and are organized through the common labour market and integration unit (labour market and integration unit website, see table A.2). Hence, young adult migrants and those in long-term unemployment can access the same resources as the wider population. Despite its size and international work force, the main industrial employer does not have any hiring policy with regards to migrants.

L6

The medium-sized town in Gävleborg does not offer any labour market resources targeting migrants specifically. Likewise, the municipality does not organize labour market projects of its own, but does so in collaboration with the employment service (labour department website, see table A.2). Together with civil society associations and SFI, the municipality provides additional language training as a complement to the obligatory training within the introduction program (see section 5).

4.4. Specific target groups

To the extent that labour market resources target migrants specifically, they typically refer solely to recently arrived refugees. This follows from two patterns in Swedish labour market and welfare policy. On one hand, it follows the link between residence and working permits. Since asylum seekers are not typically allowed – or encouraged – to work, it is only status holders that can be subject to municipal labour market policies. On the other hand, it follows the design of the universal welfare system, which provides long-term status holders access to the same rights as the population as a whole. At the same time, the Public Employment Service's control over the introduction program means that municipalities will have to go beyond their formal obligations if they want to increase labour market access to recently arrived refugees. While all municipalities have some additional programs and initiatives in place to facilitate labour market access for recently arrived and long-term status holders, it is only in L1 and L5 that there are comprehensive programs that target migrants directly. Even then, however, these labour market activation programs are effectively modified versions of the municipality's general-audience labour market policies, albeit focusing more on language attainment than the wider programs.

Despite the general absence of targeted policies, however, some actors have developed projects that single out particular groups of migrants. As section 5 shows, this often involves language training and similar projects, in which the influence of the state is considerably less comprehensive. In the small town in Gävleborg (L4), civil society actors and municipal agencies collaborate to broker labour market contacts for unaccompanied migrants, against the background of the upper secondary education act. In that context, the provision of

labour opportunities is a means to secure the migrants’ residence status. Further, many municipalities develop universal projects and policies that *de facto* target long-term migrants, owing to this group’s over-representation among the clients of the social services and other welfare agencies. This is most visible in the medium-sized town in Jönköping, where resources for labour market access overlap with projects against residential segregation. However, it also shows in the practical experiences of staff working at municipal service and job centres.

The interviewees do not attempt to legitimize the lack of compensatory policies for particular subgroups of migrants, or the almost exclusive focus on status holders. However, some suggest that the use of universal measures might have an adverse effect on migrants with a weak educational background, and on migrant women in particular. In the medium-sized town in Gävleborg, the Church of Sweden and the Red Cross have developed targeted projects (e.g. language cafés and other gathering places) for migrant women, “as they are identified as furthers from occupation and integration.”³⁷ Similar projects are also reported in L5, the small municipality in Dalarna.

CASE	WholeCOMM typology	Major obstacle(s)	Actor(s) involved	Measure(s)	Target group(s)
Locality 1	A	The reorganization of the Public Employment Service	The Public Employment Service, the national government; The municipal government	Labor market activation programs for recently arrived refugees, vocational tracks in SFI	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders
Locality 2	C	The reorganization of the Public Employment Service, skills gap, insufficient language acquisition	The Public Employment Service, the national government, the municipal government	Additional resources for language training	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders
L3	B	The reorganization of the Public Employment Service, skills gap	The Public Employment Service, the national government	Consultations with the national government	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders
L4	D	The reorganization of	The Public Employment	No targeted resources	

³⁷ Interview with street-level bureaucrat in L6 (medium-sized municipality in Gävleborg)



		the Public Employment Service, access to labour for unaccompanied migrants	Service, the national government, civil society associations		
L5	A	The reorganization of the Public Employment Service, insufficient language acquisition, skills gap	The Public Employment Service, the national government; The municipal government	Labor market activation programs for recently arrived refugees, vocational tracks in SFI	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders
L6	C	Highly competitive labour market, problems validating international diplomas, insufficient language acquisition	The Public Employment Service, the national government	Additional language training	Recently arrived refugees, long-term status holders

Table 2: Case-by-case summary of results/findings regarding the area of EMPLOYMENT

5. Access to other resources and services

5.1. Language training

Language training figured prominently in the interviewees' description of migrants' labour market barriers. However, insufficient language skills are also related to a host of other issues, bearing on migrants' possibility to become employed, secure education, and gain social capital. Notably, unlike the highly centralized policies for housing and labour market access, the target group for language training typically does not adhere to the institutionalized differences between status and non-status holders. On the contrary, many public and non-public projects aim specifically to limit the difference in resource access between different groups of migrants.

a) Main challenges/obstacles

Access to language training, in the form of SFI, is part of the municipalities' responsibilities in the introduction program. Unlike other parts of the introduction program, however, SFI is not limited to the initial 24-month period. Instead, the participants are to receive training until they have finished the introductory stages. As such, it affects recently arrived as well as long-term status holders. The interviewees perceive three general problems with regard to language acquisition. The first problem relates to the goals of SFI, which they perceive to be insufficient to prepare participants for the labour market. The second problem relates to the structure of the classes, where there is no distinction between migrants with different educational backgrounds. As an employer in the rural locality in Dalarna puts it, "the de-individualized structure of the current system has decreased the overall quality of training programmes, and yet does not allow weaker students to begin learning Swedish in a way that can be used in the labour market."³⁸ Whereas highly educated migrants can get through the program with some ease, those with a weak educational background, particularly if they are illiterate, risk getting stuck for long periods of time. The third problem relates to the exclusion of asylum seekers from the program. In the interviews, each obstacle is visible primarily in the policies used to solve them. As such, there is very little reflection and elaboration on the causes of the obstacles as such.

b) Actors involved

As for the other issues, the municipality is perceived as a central actor in the dissemination of language skills. However, unlike labour and housing market access, discussions of language attainment also prominently feature civil society organizations, both in the form of non-profit service providers and organizations such as the Church of Sweden, the Red Cross,

³⁸ Private employer, L5



and others. The private sector features as one part in the preparation of vocational tracks in SFI. Unlike civil society actors, who can be very flexible in whom they target, private sector actors only target the groups that are part of the municipalities' responsibility (i.e. status holders), for whom services can be procured.

c) Policies, initiatives, and practices that foster/hinder access

Policies, initiatives, and practices display some variation between the cases. Whereas all municipalities except the small towns in Scania and Gävleborg (L1, L4) provide some type of additional language training, the cases differ prominently in the extent that they support civil society initiatives, and in what ways they implement new approaches to language attainment in their other practices. In the medium sized town in Gävleborg and the small town in Dalarna, the municipality is actively involved with civil society in providing language cafés and other more informal modes of learning the Swedish language. The small towns in Scania and Dalarna, as part of their more extensive labour market involvement, offer vocational tracks in SFI to gear participants' language attainment to particular labour market needs. The rural town in Blekinge organizes a weekly language café in collaboration with the region of Blekinge, while the medium-sized town in Gävleborg organizes language cafés in house, with trained staff. In the latter, the municipality also collaborates with non-profit service providers and the Public Employment Service to provide alternative modes of language training in collaboration with SFI. While open for other groups, the reasoning behind the alternative practice is that it will make the municipality more flexible in meeting hard-to-reach groups, primarily migrant women. The municipality also collaborates with civil society organizations to organize language cafés in a number of socioeconomically vulnerable areas.

d) Specific target groups

A central criticism in the interviews is the lack of language training for asylum seekers and others who do not qualify for SFI. As such, (some) of the municipalities' and civil society organizations' initiatives extend the possibility for language acquisition to other groups of migrants. No municipality places any demands on residence status, length of stay, or organizational membership for participation in language cafés and other informal activities. Often, the municipalities encourage civil society actors to organize these types of activities precisely as a means to overcome the rights gap between status holders and non-status holders.

Some actors may conduct targeted initiatives to reach migrant groups that are particularly isolated. Here, the group that is most often mentioned is migrant women in long-term unemployment. Such initiatives are reported in all cases but those in Blekinge and Scania, and show some awareness of internal differences within the same migrant groups. In the rural town in Blekinge, the municipality uses additional funding for language training in preschools to compensate for a lack of Swedish in the children's home environment,



whereas the medium-sized town in Gävleborg uses afterschool activities to reach the same goal.

CASE	WholeCOMM typology	Major obstacle(s)	Actor(s) involved	Measure(s)	Target group(s)
Locality 1	A	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments, private sector	Vocational track in SFI	Recently arrived refugees
Locality 2	C	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments	Additional funding for language training in preschools, language café (regional)	Migrant children, all foreign speakers
Locality 3	B	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments, civil society	Language cafés	All foreign speakers, migrant women
Locality 4	D	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments, civil society associations	Language training for at-home mothers, language cafés, after-school activities	Migrant women
Locality 5	A	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments, private sector, civil society associations	Language cafés, vocational track in SFI, Language training for at-home mothers	All foreign speakers, recently arrived refugees, migrant women
Locality 6	C	Insufficient adult education	Municipal departments	Language cafés, additional language learning alongside SFI, Language training for women	Recently arrived refugees, all foreign speakers, migrant women

Topic 1: Access to language acquisition



6. Conclusion

Swedish housing and labour market policies are universal in character, and largely centralize the design, coordination, and implementation of individual services and projects to the public sector. The relative weight of local vis-à-vis higher levels of government differs between the policy issues. Whereas municipalities have some obligations for housing – through the social services act for the full population, and through the settlement act for recently arrived refugees – and relatively large capacities to provide housing through the large influence of public sector housing companies, responsibilities and capacities for providing labour market access are almost exclusively located to the state-level employment service. In practice, a general housing shortage and high barriers of entry into the labour market limit the municipalities' discretion in both areas.

The overarching problem that the interviewees perceive in relation to housing is the general shortage of available rental apartments. This shortage limits the municipalities' capacity to fulfil its obligations in the social services and settlement acts, and has led to some local variation in terms of solutions and policy reactions, including housing quotas as well as the procurement of housing units for distribution through the social services. **For the most part, however, these policies apply to vulnerable residents in general.** To the extent that they target migrants directly, it is only in response to the obligations within the settlement act.

With regard to housing policy, the medium-sized town in Jönköping stands out as being by far the most innovative case in the sample. Using a combination of legal instruments, planning, and local policy innovations, the municipality has addressed residential segregation as well as (some) migrants' competitiveness on the housing market. On one hand, the municipality has actively planned and constructed rental housing in areas with small numbers of long-term residents. Some of these units have been organized as “temporary housing,” as a means to help prepare migrants before their entry into the open housing market. On the other, the municipality has appealed for exceptions from the EBO act. **While the latter measure might alleviate some issues with residential segregation, and lower the pressure on the local housing market, it also impedes on asylum seekers' housing market access in particular neighbourhoods.**

In terms of labour market access, the most cited problem is the current reorganization of the employment service. This process, which has included cutbacks to local offices, and a lack of clarity regarding the employment service's continued obligations, is criticized in nearly all municipalities for limiting the possibility to fulfil the obligations of the introduction program. As reported in country report 3, the employment service is also among the actors where representatives of the municipalities report the most conflictual relations. Aside from these issues, the municipalities also cite the lack of language acquisition and high barriers of entry into the labour market.

The small towns in Scania and Dalarna have developed the most comprehensive local policy responses to issues of labour market access. While organized in different ways and including



slightly different compositions of actors, both municipalities currently offer labour market activation programs for recently arrived refugees which closely overlap with the employment service's introduction program. Both municipalities also have labour market-oriented models in SFI, as a means to provide migrants with quicker labour market access. Notably, however, **these programs only address recently arrived refugees, and do not address the great barriers of entry that currently exist for non-status holders.** For the most part, however, the municipalities limit their involvement to additional language training and vocational training within adult education. Aside from these programs, migrants can access the same labour market resources that are provided for the population as a whole.

The interviewees place the **main responsibility for access to the housing and labour markets on the public sector.** Notably, this is also true for those municipalities (in Blekinge and Dalarna) where single private sector employers control large parts of the local labour market, or where public ownership on the housing market is relatively limited (As in Scania and Jönköping). Thus, although civil society actors and private business may occur in different ways in different local projects and services, no one interviewed for this report expects them to take any initiatives or share influence on the same grounds as actors in the municipal and state sectors. As a consequence, the ways in which private sector and civil society actors impede or provide access for migrants (and other groups) remains outside the purview of this report.

Whether related to labour or to housing, the provision of resources is largely concentrated to status holders. Owing to the design of the Swedish integration framework, which is focused on primary reception, recently arrived refugees receive the main part of any targeted resources whereas long-term status holders draw on the more limited supports offered to the local population as a whole. Asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, on the other hand, receive very limited resources, typically limited to those stipulated in the social services act. While asylum seekers are allowed to rent, the difficulty of receiving an exception from the work permit requirement makes it difficult for them to gain regular employment. With the probable abolishment of the EBO act, asylum seekers' right to choose their own housing will be further curtailed, although they will still be able to find paid-for housing in the Migration agency's accommodation facilities. To the extent that non-status holders do receive additional resources, it is typically through civil society associations. In this sense, **the formal allocation of access to labour and housing is differentiated in terms of residence status rather than between migrants and non-migrants.**

Unlike access to housing and labor, where responsibilities and capacities are largely given from the state-level, access to language acquisition displays a broader variety of actors, projects, and target groups. The municipalities participate extensively with civil society associations, and civil society associations can sometimes drive language training entirely independently of public institutions. Further, the target groups sometimes cut across established categories of migrants, including migrant women, their children, or the entirety of the non-Swedish speaking population.



The differences between the municipalities are not sufficient to observe differences across locality types. Whereas the small towns in Scania and Dalarna are quite similar in their labour market policies, they differ widely in the way that they implement these policies. In Scania, the labour market department is responsible for the entirety of a relatively narrow – if intensive – set of interventions. In Dalarna, the responsibility for labour market activation is spread out across multiple departments, and complemented with a variety of other services.

The rural town in Blekinge, and the two cases from Gävleborg, are similar in their lack of a specified integration policy. All three municipalities, further, experienced early peaks followed by long declines in the rate of migration (asylum seekers as well as recently arrived refugees). In Blekinge, and in the small town in Gävleborg, officials explicitly state that the declining size of the target group made comprehensive policies and interventions economically unfeasible. In all three municipalities, the municipal government shut down migrant-specific services during the studied period. To understand the way in which local governments and government agencies approach migration, it is important to look both at the “critical mass” of migrants that exist at any given moment, and the shifting patterns of migration going into the municipality.

Some relevant differences appear to be more closely linked to local political cultures and voting patterns than to large-scale socioeconomic conditions. It is particularly notable that more comprehensive labour market orientations in reception occur in the two municipalities where the conservative party is either governing as majority leader (as in the small town in Scania) or as part of the ruling coalition (as in the small town in Dalarna).

The absence of coherence between perceptions of problems, relevant actors, initiatives, and target groups, makes it difficult to identify best practices among the Swedish cases. In their absence, it is sufficient to highlight the issues that arise from each individual discussion. First, it is clear that the restructuring of the Public Employment Service is seen as a major problem among Swedish municipalities, and among those in regular contact with newly arrived migrants. While the employment service is still in a period of transformation, this knowledge should feed into future practices. Second, the interviewees generally perceive language acquisition as a primary barrier to other types of resource access, primarily to the labour market. In order to hasten labour market entry for recently arrived refugees, it would therefore be useful to extend language training into the asylum process. This might necessitate a restructuring of SFI, or support for other types of learning. This would also limit the gap that currently exists in resource access between status holders and others. Further, it is advisable that services be designed in ways that do not exclude e.g. migrant women, as the municipality found in the medium-sized town in Gävle. Doing so, however, would require a broader measure of municipal autonomy, or a more comprehensive centralization of policies and practices at the state level.

The great extent to which current policies for housing and employment access rely on public sector actors deserves further discussion. On one hand, the great capacities afforded to the



local (and national) public sector makes them into very powerful actors, which can in principle exercise considerable control over individual migrants' opportunities. If this control can be exercised in practice, it would allow the public sector to greatly steer resource access toward all vulnerable groups, including migrants. However, owing to various factors, including a generalized housing shortage, a lack of functional cooperation between the local and national level, and the extent of the private labour market, it is questionable to what extent the public sector can match its capacities in practice. As the interviewees note, access to employment – in particular – is ultimately contingent on personal luck and contacts, even when these contacts are mediated through the public sector. To some extent, these issues might be exacerbated by the universal character of most Swedish public welfare services, which do not incentivize public sector actors to design policies that target specific groups (e.g. some migrant category). As such, what might work as padding against conflicts of interest can also serve as an obstacle to more compensatory policies. It is notable that it is only in the medium-sized town in Jönköping, with its exemption from the EBO act, that one can see any clear conflict of interest between one migrant group and others. Further, it is possible that the relative lack of acknowledgement of discriminatory hiring and rental practices is simply a reflection of the considerable weight that the interviewees give to formal public sector policies.

Appendix

Table A.1. Local policy documents

Municipality	Type of document	Year (last updated version)
L1	Labor market department website	2022
L1	University research report	2019
L2	Labor market department website	2019
L3	Municipal inquiry	2021
L4	Social sustainability policy	2018
L5	Integration policy	2019
L5	Labor and integration unit website	2022
L5	The L5 model (slideshow)	2019
L6	Social sustainability program	2019

Figure A.1: Local housing markets by rental stock, public housing, unoccupied public housing

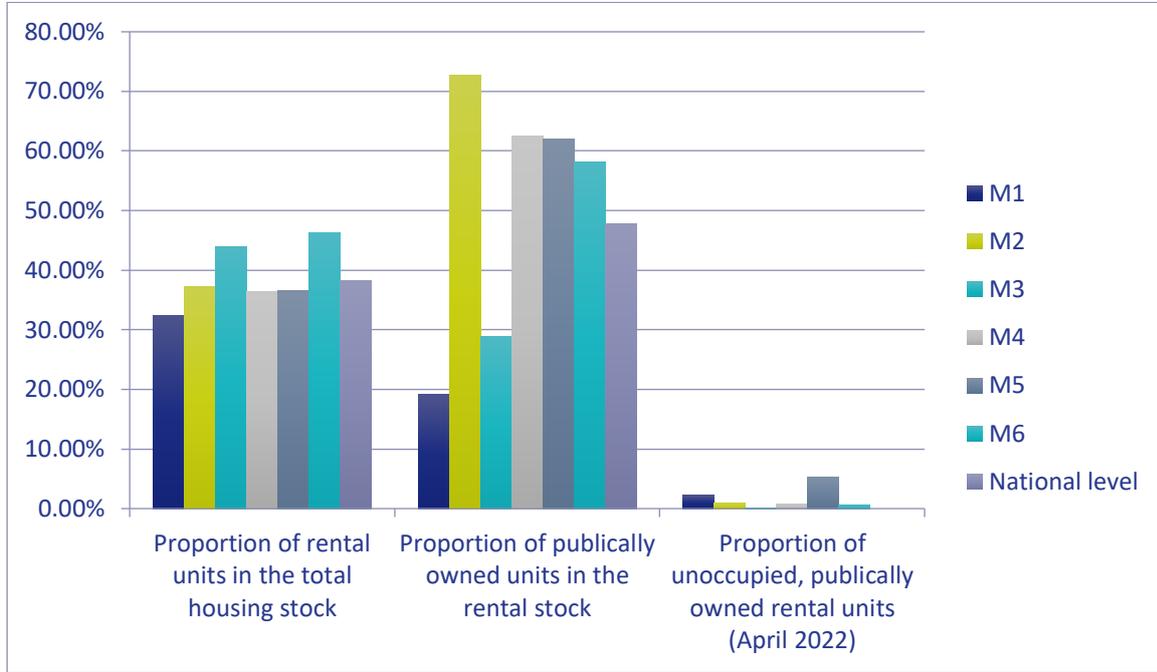


Figure A.2: Labor market sectors by percentage of employed residents

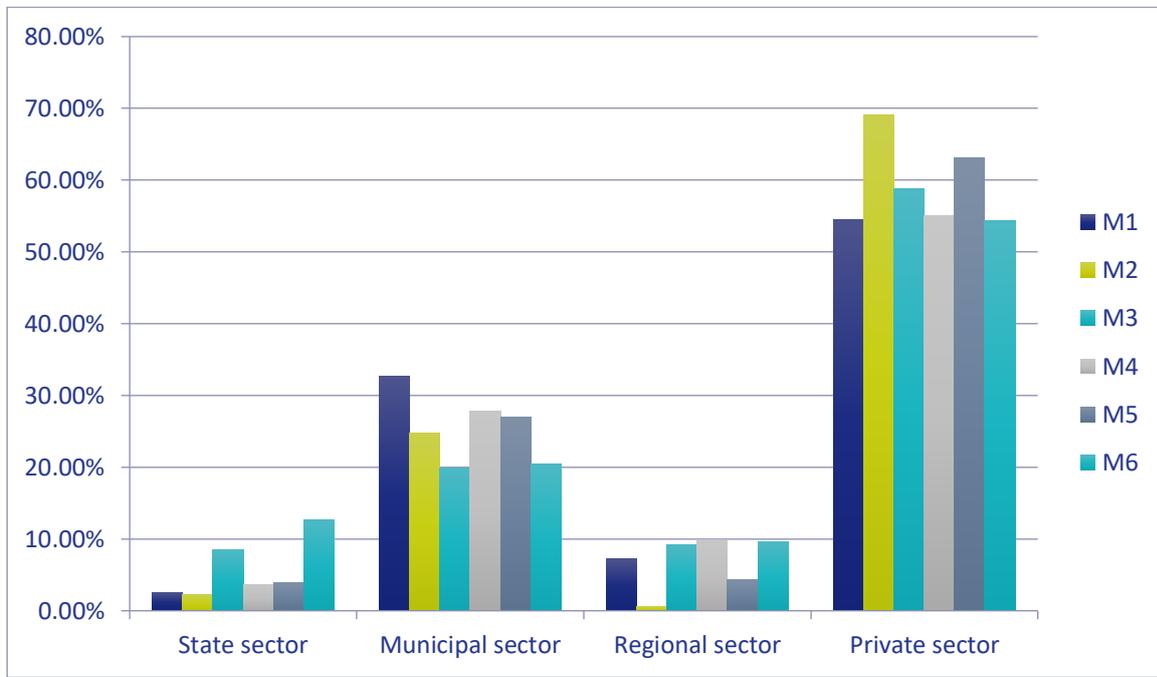
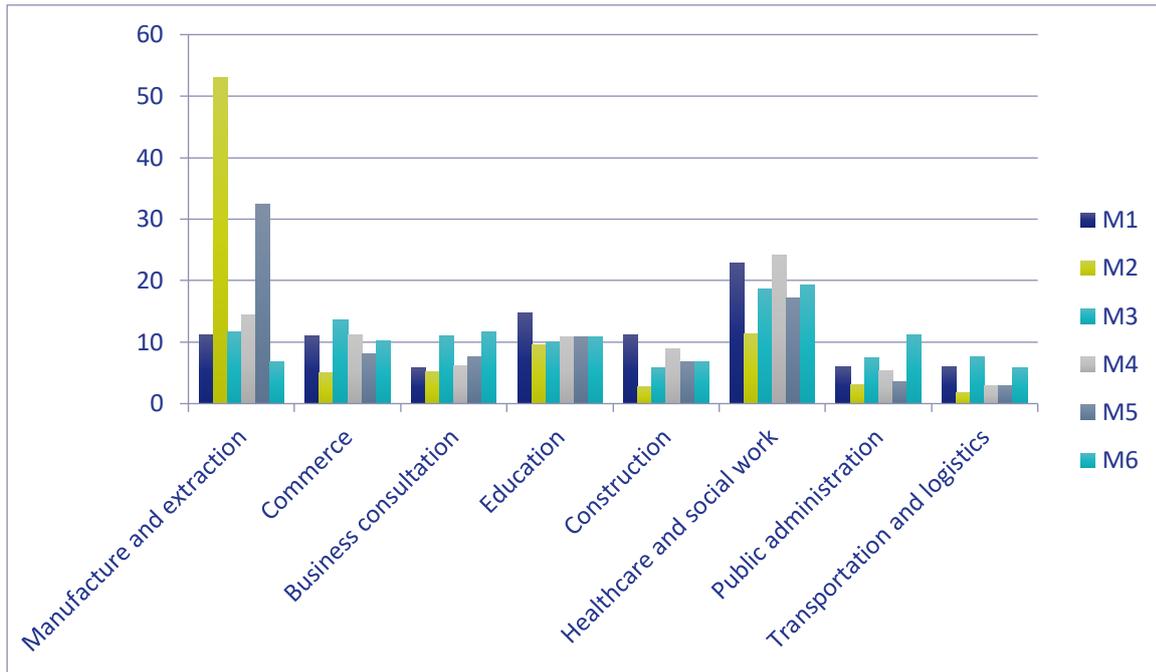




Figure A.3: Labor market areas by percentage of residents employed





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